



# **CSAS HISTORY: THE EARLY YEARS**

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## PREFACE

When I became CSAS Secretary-Treasurer in 1974, the Society's history was the subject of much discussion. Even the correct ordinal numbering of the annual meetings was debated. My predecessor, Carl Jantzen, urged me to help clarify such matters. He had already organized the Society's existing portable file of records, which had been shipped from one Secretary-Treasurer to the next ever since George R. Fox, elected in 1924, had vacated the office in 1939.

I eventually wrote three papers on CSAS history and presented them as plenary addresses at the 1978, 1979, and 1980 annual meetings, and distributed mimeographed versions totaling 128 single-spaced pages (79 of text, 49 of tables and figures). They were entitled: "CSAS History: The First Decade, 1921 through 1930"; "CSAS History: Through Depression and War, 1931-1940, 1941-1950"; and "CSAS History: Search for a Mission, 1950s and 1960s." They are among the CSAS materials at the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution. They are also readily available for the cost of photocopying and mailing by contacting the archivist of the Central States Anthropological Society, Pamela Effrein Sandstrom (by e-mail at sandstrp@ipfw.edu). What follows is a much shortened account of the Society's first decade and of three crises it faced in its first 30 years.

Many people have helped me in this effort. Nancy O. Lurie and Bernice A. Kaplan greatly augmented the Society's historical materials from 1968-1971, and Lurie microfilmed some important archives at the Milwaukee Public Library. Carl Jantzen organized the historical file when he was Secretary-Treasurer and urged me to use them to clarify the Society's founding. My 1977-1978 graduate assistant, Mark C. Pheanis, practically wore a path in the pavement between my office and the library in the initial effort at fact compilation. The following persons provided essential help with documentation through correspondence and/or conversations: David Baerris, John W. Bennett, Erika Bourguignon, Gustav G. Carlson, John B. Cornell, Beth Dillingham, Thorne Deuel, F. Alan DuVal, Fred Eggan, Henry Field, Druscilla Freeman, Elizabeth Gitlitz, James B. Griffin, Thomas R. Hester, Milo B. Howard, Jr., Carol Hunt, Margaret N. Keyes, Madeline Kneberg (Lewis), Wilton Krogman, William Lessa, Gilbert McAllister, Paul H. Nesbitt, Martha Potter Otto, Bibs Page, George Stocking, Jr., Robert M. Sutton, Sol Tax, Kent D. Vickery, and Erminie W. Voegelin. In the late-1990s, Pamela Effrein Sandstrom, Alice Kehoe, James Dow, and Harriet Ottenheimer encouraged me to return to the CSAS historical materials, and the present effort is the result.

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## CHAPTER I — THE FIRST DECADE: 1921 THROUGH 1930

### 1.0. The Founding of the Central Section (1921)

The name "Central States Anthropological Society" dates only to 1951. The organization was founded in 1921 as the Central Section (informally called the "Central States Branch") of the American Anthropological Association (AAA).

The founding of the Central Section in 1921 reflected the frustration of an increasing number of Midwestern anthropologists who felt themselves geographically disadvantaged by the AAA's policy of holding its annual meetings almost exclusively in the eastern one-fourth of the country. The AAA typically met with the American Folk-Lore Society and/or Section H (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) during the last week of December. Between the AAA's founding in 1902 and the Central Section's founding in 1921, the AAA met outside the eastern portion of the country only three times: 1905 (San Francisco), 1907 (Chicago), and 1912 (Cleveland).

The AAA originally scheduled its 1920 meeting for Chicago, along with the AAAS, but pulled out in November, only one month in advance — to the sore disappointment of Midwestern anthropologists. One of them was Dr. Samuel A. Barrett (Ph.D. Anthropology, Berkeley 1908), Acting Director of the Public Museum of Milwaukee. Barrett learned of the AAA's withdrawal from the Chicago site when he went there to help with local arrangements, which were to have been handled by Dr. Berthold Laufer (Ph.D. Oriental Languages, Leipzig 1897), Curator of Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History.

Upon his return to Milwaukee, Barrett wrote to AAA President Dr. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, about

... a matter which has been on my mind for a number of years. The fact of the matter is that I have not been able to attend a meeting of the Anthropological Association for several years past on account of the fact that it is too far away, as a rule, and also that it comes at a season of the year [late December] when it is very difficult to get away from home . . . . It seemed to me for a long time that it would be entirely feasible to organize three distinct branches of the Anthropological Association; the Pacific Coast Branch, the Middle West or Mississippi Valley Branch and an Atlantic Coast Branch . . . . [I]t would enable those of us who are in the Middle West or those who are on the Pacific Coast to hold independent meetings and to get at least part of the benefit of the Association's meeting, without having such long journeys staring us in the face every time one of these meetings is held.

Regarding the Midwest, Barrett pointed out:

We have in this . . . [middle-western] section a very considerable number, all told, of people who are either actively working in anthropology or who are at any rate interested considerably in the subject and who could be brought out to a meeting, let us say in Chicago, who would not be at all able to go to a meeting on the Atlantic seaboard.

Concerned about "how this would be looked upon by the eastern contingent," Barrett hastened to reassure Wissler that "we are not exactly Bolsheviks in this matter" — i.e., that he was not plotting the overthrow of the east-coast establishment that controlled the AAA. He left no doubt, however, that "we ought to have some opportunity to get together and get the benefits of association, even though [if or when] we cannot meet with the eastern members." My reading is that Barrett was laying down a gentle threat to form an independent, Midwestern anthropological association, if the AAA were to prove unyielding to Midwestern interests.

Barrett wrote similar letters to W. H. Holmes (U.S. National Museum), W. C. Mills (Ohio State Museum), Charles A. Brown (Wisconsin State Historical Museum), and Alfred L. Kroeber (California-Berkeley), with carbons to Berthold Laufer (Field Museum, Chicago). Barrett also wrote to Albert E. Jenks (Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota), proposing that Midwestern anthropologists meet with the AAAS in Chicago the next month, anyway, to hold an organizational meeting of their own — which they did.

The Chicago planning meeting in December 1920 resulted in an organizational petition to the AAA, dated March 17, 1921, and signed by Berthold Laufer (Field Museum), Samuel A. Barrett (Milwaukee Public Museum), and Charles E. Brown (Wisconsin State Historical Museum). (Note that the signatories all held museum, not university, positions.) They asked "for permission to found a Middle-western branch of the American Anthropological Association." The petition was formally approved and the AAA Constitution amended accordingly at the December 1921 AAA annual meeting (Brooklyn), and a Joint Committee on Relations with the Central States Section was appointed (Clark Wissler and George MacCurdy for the AAA, Berthold Laufer and Samuel Barrett for the Central Section).

The importance of museums as loci of Midwestern anthropology is reflected not only in the institutional affiliations of the three signatories of the organizational petition to the AAA, noted above, but also in the Central Section's annual meeting sites during the first decade, 1922-1930. The first such meeting was held at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago in April 1922. Subsequently, the Central Section met at the Milwaukee Public Museum (1923, 1930), Illinois State Museum (1925), Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Museum (1926), and Logan Museum (Beloit, Wisconsin, 1928). Only three of the nine meetings during this first decade were held at universities: Michigan (1924), Chicago (1927), and Northwestern (1929). The meeting loci also attest that the core area of the Central Section was Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio.

## **2.0. The Annual Business Meeting, 1922-1930**

Business meetings during this period dealt almost exclusively with membership, dues collection, and election of officers. The Minutes of these meetings were published in the American Anthropologist, either anonymously (1922, 1924, 1925, 1929) or under the name of George R. Fox (1926, 1927, 1930) or Ralph Linton (1923). Only the 1928 Minutes could not be located. Following are some highlights.

### **2.1. Financial Relationship with the AAA**

The Constitution passed at the first formal meeting (1922) specified that "Active Members" (those who were AAA members) would pay the usual AAA dues of \$6, of which \$1 would be retained by the Central Section (the same arrangement as obtained between the AAA and the AES). Persons who were not members of AAA could join the Central Section as (non-voting) "Associate Members" by paying \$1 annual dues.

### **2.2. Rebuke to Warren K. Moorehead (1923)**

At issue was a flyer entitled "Cooperative Collecting, An Opportunity to Add to Your Collection," distributed by Warren K. Moorehead of Phillips Academy (Andover, Massachusetts). The Central Section found "the plan of collecting outlined in this circular . . . to be derogatory to the best interests of the science of American archaeology . . ." and resolved to send Mr. Moorehead "a letter protesting against the plan of collecting as outlined and informing him that the members of the Central Section do not feel that they can lend it either their countenance or support."

This slap at Moorehead was a bold move for the fledgling organization. Audacious might be a more apt term for an organization that included so large an avocational component. In this regard, the 1923 Minutes also recorded that the members supped at the Union Club at the munificence of physician Otto L. Schmidt, whom they thanked with an honorary membership; that they "visited the . . . Chicago Historical Society,

where [private collector] Milford G. Chandler exhibited his collection of Indian objects and rendered selections of Indian music on the flute"; and that they expressed "sincere thanks to Mr. Joseph Ringeisen for the facilities afforded its members for the inspection of his collection of American Indian artifacts."

The condemnation clearly served certain ulterior purposes. First, it voiced the Section's pique at one of their Midwestern coevals (known for his archaeological work in Ohio) who had become part of the Eastern intellectual establishment at Phillips Academy (see Byers 1939). Second, the censure of Moorehead helped to set a "professional" tone for the new Central Section, many of whose prominent figures — such 1923 Program participants as Frederick Starr, Charles E. Brown, Charles R. Keyes, George R. Fox, Milford Chandler — themselves had tenuous identities as "anthropologists." Engineer and Indian artifact (ethnographic) collector Milford Chandler, a member of the Central Section Council and author of a paper on "Woven Sashes of the Central Algonkians" presented at the 1923 meeting, recalled to Nancy O. Lurie 45 years later, "The biggest issue of the meeting was condemning amateurs doing archaeological work and messing up digs." Chandler "felt it was rather unfair. At least it made me uncomfortable because the amateurs had done some good work, too."

To complete the story, Warren K. Moorehead's reputation remained intact, and he later (1934-1935) served as Central Section President. By the time of his death in 1939, he was "known affectionately by scores of friends as the dean of American archaeology" — according to Carl E. Guthe, Central Section President in 1928-1929 and a founder of the Society for American Archaeology (Guthe 1939).

### **2.3. Membership**

Membership steadily climbed from 32 (17 Active, 15 Associate) in 1922 to 107 (81 Active, 26 Associate) in 1930. After 1922, Active members accounted for 71-88% of the annual membership count. (In the mid-1970s, the CSAS-AAA membership overlap was still about 85%.) A breakdown by state is available only for 1927: 34 in Illinois (29 in Chicago), 15 in Wisconsin (9 in Milwaukee), 10 in Michigan, 8 in Ohio, 3 each in Tennessee and Iowa, 2 each in Missouri and Nebraska, and 1 each in Colorado, Texas, Arkansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, California, North Dakota, New York, Massachusetts, and Canada. In short, these membership figures reflect the same core area as do annual meeting loci: Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Ohio.

### **2.4. Publication Subvention**

By the 1927 meeting, the Central Section treasury had reached \$257.32, and a committee (chaired by Edward Sapir of the University of Chicago) was formed "to suggest some method of utilizing the surplus funds." They suggested spending up to \$200 to subvent the publication of "some paper on work in the Central Section's territory, or a paper by some member of the Central Section." The committee selected "The Northern and Southern Affiliations of Antillean Culture," by Charlotte D. Gower (later, Chapman), of the University of Chicago. It was published as AAA Memoir No. 35, and carried an acknowledgment of the Central Section's contribution. This subvention — which, interestingly enough, was awarded to a woman — was the only such award until 1953-1957, when the society subvented publication of the annual student prize paper.

### **3.0. First-Decade Officers (1922-1930)**

This section treats the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Treasurers. (The Executive Board and Council are treated more briefly in the following section.) Many of these founders, even some who were well-known nationally or internationally in anthropology at the time, have entered the ranks of "forefathers of whom we have no memory" (Hymes 1962:82).

### 3.1. Presidents

The first Central Section President was Samuel A. Barrett (1879-1965; Ph.D. Anthropology, Berkeley 1908), who had studied under Alfred Kroeber and received the first anthropology doctorate awarded "west of the Atlantic seaboard" (Peri and Wharton 1965). His first work was ethnographic, centered upon the Pomo of California, but he became a major figure in Midwestern archaeology (McKern 1965) during his 31 years (1909-1940) as Curator of Anthropology at the Milwaukee Public Museum, which he "transformed . . . from a 'third-rate' institution to one of the nation's leading museums" (Peri and Wharton 1965). He also expanded the museum's ethnographic research budget, enabling studies of the Winnebago by Paul Radin, the Menomini and Winnebago by Huron Smith, and the Menomini, Potawatomi, and Sauk and Fox by Alanson Skinner — famous names in Midwestern Native American ethnography (see McKern 1965). In 1960, at age 81, Barrett and Alfred Kroeber secured an NSF grant to establish "American Indian Films" at Berkeley. The result was 15 ethnographic films devoted mainly to subsistence and material culture of California Indians — "probably his most significant contribution to the ethnography of North America" (Peri and Wharton 1965).

William C. Mills (1860-1928; M.S., Ohio State 1902) developed an avocational interest in archaeology while making a living as a pharmacist in various small towns in Ohio and Kansas in the years 1885-1897. Eventually, he received a B.S. (1898) and M.S. (1902) from Ohio State University, apparently with some formal training in archaeology along the way. Having served as secretary of a local archaeological society (1888-1890) in Newcomerstown, Ohio (where he was pharmacist), he vaulted to the position of Curator (1898-1921) and then Director (1921-1928) of the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at Columbus. By the time he became President of the Central Section, his own work and that of his protégé and eventual successor, Henry C. Shetrone, "was the outstanding archaeological effort in the Middle West" (Griffin 1974).

Berthold Laufer (1874-1934; Ph.D. Oriental Languages, University of Leipzig 1897) was "for thirty-five years . . . almost the only Sinologist" in the U.S. (Hummel 1936). He served as Curator of Asiatic Ethnology (1911-1914) and of Anthropology (1915-1934) at the Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago). His 241 publications included some 150 monographs "on an astonishing variety of subjects," and his studies of "ancient jade, Han pottery, [and] plant distribution . . . became . . . indispensable works of reference" in China studies (*ibid.*). He donated a library of "more than 40,000 volumes of Chinese books . . . which were equally divided between the Newberry and John Crerar libraries" in Chicago (*ibid.*).

Charles E. Brown (1872-1946; no university education) became an Assistant at the Milwaukee Public Museum at age 16 in 1898 and in 1908 was appointed Chief of the Wisconsin State Historical Society (Madison), a position he held until retirement in 1944 (Barton 1944; Gregory 1944). He was co-organizer of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, the Wisconsin state archaeological survey, and the Michigan-Indiana Museums Association (which became the Midwest Museums Conference). He contributed some 70 scholarly articles to the Wisconsin Archaeologist, of which he was long editor (1903-1940).

Charles R. Keyes (1871-1951; Ph.D. German, Harvard 1923) was Professor of German Language and Literature at Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa (1903-1951) and Director of the Iowa Archaeological Survey (1921-1951). Although his formal training in archaeology consisted of a seminar on "Archaeology of Western Europe," which he attended in 1912-1913 at the University of Berlin (or Munich?), he is widely regarded as the "father of Iowa archaeology" (see Anderson 1975; Gillette 1952). Thirty-five of his 54 publications were on archaeology.

Fay-Cooper Cole (1881-1961; Ph.D. Anthropology, Columbia 1914), a student of Franz Boas, was a major figure in the ethnography of the Philippines and the archaeology of Illinois. In this last regard, his work "put aboriginal Illinois on the [archaeological] map, and strongly influenced archaeological method, introducing dendrochronology and other techniques into the Mississippi Valley, and pioneering in ethno-history . . . . Cole is one of the architects of modern archaeology in the eastern United States" (Eggen with Manuel 1963; also see Spoehr 1968).

Carl E. Guthe (1893-1974; Ph.D. Anthropology, Harvard 1917) was Associate Director (1922-1929) and then Director (1929-1944) of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan. He established the museum's Ceramic Repository for the Eastern United States in 1927 and was a prime mover in the founding of Michigan's Department of Anthropology in 1928. From 1927 to 1937, Guthe was Chairman of the National Research Council's Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, perhaps the single most potent force in the development of Midwestern archaeology during this period (see Griffin with Jones 1976).

Ralph Linton (1893-1953; Ph.D. Anthropology, Harvard 1925) is remembered today for succeeding Franz Boas as Chair of Anthropology at Columbia, for originating the concepts of "status" and "role," and for his seminal contributions to the "Culture and Personality" school (see Gillin 1954; Linton and Wagley 1971; McKern 1954). While serving as Central Section Secretary-Treasurer, though, Linton was employed as Assistant Curator of North American Indian collections at the Field Museum (1922-1928); when he later served as Central Section President, he was Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin (1928-1937).

Henry C. Shetrone (1876-1954; B.A. Denison University) was a journalist at various Ohio newspapers from 1903 until 1913, when he became assistant to William C. Mills at the Ohio State Museum. He eventually succeeded Mills as Director (1928-1946). With Mills, Shetrone was one of the pioneers of "scientific" archaeology in the Midwest (Setzler with Baby 1956).

### 3.2. Vice-Presidents

Only the four Vice-Presidents who did not become President during the first decade (1922-1930) are treated here.

George L. Collie (1857-1954; Ph.D. Geology, Harvard 1893) spent his entire career at Beloit College in Beloit, Wisconsin, where he served as Professor of Geology (1892-1923), Professor of Anthropology (1923-1931), Dean (1899-1931), Acting President (1902-1903, 1905-1908), and Curator of the Logan Museum of Archaeology (1893-1931). He built up the substantial French and Algerian paleolithic collections at the Logan Museum. A modestly active scholar — with 22 publications, 7 in archaeology (especially Aurignacian) — Collie established Beloit College's Archaeological Field School for undergraduates, an innovative program that received national recognition (West 1932).

Henry Field (1902-1986; Ph.D. Anthropology, Oxford 1936), a physical anthropologist, spent his active career at the Field Museum of Natural History (named for his family) in Chicago, where he planned the once-famous halls of "Races of Mankind" and "Stone Age of the Old World." His publications in physical anthropology and archaeology, especially of the Near East and Soviet Union, totaled more than 400.

Melville J. Herskovits (1895-1963; Ph.D. Anthropology, Columbia 1923) of Northwestern University is so well-known as to require little comment. His 479 scholarly publications include such classics as Dahomey, The Myth of the Negro Past, and Economic Anthropology — all pathbreaking studies in their genre (Merriam et al. 1964).

J. E. Pearce (1868-1938; M.A. History, Texas) was Principal of Austin High School before joining the faculty (part-time) of the University of Texas-Austin in 1912. He founded the Department of Anthropology there in 1918 and also "almost single handed was responsible for the inception of the present Texas Memorial Museum" (McAllister 1939). Trained in history, Pearce studied anthropology and folk psychology at the University of Chicago under Frederick Starr (see below) and Cyrus Thomas in the summers of 1895 and 1897; he then studied anthropology and psychology at the University of Paris for three years (1900-1903) but did not earn a degree (Thomas Hester, personal communication, 2000; see Davis 1998).

### 3.3. Secretary-Treasurers

I have already written about Ralph Linton, who was Secretary-Treasurer in 1922-1923 and, later, President. Here, I shall discuss the two other men who served in this position during the first decade.

J. Alden Mason (1885-1967; Ph.D. Anthropology, Berkeley 1911) was Assistant Curator of Mexican and South American Archaeology at the Field Museum (1917-1924) when he served the Central Section as Secretary-Treasurer (1923-1924). Most of his career was spent at the University of Pennsylvania Museum (1926-1955), where he became a major figure in New World archaeology (Satterthwaite 1969).

George R. Fox (1880-1963; no apparent university training) served the Central Section longer than any other officer: Secretary-Treasurer (1924-1939), Vice-President (1939-1941), and President (1941-1942). During his 15 years as Secretary-Treasurer, a post to which he was re-elected annually, he kept the membership list, collected dues, mailed out announcements of the Annual Meeting, and in most years coordinated the scholarly program. Thus, his contributions to the Central Section — and, through that body, to the growth of anthropology in the Midwest — were great. He began adult life putting up windmills and then was employed in the Post Office at Appleton, Wisconsin, apparently as a rural mail carrier, for 14 years. He had no academic training in anthropology, although he studied museology for a few weeks ca. 1915 from Charles E. Brown (himself an autodidact) at the Wisconsin State Historical Society. In 1915, he organized the 3,500-item Native American artifact collection of E. K. Warren of Three Oaks, Michigan, into a museum that eventually became the Chamberlain Memorial Museum, which was subsequently taken over by Michigan State University. In 1916, Fox was Curator at the Nebraska Historical Museum in Lincoln. He returned to Three Oaks in 1917 as Director of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum, a position he held until 1930, when he moved to Dowagiac, Michigan, to become a partner in the Howell-Fox department store there. In 1939-1941, Fox directed a WPA archaeological excavation sponsored by the University of Texas. He published at least 24 articles on the archaeology of Wisconsin and Michigan. Among his honors was the Lapham Medal from the Wisconsin Archaeological Society in 1926 and a Certificate of Recognition from the Midwest Museum Conference in 1952 (Anonymous 1963).

### 3.4. Conclusions

From the foregoing review of the 15 men who held the offices of President, Vice-President, and Secretary-Treasurer during 1922-1930, we can conclude the following about Midwestern anthropology in this period:

(1) Museums were the main venues of anthropology in this decade. Nine (60%) of these 15 men were employed primarily or exclusively in museum capacities, four (26%) in academic (teaching) capacities, and two (13%) — Collie and Pearce — in a mixture of both.

Comparison with later decades: Museum representation among the Officers declined steadily after the first decade. In the second decade (1931-1940), only 31.8% were affiliated primarily with museums; in the third decade (1941-1950), only 21.7%; in the fourth decade (1951-1960), 16.7%; and similarly in the fifth decade (1961-1970), 18.2%. Looking only at the Presidents over the 20-year period from 1931 to 1950, we find that 35.3% (six of 19) held museum positions; in contrast, 21.1% in the 1951-1970 period did so, and none of the nine Presidents in the 1971-1980 period held a museum appointment.

(2) Midwestern anthropology was surprisingly professionalized (credentialized) at this early period, as reflected in the academic preparation of these 15 men. Eight (53%) of them held the Ph.D. in Anthropology (two each from Berkeley, Harvard, and Columbia; one from Leipzig; one from Oxford).

Comparison with later decades: The percentage of Officers (Pres., V-P, Secy.-Tr.) with Ph.D.s in Anthropology climbed to 63.6% in the second decade (1931-1940), to 82.6% in the third (1941-1950), and to 95.8% in the fourth decade (1951-1960).



(3) Notwithstanding the professionalization just noted, there was ample room for contributions by avocational anthropologists in the 1920s. Seven (47%) of these 15 men were not credentialed in anthropology; while two of them (Keyes, Collie) held the Ph.D. in other fields (German, Geology), two others (Brown, Fox) apparently had no post-secondary education; another three (Shetrone, Mills, Pearce) had earned the Bachelor's or Master's degree but not in anthropology.

(4) There is also an interesting contrast between Ethnologists and Archaeologists in terms of academic preparation. The eight holders of the Ph.D. in Anthropology were evenly split between career attainment in Archaeology (Guthe, Field, Mason), Ethnology (Laufer, Linton, Herskovits), or a combination (Barrett, Cole). In marked contrast, all seven who had no academic credentials (earned degrees) in anthropology — including the two with no college education — were archaeologists. One of these seven men, George Collie (who might be called a "geoarchaeologist" today) made contributions to the paleoarchaeology of France, although he also helped promote local archaeology. The other six specialized strictly in local archaeology.

Comparison with later decades: Archaeologists still constituted nearly half (45.5%) of the Officers in the second decade (1931-1940) but only 34.8% in the third (1941-1950), 8.3% in the fourth (1951-1960), and 18.2% in the fifth (1961-1970). The reduced participation of archaeologists is also reflected in the scholarly programs, analyzed below. These trends reflect the Society for American Archaeology's growing independence from the Central Section after WWII, a topic discussed later.

(5) The first-decade Officers were all males. This is true, also, of the Executive Committee and the short-lived Council (1922-1925), discussed below. The absence of women among the organization's formal leaders is not surprising, though, given women's relatively low membership numbers and program participation during this period. The earliest available membership list (1929) includes 12 women (10.7%) among the 112 names (of whom only 101 were paid up). Looking at scholarly participation, women accounted for seven (5.4%) of the 129 authors of the 143 first-decade papers presented at the annual meetings.

Comparison with later decades: The first woman elected to a leadership position in the Central Section was Charlotte Gower (Executive Committee, 1935-1939). The first woman Officer (i.e., above Executive Committee) was Madeline Kneberg (Secretary-Treasurer 1946-1950); the second was Erika Bourguignon (Treasurer 1953-1956); the third was Bernice Kaplan (Secretary-Treasurer 1956-1962, who held the office longer than any other person except George R. Fox). We should note that secretarial work has not been consistently relegated to women; the first three persons to hold this post were males (Ralph Linton, 1922-1923; J. Alden Mason, 1923-1924; George R. Fox, 1924-1939), and the six Secretary-Treasurers who succeed Bernice Kaplan were males. (Note, too, that both Kneberg and Kaplan later served as Vice President and President.) Women constituted 16.7% of the fourth-decade Officers (1951-1960) and 13.6% of the fifth decade's (1961-1970) — doubtless well below their representation in the total membership but roughly equal to their participation in the scholarly program. (In this last regard, women authors accounted for 18.5% of all authors of scholarly papers in the fourth decade [1951-1960] and 17.5% in the fifth [1961-1970].) If we look only at the office of President and only at the 1950-1970 period, when women were more numerous in the field than in earlier times, we find that three of the 20 presidents were women — 15% of the Presidents as compared with about 22% of the membership. This is not a bad record at all, when we consider that the female membership was probably relatively younger as a group than the male membership.

#### **4.0. Executive Committee and Council**

Twenty men served on the Executive Committee or the short-lived Council (1922-1925) but did not become Officers during the first decade. Four of these 20 men — anthropologists Robert Redfield and Edward Sapir, and sociologists Kimball Young and Ellsworth Faris — are so well-known today as to require no further comment.

Five others were well-known, even prominent anthropologists in their time but require some introduction today. M. R. Gilmore (Ph.D. Biology, Nebraska 1914) became a well-known ethnobotanist, one of the earliest in the U.S., at the University of Michigan Museum (1929-1940). A. E. Jenks (Ph.D. [discipline unknown], Wisconsin 1899) was Ethnologist for the Bureau of American Ethnology (1901-1905) before being employed by the University of Minnesota (1906-1938), where he was the first Head of the Department of Anthropology; he conducted ethnographic research on the Bontok Igorot of the Philippines and Native Americans of the Great Lakes. A. B. Lewis (Ph.D. Anthropology, Columbia 1907) was Curator of Melanesian Ethnology (1908-1941) at the Field Museum (see Hambly 1941). Alanson Skinner, a museum ethnologist (Milwaukee, American Museum, Heye Foundation), is best known for his field studies of the Menomoni of Wisconsin. "He was educated for his profession at Columbia University and at Harvard" (Harrington 1926), although apparently he did not receive a doctorate. Hutton Webster (Ph.D. Economics, Harvard 1904) was Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Nebraska (1907-1933); his book on primitive secret societies is still cited.

Little or no information is available on three of the Officers. Of Charles Owens, I know only that he was employed by the Field Museum; and of Charles G. Schoewe, only that he was President of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society in 1930. I can find no information at all on L. B. Wolfson. The other eight men were a heterogeneous lot. Willoughby Babcock (M.A. History, Minnesota), Archaeologist and Curator at the Minnesota Historical Society, specialized in Minnesota history and ethnohistory. Peter A. Brannon, a degreed pharmacist, organized the Alabama Anthropological Society in 1909 and then was employed by the Alabama Department of Archives and History for nearly 60 years (1910-1967). Amos Butler was a philanthropist from Indianapolis and one of the Founders of the AAA. Milford G. Chandler was an engineer employed by the automobile industry and, after 1922, by the Army Air Corps and the Navy; a private ethnographic collector, he also did some collecting for museums (Field, Heye, Milwaukee). A. T. Olmstead was a distinguished Asian historian at the universities of Illinois and Chicago. E. K. Putnam (A.M. English Literature, Harvard) taught English for five years before being employed as Acting Director (1906-1928) and Director (1928-1939) at the Davenport Public Museum (now, Putnam Museum) in Davenport, Iowa.

W. B. "Doc" Hinsdale (1852-1944) retired as Dean of Homeopathic Medicine at the University of Michigan in 1922 at the age of 70 and for the next 20 years was in charge of the university's Museum of Zoology and, later, the Museum of Anthropology's Division of the Great Lakes. His impact upon the development of anthropology at the University of Michigan Museum was great (see Greenman 1945).

Frederick Starr (1859-1933) introduced anthropology to the regular curriculum of the University of Chicago, where he taught for 31 years (1892-1923). Starr received the Ph.D. in Geology in 1885 from Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania (Miller 1975); his only graduate training in anthropology apparently was from sociologist William Graham Sumner at Yale, where he spent a postgraduate year (George Stocking, personal communication, 1978). Although Starr was a quirky, even outrageous character with notable shortcomings and a tendency towards magpie-like collecting, the eminent Fay-Cooper Cole (1946) was able to say that "probably no man in the Midwest ever made so many friends for, or stimulated more interest in, Anthropology than he did." This statement was true not only around Chicago and the rest of the Midwest, but also abroad; Starr was awarded medals, largely in recognition of the humanistic content of his writings and speeches, by the governments of Italy, Japan, Belgium, France, Holland, and Liberia (Cole 1934; Miller 1975; cf. Leslie 1975). Mainly an ethnographer of the survey or sophisticated-traveler variety, he published a still-useful ethnographic survey of central and southern Mexico in 1900, and his photographic albums on Mexico (1899) and the Congo (1912) — while they appear quaint today — establish him as a pioneer in the systematic use of the camera in ethnographic field work. He also left a lasting imprint upon Iowa archaeology while teaching at Coe College in Cedar Rapids, where he introduced anthropology to the curriculum as early as 1887 (Anderson 1975). In addition, his 1895 Some First Steps in Human Progress was "the first widely circulated book for a general anthropology course written and published in the United States" (Bailey 1985).

The careers of Hinsdale and Starr are interesting here because they show, once again, the great role that avocational anthropologists played in the development of the discipline in the Midwest. During the

1920s, it is difficult to draw a meaningful distinction between amateurs and professionals in anthropology in terms of accomplishments and contributions to the field, formal preparation or lack thereof, or titles and positions. In an anthropology based upon reconnaissance and description — and in the less-bureaucratized institutions of that time — these distinctions often were not germane. At any rate, Hinsdale, Starr, and the other autodidacts and disciplinary switch-hitters (converts to anthropology, we might call them) among the Central Section officers and board (committee and council) members contributed variously to anthropology as classroom teachers and mentors, museum curators and conservators, field researchers, editors, popularizers, and organizers. That their efforts are not generally remembered in anthropology today — or, if remembered, are often regarded with embarrassment or derision — surely reflects our snobbish credentialism as much as the tremendous growth of anthropology in both professionalization and accumulated knowledge following World War II.

Comparison with later decades: There was no Council after 1925, but the Executive Committee continued. It remained a heterogeneous body until the fourth decade (1951-1960), during which 14 (77.8%) of its 18 constituents held the Ph.D. in Anthropology (although in one case, a joint Anthropology-Sociology doctorate); significantly, the four (22.2%) remaining members all held the M.A. in Anthropology. During the fifth decade (1961-1970), 19 (95%) of the 20 Executive Committee Members held the Ph.D. in Anthropology; the remaining member also held the Ph.D., but in Sociology. During the sixth decade (1971-1980), all of the Executive Committee Members either held the Ph.D. in Anthropology or were actively working toward this degree.

## **5.0. The Scholarly Program (1922-1930)**

The scholarly program was never refereed. Apparently, anyone who asked to present a paper was allowed to do so. Although it would be foolish to deny the existence of a Midwestern old-boy network, or of probable efforts by employers to facilitate or impede certain presentations, the lack of formal refereeing probably means that the Central Section's annual program was a faithful reflection of the practice of anthropology in the region.

### **5.1. Physical Anthropology**

Only 13 (9.1%) of the 143 first-decade papers presented at the Annual Meeting concerned physical anthropology.

Comparison with later decades: This quadrant was never strongly represented on the program: 6.5% in the second decade (1931-1940), 5.7% in the third (1941-1950), 5.6% in the fourth (1951-1960), and 2.2% in the fifth (1961-1970).

### **5.2. Linguistics**

Only two (1.4%) of the 143 first-decade papers dealt with language as such (T. C. Hodson's "Language Problems in India" and Edward Sapir's "Tone System in Grebo, a West African Language").

Comparison with later decades: Linguistics' representation was 4.7% in the second decade (1931-1940), 4.9% in the third (1941-1950), 4.8% in the fourth (1951-1960), and 4.3% in the fifth (1961-1970).

### **5.3. Archaeology**

A slight majority (75, or 52.4%) of the 143 first-decade papers dealt with archaeology — and 41 (54.7%) of those 75 papers dealt with materials from Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana (in that order). All told, 52 (69.3%) of the archaeological papers concerned U.S. materials. Six (8%) of the other papers were non-areal, and the remaining 17 (22.7%) concerned non-U.S. areas (Europe — five, Near

East — four, New World general — two, and one each on Labrador, Algeria, France and Algeria, South America, Mesoamerica, and Philippines). Although that extent of extra-territorial representation is impressive, just a few presenters/institutions were responsible for most of these papers. For instance, George Collie of the Logan Museum presented three of the five papers on Europe, and all four of the Near East papers were presented by Henry Field of the Field Museum; the other 10 non-U.S. papers were presented by William Duncan Strong, Alonzo Pond, Carl Guthe, J. Alden Mason, and George R. Fox.

Comparison with later decades: Archaeology's representation declined after the first decade: 46.9% in the second (1931-1940), 32% in the third (1941-1950), 8.9% in the fourth (1951-1960), and 14.7% in the fifth (1961-1970). By the early 1970s, only about 8% of the papers were devoted to archaeology (Dammers 1975).

#### 5.4. Ethnology

Forty-eight (33.6%) of the 143 first-decade papers were ethnological (including ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and cultural-comparative papers). Surprisingly enough, only 17 (35.4%) dealt with North American Indians (mostly upper Midwest). The eight non-areal papers constituted another 16.7%, and the two papers on the urban U.S. (Fay-Cooper Cole's on the "alien problem" and Charlotte Gower's on Sicilians in Chicago) account for 4.2%. The remaining 43.7% of the papers dealt with non-U.S. areas: 12.5% Sub-Saharan Africa, 18.7% Asia, 8.3% Latin America, and 4.2% Oceania. This extra-U.S. representation is impressive for the 1920s, given the relative scarcity of research funds and the prominence of Native American studies in the field nationally at the time. Conceptually, the largest representation was descriptive field reports/surveys (20.8%), followed by ethnohistory (12.5%), material culture (12.5%), religion/magic/ritual (8.3%) and ethnobotany (8.3%). No other category exceeded 4.2%.

Comparison of 1922-1930 and 1971-1975: In terms of geographical (ethnographic) area, there was surprising continuity between 1922-1930 and 1971-1975: 35.4% vs. 35% North American Indians, 8.3% vs. 13% Latin America, 12.5% vs. 7% Sub-Saharan Africa, 18.7% vs. 7% Asia, and 4.2% vs. 2% Pacific. Europe appeared in the latter period (6%) but not in the former, and non-geographical papers increased from 20.9% to 30% (Dammers 1975).

The continuity of backyard ethnography and the declines in representation of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific are surprising, given the proportionately huge sums of money that became available for overseas research following WWII. Dammers' (1975:14-15) explanation of the situation is probably correct: "Midwest departments receiving NSF grants in 1971 . . . had a negative correlation . . . with CSAS meeting participation . . . Within the Midwest as a whole, American Council of Education (ACE) rankings, which are for Ph.D. departments only . . . , showed a modestly negative correlation with CSAS participation . . . . These admittedly limited data and tests seem to indicate that CSAS meetings serve mainly as a forum for scholars from lesser — or is it, 'more impoverished'? — departments . . . ."

In terms of conceptual content, there was a great change between 1922-1930 (first decade) and 1971-1975 (Dammers 1975). In all, 12 of Dammers' 22 conceptual categories were unrepresented in the first-decade papers. Conversely, the descriptive field report/survey — the top-ranking first-decade category — had completely disappeared by 1971-1975, and our second-ranking first-decade categories (ethnohistory and material culture) ranked 11th and 16th in 1971-1975. Ethnobotany, the third-ranking category in the first decade, was absent in 1971-1975. Among the 1971-1975 period's 297 ethnological papers, the top-ranking categories were social organization (23.2%), U.S. minorities (10.1%), psychological anthropology (7.7%), and change and process (7.4%) — which were represented as 4.2%, 4.2%, 4.2% and 0% in the first decade.

## CHAPTER II — THREE CRISES: 1930s to 1950s

### 1.0. The Great Depression

The 1930s Great Depression presented an enormous crisis for the United States in general but not for the Central Section. Membership stood at 103 (79 Active) in 1931, declined to 91 (69 Active) in 1935, climbed to 122 (93 Active) in 1937 — the highest ever to that time — and returned to 103 (84 Active) in 1941. Paid membership at annual meeting time stood at 93 in 1928 (the year before the Depression began), 101 in 1929, and 107 in 1930. (It rose to 275 in 1958, 346 in 1964, 581 in 1966, and is shown as 277 in the 1999-2000 AAA Guide, p. 507.)

Furthermore, the annual meetings were well attended all during the 1930s. Secretary-Treasurer George Fox called the 1937 meeting "the best yet in point of numbers attending and in the number of papers given," and the 1938 meeting, "the largest yet." Quite apparently, most of the Midwest anthropologists held jobs that were cushioned against the impact of the business decline, in the sense that they were in the public sector, which received governmental augmentation during this period.

### 2.0. World War II

World War II had a profound effect upon the Central Section. The 1942 Meeting program consisted of only 13 papers. The annual meeting and elections were then suspended for three years (1943-1945). In explanation, military service called away a number of the Central Section's members, and private travel was made difficult by the strict governmental rationing of gasoline and tires as well as by the shortage of civilian accommodations on buses and trains (on which military personnel were granted priority).

Central Section Vice-President James B. Griffin summed up the argument against holding the annual meetings in an early-1943 letter to Secretary-Treasurer Paul Nesbitt:

... I personally believe that none of the papers to be presented are so important that they cannot wait for a number of years. Probably they will be better papers for having so waited. As a producing member of an economic unit I am also not in favor of holding the meeting. As an [after-academic-hours] employee of a war-plant (five hours a night — six nights a week) I object to the decrease in our war production.

In another letter to Nesbitt, Griffin nicely summed up the argument against holding elections of officers by mail:

As I understand the situation the C.S.B. [Central States Branch (sic), i.e., Central Section] is an organization of Anthropologists who get together once a year to show off and catch up on gossip. To . . . augment the time devoted to such activities they elect officers to take care of the dirty work incidental to such meetings. Since the normal functions of the group are now disrupted the need for any officer save a secretary-treasurer is at a very low point.

By 1946, the Central Section membership had fallen to 86 — one less than the 1927 roll. All but one of the 86 were Active Members, i.e., also members of the AAA. In other words, the Section had lost mainly its Associate Members — students, interested laypersons, and others not fully committed to the profession at the national level — as well as men away at war. Fortunately, a vigorous post-War membership drive by Secretary-Treasurer Madeline Kneberg, as well as the launching of the "Central States Bulletin," boosted membership to new highs in the late 1940s — to 183 in 1949, an all-time high to that date (but down to 160 in 1950). Nevertheless, the number of scholarly papers at the annual meeting remained low through the early 1950s, typically around 20 or fewer.

### 3.0. The Defection of the Archaeologists

The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) was founded in December 1934, largely by Midwestern archaeologists (Guthe 1967) who were active in the Central Section — indeed, the largest component of its membership. We might well say that the Central Section was the nursery in which the eventual SAA germinated. From 1937 (the date of the SAA's first or second annual meeting) until 1958, the SAA met conjointly with the Central Section every year except 1954 and 1956. The two societies mounted joint programs in 1937 and 1938, but beginning in 1939 their rosters of papers were clearly differentiated on the programs (except in 1946). This was true even in the three years (1948-1950) when the program showed a "joint session"; all other papers were clearly segregated into independent SAA and CSB (Central States Branch — sic) sections. Effectively, the Central Section was the ethnological side of the family, and the SAA, the archaeological side. Once the SAA began to hold regular annual meetings independently of the Central Section after 1958, this latter became an ethnological organization in near isolation from the discipline's other three quadrants. (As I have noted, neither physical anthropology nor linguistics was ever strongly represented in the Central Section.) By the early 1970s, only some 8% of the papers on the Central States Anthropological Society (nee Central Section) annual program were devoted to archaeology (Dammers 1975).

The Central Section-SAA working relationship (1937-1958) was generally amicable but harbored an undercurrent of quiet tension. As early as 1940, Central Section Secretary-Treasurer Mischa Titiev wrote to President William Lloyd Warner:

... while the Society for American Archaeology is an independent organization, its members make up an overwhelming majority of the C.S.B. [Central States Branch — sic]. Unless our program takes their major interests into consideration, they feel that they would prefer a separate meeting of their group rather than a joint session with ours. From a practical point of view such a move would virtually wreck the C.S.B. as it is now constituted and the proposed symposia [for the 1940 meeting] would be very sparsely attended.

Note that the archaeologists — even though they had their own organization — still made up the "overwhelming majority" of the members of the Central Section. Most of these archaeologists would have been AAA members who had become "Active Members" of the Central Section merely by noting this desire on their AAA dues renewal. (The AAA would then rebate \$1 of the dues to the Central Section.)

By the late 1940s, the SAA was nearly in a position to dictate the annual meeting sites, and the Central Section felt constrained to tag along. Note this remark by Leslie A. White to Central Section President Georg Neumann in 1947:

Apparently the SAA has already accepted McKern's invitation to meet in Milwaukee which means I suppose that the CSB [Central States Branch — sic] is left with little if any choice [but to meet there, too].

The Central Section — which, as is evident from the foregoing, was commonly called "Central States Branch" in the 1940s — would have had a hard time mounting an independent program during the 10 years following its post-War revival in 1946. The numbers of Central Section papers on the annual program were 16, 17, 15, 18, 22, 41, and 19 for the years 1950-1956, inclusive; we lack a count for 1957, but there were only 19 in 1958. Fortunately for the Central Section, the post-1958 divorce initiated by the SAA occurred at a time of sharply rising numbers of ethnologists (social or cultural anthropologists) in the Midwest. After 1958, the program of the Central Section, now Central States Anthropological Society, more than doubled, reaching 85 papers in 1966, 81 in 1967, and 80 in 1968. If the split with the SAA had occurred during the 1940s, on the other hand, the Central Section might not have survived.

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