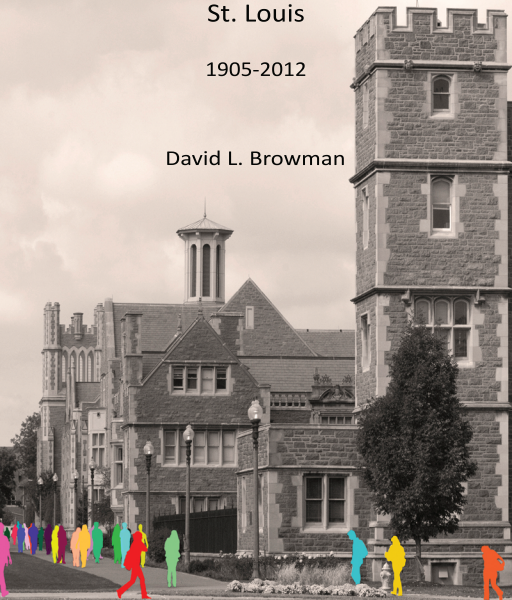


History of Anthropology at Washington University, St. Louis

1905-2012

David L. Browman



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Introduction

This history of the development of anthropology at WUSTL, and of its emergence as a separate academic department, grew out of a casual conversation between some of the faculty members who had been around since the first few years of the beginning of the current department in 1968. The idea was broached that it might be useful to have a history of the department, informed by the recollections of its first members, to show where we had been, how far we had come, and perhaps providing directions for the future.

Because I had just finished two volumes on the history of anthropology (Browman and Williams 2012 *Anthropology at Harvard, 1790-1940 – a biographical history*, and Browman 2013 [expected] - *Cultural Negotiations: The Role of Women in the Founding of Americanist Archaeology*), I became ‘nominated’ as the individual to work on this project. In doing the research, I found little known aspects of the history of the discipline here. Although I have attempted to equally cover all components of the development of anthropology at WUSTL, because I am an archaeologist, I no doubt have at times more fully dealt with that sub-discipline.

Initially I began this project with the mistaken understanding that I think we all had, that is, that the Department of Anthropology had been created in 1968, and that there were few if any anthropological antecedents to it on this campus. However, in the pages below I report on the existence of a biological anthropological unit associated with anatomy at the Medical School, from 1910 to about 1940, as well as the existence of a separate three-field degree-granting anthropology section, with separate faculty, in the Sociology-Anthropology department from 1935 to 1945. In addition, I cover some of the growing pains, along with the associated anthropological faculty, in the 1950s and 1960s, events which helped create the context for the formation of the separate department in 1968. Thus there is a significant discipline history here at WUSTL prior to 1968. It is in fact this unknown or little known history that forms a good part of my text here, partly because it is unknown and partly because I am not comfortable with writing analytical commentary about colleagues still alive and associated with the department. It is evident that my research strengths lie more with history than ethnography. A further note regarding procedure: because this is an informal history, I have opted not to ‘clutter’ it up with specific citations, nor to include detailed references.

The clues for the early beginnings of anthropology here came in part from research at the University Archives, Department of Special Collections, Washington University Libraries. Most of this material still exists only in hard-copy files and folders and miscellaneous publications there, although as possible, the archivists are beginning to put some of the materials on-line. Would that it had all been on-line, as that would have made the search process so much simpler and faster. Intensive search was made of such

documents as the University Course Catalogs, from 1890 to date; of the graduation degree name lists for the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences for each academic year; of the various college yearbooks from 1890 on; and of the carbon-copy sheet lists of the Arts and Sciences departments and faculty in the yearly reports of the Dean of the Division of Arts and Sciences. “Carbon-copy sheets” should provide the clue that these no longer are available in the archives for recent years, but are only present for a series of years in the mid-20th century. In addition to the Danforth – Hilltop Campus WUSTL archives, search was also made in the Bernard Becker Medical Library Archives at the WUSTL BJC campus, particularly for the records of the individuals associated with the so-called “Department of Anatomy and Physical Anthropology”, focusing primarily on its heyday from the 1910s through the 1940s.

Following this initial identification of potential instructors and advanced degree recipients in anthropology, search was made for any files in the archival collections for material relating to any anthropologist identified through any of the above research processes as someone teaching here at some point in the roughly century and a quarter from 1890 to 2012. Surprisingly, such individual file records in the archives for specific WUSTL professors are few and extremely spotty. For example, if one looks for the files in the Danforth campus archives for the totemic founder and first chairman of the Department of Anthropology in 1968, John W. Bennett, nothing exists on his relationship to this event in the archives, or to his being chairman of our department, or even to his being an anthropologist, etc. Rather he is just listed as an instructor in the Department of Sociology in the 1960s. While I lobbied for updates to his file, as well as to other such files, the archives staff is limited by resources to what they can do.

One issue that I have not been able to resolve, because of the lack of access to ‘official’ documents, is the conflict between dates published of when an individual may actually have taught here, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s period. For example, the WUSTL Catalog might list an individual as first teaching on campus during the 1963-64 academic year, but other documents might indicate that person actually came during the 1962-63 year. Or one university document might list the individual as a member of the faculty during the 1963-64 year, but another document might indicate that the individual had left by the fall of 1963. Published sources are the main and sometimes only source available to me; so in some cases particularly in the 1960s, the published dates of an individual’s involvement in anthropology on campus here may misrepresent the beginning or the end of the individual’s actual service here by a semester or so.

In addition, as I developed lists of Ph.D. dissertations produced by our own graduate students, and lists of the names of faculty who had been here on tenure track appointments, but did not remain long for one reason or another, I was assisted by Dr. Kathleen Cook and Elaine Beffa, who could pull up personnel file information not available to me. Each of them had also started independently in past years to develop some personnel tables, which are included as part of the material in Section IV below.

For biographical essence, I add to this history a more personal set of recollections, particularly about the ‘space wars’ that the department struggled with during the first four decades of its existence. I decided to include these reminiscences to give a ‘flavor’ of the developmental years after 1968. I have shared draft versions of my recollections with other early departmental pioneers such as Robert Canfield, Stephen Molnar, Robert Sussman, and Patty Jo Watson, to see if my memory was faulty, or if I had overlooked

some significant event. They have reminded me of some things I had forgotten, and provided me with other commentary, but any errors in Section V, as I title it 'my personal recollections', are obviously mine alone.

A document such as this is often presumed to be a kind of 'ethnography' of the department. But as noted above, in my position as being a member of the anthropological 'tribe' in question if you will, I find that I have not felt comfortable creating such a document encompassing the current departmental members. Thus my commentary about people and events after 1970 will be limited to those aspects I am more familiar with, and I will eschew any more ethnographic description and analysis of the department members. The strengths here will be more historical, looking at the events that led up to the 'second coming' of anthropology here on campus in 1968, perhaps something more in consonance with my history of science credentials.

I. Anthropology at Washington University, 1890s to ca. 1945

Before I begin a discussion regarding the history of the development of anthropology on this campus, I want to say a few words about the building in which the department is currently housed, a building which has remained intact until 2012, when the Business School has savaged part of it for green space.

McMillan Hall was funded by a gift of \$300,000 from **Eliza Northrup McMillan** (1845-1915), the widow of businessman **William McMillan** (1841-1901). One will note in the entry foyer to our building that William is recognized, but not Eliza, typical of the treatment of women at that time. She also donated \$1.5 million to build the McMillan Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat hospital wing at B.J.C., provided the Eliza McMillan Trust Fund at the St. Louis Art Museum of \$50,000, provided funds for the St. Louis Academy of Science to purchase Phillips School for their headquarters, and gave \$100,000 for the Eliza McMillan Student Aid Fund here at the WUSTL Danforth Campus.

The ceremonial first shovelful of dirt for the construction of McMillan Hall was taken by William Bixby, former business partner of William McMillan, and then vice president of the W. U. Board of Directors (since renamed the Board of Trustees). Serendipitously (for the archaeologists amongst us) he also used a silver trowel to spread mortar over the cornerstone for McMillan Hall on October 20, 1906. The building opened for occupancy in September 1907, with rooms for 125 women, plus some suites designated for the use of the faculty and/or members of the university's administration. When the building was renovated in 1939, housing access was shifted only to women students, and the occupancy thus increased to a capacity of 160 women. The building is on the National Register of Historic Places, listed as part of the WUSTL campus district nomination.

A brief comment on the campus regulations for women of the period gives a bit of an idea of the treatment of women students who would have lived in McMillan Hall. For example, in 1934 joint action by Chancellor George R. Throop and Dean of Students George W. Stephens indicated that they would enforce the rule forbidding ankle socks for women. And in 1936, the two further admonished women students 'once again' that the rules required women to wear skirts, and prohibited them from wearing 'breeches, slacks or any kinds of pants'; and reminded women that while men could smoke, women were

forbidden to smoke on campus. Up through the 1950s, campus regulations stated that “All undergraduate women students not living with their families are required to live in McMillan Hall or in rooms approved by the Director of Residence for Women.”

By the 1950s, there were additional facilities for women on campus, such as the Women’s Building, and some of the features of McMillan Hall, particularly the former women’s gym, McM 149, were being used for other purposes. For example, KETC, the educational TV station in St. Louis, Channel 9, made its first telecast from temporary studios in McM 149 on September 20, 1954. After they moved out to bigger quarters, then the first Univac computer facility on campus was housed in McM 149 in the late 1950s. Sadly McM 149 is one of the parts of McMillan Hall which has been demolished by the business school to provide green space for their third new building.

The last women students using the building as a dormitory left McMillan Hall in the spring of 1963, and in the fall of that year the building was officially turned over to Arts and Sciences to house offices of the Departments of Economics, Education, and Sociology-Anthropology, and research units of the Graduate Institute of Education and the Social Science Institute,. The university applied for, and received a grant from NSF, which provided most of the money in 1964 to renovate the dorm rooms into office spaces.

Now let me turn to commentary on the origins of our discipline on campus. The focus of anthropology at WUSTL during the 1890s through the end of World War II in some senses replicates the three-field emphasis of the current 2011-2012 department, involving archaeology, physical anthropology, and socio-cultural anthropology (I include our new global health initiative under this latter rubric). Although for a short period in the 1970s, the department had equal weight on the traditional fourth sub-field, anthropological linguistics, the emphasis on disciplinary linguistics has been perhaps a ‘blip’ on the trajectory of anthropology here, as noted in Section V.

Searching the records from the 1890s onward, the first explicit mention I have found of teaching anthropological concepts on this campus comes from the 1904-5 academic term, when Dr. **Edgar James Swift**, Education professor, in his class description for his “Introduction to the Philosophy of Education”, indicated that the course would, among other things, cover the results of anthropological research in relation to education. He taught this course for several years, always mentioning covering anthropological concepts in the course description.

The Department of Physical Anthropology and Anatomy, the Anthropological Society of St. Louis, and the Missouri Archaeological Survey

The first formal stand-alone class in an anthropological sub-field seems to have been taught by Dr. Robert Terry (see Section IV, Table #2, for the list of complete names, birth and death dates, dissertation titles, for individuals identified as teaching anthropology here). Terry had survived the putsch that resulted in the reorganization of medical education across a wide spectrum of American universities in 1910, being judged obviously as a superior scholar and teacher, and was re-appointed Chairman of Anatomy at the Medical School. Under the new regime, Terry apparently had more latitude in

course offerings. Hence in 1910, Terry listed himself in the catalog as providing training in physical anthropology in the anatomy department, but no formal course was yet identified. By the 1912-1913 academic year, Terry was listed in the catalog as offering a course entitled “Physical Anthropology”, and he went on to teach that class for the next three decades.

Dr. Robert James Terry (1871-1966) was born in St. Louis, and received his M.D. from the Missouri Medical College in 1895. In 1899 that college became part of the Medical Department of Washington University, and Terry was appointed professor of anatomy and head of the department, a position he held from 1899 until his retirement in 1941. He was active locally in not only physical anthropology, but also archaeology, and to some extent also supporting socio-cultural anthropology. In recognition of this interest, in 1921 Barnes Hospital (now Barnes Jewish Christian) bestowed on him the official honorary title of “Anthropologist”, a title which he held until 1941 when he retired, and then he was called the medical campus’s “Anthropologist Emeritus” until his death in 1966.

Terry had developed a small physical anthropology lab next to the main dissecting room at the Medical School. There he was responsible for recruiting and training several graduate students in physical anthropology, including such individuals as Mildred Trotter, George Dee Williams, George Arthur Seib, and others that I cover below. But before I get to these individuals, it is useful to provide a bit more detail regarding Terry’s contributions to the larger anthropological community.

Terry wanted to have a teaching and research collection of human skeletons, so he began securing permission from anatomy class cadaver donors to curate the remaining skeletons, and hence had obtained several hundred skeletons for his collections by the early 1920s. Because of the situation of acquisition, he could include useful information on the cause of death, medical histories, age, race, sex, and other pertinent details for each skeleton. This became known as the “Terry Collection” in several sources. However, because his student and later colleague Mildred Trotter took over the research collection after Terry retired in 1941, and continued to collect skeletal specimens until she retired in 1967, it is also called the “Terry-Trotter Collection”. This is one of three significant human skeletal collections in the U.S., and contains 1,728 documented skeletons of all races, including specimens with a wide variety of pathological conditions as well. It is currently on ‘permanent’ loan to the Smithsonian Institution. In my personal recollections below (Section V), I detail a failed attempt by our Anthropology department to have it returned to us.

Terry became associate editor of the American Journal of Physical Anthropology (AJPA) in 1930, was a founding member of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA) in 1930, and also presented a physical anthropology paper at the 1st meeting of the AAPA in Charlottesville, Virginia, that year. As well, he regularly attended the subsequent meetings of the AAPA, giving papers and having his students present papers, until his retirement. The year before he retired, he served as President of the AAPA.

But Terry’s contributions were not limited to physical anthropology. I have opted to provide a little more detail about some of his other anthropological contributions, as while his physical anthropology connections are known by a few, these other areas generally are not. Terry was good friends with several of the local “Knockers”

archaeological group members such as Alfred Carr, George Mephram, Frederick Shipley, Henry Whelpley, and Max Wulfing (again, more commentary on these individuals in later text). The “Knockers” materials became the core of the first teaching collections in archaeology in our department after its second founding in 1968, so will be dealt with below as well. With these folks and others, Terry also became a member of the Cahokia Mounds Association when it was founded in March 26, 1914, with a charter to lobby for the preservation of this now World Heritage site.

On January 2, 1920, local members of Section H (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, founded the *Anthropological Society of St. Louis*, and Terry was its first president. Meetings of this group were usually held in the seminar room of the ‘Anatomy and Physical Anthropology’ Department of the Medical School. I put ‘Anatomy and Physical Anthropology Department’ in quotation marks, as that is the way Dr. Terry referred to it in his documents, but as far as I can ascertain, the Medical School officially just referred to it as the ‘Anatomy Department’. Although many of the papers given at the Anthropological Society of St. Louis were on physical anthropology topics, due to Dr. Terry’s position and his recruitment of his students and colleagues from WUSTL and SLU medical schools, there also were papers given devoted to archaeology and socio-cultural anthropology. These meetings attracted individuals of national prominence; for example, Clark Wissler delivered a paper there on his book “Man and Culture” in 1923.

Because of the activities and support of the Anthropological Society of St. Louis, Terry and its membership were contacted by the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys of the National Research Council (CSAS-NRC) in 1921, to be set up as one of the first four state archaeological surveys to be sponsored by that group. To accomplish this task, on November 2, 1921, Terry, Mephram, Whelpley, and Wulfing were among the society’s members who became involved in establishing the first *Missouri Archaeological Survey*, at the request of then director of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, Alfred V. Kidder, the grandfather of our current departmental chairman. The Anthropological Society of St. Louis and its members were given prime responsibility for working with the National Research Council through this new local organization, the Missouri Archaeological Survey, when representatives of several organizations – the local chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America, the Academy of Science of St. Louis, the Archaeological Division of the Missouri Historical Society, the St. Louis Art Museum, and faculty from Washington University and St. Louis University – all collaborated in founding it at this November, 1921, meeting.

The Anthropological Society members set about collecting funds, and at first tried to hire an outside specialist to run the Missouri Archaeological Survey for them, as the members themselves all were otherwise fully employed. Among the letters sent out seeking applicants was one to Roland Dixon at Harvard University, asking if he had a graduate student who could do the fieldwork for the Missouri Archaeological Survey. Dixon replied he did not, but suggested to the group’s vice-president, William Bixby, that the group should try to hire David I. Bushnell, Jr., who, in addition to his previous research work for Harvard, had done survey and excavation in the local region’s archaeological heritage, and also was a St. Louis region native (more on Bixby and Bushnell below). The Anthropological Society group contacted Bushnell, as well as Gerard Fowke (who had conducted archaeological work for the BAE and Smithsonian

Institution in Missouri) and others, but were unable to find a qualified archaeologist available. Hence the local group took on the task themselves, as their jobs would permit. Thus it is not surprising to find Terry presenting a paper at the Anthropological Society of St. Louis meetings in 1922 on his fieldwork conducted for the Missouri Archaeological Survey entitled “Indian Sites in St. Louis County: the Indian Quarries at Crescent” (now Tyson), and then also subsequent papers on additional survey work in this area. As an aside, today most archaeologists in the state, if asked, would say that the “Missouri Archaeological Survey” was founded by Jesse Erwin Wrench and James Brewton Berry of the University of Missouri at Columbia in 1933, but that is clearly the second founding; the first founding was plainly at WUSTL in 1921.

The National Research Council provided no financial support for this survey work, and instead required the local groups in each state to support their survey activity from their own local funds. Hence after the flurry of activity in the first few years, this first Missouri Archaeological Survey became more or less moribund, for lack of funds and staff. Not surprisingly, because of the volunteer nature of its members, most of its work had been focused on the St. Louis metropolitan area and immediate environs. When Dr. Carl Guthe came in 1928, as the then chairman of the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, he was somewhat disappointed to find the local Survey inactive. But he found it organized well enough under Dr. Terry that he set up the first of three national meetings by the Committee on State Archaeological Surveys of the National Research Council committee here in St. Louis, the ‘Midwest Conference on Ceramics’ in 1929 – of particular note as it was the first of the three CSAS-NRC national meetings seen by some discipline historians as foundational for the establishment of the Society for American Archaeology. Terry, as head of both the Survey and the Anthropological Society of St. Louis, was recruited and spent a good deal of effort doing local arrangements for this first national meeting of the CSAS-NRC. He, W.U. Chancellor George Throop, and three others local dignitaries, were the only non-archaeologists of the 53 official delegates to this conference. This CSAS-NRC meeting rejuvenated the interest of the St. Louis group in the archaeological survey of the region, and Terry and others are listed once again as giving papers reporting results of the new survey effort at the Anthropological Society of St. Louis meetings for the next half dozen years.

Dr. Terry retained an interest in local archaeology all of his life. He was a member of the newly founded St. Louis Archaeological Society in the 1940s, and as its president he was involved in its reorganization in 1950 with Leonard Blake. In passing, I should note that I particularly mentioned Chancellor Throop at the CSAS-NRC meeting not just because he was WUSTL Chancellor, but also because he was interested in classical archaeology and passed this interest on to his son, George Reeves Throop, Jr., the result of which for perhaps half a dozen years in the 1990s, our departmental undergraduate students interested in circum-Mediterranean area anthropological archaeology had access to significant research grant support through a special George Throop, Jr., Fellowship fund established for that purpose.

Perhaps it is not really ‘fair’ to say that Terry had much interest in socio-cultural anthropology. While Terry was a member of the American Anthropological Association in the teens until his retirement, and participated in some annual meetings, his papers seem limited to physical anthropology. But remember at this time that the number of individuals giving papers at the AAA meetings was much, much smaller than today, with

the result that there were few if any simultaneous sessions. Hence most annual meeting members attended and actively participated in the discussions of all sub-field sessions. Physical anthropologists were knowledgeable of socio-cultural research topics, and vice versa. And locally Terry also wanted to include socio-cultural anthropology in his WUSTL Anthropology Society meetings; one source credits him recruiting Walter Bodenhafer of the Washington University Sociology Department, just after it became the Sociology-Anthropology Department in 1922, to serve on the board of the Anthropological Society of St. Louis. Bodenhafer, as noted below, became one of the instructors in socio-cultural anthropology from the 1920s through the 1940s, and was part of the separate Anthropology section from 1935 to 1945.

One of Terry's first physical anthropology degree students was **Mildred Trotter** (1899-1991). After receiving her bachelor's degree in zoology from Mt. Holyoke College in 1920, Mildred Trotter joined the WUSTL anatomy department in 1920 as a research assistant in anatomy, and went on to work with Terry for several decades, and after Dr. Terry's retirement, she took over the physical anthropology focus. She had completed her WUSTL M.Sc. in 1921, *A Study of the Facial Hair in the White and Negro Races*, and with this degree in hand, felt comfortable to begin to regularly attend the monthly meetings of the St. Louis Anthropological Society in 1922. Although she was at the Medical School, she did not do a M.D. degree but instead finished her Ph.D. degree in Anatomy entitled *The Life Cycles of Hair in Selected Regions of the Body*, was hired then in Anatomy, and worked and taught there from 1922 to 1967. She became the first woman to receive the rank of Professor at the School of Medicine in 1946. She was a founding member of the AAPA, editor of the AJPA from 1956 to 1960, and Vice-President and President of the AAPA from 1952 to 1957. After World War II, she served as a consulting physical anthropologist at Defense Department facilities in Hawaii, identifying skeletal remains from the battlefield victims. As seen above, much of her anthropological focus was limited to physical anthropology. She did do a little archaeological work in the 1930s, examining and reporting on the prehistoric hair samples from Egyptian mummies, Peruvian mummies, and ancient Britons. For our colleagues in physical anthropology, perhaps one of her most important contributions was the continuation of the work of Terry on collecting of documented human skeletons, for the 'Terry-Trotter' collection now at the Smithsonian Institution.

The South African anatomist and anthropologist **Raymond Arthur Dart** (1893-1988) was recruited as a Rockefeller Fellow in Anatomy by Terry, and listed in the official Washington University catalog as an instructor in anatomy at the Medical School for the 1920-1921 academic year. Dart spent six months working with Terry particularly taking advantage of the comparative human skeletal collection which had been growing in size through Terry's efforts. This research stood Dart in good stead when he subsequently found the first Australopithecine fossil in 1924, for which he is justly famous. Dart revisited St. Louis several times after that, particularly apparently to work with the Terry and the skeletal collection.

Among Terry and Trotter's colleagues was **George Dee Williams** (1898-1961). Williams had received his M.D. from the medical school at Ohio State University in 1922. He then went to Harvard University where he studied physical anthropology with Earnest Hooton. He received his Harvard A.M. in 1926, working up part of A. V. Kidder's Pecos Pueblo (New Mexico) skeletal materials. After this work, Hooton had

Williams shift over to doing blood work on the Maya of Yucatan for his Ph.D. research. During this period, he also spent one season in Europe doing archaeological research with the American School of Prehistoric Research. He received his Harvard Ph.D. *Race mixture in Yucatan* in 1929.

Williams accepted a job as Assistant Professor of Anatomy at the Medical School of Washington University, beginning in 1928, just before the completion of his degree. He joined the AAA and AAPA. Williams kept up his Maya research interests for several years. He gave papers on the Maya ruins and the Maya people at various meetings of the St. Louis Anthropological Society beginning in 1928, and continued collaborative Maya research with the Peabody Museum personnel through 1930. In the late 1930s, he became interested in the medical anthropology of ex-slaves in the U.S. and Brazil. Williams, as noted again below, was a member of the 'first' Anthropology degree granting section in 1935-1945 on the Hilltop/Danforth Campus. The courses for this first 'official' anthropology major included coverage in archaeology, socio-cultural anthropology, and physical anthropology. Williams was listed as the instructor for the course on race, and other physical anthropology offerings for the Hilltop Campus anthropology major. He left Washington University in 1941 to work for the U.S. Army in the war effort, mustering out in 1945, and then continuing in public health.

George Arthur Seib (1902-1992) earned his A.B. in 1924 here at the Washington University Arts and Sciences division, and then his M.D. in anatomy from the Washington University Medical School in 1928. He stayed on to work in the department there with Terry, Trotter, and the others in 'physical anthropology and anatomy'. While the M.D. degree did not require a dissertation, he followed up his M.D. degree with a major piece of research of 125 pages, *The azygos systems of veins in American whites and American negroes, including observations on the inferior caval venous system* published in the 1934 AJPA, based on research conducted in the early 1930s. In 1932, Seib worked on archaeological excavations with Henry B. Collins in Alaska on a Smithsonian Institution project. He apparently was recruited by Terry to conduct some of the work for the "Missouri Archaeological Survey", as he made a short report on the *Petroglyphs of Gasconade Count, Missouri*, in 1937. He self-listed himself in the 1940 National Research Council's Directory of Anthropologists as being interested in 'anthropology and gross anatomy'. While he continued being included as an instructor in Terry's 'Physical Anthropology and Anatomy' department, he seems to have gradually shifted entirely to anatomy after World War II.

Terry and his staff at the medical school taught physical anthropology to a variety of graduate students during this period. I have followed up on several of these students, limiting my focus to individuals who were also listed as departmental teaching or research assistants, but most of them did not stay involved in physical anthropology. For example, William Frederick Ossenfort (1898-1973) worked on Terry's skeletal collection in 1923-24 and published on his work in a 1926 article where he is listed in the author's note as being a member of the "Division of Physical Anthropology" at the WUSTL Medical School. After completing his M.D. in 1928, he went into public health. Cecil Marvin Charles (1905-1970) first completed his Ph.D. with Terry in Anatomy in 1922 (*The Carum Nasi of the American Negro*), then earned his WUSTL M.D. in 1933, and taught in the Medical School from 1926 to 1962. He gave a paper based on his Ph.D. at

the first AAPA in 1930, but left Terry's physical anthropology orbit after his M.D. was completed.

The Knockers

I have mentioned Bixby, Bushnell, Mephram, Shipley, Whelpley, and Wulfing above in relationship to early investigations in archaeology. Their connection to early archaeological work at Washington University is less compelling than that of Dr. Terry and his Department of Physical Anthropology. But among other things, they were all associated with the founding of various archaeological groups in the St. Louis area, perhaps most noteworthy for our department, the 'Knockers' group. When the current department was founded for the second time in 1968, the School of Social Work was glad for the opportunity to rid itself of a collection of regional artifacts from its storage closets in Brown Hall, and transferred these materials to our new department. This set of artifacts proved to be the remnants of a much larger collection created by the 'Knockers'. Unfortunately the classical archaeologist George Mylonas (see more below) had sold off a significant part of this collection to acquire funds to support his excavation work in Greece; the collection had suffered other depredations over the years; and perhaps worst, the original collection catalog had not been preserved. Nevertheless, the resource was still significant enough that the collection remnants were incorporated as the first teaching materials for our Introduction to Archaeology classes, and a portion of this collection was even put on display last year at the WUSTL Dean of Arts and Sciences office. This year we are transferring the remaining components to the Illinois State Museum in Springfield to better conserve it.

As yet, I have not found any document that specifies the date of creation of the Knockers group, but it seems to have been functioning by the late 1890s. By the turn of the century the core group included David Bushnell (Jr.), George Mephram, Frederick Shipley, Henry Whelpley, and Max Wulfing. Some of the wives, such as Lizzie Mephram, were also very actively involved. The group seems to have been particularly concerned with regional archaeological research, and was most active from the early 1900s through the early 1920s, when their work was essentially taken over by the St. Louis Anthropological Society's Missouri Archaeological Survey. The Knockers had ties with the Archaeological Section of the St. Louis Academy of Sciences and with the short-lived Department of Archaeology of the Missouri Historical Society – a department which seems to have disappeared after David Bushnell, Sr., no longer was a MHS trustee (he served 1898-1913). Of this core group of Knockers, only Shipley and Whelpley were members of the WU faculty.

Frederick William Shipley (1871-1945) received his Ph.D. in classical studies from the University of Chicago in 1901. From 1901 to 1941, he was a member of the Classics Department at WUSTL. In 1914, he was named Dean of the University's Extension Division, which was changed to University College in 1923. He was Dean of Arts and Sciences from 1932 to 1937, and of the Graduate School from 1937 to 1942. He was one of the founding members of the St. Louis chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) in 1906, and its president from 1913 to 1917, editor of *Art & Archaeology* from 1917 to 1919, and participated in excavations in Rome in the 1928-29

season. The Knockers were much more active in Americanist archaeology than classical archaeology, so Shipley seems to have shifted his interest and involvement to the AIA from the Knockers shortly after the local AIA chapter was formed.

Henry Milton Whelpley (1861-1926) was a member of the WUSTL Medical School faculty from 1890 to 1910. He was named Dean of the St. Louis College of Pharmacy in 1904, and after 1910 until his death his main academic focus was in that arena. He was an avid artifact collector, with his collection of about 17,000 items donated to the St. Louis Academy of Science Museum upon his death. Later Leonard Blake spent much volunteer time inventorying, cataloguing and analyzing, and finally publishing a review of this collection. Among his collecting foci, Whelpley had a particular interest in Mississippian stone hoes knapped from Mill Creek chert, to the point of giving a number of papers on them in various venues. There is an invitation to a Knockers' meeting in the Missouri Historical Society collections, written on one such stone hoe (Catalog #1921-033-4057), presumably one of several sent out to the membership, with the text: "The Original Knocker will be on hand at the Bushnells. Meet Saturday April 17, 1909." Although the correspondent was not identified, I think it is highly likely that this invitation was sent to the Knockers' membership by Whelpley, as he was well-known to have an abundant number of these artifacts. Whelpley also was vice-president and president of the St. Louis AIA chapter from 1911 to 1914, and a founding member of the Cahokia Mounds Association in 1914. More importantly, he was also a founding member of the Anthropological Society of St. Louis, thus involved in the founding of the Missouri Archaeological Survey in 1921, and because of this, added as a member of the CSAS-NRC when Kidder took over in 1924. His death in 1926 prevented him from being involved in further CSAS-NRC activities, such as the 1929 conference here in St. Louis, something for which he would have likely been the local arrangements coordinator instead of Terry.

John Max Wulfin (1859-1929) was a St. Louis wholesale grocer, who was an avid avocational archaeologist. His correspondence includes exchanges with well-known archaeologists on the American scene in the 1890s and 1900s, such as Frederic Putnam, Clarence Moore, and George MacCurdy. He was active in the Knockers, in the St. Louis chapter of the AIA, in the Anthropological Society of St. Louis, and so on. He, along with the Mephams and Bushnell, joined Earl Morris's pilot excavations at the Aztec Ruin in northern New Mexico in August of 1915, as Morris tested and evaluated the pueblo for his major July 1916 project. These four Knockers members were 'rewarded' with 85 items from the ruin that year, several of which were still on display in various offices of the combined Sociology-Anthropology department in the 1960s. John Bennett for several years had half a dozen prehistoric pots in his office from this New Mexico project. In 1971, when I inventoried the materials still left to be found in offices around the department, I located 18 photographs from the 1915 pilot project, which Pat Watson and I sent to Elizabeth Morris, the archaeologist daughter of Earl Morris, who was then writing up a history of that excavation. Some of the remaining pots may be still in our collections, but the majority of the 85 items were disbursed elsewhere before 1968. Of the 24 items I could identify in 1971, for example, Bennett claimed some as his personal property, and others were similarly co-opted.

Wulfin was one of the individuals at the St. Louis Anthropological Society who was responsible for setting up its "Missouri Archaeological Survey" in 1921. He is

perhaps best known in American archaeology for his recovery of the “Wulfing Plates”, eight very important copper plaques depicting one of the major religious figures of the Southeastern Ceremonial Cult, which he purchased on March 5, 1907. Later because of his Knockers’ affiliation, these copper plates ended up in Washington University collections, and now are on permanent loan to the St. Louis Art Museum. As noted below, these copper plates were properly documented in 1950 by Virginia D. Watson, who was then associated with the Sociology-Anthropology department. As far as some of our colleagues at the university are concerned, however, Wulfing’s most important contribution was his coin collection. Wulfing collected more than 7,000 ancient coins which he donated to the Classics department, where it grew to more than 13,000 coins under the stewardship of Dr. Kevin Herbert. After Herbert’s retirement, the collection has been under the aegis of Dr. Sarantis Symeonoglou (more later).

George Saxby Mephram (1856-1930) was a well-known paint manufacturer in St. Louis, who was another ardent avocational archaeologist. The first record I have found of the Mephram collection is the provisioning of a display of artifacts at the 1876 First Centennial exposition in St. Louis, the collection listed as being his “St. Louis Loan Exhibition, Department of Archaeology and Prehistoric Art” from the St. Louis Academy of Science.

George Mephram’s collection grew to be of such a size that it was mentioned in the 1898 *American Archaeologist* journal as one of the largest of the Midwest. In addition to the Knockers, he became a founding member of the St. Louis chapter of the AIA. As noted, he and his wife went with fellow Knockers Bushnell and Wulfing to help Earl Morris on the pilot excavations at Aztec Pueblo ruin in August of 1915. He was a founding member of the Anthropological Society in 1920, and of the Missouri Archaeological Survey in 1921. One of his obituaries noted that he was such an enthusiastic avocational archaeologist that he arranged to be present when King Tut’s tomb in Egypt was first officially opened to the public.

William Keeney Bixby (1857-1931) has already been mentioned in reference to the construction of McMillan Hall, and as a member of the Board of Directors (later Board of Trustees) of the university. He was hired by William McMillan, and after McMillan died, became president of McMillan’s firm. He was very interested in promoting the study of classical and prehistoric art, and as such he was involved in the founding of the St. Louis Chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America. At the organizational meeting in February of 1906, Bixby was elected president, Wulfing treasurer, and Shipley secretary. Bixby was also subsequently elected president of the Missouri Historical Society from 1907 to 1913 (as noted below, a major locus of archaeological collection displays until World War I). Bixby and the Knockers members of the AIA helped financially support the excavations by Dr. Edgar Hewett in Quirigua, Guatemala, in 1909 to 1910; several of the local AIA members participated as volunteers on that project as well. In our collections, as inventoried in 1971, the department still had 10 items from this project, originally given by Hewett to the Knockers who worked with him, and subsequently donated by the Knockers to the university. Because I discovered in the 1970s that the collections at the Art History Museum at Steinberg had several additional specimens from this project at Quirigua, these ten items were then transferred to the museum collections there.

David Ives Bushnell, Jr. (1875-1941) became interested in archaeology through his father's work. His father was on the Advisory Committee of Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis for many years, later its Vice-President, and also a trustee from 1898 to 1913. During this time, the Missouri Historical Society Museum had a complete wing dedicated to local archaeology. David, Jr., was an off and on again participant in the Knockers activities, his involvement dictated by his other archaeological obligations elsewhere. He was recruited by Frederic Putnam to work as an assistant in archaeology at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge from 1901 to 1904, with a primary field focus on sites in Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, where he collected and excavated at such sites as the Kimmswick salt works in Jefferson County, and Cahokia Mounds in Illinois. In 1901, as the workers were clearing Forest Park of trees and vegetation to prepare the grounds for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the workers discovered a number of prehistoric mounds. David R. Francis, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission (LPEC) president, contacted David Bushnell, Jr. at the Peabody Museum and asked him to excavate the mounds uncovered in Forest Park before the land was graded and the mounds destroyed. Bushnell did so in December 1901 and January 1902, publishing in 1904 on the two groups of mounds – 7 in one group and 9 in the second – about 1500 feet apart, close to where Art Hill is today. One of the photographs taken at that time, looking west, shows Brookings Hall in the distance, and has an arrow inked on it pointing to the south, identifying the location of the “Washington University Mound”. I have looked but have found no reference to that mound in any Washington University Archival sources. From the photograph, it appears as if this mound may have been situated about where Brown Hall and Goldfarb Hall stand today. Bushnell worked with the Knockers excavating McEver's Mound, a.k.a. Montezuma Mound, in Illinois in 1905, and secured the artifacts there for the collections of the Missouri Historical Society; again some of these materials ended up in our departmental Knockers' collection. He was involved with the short-lived Archaeology section at the Missouri Historical Society, which at one point had more than 50 class cases in one wing full of regional artifacts, a portion of which had come from the Knockers activity.

Perhaps Bushnell's most important linkage to WUSTL was his service as William John McGee's assistant in Anthropology during the latter part of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (LPE). (McGee was the director of the LPE fair itself.) Forest Park did not provide enough space for all of the Exposition, so the LPE leased Washington University's new 110 acre campus and unoccupied buildings, including Cupples Hall, the University's stadium and gymnasium, and existing lecture halls, for \$650,000 rent. Originally Cupples Hall was the LPE administrative offices, but just before the beginning of the Exposition, it was reconfigured and opened as the LPE Anthropology building, with a number of exhibits. The basement of Cupples had anthropometry and psychometry labs, where the public could view 'scientists at work' taking measurements on the about 500 American Indians from the 29 First American tribes at the Fair, as well as upon a number of members of foreign aboriginal tribal groups who were housed in the Anthropology Villages and Indian Village. These ethnic 'villages' were located along the east and south side of the WUSTL campus, in the general area where Steinberg, Bixby, Fox and the Fine Arts complex are today.

A range of anthropological materials, including a number of archaeological exhibits collected by the Knockers, collections from the Missouri Historical Society

Department of Archaeology, and other regional materials, were on display in the rooms on the upper floors of Cupples Hall. Several international congresses also had meetings which were scheduled to coincide with the Fair and which were held in the 'Anthropology Building', as Cupples was called during the Exposition, with a total of nearly 500 speakers making presentations in the congresses held here. Among the noted anthropological presenters giving talks at Cupples Hall were individuals such as Franz Boas, George Dorsey, Alfred Haddon, William H. Holmes, Aleš Hrdlička, Alfred Kroeber, Frederic Putnam, Eduard Seler, and Max Weber. It is estimated that about 1.5 million visitors came to see the exhibits and congresses in Cupples Hall, and about 4.0 million went to see the 'natives on display' at the Indian Village and Anthropology Villages on the southeast corner of campus.

After the exposition closed, McGee was appointed in the fall of 1905 as the first director of the St. Louis Public Museum, a newly established museum to be built around the remnants of the LPEC collections, with the aim of creating both a building and associated collections to rival if not surpass the Field Museum in Chicago. David Bushnell, Jr., was hired as McGee's assistant. This museum opened in temporary quarters in the fall of 1905 in the LPE Fine Arts Building. But in the fall of 1906, the St. Louis Public Museum board informed McGee that because it was only a temporary exposition building, his museum building was scheduled to be torn down that season and that he would have to move the museum and collections elsewhere. No new space was located and the museum folded. The remaining exhibits were transferred to the Field Museum, the St. Louis Art Museum, the Missouri Historical Society, or placed in storage. Some of the storage items, such as the Knockers Collection, apparently were transferred to the WUSTL campus. (For anyone interested in more information on anthropology at the LPE, the best published source is Nancy Parezo and Don Fowler 2007 *Anthropology goes to the Fair: the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*.)

The First Department of Anthropology at WUSTL (1935-1945)

The first WUSTL incarnation of an Anthropology department was in 1935. At that point, the Arts and Sciences department which had been calling itself 'Sociology-Anthropology' split into two separate degree programs, with the university catalog explicitly listing separate faculty and separate curriculum for each section. The Anthropology faculty consisted of Luther Bernard, Walter Bodenhafer, George Mylonas, Stuart Queen, Lewis Thomas, and George Williams. This Anthropology division at WUSTL offered rather standard courses for the time such as the Introduction to Anthropology, Prehistory, Folkways, Human Geography, Race, Religion and Magic, and so on.

All of the professors who taught socio-cultural anthropology courses in the 1935-1945 department had received their degrees from the University of Chicago. In the early part of the 20th century, the Sociology Department at Chicago was also styling itself as a 'Sociology-Anthropology' department, and its curriculum included coursework in cultural anthropology, as there was little in the way of anthropology being offered by the sole anthropologist, Frederick Starr, on the Chicago campus. Hence these WUSTL professors, although primarily sociologists by degree designation, felt comfortable in

teaching socio-cultural anthropology because of their Chicago coursework background. One has to remember that until the mid-1920s, when Starr retired, that he had been the sole tenured anthropologist at Chicago, and he was more interested in personal publicity and in participating in meetings than in teaching – during the first quarter of the 20th century while he was ‘the’ anthropology department at Chicago, he did not train a single graduate student for a degree. So if one wanted exposure to things anthropological at Chicago at that time, apparently the Sociology staff were the ones covering topics in socio-cultural anthropology. It was not until Fay-Cooper Cole came in the late 1920s that Chicago slowly developed an anthropology curriculum in a separate department, and began producing high quality advanced degree graduates.

I include only a brief commentary on most of these six WUSTL ‘anthropology’ instructors, as for the most part their primary research interests seem to lie outside of what one might consider ‘traditional’ anthropology research.

Luther Lee Bernard (1881-1951) received his Ph.D. in Sociology in 1911 at Chicago. In his writings he includes multiple references to cultural anthropology as a component of sociology. He was interested in the origins of sociology, whence came many of his discussions of cultural anthropology. In 1931, he began to officially teach a course entitled ‘Cultural Anthropology’ in the Sociology-Anthropology Department, and he expanded on this focus in the separate 1935-1945 anthropology department.

Walter Blaine Bodenhafer (1887-1973) obtained his Ph.D. in Sociology in 1920 at Chicago. His anthropological interests were primarily in social organization, and he pursued this area in his courses in the separate department. As noted above, he was actively involved in the WUSTL sponsored Anthropological Society of St. Louis during the 1920s; hence his involvement in ‘anthropology’ was greater than it appears from other departmental records.

Stuart Alfred Queen (1890-1987) was a class-mate of Bodenhafer, and also received his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Chicago in 1920. He became the chairman of the WUSTL Sociology-Anthropology department for many years, still being chairman just three years before John Bennett first arrived on campus in 1959. Queen also was interested in cultural anthropology, later writing a book on “The Family in Various Cultures” with John B. Adams and Robert Wesley Habenstein in the 1940s. Adams (more later) was an anthropologist who was in the Sociology-Anthropology department after it recombined during the Second World War period, and Habenstein was primarily a sociologist who taught at the University of Missouri – Columbia, but also wrote on kinship, and did a cross-tabulation of Murdock’s ethnographic samples in a book on “Ethnic Families in America”.

Lewis Francis Thomas (1886-1950) earned his Ph.D. in Geography from Chicago in 1925, with a dissertation “The Localization of Business Activities in St. Louis”, and later co-authored a book with Queen “The City: as study of urbanism in the United States” in 1939. His tenure position was not in the Department of Sociology-Anthropology, but in the Department of Geography. During the 1930s and 1940s, several sources list the Department of Geography here at WUSTL as one of the top departments in the entire country. Thomas brought his interests in urban and human geography to the curriculum of the Anthropology department.

George Emmanuel Mylonas (1898-1988) received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1929. He was a classical archaeologist, and was chairman of the Department

of Art and Archaeology at WUSTL for 25 years, after the Anthropology division was folded back into the Department of Sociology-Anthropology in 1946. As indicated, his tenure was in Art and Archaeology, and he was ‘borrowed’ by the Anthropology division to teach an introductory course in archaeology from 1935 to 1945. He first began teaching on the WUSTL campus as an outside lecturer in 1928, and joined the faculty as a tenure track professor in 1933, retiring in 1969.

George Dee Williams, as noted above, was teaching physical anthropology at the WUSTL medical school at this time, and came to the Hilltop/Danforth campus to teach ‘Race’ and other related materials for the 1935 to 1945 anthropology division, until he was called to serve in the war.

Why did this anthropology program collapse in 1945? I have not located any direct explanation. But I expect the Second World War may be a contributing cause. The teaching service of Williams was lost to the war, and with even undergraduate students’ patriotic duty now to serve in the war, the enrollments in both Sociology and Anthropology dropped drastically. Additionally, Mylonas did not feel comfortable teaching other than classical archaeology, and Thomas was nearing retirement. WUSTL sociologists David Pittman and Deidre Boden note in their 1990 history of the Sociology department that the period of 1937 to 1948 was somewhat of a nadir for the department’s existence on campus, not only with declining enrollments, but also with no Ph.D. degrees being awarded in Sociology during that period. After the war, Sociology re-grouped, and came back together in a reconstituted combined Sociology-Anthropology department.

II. Anthropology at Washington University 1946 to 1967.

The Anthropology section of the Sociology-Anthropology department had collapsed for all intents and purposes by 1942, although it was still listed as a separate section in the WUSTL catalog and documents through the 1945-46 academic year. The faculty of that last year were Queen, Bodenhafer, Bernard, Thomas, and Mylonas – three sociologists, a geographer, and a classical art historian. By the 1946-47 academic year, the department had officially re-combined with Sociology under the chairmanship of Queen, and was once again listed as a composite Sociology-Anthropology department.

But for the next two decades, the occasional anthropologist was hired. With one or two exceptions, these individuals stayed a year or so, and then left – in most cases for full-discipline anthropology departments. I have been surprised to see a number of well-known socio-cultural anthropologists among these names; clearly WUSTL was seen as a good place to begin teaching. Below is a listing with brief identification of interests of these anthropologists, ordered more or less chronologically..

In the 1946-47 year, **Oscar Lewis** (1914-1970) joined the faculty. He had finished his Ph.D. at Columbia in 1943 “The effects of white contact upon Blackfoot culture with special reference to the role of the fur trade” and was just beginning his focus upon Mesoamerica. He is listed as staying on campus two year before leaving, going to help found the anthropology department at the University of Illinois in 1948, and pursuing his career in Mesoamerican studies.

In the same 1946-47 year, **John Boman Adams** (1917-1967) also joined the faculty. He had just finished his Ph.D. in 1946 at Chicago “Contributions to the Study of

Maya Art and Religion”. He began teaching courses on Race and North American Indians. He is listed as staying through the 1948-49 academic year, before leaving campus, first to work at Wenner-Gren, and then to teach at the American University campuses in Baghdad, Beirut and Cairo, where he seems to have shifted to a focus on anthropological linguistics.

Adams was responsible for co-training one of the first M.A. students in anthropology, **Marie Martha Doenges** (1919-2009). A St. Louis native, she received her M.A. listed jointly as being in “Art and Archaeology – Anthropology” in 1947, working with both Adams and Mylonas, and with the thesis entitled “Mayan Architectural Sculpture”. Apparently jobs were not available in that area immediately, so she went on to get a second M.A. in personnel management from Columbia Teacher’s College in 1951, and became the Assistant Personnel Director at Antioch College that year. However she returned to the St. Louis region in the 1960s, being listed as an instructor at Southern Illinois University – Carbondale by 1965. There she taught courses in art and archaeology, and in comparative religion for their anthropology department, worked as a research assistant to Carroll Riley, and also occasionally taught courses in personnel management. I have tracked her teaching anthropology at SIU-C as an untenured instructor through at least 1977.

In the 1948-49 academic year, the department listed as new hires Jules Henry, Melford Spiro, and James Bennett Watson. These individuals all became well-known socio-cultural anthropologists, and stayed here in St. Louis varying lengths of time.

Melford Elliot Spiro (1920-?) came here still working on his Ph.D., which he received from Northwestern in 1950, entitled “The Problem of Aggression in a South Sea Culture”. He is listed as the instructor of the North American Indian class here through 1952, before leaving to explore issues of psychological anthropology at positions in other departments. He taught at the University of Connecticut, the University of Washington, and the University of Chicago, before moving in 1968 to the University of California – San Diego to found the department there, where he ended his career.

Jules Henry (1904-1969) received his Ph.D. from Columbia in 1936, “A Kaingang Text”, based on field work in Brazil. After being involved working with the Allied Forces in the Occupation of Japan after the war, he was hired at WUSTL in 1947, and taught mainly courses related to his special interests of culture and personality, and national systems, as exemplified by his research with various tribes in Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico over the years. He was a popular teacher; during the late 1950s, his “Culture and Man” course regularly drew the limit of 250 students. He was to have been one of the professors of our second founding of an independent department of Anthropology here at WUSTL, but he had a devastating aneurysm in 1968 before he could formalize his agreement to join the new department, and died two years later, late in 1969.

Henry did not recruit many doctoral students in his two decades here. The first one that I could identify was **Julian Samora** (1920-1966), who received his WUSTL Ph.D. in 1953, “Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community”, dealing with Mexican migrants. Samora went on in academia to teach in Mexican-American studies, focusing on migrant issues and medical anthropology. The next WUSTL doctoral student I could find explicitly linked to Henry was **Harold Alton Gould** (1926-?) who received his Ph.D. from WUSTL for the dissertation ‘Family and Kinship in a North Indian Village’ in 1959. Gould had done his M.A. in 1954 under John Bennett when Bennett was at

Ohio State teaching sociology. Henry was the chair of Gould's dissertation committee, but Robert Miller (below) was also a member. Gould went on to teach anthropology at the University of Illinois – Urbana for the next three decades, focusing on research in India and Southeast Asia.

James Bennett Watson (1918-2009) came to WUSTL in 1947, still an ABD, receiving his Ph.D. from Chicago in 1948 “Cayua Culture Change: a study in acculturation and method.” He taught courses primarily in Latin American social anthropology through the 1954-55 term, when he left for the University of Washington – Seattle, where I first met him while doing my M.A. degree. After beginning research with the Hopi, he then did research in the Mato Grosso area of Brazil, and shifted his research interests again to New Guinea, and this region was the focus of his anthropological work for the rest of his career.

His wife, **Virginia Drew [Watson]** (1918-?) did joint research with him in Brazil and New Guinea. She was listed one year on the faculty of WUSTL, associated with the Art and Archaeology department, rather than Sociology-Anthropology, the appointment limited apparently because at that point she only had her 1943 M.A. from Chicago, “An Analysis of Cooperative Labor in Middle America”. The year she was working with Art and Archaeology she re-located the collection and did the analysis of the eight copper Southeastern Ceremonial Cult ‘Wulfing’ plaques, referred to previously in the discussion here, published in 1950 (The Wulfing Plates: products of prehistoric Americans. Washington University Studies in Social and Philosophical Sciences, No. 8, 1950, 95 pp.)

When the Watsons moved to Seattle, Virginia initially kept doing archaeological work, conducting projects in New Guinea while James did his socio-cultural research there. She had a position at the Thomas A. Burke Museum on the Seattle campus, while James was at the Department of Anthropology, and she wrote up one of the first reports on the Prehistory of the Eastern Papua New Guinea Highlands of New Guinea while there. But she also did solid socio-cultural research while in New Guinea with her husband, and finally completed her Ph.D. from Chicago “Agarabi female roles and family structure: a study in sociocultural change” in 1965, based on this group in Papua, New Guinea.

In the 1949-50 school year, Elizabeth Emaline Bacon came with credentials as an ABD candidate, and taught course work here primarily in African anthropology through 1954. **Elizabeth Emaline Bacon [Hudson]** (1904-1972) received her Ph.D. from the University of California – Berkeley in 1951 “The Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan: a study in social organization.” She then went on to teach mainly courses in Central Asian socio-cultural anthropology at Cornell, Hofstra, Washington, UCLA, and ending up at Michigan State University – Lansing in 1968.

In the 1950-51 school academic term, **Monro Sterling Edmonson** (1924-2002) came to teach for one year, as an ABD. He received his Ph.D. the next year, 1952, “Los Manitos: patterns of humor in relation to cultural values” from Harvard, and then went on to teach at Tulane University until he retired in 1994. As mentioned below, Marshall Durbin, the first full-time Ph.D. linguist in our department in 1968, came here from Tulane, in large part at Edmonson's recommendation.

In 1950, the WUSTL Sociology-Anthropology department gave an A.M. degree to one of the first clear graduate student anthropology concentrators of the recombined group, **David LaGrove Scruton** (1928-), for the thesis “Implicit Theories

and Concepts of Sir James G. Frazer.” Scruton then went on to graduate work at the University of Washington where he received his Ph.D. in 1954 “Sex Differential in Memory Retention of Aboriginal Behavioral Patterns”. He subsequently taught and published on sociophobia in anthropology.

In 1952-53, Charles S. Brant was listed for one year as an instructor in the department. **Charles Sanford Brant** (1919-1991) had received his Ph.D. from Cornell in 1951, “The Kiowa Apache Indians: a study in ethnology and acculturation.” While he his earlier publications were on Kiowa Apache and Eskimo kinship, after leaving WUSTL he went back to work in the Cornell Southeast Asia program, and became involved in Burmese studies.

In 1952-53, Preston Holder first was listed in the Sociology-Anthropology department at WUSTL, and taught here through 1955, when he was precipitously let go. **Preston Holder** (1907-1980) had received his Ph.D. “The Role of Caddoan Horticulturalists in Culture History of the Great Plains” from Columbia in 1951. He was already well-known to Americanist archaeologists for his seminal article with Antonio Waring on the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex in 1945. Holder seems to have been involved in bringing the famous physicist, Willard F. Libby, the developer of radiocarbon dating, to WUSTL on November 12, 1952, to give an assembly series presentation at Graham Chapel on “Dating Archaeological Remains by the Carbon Method.” After being hired at WUSTL, Holder then began a series of salvage archaeology excavations on Hopewell and Mississippian period sites in the region. He and his wife, Joyce Wike, involved Leonard Blake, Nelson Reed, and Jack Tarr, in excavation work at Cahokia in the fall of 1954 and early spring of 1955. After being let go at WUSTL because of some alleged misconduct, Holder then moved to the University of Nebraska, and continued his work on Midwest archaeology.

Joyce Annabel Wike [Holder] (1918-?) also received her Ph.D., “The Effect of the Maritime Fur Trade on Northwest Coast Indian Society” from Columbia in 1951. She was listed as teaching at SUNY – Buffalo from 1950-1952, before coming to WUSTL. For the 1953-54 academic year, Wike was listed as an instructor in the WUSTL Sociology-Anthropology department, but after that she apparently did not teach here again, until the 1967-68 term, when she returned from Nebraska and was listed as a visiting professor teaching ethnohistory. Wike had archaeological credentials as well; Preston Holder called her in when he discovered complicated burials at Cahokia, and she did most of the burial excavation work there in 1954-55, while pregnant with child.

Preston Holder had two graduate students whom I could identify within the department. **John Samuel Tarr** (1922-2002) was a very peripatetic student, with a bit of history being involved in archaeology of the region. From his addresses listed in the Society for American Archaeology and American Anthropological Association rosters, we can track him from Albuquerque in 1949 to Belleville, Illinois in 1953-1955 to Tucson in 1955-1957, to San Pedro, California in 1957-1960, to Tucson again in 1960-1964, to Fullerton California in 1967 through 1976 and later. He apparently had become interested in archaeology while observing Harriet Minola Smith’s excavations at Cahokia in the 1940s. While at WUSTL, he wrote the 1955 M.A. thesis “The Archaeological Importance of the Cahokia Mounds and Village Sites” for Holder. He then went to the University of Arizona - Tucson, apparently to work on his Ph.D. in archaeological palynology, writing a 1956 paper “Pollen analysis at the Modoc rockshelter”, on a nearby

Illinois site where he had also spent one field season. But he then became involved in the U.S. Space program, was ‘Supervisor of Crew Equipment’ for the Apollo Moon mission, and when that ended, continued working at Douglas Aircraft working on the issues of human error and fatigue in flying.

Holder’s second graduate degree student was **Stephen Taylor Boggs** (1924-?). Boggs received his WUSTL Ph.D. in 1954, entitled “Ojibwa Socialization: some aspects of parent-child interaction in a changing culture.” Boggs went on to get a position at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawaii, and spent his career there publishing and doing research on the natives of Truk Islands and Hawaiian Islands.

Nelson Addington Reed (1926-?), later president of Reed Rubber Company in St. Louis, graduated from WUSTL with a BFA in 1950. He became interested in Cahokia working with Preston Holder, but also seems to have been influenced possibly by a course he took as an undergraduate with John Adams, although when I talked to him recently (spring 2012) he no longer remembers that. I follow that lead because Reed’s first and major publication (which has gone through both several reprints, and now a second revised edition) was the 1964 *The Caste War of Yucatan* (revised edition 2001). This book has been the starting point for several Ph.D. dissertations in anthropology and allied fields, and is a basic resource for anyone doing historical or anthropological research in the Yucatan. Following his interest in Cahokia, Reed worked with John Bennett and James Porter (again, more below) on coring Monks Mound at Cahokia to prove it was a human-constructed rather than a geological feature, publishing on it in 1966. He began his excavation work in 1964 testing the first and second terraces at Monks Mound with James Porter and Charles Bareis, excavated with Melvin Fowler in 1968, and conducted the first complete excavation of the presumed chief’s house on top of Monks Mound in 1971, the reconstruction which one sees in all the books and models of Monks Mound today. At John Bennett’s invitation, he organized the Midwest Archaeological Conference as the first scientific conference hosted by the new Anthropology department in McMillan Hall in 1968. He then became interested in experimental archaeology. He was carried on the department’s roster from 1968 through the 1970s as a research associate in that area, teaching courses in experimental archaeology for the department for a few years beginning in 1972. Reed also hosted a session on experimental archaeology at the department in 1976 in conjunction with the annual meetings of the Society for American Archaeology. He subsequently became interested in ethnoarchaeology, and filmed action archaeology work at the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana.

John Bennett in his 2003 personal reminiscences wrote that he believed that he had heard that **Manning Nash** (1924-2000) had taught here for a year in the mid-1950s. However, I could find no evidence of that in any biographical source on Manning Nash, such as the *Who’s Who* records, or in any of the obituaries on Nash, or in any WUSTL record. Manning Nash lists himself as teaching at the University of Washington – Seattle in the mid-50s, and I believe this is the “Washington” university that Bennett had heard about regarding Nash.

Leonard Watson Blake (1903-2002) figures in the history of the department for over half a century. I have opted to place a discussion of him here, as he first becomes directly associated with our department through Preston Holder in 1953. I have heard students ask why the main archaeology lab, McM 117, is called the Leonard Blake

Memorial Lab, not having heard of him. Because Leonard was the first honorary doctorate candidate successfully put forward by this department, I provide a bit of more background on him than some others.

Leonard worked with Alfred Chambers Carr of Carr Bros. Insurance Inc. from 1931 to 1941 as an insurance broker. Alfred Carr has already been mentioned above as one of the members of the Anthropological Society of St. Louis. As a boy, Leonard lived 'down the street' from Robert Terry. One set of folklore has Leonard perhaps first getting interested in archaeology by meeting Dr. Terry, who may have taught him natural history then. More frequently one hears another tradition, that of a 1935 or 1936 float trip down the Gasconade River, when Leonard found and collected some Indian artifacts. His boss, Carr, was a well known surface collector in local archaeology, and encouraged Leonard to get more deeply involved. In 1937, Leonard located an important Hopewell site in Creve Coeur Park, the basis in 1942 of his first of more than four dozen publications. He contacted Dr. Carl Chapman and Dr. Jesse Wrench at the University of Missouri for advice, and joined the Missouri Archaeological Society in 1938 at their behest. He was a lifetime member of the society, and served as its Vice-President from 1959 to 1984.

In 1941, Leonard became a securities analyst for St. Louis Union Trust (later Centerre), a position he kept until retiring in 1965. The 1940s also marked his increasing involvement in local archaeology. In 1940, he became a charter member of the Indian Relic Collectors Guild, a group which changed its name to the Amateur Archaeological Club of St. Louis in 1942 and then to the Greater St. Louis Archaeological Society in 1946, when in large part because of Leonard's urging, it became a chapter of the Missouri Archaeological Society. Leonard became the Vice President of this group in 1949, and its field work supervisor from 1955 to 1958. Leonard also joined the Society for American Archaeology in 1941; in 1987 he received the 2nd Crabtree Award for Outstanding Amateurs from the SAA because of his life-time of work in local archaeology, not only a rare honor, but particularly significant as being one awarded to Leonard almost immediately after it was created.

When Preston Holder came to WUSTL, Leonard began working with him. In 1953, Blake recruited Holder to help him with work at the Dreckshage site in St. Charles County, and also with Blake's continuing interest and research at the Hopewell site at Creve Coeur Park. Blake was increasingly uncomfortable with members of the Greater St. Louis Archaeological Society, who were more interested in simply collecting Indian artifacts as curios rather than for their scientific value. Blake founded the Mound City Archaeological Society in 1963, as a group of serious avocational archaeologists, who applied professional archaeological methodologies while salvaging archaeological sites threatened by urban sprawl. As he approached retirement from his first career in securities analysis, he began volunteering more at local scientific institutions. He became a volunteer at the St. Louis Museum of Science and Natural History in 1962, and worked there for two decades, until 1982. He was primarily responsible for cataloguing and doing a preliminary analysis of the massive collections that Henry Whelpley of the Knockers had left to the museum. Blake published a volume on this material in 1978 with the help of James Houser, as a contribution in the Transactions of the Academy of Science of St. Louis.

What Blake called his second career was working as a paleoethnobotanist. He began work as a volunteer at the Missouri Botanical Gardens in 1956. By 1965, he was steadily helping Dr. Hugh Cutler (more below) on this research, first helping Cutler on the work on plants such as prehistoric maize and squashes, and then branching out into his own work on early American paleoethnobotanical materials. Blake worked with Cutler for two decades, leaving in 1977 when Cutler retired at the MBG. At our request, then Leonard shifted over to the Department of Anthropology here at WUSTL, and continued doing paleoethnobotanical work. He ran our PEB lab in the basement as a volunteer for a dozen years, until we were able to hire Gayle Fritz. Leonard kept working in the lab on a weekly basis until 1995, when he said his eyesight no longer allowed him to properly identify specimens with the microscope. Even though over 90 years of age, he then worked on other projects, particularly for Dr. Watson, until shortly before his death.

I am a strong believer of letting people know while they are alive and active how much they are appreciated. The ‘festschrifts’ held for people after their deaths, where people heap praise on the deceased, strike me personally as too little too late if you will. Why didn’t one tell the individual while he or she was alive how much they were appreciated? Hence Pat Watson and I began a campaign in the mid-1980s to honor Leonard for his fantastic service by nominating him for an Honorary LL.D. Degree at Commencement. Usually those degrees are awarded to people who might be able to help with the financial basis of a private institution like ours or to well-known individuals with the expectation that their fame should reflect well on us. (This transference of course does not always occur; I remember sitting on the Commencement platform when Bob Hope was awarded an honorary doctorate here, being a bit chagrined when he announced it was something close to his 100th ‘honorary’ degree). Hence Pat and I were rather unsure if the honorary degree committee would take our nomination seriously. However, the Chancellor’s secretary told us that she was thrilled to get our nomination; that people like Leonard deserved them, but were rarely nominated, and thus at the 1985 Commencement, Leonard became Dr. Leonard Blake.

In 1954-55, there were just two anthropology faculty members in the department, Henry and Holder. In 1955-56, **Robert James Miller** (1923-1999) joined them. Miller had just received his Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Washington – Seattle (1955, Socio-Political and Economic Aspects of the Monastery in Inner Mongolia) and taught here at WUSTL through spring of 1959. He was replaced the following fall of 1959 at WUSTL by John Bennett. Miller went to the University of Wisconsin – Madison, and continued anthropological research on Buddhism and Inner Mongolia from 1959 to 1988 when he retired. His wife, Beatrice Diamond [Miller] (1919-1999) also was an anthropologist, focusing on Tibet and Buddhism.

In the 1956-57 year, with Holder leaving unexpectedly, **Irving Eugene Kaplan** (1923-?), who had a 1951 M.A. in Anthropology from Chicago “Law and Authority and Social Change in Some Bantu Tribes”, joined Miller and Henry as staff anthropologists. Kaplan served on the faculty through 1960, and then he went on to get his Ph.D. in Psychology in 1970 (Technique and the Humanization of Man) at the United States International University – San Diego. He subsequently pursued his African interests, writing a series of ‘area handbooks’ subsidized by the Department of Defense on African countries from Angola to Zambia.

John William Bennett (1915-2005), born in Wisconsin, came to WUSTL in 1959. Bennett had started out in archaeology at the University of Chicago, writing his M.A. on “A Preliminary Study of the Kincaid Component and its Affiliations” in 1940, and had taken the position as director of the Archaeology Lab there through the early 1940s. However, then he became interested in applied anthropology, and finished his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1946 “Subsistence Economy and Foodways in a Rural Community: a study of socioeconomic and cultural change”. When I was doing a history of the contributions of Frederick Starr and Fay-Cooper Cole at Chicago, I asked John why he had changed sub-fields. He said that at that point it appeared as if the interesting questions in time-space systematics had been worked out in archaeology, leaving mainly tedious classificatory issues, and he saw applied anthropology as an untapped field with many more opportunities. He further observed that he had put this to good use at the end of the war, advising Walter Taylor on aspects of applied anthropology for Taylor’s work for the government during the occupation of Japan.

Bennett had a position in the combined Sociology-Anthropology department at Ohio State from 1946 to 1959, where he taught a good deal of sociology. He was recruited to WUSTL in 1959 by Alvin Gouldner. In 1960, he was president of the Society for Applied Anthropology. In the 1960s, Bennett began agitating to form a separate department of anthropology here. Once the WUSTL anthropology department was formed in 1967-68, Bennett taught anthropology here until 1985. When Bennett was enabled to start independent stand-alone operations of the department, he brought Dorothy Altheimer from the old combined Sociology-Anthropology department to serve as the new anthropology departmental secretary, and Irma Morose was hired shortly thereafter to join her. Bennett’s interdisciplinary studies covered a broad range of subjects including human ecology, social and cultural theory, Asian and North American society, and economic development. Bennett began supervising WUSTL graduate students during the 1960s, listed subsequently.

By 1961, what was to be the founding group of anthropologists for the second creation of an anthropology department had begun to emerge. Jules Henry and John Bennett were here, and in that year **Alvin William Wolfe** (1928-?) joined them. Wolfe had received his Ph.D. from Northwestern, “Stability and Change in Ngombe Culture”, in 1957. Alvin Wolfe was the first chair of the ‘Anthropology section’ of the Sociology-Anthropology department, that is, the group of anthropologists trying to form the separate anthropology department here in 1966-67. He resigned in 1968 after not receiving tenure in a timely manner, and went to the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee, where he continued his work in applied anthropology.

In addition, George Mylonas (discussed earlier), who had taught archaeology during the first existence of a separate anthropology section in 1935-1945, was once again recruited to teach the Introduction to Archaeology in the department in 1961-62, and he did so for the next year as well. By 1963, he and his first Ph.D. student here at WUSTL, Betty Greenfield Grossman (1914-1996), who completed her degree in 1959 (The Eleusinian Gods and Heroes in Greek Art) founded the “Archaeological Society of Washington University” to create an organizational vehicle to help secure funds to run his work in Greece. Grossman and Mylonas worked jointly with the “Washington University Archaeological Society” in hosting highly publicized cruises to sites in Greece. From the 1950s on Grossman and her husband Edwin were instrumental in

administering the Mylonas Foundation, and the Mycenaean Melathron in Greece as well. I put a bit more on Mylonas in here because none of us in anthropological archaeology were aware of the existence of a “Washington University Archaeological Society” even though it apparently continued until Mylonas’s retirement in the spring of 1969. Clearly by adding Mylonas to teach archaeology in the Sociology-Anthropology program in the early 1960s, the handful of anthropologists in the combined department were aiming to once again try to cover all sub-fields of anthropology with the intention of establishing a separate department.

When Mylonas retired in the spring of 1969, an ABD scholar, **Sarantis Miltiadou Symeonoglou (1937-?)**, a Greek ex-patriot from Athens, who finished his Columbia University Ph.D. two years later (1971 Recent Mycenaean Finds from Thebes: Mycenaean pottery, ivories and a workshop for jewelry from the excavations on the property of Mr. A Kordatzis (Oedipus St.14), Thebes, Greece), was hired in the fall of 1969 to replace him. Symeonoglou has been a professor of classical archaeology here from then on but will retire next year.

In 1962-63, two additional individuals were listed in the catalog teaching anthropology courses – John Hotchkiss and Charles Thomas. **John Calvin Hotchkiss (1930-?)** got his M.A. at WUSTL under the guidance of Jules Henry, working in the Oaxaca area of Mexico. After one year here teaching as a lecturer, he went on to Stanford’s Field Training Program in Oaxaca, and later got his Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Chicago (The Dynamics of Patronage in Teopisca: a setting of integration of Ladinos and Indians in Chiapas, Mexico) in 1975. He seems then to have shifted over to the private sector.

Charles Edwin Thomas II (1928-?) apparently took over the teaching of archaeological topics for the combined department from Mylonas in 1962-63. Thomas had received his A.B. in archaeology at WUSTL in 1950 studying with Mylonas, and then left to run the family lumber business in Arkansas. In 1958 he was able to return to WUSTL and earned his M.A. in 1961 (“The Role of Ionia in Archaic Greece”, Department of History degree). In 1962, Thomas was listed as a lecturer in the combined Sociology-Anthropology department, and initiated the course Anthropology 310 “Ancient Civilizations of the New World” which I took over in 1970 when I arrived and am still teaching. As well, shortly after receiving his M.A., in 1963-64 Thomas was named a junior research associate, doing field work with John Bennett in the small wheat farming community of Robsart, Saskatchewan. In 1964, Thomas took on additional university duties, becoming the assistant dean of Arts and Sciences and in that position he initiated the work-study program for black students. The Saskatchewan research was to have become his Ph.D. dissertation. However, when I arrived in 1970, and took over the Anthro 310 course from Charlie, and asked him about the progress of his degree, he said that it was not going to happen, because he found it too psychologically difficult to place himself into a subservient graduate student position with the same colleagues in the same department where he also taught as a peer of these same individuals as an instructor (and as well, had served as a university dean). He taught Urban Anthropology in the department for a few years in the 1970s, and then resigned in 1974 and returned full-time to his family’s lumber business in Arkansas.

In 1963-64, Morris Freilich and D. P. Sinha joined the anthropology component of the joint department. **Morris Freilich (1928-?)** had received his Ph.D. from Columbia

University in 1960, "Social Diversity among Trinidadian Peasants". He is listed in the catalogs as teaching from 1963-64 to 1966-67 before leaving for Northeastern University in Boston, where he became well-known for his papers on the cultural complexity of anthropological fieldwork. **Dharnidhar Prasad Sinha** (1934-?) received his Ph.D. in 1964 from SIU-C "The Role of Banari Intertribal Market among the Hill People of Chotanagpur: a study of cultural change", and taught at WUSTL one year before he left to research, write, and teach on social anthropological topics in his home country of India.

In 1964-65, **James Richard Jaquith** (1927-?), an ABD student from Indiana, was hired to teach structural linguistics. Jaquith was an older student who had taught at the University of Alabama in the early 1960s, before enrolling at Indiana University for his advanced degree work. He received his Ph.D. from Indiana in 1969, "Alphabet and Speech: A study of relations between graphic and phonological symbolism" and remained at WUSTL through the 1969-1970 year, but then was let go. He then taught at SIU-C in the early 1970s, and moved to Saint Mary's University-Halifax in the 1980s

In 1965-66, Charles Valentine and George Talbot were added to the departmental faculty. **Charles Abernathy Valentine III** (1929-1990) received his Ph.D., "An Introduction to the Changing Ways of Life on the Island of New Britain" in 1958. He taught at Pennsylvania while working on his Ph.D. (1952-1954), then at Kansas (1958-1960) and Washington-Seattle (1961-1965) before coming to WUSTL in 1965. I first met him at Seattle, where I was working on my M.A.s first in Physics and then in Anthropology from 1963 to 1966. His particular focus after his degree seems to have been on race relations; he was very active in CORE in Seattle, and did some work in the ghettos there. His wife, Betty Lou Burleigh [Valentine] (1937-?) whom he married in Seattle, became the Dean of Student Services at SUNY-Stony Brook in the 1970s, and during that period Valentine listed himself as "Research Professor on Leave" from WUSTL. One reason for keeping his affiliation at WUSTL, although he had left by the late 1960s, was that he had a graduate student, Michael Rogers Seltzer, who finished his Ph.D. here, "The First and the Last: a study of seamen ashore" in 1971.

A somewhat enigmatic individual listed as an instructor in anthropology starting in 1965 was **George A. Talbot, III** (1929-2008). Talbot earned his M.A. at Chicago in 1956 with the thesis "Changing Patterns of Kinship: terminology among the Blackfeet Indians", and was later listed in the AAA Guide to Departments as specializing in folk culture, audiovisual culture and urbanism when he moved to St. Louis. For example, he co-taught Folk Culture with Norman Whitten in the department in 1967. The 1968-69 Anthropology department documents include the statement that "George Talbot will continue as a lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, Assistant Professor of Architecture, and Associate Editor of *Trans-Action*." However, Irving Louis Horowitz left the Sociology department and took *Trans-Action* (later re-named *Society*) with him to Rutgers that year, and Talbot moved with him and the journal there. At Rutgers, Talbot was listed in the AAA Guide as an assistant professor in anthropology with a topical focus on the social use of space and art, and a regional expertise on the Philippines and the Plains Indians, as well as being listed as the associate journal editor. After working at Rutgers for a few years, Talbot left in 1972, to take over the editorship of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* and worked for the Wisconsin Historical Society until he retired in 1990.

[Note: The journal *Trans-Action* had been founded at WUSTL Sociology by Alvin Gouldner, and later commentaries include it as part of the reason that the Sociology department fell into disfavor with the administration. The journal had a decidedly leftist focus: it was viewed with alarm by some members of the WUSTL Board of Trustees, as in their perception it was not only left wing but ‘communist’. By some skillful manipulation, Gouldner had persuaded Arts and Sciences to subsidize the journal, and by the late 1960s the journal was costing the university reportedly more than \$200,000 a year, according to a statement published by Dean Ralph Morrow. Thus when naïve David Browman approached the Dean of Arts and Sciences in the early 1970s to ask what paper work would be required and what mechanisms I might employ to request the university to consider providing some support for an ‘Anthropological Papers’ research series similar in nature to those such as issued by the University of Michigan or the University of Utah, I was shut down almost before I walked in the door. At the time I did not know the *Trans-Action* history, so I was bewildered by the hostile response, but later I grew to understand why.]

In 1966-67, Norman Whitten, and James Porter were listed as new staff in the anthropology section in the catalog, although Bennett lists them both in his departmental histories as coming at during the 1965-66 school year. **Norman Earl Whitten, Jr.** (1937-?) received his Ph.D. from North Carolina in 1964 “An analysis of Social Structure and Change: profile of a northwest Ecuadorian town social structure, South America”. He and his wife, sociologist Dorothea Scott ‘Sibby’ Whitten, worked on the social structure of Ecuadorian groups, and were supported at WUSTL by a multi-year Ford Foundation grant designed to improve Latin American studies on campus. Norm first came to WUSTL in 1965, and taught Latin American anthropology through 1969 according to the catalog, or the spring of 1970 according to the figures from Arts and Sciences, leaving to go to the University of Illinois – Urbana, where he spent the rest of his career. He was a very industrious scholar in producing advanced degree students in the short time here: in 1969 he was on the committee (Irving L. Horowitz was chair) for Coleman Romalis “Barbados and Santa Lucia: a comparative analysis of social and economic development in two British West Indian islands.” Whitten kept his relationship with WUSTL even after he left, sitting on the defenses of his WUSTL students’ degrees: DeWight Ray Middleton in 1972 “Form and Process: a study of urban social relations in Manta, Ecuador”, Richard Penn Reeve in 1974 “Race and Socio-Economic Mobility in a Brazilian Town”, and Ronald Lee Stutzman in 1974 “Black Highlanders: racism and ethnic stratification in the Ecuadorian Sierra”.

James Warren Porter (1930-?) was listed for one year in 1966-67 as a “research associate located at Cahokia”. He was no doubt added to the faculty listing by Bennett because of the joint coring project at Monks Mound, with the resulting publication: Nelson A. Reed, John W. Bennett, and James Warren Porter 1966 Solid core drilling of Monks Mounds: technique and findings, *American Antiquity* 33(2):137-148.

Before 1963, there were very few individuals who are listed as receiving an M.A. degree in Anthropology from the combined department. In the 1963-1969 period, there was an increasing series of students who were listed as earning an M.A. degree in anthropology who went on to get Ph.D.s in anthropology elsewhere, and also a few who continued on to get their Ph.D.s degrees here at WUSTL in anthropology. In 1963-64, Seena Bernstein Kohl got her M.A., and went on to get her Ph.D. from WUSTL under

Bennett in 1969. In 1965-66, there were four Anthropology M.A. students: Richard Conrad Schmidt (1942-?) got his M.A. here and went to Tulane to get his Ph.D. in 1971; Marilyn Wilkey Merritt got her M.A. here and went on to get her Ph.D. at Pennsylvania in 1976; Diane Lynn Waldron-Shah got her M.A. here and went to Claremont to get her Ph.D. in 1968; and Gustav Edward Thaiss got his M.A. here, and then continued on to get his Ph.D. here in 1973. In 1966-67, Charles Frederick Blake got his M.A. here and then went to Illinois to get his Ph.D. in 1975. In 1967, Mary Catherine Sengstock received her Ph.D. here, "Maintenance and Social Interaction Patterns in an Ethnic Group", a study about Iraqis in Detroit. Post-degree, she went into teaching first in Urban Studies, and then into Medical Sociology and Anthropology. In 1969, Charles Gary Merritt (1941-?), finished his Ph.D. here in sociolinguistics, "Micro-social structures and language acquisition", but then dropped off the academic map.

Bennett was involved with four graduate students completing anthropology degree work before the 1967-68 department formation. As noted, Seena Bernstein Kohl got her M.A. in 1963-64, and went on to get her Ph.D. "Jasper: Social Adaptations in a Great Plains Region" from WUSTL under Bennett in 1969 (see Ph.D. list). She secured a teaching position in anthropology at Webster University here in St. Louis, where she is still on staff. In 1966, Thomas J. Maloney, after receiving his WUSTL M.A. in 1956, "A Demographic Study of the Religious Institutions of a Middle-Sized Mid-west City", finished his Ph.D. "Cattle ranching as a cultural ecology problem in San Miguel County, New Mexico"; John Bennett not surprisingly was on his committee. Maloney went into applied anthropology research in Mesoamerica after his degree. In 1968, Sanford Silverstein (1929-1977) received his Ph.D. "A study of the rise, ascendancy, decline of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation party in Saskatchewan, Canada." The sociologist David Pittman was his chair, but John Bennett was on the dissertation committee as well. Silverstein went on to work in sociology. Myles A. Hopper (1943-?), after receiving his M.A. in Anthropology here in 1968, and also after completing most of his work with Bennett under the joint department, received his Ph.D. "Urban Experimental Cooperatives: a comparative study of residential cooperation" in 1970. He then went into community development and medical anthropology.

III. Proximal Events Leading up to the Founding of the 1968 Anthropology Department

The establishment of the second version of a department of anthropology at WUSTL clearly had its seeds in the early 1960s. As noted above, during that decade the anthropologists in the combined department were resurrecting courses in archaeology, they were able to recruit more socio-cultural anthropologists to the staff, and they were beginning to regularly train students for M.A. degrees, and even occasionally Ph.D. degrees in anthropology. In some ways, activities related to Alvin Gouldner were also part of the key to the final formation of the department during this period.

Alvin Ward Gouldner was recruited in 1959 to replace Nicholas Demerath, who had replaced Stuart Queen in 1956, as chairman of the combined Sociology - Anthropology department. During Gouldner's term as chairman from 1959 to 1964, some of the key individuals involved in the formation of the soon-to-be Department of

Anthropology were hired, including of course John Bennett; the faculty of the combined department increased from 10 to 20, and the number of graduate students increased from 10 to 75. Gouldner had founded the flagship Sociology journal, *Trans-Action*, in 1963. He went on leave in 1964, and when he returned in 1966, he expected to resume control of the journal, but after a bitter battle which polarized the sociologists in the department, he lost control. The first official activity to split anthropology from sociology began at that time. Bad blood continued to exist between Gouldner and the rest of the sociology staff, erupting most dramatically in May of 1968, when Gouldner physically attacked a sociology Ph.D. candidate who was being supervised by one of Gouldner's opponents. At that point the W.U. administration intervened in sociology department governance, and anthropology fortunately was just then officially being separated from sociology. Thus Gouldner is a critical part of the story, not only because of his involvement in the hiring of the 1960s anthropology staff, but also because of the subsequent problems in sociology surrounding him helped speed the formation of a separate department of anthropology.

According to Bennett's 1973 "Department of Anthropology, 1967-1973 – a preliminary report", the five full-time anthropologists in the combined Sociology-Anthropology department had begun meeting as a committee of the 'Anthropology Section' to handle their own academic affairs as early as 1964-65. It was informally understood by the anthropologists that this transitional format would lead eventually to the establishment of a separate department, although this possibility was greeted with dismay by some of the sociologists in the combined department. According to Robert L. Hamblin's 1990 paper, "Sociology and a developing administrative tradition at Washington University, 1957-1971", the anthropologists sent him a memo in October 1965 when he was chairman, requesting that a separate Anthropology department be formed. But no official action was taken until March 1966, when Hamblin submitted a proposal to the Dean of Arts and Sciences Robert R. Palmer on behalf of the anthropology faculty regarding the development of an Anthropology Department. The Anthropology section of Sociology was then composed of Bennett, Henry, Valentine, and Whitten, with Wolfe listed as 'chairman'. However in the document sent to the Dean, Wolfe listed the faculty the same as that in the 1966-1967 AAA Guide to Departments of Anthropology, that is Bennett, Freilich, Henry, Jaquith, Valentine, Whitten and Wolfe as potential full-time staff, Talbot, Thomas and Porter as part-time, and Trotter as support in an allied department. Of these individuals, only Bennett finally continued on as a full-time active and participating member after the re-founding of the department in 1968; the rest had moved on or were in the process of moving elsewhere by then. Hence my earlier designation of Bennett as our departmental 'totemic' ancestor.

Because Hamblin had approved of the idea of a separate department, the anthropology section had begun some planning meetings in the spring of 1966. According to Bennett's 1973 report, the pitch made by the anthropologists to the administration was that (a) the junior role of anthropology made it difficult to obtain resources necessary for normal professional growth, and (b) the growing dissension within the sociologists, and the friction between the sociologists and the administration, made it desirable to split off to avoid the consequences of this friction. Included in their memo to Dean Palmer was the following proposed organizational plan:

“The proposed new department would have a minimum of two full-time staff in each of the four subfields. That meant new hires in archaeology, biological anthropology, and linguistics. This was based on a March 1966 Proposal by the Anthropological Section:

1. Physical and cultural history of the human past;
2. The variety of human form and function in social and cultural contexts
3. The variety of cultures at various levels of development;
4. The nature of language;
5. Theoretical perspective on human society and culture.”

The goal was to teach with reasonable competence in all fields of modern anthropology.”

The Anthropological Section of the combined department sent a “Proposal for the Development of Anthropology at Washington University” to the university administration on March 30, 1966. After a meeting on May 11, 1966, between Anthropology Section Chair Alvin W. Wolfe, Provost George E. Pake, and Dean Robert R. Palmer in Palmer’s office, Provost Pake accepted this proposal in a memo of June 8, 1966. However Pake made two modifications. First, based on advice he had received from the American Anthropological Association, he indicated the need for a minimum of eight full-time anthropology faculty members on staff before allowing the separation of the two social science departments. The 1966 Proposal of the anthropologists had anticipated separating with six, and ultimately growing to a staff of ten. Second, Pake suggested a separation date of July 1, 1969, instead of the July 1, 1968 starting date requested by the anthropologists. Reference was also made to the housing of Anthropology in the proposed construction of a new Social Science Center. The anthropologists objected to the July 1, 1969, date, but this date was reconfirmed in a letter from Dean Palmer on June 20, 1966.

That fall, a new Dean of Arts of Science was appointed, Merle Kling, and he again reaffirmed the founding of a separate department in a memo of October 28, 1966, indicating that the separation of Anthropology from Sociology was approved, but in response to the concerns of the anthropologists, changing the official starting date for the new department to July 1, 1968, with the understanding that the minimum appropriate staff of eight instructors would have been hired and a smooth transition would be worked out by that date. The 1967-68 WUSTL Catalog then listed Anthropology as a separate department, and it would have appeared things were going along well.

However, the job of dealing with combative sociology members, the conflicting ideas of the anthropology section, and presenting proposals to the administration, was very time-consuming, and Alvin Wolfe had treated to resign several times in the spring of 1967. On May 31, 1967, he officially resigned to take a job at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee. So the ‘department’ was without a chairman. And a memo from Dean Merle Kling on June 7, 1967, reported that as of June 5, the Board of Trustees had placed a moratorium on creation of new departments, and hence “I, therefore, am obliged to rescind my memorandum, entitled ‘Proposed Separation of Sociology and Anthropology,’ dated October 28, 1966.” Thus within a week, the proposed new anthropology department had lost both its chairman and its charter.

After a period of frantic lobbying, Dean Kling sent to the Robert Hamlin, then chairman of the combined Sociology-Anthropology department, the following memo on October 2, 1967: “I now am able to report that the Board of Trustees of Washington

University has decided that the moratorium on the creation of new departments declared last June does not apply to a prospective Department of Anthropology.” The Anthropology faculty got together, and John Bennett was elected by the department faculty, and then officially appointed by the administration, as the new chairman of Anthropology on November 1, 1967. Bennett immediately set about getting the department established. One of the issues was the recommendation by the former Provost Pake that the department needed a staff of at least eight full time instructors to in order to be functional. Sociology Chairman Robert Hamblin transferred to Bennett and the anthropologists soft money freed from the academic leaves of two sociology incumbents and also funds from another position derived from the Ford Foundation grant for a WUSTL Latin American studies initiative, which allowed for the recruitment of three additional staff positions for the 1967-68 academic year. Hence the Anthropology department made its minimum ‘magic number’ of eight full-time staff positions. By the spring, Bennett was able to send the following announcement to the *Anthropology Newsletter* (published June 1968, p. 7) announcing the formation of the department:

“On November 1, 1967, the anthropologists at Washington University, St. Louis, established an independent Department of Anthropology with John W. Bennett as chairman. The department formation anticipated by seven months an earlier plan to create an independent department in June, 1968. The present staff in the new department consists of John W. Bennett, James Jaquith, Charles A. Valentine, Alvin W. Wolfe, and Norman E. Whitten, Jr. Jules Henry remains in the Department of Sociology as Adjunct Professor of Anthropology. Although Alvin Wolfe will be leaving St. Louis he has been replaced by Donald Souder (Indiana). “

“Other full time additions to the staff include Patricia J. Lyon (PhD., Berkeley, 1967) and Stephen Molnar (Ph.D. candidate, Santa Barbara), Pertti J. Peltto will be a visiting Associate Professor during 1968-1969, while Nelson Reed will serve as coordinator of the Cahokia ethnohistorical project and George Talbot will continue as lecturer in the Department of Anthropology, Assistant Professor of Architecture, and Associate Editor of *Trans-Action*. Patty Jo Watson will join us as Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the spring semester next year after completing a semester’s work in the Middle East.”

Gouldner entered the picture again briefly in May and June that year. Because of the intense intra-departmental conflict surrounding his activities in Sociology, including the physical attack on a Ph.D. candidate in May, the Sociology faculty had voted to ask the administration to remove Gouldner from their department, and to move him to another department or to make him a university professor at large without a department. Gouldner then asked Bennett if he could join Anthropology, but Bennett refused him.

Thus when the Department of Anthropology was founded, based on the agreement signed with the administration, the faculty had established a sub-discipline professorial ratio of 2-2-2-2 for equal representation of a four-field department. That was essentially the staffing as reported in the 1969-1970 *Guide to Departments of Anthropology*. In addition to Bennett as chairman, the department had two archaeologists (Patricia J. Lyon and Patty Jo Watson), two linguists (Marshall Elza Durbin and James R. Jaquith), two physical anthropologists (Stephen Molnar, and also counting Mildred Trotter at the Medical School, even though she had retired), two socio-cultural anthropologists (Robert L. Canfield and Donald L. Souder), two other socio-

cultural anthropologists on leave (Valentine and Whitten, both of whom never returned), and two part-time members (Nelson A. Reed and Charles E. Thomas). The AAA Guide listing also claimed that the nascent department had 27 graduate students in residence, although that number seems a bit high to me.

When I was hired in the spring of 1970, the 2-2-2-2 four field ratio was still the department's ideal. Pat Lyon, one of the archaeologists, had resigned to return to Berkeley, shortly to marry John Rowe, and I was hired to replace her. However as noted in my comments in Part V below, this 2-2-2-2 ratio soon changed, owing to some early conflict in our department. Bob Sussman says when he came, Steve Molnar told him the ratio was 4-2-2 (4 socio-cultural, 2 physical, 2 archaeologists) but when Dean Rossett sponsored the review of the department and decided to 'grow' it, that ratio changed to 6-3-3.

As I write this, the department is once again talking about plans for a new anthropology building, and preliminary drawings are displayed by the main office. As you note above in this section, such plans, with some initial drawings, were first being talked about in 1966, nearly 50 years ago. We have yet to see the actuality.

IV. Ever so brief notes on the department 1968-2012.

I started this institutional history with the vision of doing a bit of ethnography on the current department. But I find that is not my strength. I know the informants, and I work with the informants, and I cannot be a dispassionate observer. Thus after some difficult starts, I decided to drastically foreshorten this component, deleting all of my preliminary text. I will deal with the staff to a minimal extent, and also our production of doctoral students. But my few personal remarks, perhaps what you expected to see here, are instead limited to the next section, Part V.

As a primary mechanism to review important pedagogic events for the department from 1968 to 2012, I refer the reader to five tables included in this section.

Table #1 is a list of the chairmen of the department, based on reports by Bennett, Canfield, Molnar, and Watson, explained a bit more in the text in subsequent Section V.

Table #2 is a list of the individuals identified as teaching anthropology here at WUSTL. I have put in vital statistics (birth and death dates) where available, and also the date, title, and institution of the individual's Ph.D. dissertation. Note that this table starts back with individuals in the 1920s, and then has a spacing break in the listings separating out the individuals hired before and after 1968. This table is a short-hand method of indicating where the influences of various anthropological schools of thought have come to impact our department, as well as a reasonable 'hint' of the individual's interests from the title of their dissertation. Thus, for example, one can opt to follow the trajectory of individuals hired from the University of Chicago, or Harvard, or Pennsylvania, etc., as a means to see the influences of various intellectual schools of thought on the evolution of the department. I have included on this list every person whom I could find listed as teaching anthropology who was listed as a lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, or full professor. And I also include on the list 'Adjunct Professors', for example, such as Hugh Cutler, who was primarily involved at the Missouri Botanical Gardens, but who also taught economic botany and ethnobotany as anthropology classes

for us in the 1970s, with the title of ‘adjunct professor’. But I have not included in this list the names of visiting professors (see Table #3), and I have not, for the most part, listed any ‘research associates’ unless they also taught courses one or more terms in our department, like Nelson Reed.

Table #3 is a list of the ‘Visiting Professors’ only for the first two decades of the department’s second existence. Because I was particularly interested in the potential intellectual impact of the visiting professors, I reasoned that when the department was numerically smaller, such individuals would have had a much greater potential impact on our students and our thinking. But once our department began to reach two to three dozen instructors from staff appointments in anthropology and allied departments, I assumed that any such influence by a visiting professor would be much more negligible. Hence I have employed the somewhat arbitrary cutoff date of 1990 in the listings of such visiting professors, thus not listing any visiting professors who came here after the first two decades of the 1968 department.

Table #4 is a list of all of the Ph.D. degree students awarded by this department from 1968 up through June, 2012, as a mechanism to indicate the strength of our teaching. After I had compiled this list, I discovered that Dr. Kathleen Cook had a remarkably similar list, with somewhat less complete names in some cases, but one which also lists, as far as she is informed, where the individual is now currently employed.

Table #5 is a spread sheet created by Elaine Beffa. It lists the dates by academic year, after 1968, according to the official records, of when our departmental instructors first began teaching here and when they left (if they have). There is some variance between this spread sheet and Table #2.

In general, these five tables create the synthetic text for this section. Yes, they are abbreviated, but I found myself because I was unwilling to make personal commentary on colleagues, simply regurgitating the same information so compactly put in these tables in tedious paragraph after paragraph of turgid prose, and so sensibly, I hope, I opted to delete these paragraphs of text and instead rely on the information presented in clearer and less verbose tabular format.

Table #1: Departmental Chairman List

1968-71	Bennett
1971-72	Watson
1972-73	Troika: Watson, Molnar, Durbin
1973-77	Molnar
1978-81	Montgomery
1981-82	Canfield
1982-84	Watson
1984-89	Canfield
1989-92	Molnar
1992-93	Canfield
1993-2008	Smith
2008-date	Kidder.

Table #2. Individuals involved in Anthropology at WUSTL

(n.b. Only rough chronological order; Ph.D. dissertations unless otherwise specified)

1920 to 1968:

Robert James Terry (1871-1966) 1895 M.D. WUSTL

Mildred Trotter (1899-1991) 1924 WUSTL. The Life Cycles of Hair in Selected Regions of the Body.

George Dee Williams (1898-1961) 1929 Harvard. Race mixture in Yucatan.

Helen Lucerne Dawson (1904-1982) 1932 WUSTL. On Hair Growth.

Frederick William Shipley (1871-1945) 1901 Chicago. Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts.

George Emmanuel Mylonas (1898-1988) 1929 John Hopkins. The Neolithic Settlement at Olynthus.

Virginia Drew Watson (1918-?) 1965 Chicago. Agarabi female roles and family structure: a study in sociocultural change.

James Bennett Watson (1918-2009) 1948 Chicago. Cayua Culture Change: a study in acculturation and method.

Preston Holder (1907-1980) 1951 Columbia. The Role of Caddoan Horticulturalists in Culture History of the Great Plains.

Joyce Annabel Wike [Holder] (1918-?) 1951 Columbia. The Effect of the Maritime Fur Trade on Northwest Coast Indian Society.

Nelson Addington Reed (1926-?) 1950 BFA, WUSTL

John Samuel Tarr (1922-2002) 1955 M.A., WUSTL

Jules Henry (1904-1969) 1936 Columbia. A Kaingang Text.

John William Bennett (1915-2005) 1946 Chicago. Subsistence Economy and Foodways in a Rural Community: a study of socioeconomic and cultural change.

Charles Edwin Thomas II (1928-?) 1961 M.A., WUSTL

Lee Allen Parsons (1932-1984) 1964 Harvard. The Middle America Co-Tradition.

James Richard Jaquith (1927-?) 1969 Indiana. Alphabet and Speech: A study of relations between graphic and phonological symbolism.

Charles Abernethy Valentine III (1929-?) 1958 Pennsylvania. An Introduction to the Changing Ways of Life on the Island of New Britain.

Norman Earl Whitten, Jr. (1937-?) 1965 North Carolina. An analysis of Social Structure and Change: profile of a northwest Ecuadorian town.

Alvin William Wolfe (1928-?) 1957 Northwestern. Stability and Change in Ngombe Culture.

George A. Talbot (1929-2008) 1956 M.A., Chicago.

Barbara Wendy Lex (1941-?) 1969 Syracuse. Soulard: a divided subcommunity.

Sarantis Miltiadou Symeonoglou (1937-?) 1971 Columbia. Recent Mycenaean Finds from Thebes: Mycenaean pottery, ivories and a workshop for jewelry from the excavations on the property of Mr. A Kordatzis (Oedipus St.14), Thebes, Greece.

1968 and later:

Patricia Jean Lyon (1931-?) 1967 UC-Berkeley. Singing as Social Interaction among the Wachipieri of Eastern Peru.

Stephen Molnar (1931-2012) 1968 UC-Santa Barbara. Some Functional Interpretations of Tooth Wear in Prehistoric and Modern Man.

Donald L. Souder (1935-?) 1959 B.S. Ball State.

Robert Leroy Canfield, (1930-?) 1971 Michigan. Faction and Conversion: a study of religious alignments in a plural society.

Marshall Elza Durbin (1936-1983) 1964 SUNY-Buffalo. A componential analysis of the San Carlos Dialect of Western Apache: a study based on the analysis of the phonology, morphophonics, and morphemes.

Patty Jo Andersen Watson (1932-?) 1959 Chicago. Early Farming in the Levant and its environment.

David Ludvig Browman (1941-?) 1970 Harvard. Early Peruvian Peasants: the culture history of a central highlands valley.

John Wallace Eaton (1941-?) 1969 Michigan. The Human Red Cell: the relationship of 2,3-diphosphoglycerate metabolism and oxygen transport.

Mridula Adenwala [Durbin] (1933-?) 1965 SUNY-Buffalo. The Structural Analysis of Phonology and Morphemics of Gujarati.

George Edward Montgomery (1941-?) 1972 Columbia. Stratification and Nutrition in a Population in Southern India.

Edward Herschel Robbins (1944-?) 1974 Michigan. Class and Ethnicity: Social Relations in Wabush Newfoundland-Labrador.

Robert Wald Sussman (1941-?) 1972 Duke 1972. An Ecological Study of Two Madagascan Primates: Lemur fulvus rufus (Audebert) and Lemur catus (Linnaeus).

Kenneth Kay Kidd (1941-?) 1969 Wisconsin. Phylogenetic Analysis of Cattle Breeds.

Murray Lionel Wax (1922-?) 1959 Chicago. Time, Magic and Asceticism.

Rosalie Amelia Hankey [Wax] (1911-1988) 1951 Chicago. The Development of Authoritarianism: a comparison of Japanese-American relocation centers and Germany.

Hugh Carson Cutler (1912-1998) 1939 WUSTL. Monograph of the North American Species of the Genus Ephedra.

Fiona Brigid Marshall (1956 -?) 1986 UC-Berkeley. Aspects of the Advent of Pastoral Economies in East Africa.

Gayle Jeannine Fritz (1947-?) 1986 North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Prehistoric Ozark Agriculture: The University of Arkansas Rockshelter Collections.

John Edward Kelly (1946-?) 1980 Wisconsin. Formative Developments at Cahokia and the adjacent American Bottom: a Merrell Tract perspective.

Brian Kenneth Suarez (1945-?) 1974 UCLA. The Genetics of Tooth Size in Man

Glenn Carter Conroy (1947-?) 1974 Yale. Primate post-cranial remains from the Fayum province, Egypt, U.A.R.

Jane Elizabeth Phillips-Conroy (1948-?) 1978 NYU. Dental variations in Ethiopian baboons: an examination of the anubis-hamadry hybrid zone in the Awash National Park, Ethiopia.

James Michael Cheverud (1954-?) 1979 Wisconsin. Genetic and environmental morphological variation among social groups of rhesus monkeys (*Macaca mulatta*) on Cayo Santiago.

Lois Conchita Grant Beck (1944-?) 1977 Chicago. Local organization among Qashqa'i pastoral nomads in Southwest Iran.

John Richard Bowen (1951-?) 1984 Chicago. The history and structure of Gayo society: variation and change in the highlands of Aceh.

Jean Evelyn Ensminger (1952-?) 1984 Northwestern. Political economy among the pastoral Galole Orma: the effects of market integration.

Philippe Irwin Bourgois (1956-?) 1985 Stanford. Ethnic Diversity on a Corporate Plantation: the Unite Fruit Company in Bocas del Toro, Panama, and Talamanca, Costa Rica.

Stephen Grove Sellers (1945-?) 1980 Brandeis. The Farmers of Tucurrique, Costa Rica.

Geoff Hood Childs, (1963-?) 1998 Indiana. A cultural and historical analysis of demographic trends and family management strategies among the Tibetans of Nubri, Nepal.

Pedro Celso Uchoa Cavalcanti Neto (1936-?) 1969 Warsaw. The Brazilian Case of Parties and Party System.

David Tab Rasmussen (1958-?) 1986 Duke. Life history and behavior of slow lorises and slender lorises: implications for the lorisine-galagine divergence.

Richard Jay Smith (1948-?) 1980 Yale. Craniofacial morphology and diet of Miocene hominids.

Richard Gabriel Fox (1939-?), 1965 Michigan. Badshahpur: community organization in a small town of northern India.

Glenn Davis Stone (1954-?) 1988 Arizona. Agrarian ecology and settlement patterns: an ethnoarchaeological case study.

Margaret Priscilla Stone (1954-?) 1988 Arizona. Women, work and marriage: a restudy of the Nigerian Kofyar.

Bradley Philip Stoner (1959-?) 1989 Indiana. Health care delivery and health resource utilization in a highland Andean community of southern Peru.

Erik Trinkaus (1948-?) 1975 Pennsylvania. A functional Analysis of the Neanderthal foot.

Helen Kathleen Cook (1946-?) 1993 WUSTL. Small Town Talk: the undoing of collective actions in two Missouri towns.

Sara Lizbeth Friedman (1966-?) 2000 Cornell. Reluctant Brides and Prosperity's Daughters: Marriage, Labor and Cultural Change in Southeastern China's Hui'an County.

Margaret Louise Brown (1948-?) 1999 WUSTL. Authority Relations and Trust: social cohesion on the eastern Masoala Peninsula, Madagascar.

Patrick Eisenlohr (1967-?) 2001 Chicago. Language ideology and imaginations of Indianness in Mauritius.

Darla Darlene Dale (1960-?) 2007 WUSTL. An archaeological examination of the Kansyore, Late stone age hunger-gatherers in East Africa.

Pascal Robet Boyer (1957-?) 1983 Paris. Barricades mystérieuses et pièges à pensée : introduction à l'analyse des épopées fang mvèt ekang.

Bret Darin Gustafson (1968-?) 2002 Harvard. Native Languages and hybrid states: a political ethnography of Guarani engagement with bilingual education reform in Bolivia, 1989-1999.

Shanti A. Parikh (1968-?) 2000 Yale. Desire, Romance and Regulation: adolescent sexuality in Uganda's time of AIDS.

Rebecca Jaycynth Lester (1969-?) 1998 UC-San Diego. My name would be Jerusalem: religious vocation and the transformation of subjectivity in a Mexican convent.

Tristram Randolph Kidder (1960-?) 1988 Harvard. Protohistoric and early historic cultural dynamics in southeast Arkansas and northwest Louisiana, A.D. 1542-1730.

Leonard Lewis Wall (1950-?) 1983 Oxford. Traditional Medicine and the values of life in a rural Hausa village. 1983 Kansas. M.D.

James V. Wertsch (1947-?) 1975 Chicago. The influence of listener perception of the speaker of psycholinguistic processing.

John Gordon Baugh, Jr. (1949-?) 1979 Pennsylvania. Linguistic Style Shifting in Black English.

Michael David Frachetti (1975-?) 2004 Pennsylvania. Bronze age pastoral landscapes of Eurasia and the nature of social interaction in the mountain steppes of eastern Kazakhstan.

Derek Parkman Pardue (1969-?) 2004 Illinois. Blackness and Periphery: a retelling of marginality in hip-hop culture of Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Herman David Pontzer (1977-?) Harvard 2006, Locomotor energetics, ranging ecology and the emergence of genus Homo.

Peter Blair Benson (1979-?) 2007 Harvard. To not be sorry: citizenship, moral life, and biocapitalism in North Carolina tobacco country.

David Allen Freidel (1946-?) 1976 Harvard. Late Postclassic Settlement Pattern on Cozumel Island, Quintana Roo, Mexico.

Carolyn Fishel Sargent (1947-?) 1979 Michigan State. Factors influencing women's choices of obstetrical care in a northern district in the People's Republic of Benin.

Crickette Marie Sanz (1975-?) 2004 WUSTL. Behavioral ecology of chimpanzees in a central African forest: Pan troglodytes troglodytes in Goualougo Triangle, Republic of Congo.

Priscilla Posuan Song (1978-?) 2008 Harvard. Biotech pilgrims and medicinal entrepreneurs: cultural encounters from cyberspace to China.

Elizabeth Anne Quinn (1982-?) 2011 Northwestern. Life course influences on milk composition among Filipino women living in Cebu, Philippines.

Kedron Thomas (1979-?) 2011 Harvard. An Ethnography of Brand Piracy in Guatemala.

Table #3. Visiting professors and degrees, early years (1968-1990) only

(alphabetically, not chronologically, listed)

- G(eorge) Carter Bentley (Washington 1982, Law, disputing and ethnicity in Lanao, Philippines)
- Karen Brison (UC-SD 1988, Gossip, innuendo and sorcery: village politics among the Kwanga, East Sepik Province, Papua, New Guinea)
- James Brow (Washington 1977, Veddah villages: a study of history and social structure in Veddah communities in Anuradhapura district, Ceylon)
- Carole Crumley, (Wisconsin 1972, The generation of archaeologically testable hypotheses from literary evidence: Celtic social structures.)
- David Edwards (Michigan 1985, Pretext of rebellion: the cultural origins of Pakhtun resistance to the Afghan state)
- Nancy Flowers (CUNY 1983, Forager-farmers: the Xavante Indians of central Brazil)
- Margaret Glass (Calgary 1989, Animal productive systems in Neolithic Central Europe)
- David Knowlton (Texas 1988, Searching minds and questing hearts: Protestantism and social context in Bolivia.)
- Stephen Leavitt (UC-SD 1989, Cargo, Christ, and nostalgia for the dead: themes of intimacy and abandonment in Bumbita Arapesh social experience)
- Peter McCartney (Calgary 1989, Paleoeskimo subsistence and settlement in the High Arctic)
- Susan McIntosh (UC-SB 1979, degree granted under Susan Keech, Archaeological exploration in terra incognita: excavations at Jenne-Jeno, Mali)
- Roderick McIntosh (Cambridge 1979, The development of urbanism in West Africa: the example of Jenne, Mali)
- Brinkley Messick (Michigan 1981, Transactions in Ibb: economy and society in a Yemini highland town)
- Naomi Miller (Michigan 1982, Economy and environment of Malyan, a third millennium B.C. urban center in southern Iran)
- Marilyn Norconk (UCLA 1986, Interactions between primate species in a neotropical forest: mixed species troops of *Saguinus mystax* and *S. fuscicollis* Callitrichidae)).
- Kenneth Payne (UC-B 1985, The sulphur eaters: illness, its ritual, and the social order among the Tagabawa Bagobos of south central Mindanao, Philippines)
- Silvia Pedraza-Bailey (Chicago 1980, Political and economic migrants in America: Cubans and Mexicans)
- Pertti Juho Peltto, (1927-?) (UC-B 1960, Individualism in Skolt Lapp Society)
- Klavs Randsborg (Copenhagen, Denmark 1972, From Period III to Period IV: chronological studies in southern Scandinavia and northern Germany)
- Gary Seaman (Cornell 1974, Temple organization in a Chinese village)
- (Barbara) Jane Stone (SUNY-Binghamton 1984, The socio-economic implications of lithic evidence from Huari, Peru)
- Linda Wolfe (Oregon 1976, Sexual behavior of the Arashiyama West troop of Japanese macaques (*Macaca fuscata*))
- Dorothy D. (Dee Dee) Wills (Texas 1976, Culture's cradle: social structure and interactional aspects of Senegalese socialization)

Table #4, PhDs in Anthropology after 1968 (dates per official awarding of degree).

- 1969 Seena Bernstein Kohl. Jasper: Social Adaptations in a Great Plains Region.
- 1970 Myles A. Hopper. Urban Experimental Cooperatives: a comparative study of residential cooperation
- 1971 Stephen Airle LeBlanc. Computerized, Conjunctive Archaeology and the Near Eastern Hala
- 1971 Michael Rogers Seltzer. The First and the Last: a study of seamen ashore.
- 1972 DeWight Ray Middleton. Form and Process: a study of urban social relations in Manta, Ecuador.
- 1972 James Culhane Pierson. Aboriginality in Adelaide: urban resources and adaptation.
- 1973 Richard Merrill Schwartz. The Structure of Christian-Muslim Relations in Contemporary Iran
- 1973 Gustav Edward Thaiss. Religious Symbolism and Social Change: the drama of Husain.
- 1974 Fred William Fischer. Early and Middle Woodland Settlement, Subsistence and Population in the Central Ohio Valley.
- 1974 William Harrison Marquardt. A Temporal Perspective of Late Prehistoric Societies in the Eastern Cibola Area: factor analytical approaches to short-term chronological investigation.
- 1974 Richard Penn Reeve. Race and Socio-Economic Mobility in a Brazilian Town.
- 1974 Ronald Lee Stutzman: Black Highlanders: racism and ethnic stratification in the Ecuadorian Sierra.
- 1974 Steven Christopher Ward. Form and Function in Primate Jaw Mechanics: an experimental analysis.
- 1975 Mary Agnes Bufwack. Village without Violence: an examination of a Northern Irish village.
- 1975 Nina Lilian Etkin. The Human Red Cell: glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency and malaria
- 1975 Nadia Ramzy. Social Conflict: a California example.
- 1976 Samuel Darrel Stout. Histomorphometric analysis of archaeological bone.
- 1976 Carol Ruth Sullivan Talbert. Ethnography of Poor Women: family design and natality.
- 1977 Vicki Rea Holtzapple. Soka Gakkai in Midwestern America: a case study of transpositional movement.
- 1977 David Graham Gantt. Enamel of Primate Teeth: its thickness and structure with reference to functional and phyletic implications.

1977 Albert Otto Jacobson. Concurrence: a semantic continuity among various syntactic forms.

1977 Shulamit Rose Decktor Korn. To Please Oneself: local organization in the Tonga Islands.

1977 Janet Elizabeth Levy. Social and Religious Change in Bronze Age Denmark.

1977 Sylvia MacColl Rudy. Analysis of Suburban American Extended Kin Networks.

1977 Rita Margaret Wilhite. First Language Acquisition: textile design terminology in Cakchiquel (Mayan)

1978 Jeanne Renou Chesanow. Developmental Discourse: form, function and process in descriptive monologues.

1978 Jih Chang Chester Hsieh (Jichang Xie) Structure and History of a Chinese Community in Taiwan

1978 Gwendolyn Gertrude Cahill Reich. Symbols and Sentiment in Scotland.
Through Commencement May 1979

1979 Susan Shampaine Hopper. Birth among Strangers: pregnancy, delivery and perinatal care of poor women in an American city.

1980 Kenneth Charles Carstens. Archaeological Investigations in the Central Kentucky Karst.

1980 Jeremy Francis Dahl. Daily Activity Patterns, Environmental Factors, and Morphological Diversity of the Genus Lemur.

1980 David Howard Dye. Primary Forest Efficiency in the Western Middle Tennessee Valley.

1980 Paul Alan Garber. Locomotor Behavior and Feeding Ecology of the Panamanian Tamarin (*Saguinus oedipus geoffroyi*, Callitrichidae, Primates)

1980 Linda Ann Goff. An Art Historical and Archaeological Ceramic Analysis from the Northern Ecuadorian Highlands.

1980 Ann Manry Rynearson. Hiding with the Melting Pot: Mexican-Americans in St. Louis.

1980 Jennifer Gay Schirmer. Work, Family and Class: Danish urban women and the welfare state.

1982 Mary Jill Brody. Discourse Processes in Highlighting Tojolabal Maya Morphosyntax

1982 Constance Pennacchio DeRoche. Macroeconomic and Microsocial Processes: social change in a Nova Scotian village.

1982 Stephen Phillip Easley. Ecology and Behavior of *Callicebus Torquatus*, Cebidae, Primates.

1982 Charles Andrew Hofling III. Itza Maya Morphosyntax from a Discourse Perspective.

1982 Stephen Herbert Jones. An Urban Anthropological Examination of Social Service Agency-Client Interaction Patterns.

- 1982 Jonathan Dwight Kent. The Domestication and Exploitation of South American Camelids: methods of analysis and their application to circum-lacustrine archaeological sites in Peru and Bolivia.
- 1982 Linda Olivia Nichols. Community and the Elderly: an urban example.
- 1982 Elizabeth Jo Skinner. A Systemic Analysis of Chipped Stone Industries from the El Morro Valley, New Mexico.
- 1983 William Stadden Cole. Balinese Food-Related Behavior: a study of the effects of ecological, social, and cultural processes on rates of change.
- 1983 James Kirkpatrick Patton. The Emergence of Agricultural Forms of Production in the Santa Cruz Region of Eastern Bolivia.
- 1983 Thomas Richard Przybeck. Histomorphology of Non-Human Primate Cortical Bone.
- 1984 Darwin David Horn. Marsh Resource Utilization and Ethnoarchaeology of the Uru-Muratos of Highland Bolivia
- 1984 Vincent Thomas Tucker. Community Development through Co-operatives: a case study of Glencolumbcille in the N.W. of Ireland.
- 1985 John Frederick Harlan III. Predynastic Settlement Patterns: a view from Hierankopolis.
- 1985 Jeffrey Kevin McKee. Patterns of Dental Attrition and Craniofacial Shape among Australian Aborigines.
- 1986 Charlotte Fay Chase. Food Shortage as a Political Symbol in pre-Solidarity Poland.
- 1986 Douglas Randall Givens. Alfred Vincent Kidder and the Development of Americanist Archaeology.
- 1986 Linda L. Taylor. Kinship, Dominance and Social Organization in a Semi-Free Ranging Group of Ringtailed Lemurs (*Lemur catta*).
- 1986 Patti Jo Wright. Analysis of Plant Remains from the Bridgeton Archaeological Site (23 SL442): Late Woodland and Emergent Mississippian Assemblages.
- 1987 Diane O'Rourke Bennett. The Cultural Institution of Class: resource control, social relations, and cultural processes in a community on the Pelion Peninsula of Greece.
- 1987 Michael Jeffrey Fuller. Abila of the Decapolis: a Roman-Byzantine city in Transjordan.
- 1987 Charles Floyd Hildebolt. Methods for Studying Geochemical-Dental-Disease Interrelationships, including the assessment of periodontal disease by digital imaging.
- 1987 Adria Jean Laviolette. An Archaeological Ethnography of Blacksmiths, Potters and Masons in Jenne, Mali (West Africa)
- 1987 Gail Elaine Wagner. Uses of Plants by the Fort Ancient Indians.
- 1988 Katherine Lee Hall. The Morphosyntax of Discourse in De'kwana Carib.
- 1988 Hernan Torres. The Drama of the Passion: symbolism, sentiment, and reality in a traditional society

- 1990 John Austin Shoup. Hima: a traditional Bedouin land-use system in contemporary Syria and Jordan.
- 1991 Norman Rogerio Castro Coronado. Behavioral Ecology of Two Coexisting Tamarin Species (*Saguinus fuscicollis* and *Saguinus mystax mystax*, Callitrichidae, Primates) in Amazonian Peru.
- 1992 Pamela Cathy Ashmore DeClue. Macaques – an Adaptive Array: a summary and synthesis of the literature on the genus *Macaca* from an ecological perspective.
- 1992 Jeremy Roger Geller. Predynastic Beer Production at Hierakonpolis, Upper Egypt: archaeological evidence and anthropological implications.
- 1992 Kevin Lee Kuykendall. Dental Development in Chimpanzees (*Pan troglodytes*) and Implications for Dental Development Patterns in Fossil Hominids.
- 1992 Jian Leng. Early Paleolithic Technology in China and India.
- 1992 Pia Dagny Anita Nystrom. Mating Success of *Hamadryas*, *Anubis*, and Hybrid Male Baboons in a 'Mixed' Social Group in the Awash National Park, Ethiopia.
- 1992 Michelle Linda Sauther. The Effect of Reproductive State, Social Rank, and Group Size on Resource Use among Free-Ranging Ringtailed Lemurs (*Lemur catta*) of Madagascar.
- 1993 Niki Rose Clark. The Estuquiña Textile Tradition: cultural patterning of late prehistoric fabrics, Moquegua, far southern Peru.
- 1993 Helen Kathleen Cook. Small Town Talk: the undoing of collective action in two Missouri towns.
- 1993 Carol Diaz-Granados Duncan. The Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Missouri: a distributional, stylistic, functional, contextual, and temporal analysis of the state's rock graphics
- 1993 Rebecca Sue Procter. Social and Economic Implications of Design Structure in Prehistoric Ceramics of the Taos District.
- 1993 Rebecca Lee Torstrick. Raising and Rupturing Boundaries: the politics of identity in Acre, Israel.
- 1994 Cristobal Gnecco. The Pleistocene/Holocene Boundary in the Northern Andes: an archaeological perspective.
- 1994 Lisa Lofland Gould. Patterns of Affiliative Behavior in Adult Male Ringtailed Lemurs (*Lemur catta*) at the Beza-Mahafaly Reserve, Madagascar.
- 1994 Christine Kay Hensley. The Archaic Settlement System of the Middle Green River Valley, Kentucky.
- 1994 Carol Jean Campbell Maxwell. Meaning and Motivation in Pro-Life Direct Action.
- 1995 Louis Scott Kidder. Mechanism of Impaired Bone Formation in Hypokinetic Osteopenia.
- 1995 Mary Shannon Willis. Dental Variation in Asian Colobines.
- 1996 David John Bergeson. The Positional Behavior and Prehensile Tail Use of *Alouatta palliata*, *Ateles geoffroyi*, and *Cebus capucinus*.

- 1996 Benjamin Zachary Freed. Co-occurrence among Crowned Lemurs (*Lemur coronatus*) and Sanford's Lemurs (*Lemur fulvus sanfordi*) of Madagascar.
- 1996 Miyako Inoue. The Political Economy of Gender and Language in Japan.
- 1996 Ellen Ruth Miller. Mammalian Paleontology of an Old World Monkey Locality, Wadi Moghara, Early Miocene, Egypt.
- 1996 Juliet Elizabeth Morrow. The Organization of Early Paleoindian Lithic Technology in the Confluence Region of the Mississippi, Illinois and Missouri Rivers.
- 1997 Ian Charles Colquhoun. A Predictive Socioecological Study of the Black Lemur (*Eulemur macaco macaco*) in Northwestern Madagascar.
- 1997 Fusun Ertug-Yaras. An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Subsistence and Plant Gathering in Central Anatolia.
- 1997 John Michael Fay. The Ecology, Social Organization, Populations, Habitations, and History of the Western Lowland Gorilla (*Gorilla gorilla gorilla* Savage and Wyman 1847)
- 1997 Edwins Laban Moogi Gwako. The Effects of Women's Land Tenure Security on Agricultural Output among the Maragoli of Western Kenya.
- 1997 Gary Todd Schwartz. Taxonomic and Functional Aspects of Enamel Cap Structure in South African Plio-Pleistocene Hominids: a high resolution computed tomographic study.
- 1997 Natalia Vasey. Community Ecology and Behavior of *Varecia variegata rubra* and *Lemur fulvus albifrons* on the Masoala Peninsula, Madagascar.
- 1997 Carmen Maria White. Cultural Continuity and Discontinuity between the Home, the School, and the Peer Group and their Impact on Academic Performance: the 'multiple worlds' of Fijian Students.
- 1998 Rebecca Rogers Ackermann. A Quantitative Assessment of Variability in the Australopithecine, Human, Chimpanzee, and Gorilla Face.
- 1998 Shimelis Beyene Gebru. The Role of Female Mating Behavior in Hybridization between Anubis and Hamadryas Baboons in Awash, Ethiopia.
- 1998 Ksenija Borojevic. The Relations among Farming Practices, Landownership and Social Stratification in the Balkan Neolithic Period.
- 1998 Robert William Jamieson. The Effects of Seasonal Variation of Fruit Availability on Social and Foraging Behavior in *Macaca fascicularis* in Mauritius.
- 1998 Richard Otieno Kisiara. Labor Contracts in Polyethnic Agricultural Resettlement in Western Kenya.
- 1998 Kennedy Khabwoli Mutundu. Ethnohistoric Archaeology of the Mukogodo in North-Central Kenya: contemporary hunter-gatherer subsistence and the transition to pastoralism in secondary settings.
- 1998 Lisa Madeleine Rose. Behavioral Ecology of White-Faced Capuchins (*Cebus capucinus*) in Costa Rica.
- 1998 Mohammad Ali Shahbazi. Formal Education, Schoolteachers, and Ethnic Identity among the Qashqa'i of Iran.
- 1998 Anne-Michelle Singleton. The Phylogenetic Position of *Otavipithecus Namibiensis*: quantitative character coding in hominoid phylogeny reconstruction.

- 1999 Thad Quincy Bartlett. Feeding and Ranging Behavior of White-Handed Gibbons (*Hylobates lar*) in Khao Yai National Park, Thailand.
- 1999 Margaret Louise Brown. Authority Relationships and Trust: social cohesion in the eastern Masoala Peninsula, Madagascar.
- 1999 George Martin Crothers. Prehistoric Hunters and Gatherers, and the Archaic Period Green River Shell Middens of Western Kentucky
- 1999 Joy Zalis Kiefer. Overcoming a Problem of Collective Action: savings and loan associations and the Hausa women of Niger.
- 1999 Shawn Michael Lehman. Biogeography of the Primates of Guyana.
- 1999 Laura Kristina Marsh. Ecological Effect of the Black Howler Monkey (*Alouatta pigra*) on Fragmented Forests in the Community Baboon Sanctuary, Belize.
- 1999 Jim Alan Railey. Neolithic to Early Bronze Age Sociopolitical Evolution in the Yuanqu Basin, North-Central China.
- 2000 Don Conway-Long. Dreadfully Changing: the pressures of mutability on men and masculinities in Morocco.
- 2000 Chester Robert Cain. Animals at Axum: initial zooarchaeological research in the later prehistory of the northern Ethiopian highlands.
- 2000 Lucretia Starr Schryver Kelly. Social Implications of Faunal Provisioning for the Cahokia Site: initial Mississippian, Lohmann phase.
- 2000 Karen Ann Kroeger. Risk, Boundary Making, and the Social Order: understanding the social construction of AIDS and sexuality in Indonesia.
- 2000 Kimberly Anne-Isola Nekaris. The Social Ecology of the Mysore Slender Loris (*Loris tardigradus lydekkerianus*) in Dindigul, Tamil Nadu, South India.
- 2000 Michele Lea Williams. Evidence for Medicinal Plants in the Paleoethnobotanical Record of the Eastern United States during the Late Woodland through Mississippian Periods.
- 2001 Gina Sue Powell. Hunting and Farming between the Plains and the Southwest: analysis of archaeobotanical remains from the Henderson site, Roswell, New Mexico.
- 2002 Brian Michael Howell. At Home in the World: Philippine Baptists and the creation of context.
- 2002 Carol Kornfield Lesorogol. Cutting up the Commons: the political economy of land privatization among the Samburu of Kenya.
- 2002 Ruth Shahack-Gross. Taphonomy of Abandoned Maasai Settlements in Southern Kenya with Special Reference to Livestock Enclosures: implications for the spread of pastoralism in East Africa.
- 2002 Erin Elizabeth Stiles. A Kadhi and his Court: marriage, divorce, and Zanzibar's Islamic legal tradition.
- 2003 Susheela Athreya. A Quantitative Assessment of Patterns of Geographical Variation in Middle Pleistocene *Homo* Frontal Bone Morphology by using Fourier Analysis.
- 2003 Jacinta Catherine Beehner. Female Behavior and Reproductive Success in a Hybrid Baboon Group (*Papio hamadryas hamadryas* x *Papio hamadryas anubis*).

- 2003 Georgia Mudd Britt. A Re-Examination of Ceramic Standardization and Household Production at Bezuapan, Veracruz, Mexico.
- 2003 Elisabeth Anne Hildebrand. Enset, Yams and Honey: Ethnoarchaeological Approaches to the Origins of Horticulture in Southwestern Ethiopia.
- 2003 Donald Hoon Ko. The History of Japanese Archaeology from 1868 to 1970s.
- 2003 Elizabeth Jane Monroe. Faunal Resource Selection and Use, and the Development of Agriculture in the Eastern Woodlands of North America.
- 2003 Jacqueline Jane Hilliard Rouff. Personality Traits of Captive Lion-Tailed Macaques.
- 2003 Charles Lee Shannon. African-American Academic Achievement: experiments in less visible worlds.
- 2003 Myron Shekelle. Taxonomy and Biogeography of Eastern Tarsiers.
- 2003 Patricia Sothman Vinyard. Postcranial Variation in Hominoids and Monkeys.
- 2004 Gareth S. Barkin. Producing Indonesia : the derivation and domestication of commercial television.
- 2004 Jenna Marie Hamlin. Sociopolitical Significance of Moorehead Phase Ceramic Assemblage Variation in the Cahokia Area.
- 2004 Jason Alan Kaufman. Pattern and Scaling of Regional Cerebral Glucose Metabolism in Mammals.
- 2004 Crickette Marie Sanz. Behavioral Ecology of Chimpanzees in a Central African Forest: Pan troglodytes troglodytes in the Goulougo Triangle, Republic of Congo.
- 2004 Kathryn Elizabeth Townsend. Stratigraphy, Paleoecology, and Habitat Change in the Middle Eocene of North America.
- 2005 Jennifer Gail Curtis. A Peopled State: community development and making peace in Northern Ireland.
- 2005 Jacqueline A. Lewis-Harris. Anina Asi A Mavaru Kavamu – We don't dance for nothing: Solien Besena cultural retention in urban Australia.
- 2005 Laura Lynn Shackelford. Regional Variation in Postcranial Robusticity in Late Upper Paleolithic Humans.
- 2005 Sarah Catherine Walshaw. Swahili Urbanization, Trade, and Food Production: botanical perspectives from Pemba Island, Tanzania, A.D. 600-1500.
- 2006 Justin Winfield Adams. Taphonomy and Paleoecology of the Gondolin Pli-Pleistocene Cave Site, South Africa.
- 2006 Seth David Dobson. Comparative Study of Facial Mobility in Anthropoid Primates.
- 2006 Angela Gordon Glore. Domesticated Chenopodium in North America: comparing the past and the present.
- 2006 Karla Marie Hansen-Speer. Subsistence and Economy of a Classic Hohokam Site in Southern Arizona: a paleoethnobotanical analysis of the Marana.
- 2006 Kathleen Marie Muldoon. Environmental Change and Human Impact in Southwestern Madagascar: evidence from Ankiltelo cave.
- 2006 Katherine McKisson Roberts. Seasonality, Optimal Foraging, and Prehistoric Plant Production in the Lower Mississippi in the Tensas Basin.

- 2007 Laura L. Cochrane. Social Processes of Arts Production: tapestry weaving in northwestern Senegal.
- 2007 Darla Darlene Dale. An Archaeological Investigation of the Kansyore, later Stone Age Hunter-Gatherers in East Africa.
- 2007 Anneke Marie DeLuycker. The Ecology and Behavior of the Rio Mayo Titi Monkey (*Callicebus oenanthe*) in the Alto Mayo, Northern Peru.
- 2007 Kathleen Fenner Laird. Whose Islam?: Pakistani women's political action groups speak out.
- 2007 Jennifer Anne Weghorst. Behavioral Ecology and Fission-Fusion Dynamics of Spider Monkeys (*Ateles geoffroyi*) in Lowland, Wet Forests.
- 2008 Maria Christina Bruno. Waranq Waranqa: ethnobotanical perspectives on agricultural intensification in the Lake Titicaca Basin (Taraco Peninsula, Bolivia)
- 2008 Benjamin Philip Carter. Technology, Society and Change: shell artifact production among the Manteno (A.D. 800-1432) of coastal Ecuador.
- 2008 Libby W. Cowgill. The Ontogeny of Recent and Late Pleistocene Human Cranial Robusticity.
- 2008 Bertin Magloire Louis, Jr. Protestant or Christian: symbolic boundaries and long-distance nationalism among Protestant Haitians in Nassua, Bahamas.
- 2009 Catrina Trainor Adams. Surplus Production and Socio-Political Change in the Viking/Medieval Transition: a paleoethnobotanical investigation of Quoygrew farm, Orkney.
- 2009 Rachel Heather Dunn. Mammalian Postcranial Evolution and Primate Extinction in the Middle Eocene of North America.
- 2009 Vanessa Marie Hildebrand. Sumbawan Obstetrics: the social construction of obstetrical practice in rural Indonesia.
- 2009 Hyeon Jung (Kate) Lee. States of Suffering: female suicide, subjectivity, and state power in rural north China.
- 2009 Jennifer Anne Quincey. Symbols and Symptoms: adult learns in Welsh language revitalization.
- 2009 Puneet Kaur Chawla Sahota. With Reservations: Native Americans' complex relationships with medical/genetic research.
- 2010 Tafline Constance Arbor [Crawford]. The Makapanspat Hominins: a descriptive and comparative morphological study.
- 2010 Maria Mercedes Guterrez Alvarez. Taxonomic and Ecological Characterization of a Late Oligocene Mammalian Fauna from Kenya.
- 2010 Katherine Rose Hejtmanek. Mad Love: life and change in an American adolescent residential treatment center.
- 2010 Baris Isci. 'Proper' Muslim against 'authentic' Kyrgyz: the formation of Islamic field and secular challenges in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.
- 2010 Stephanie Larchanche. Cultural Anxieties and Institutional Regulation: 'specialized' mental healthcare and 'immigrant suffering' in Paris, France

- 2010 Timothy Michael Schilling. An Archaeological Model of the Construction of Monks Mound and Implications for the Development of the Cahokian Society (800-1400 A.D.)
- 2010 Lior Weissbrod. The Small Animals of Maasai Settlement: ethnoarchaeological investigations of the commensalism model.
- 2011 Jose Mariano Capriles Flores. The Economic Organization of Early Camelid Pastoralism in the Andean Highlands of Bolivia.
- 2011 John Kevin Hanselka. Prehistoric Plant Procurement, Food Production, and Land Use in Southwestern Tamaulipas, Mexico.
- 2011 Elizabeth Temple Horton. The Ties that Bind: fabric traditions and fabric use in the Ozark Plateau.
- 2011 Anna Lisa Jacobsen. Making Moral Worlds: individual and social processes of meaning making in a Somali diaspora.
- 2011 Elizabeth Ann Keeley. Lemur catta in the Region of Cap Sainte-Marie, Madagascar: introduced cacti, xerophytic Didiereaceae-Euphorbia bush, and tombs.
- 2011 Blaine Clift Maley. Population Structure and Demographic History of Human Arctic Populations using Quantitative Cranial Traits.
- 2011 Anna Gabriela Warrener. Pelvic Shape, Hip Abductor Mechanics and Locomotor Energetics in Extinct Hominins and Modern Humans.
- 2011 Jennifer Solveig Wistrand. Becoming Azerbaijani: uncertainty, belonging, and getting by in a post-Soviet society.
- 2012 Katherine Mary Grillo. The Materiality of Mobile Pastoralism: Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives from Samburu, Kenya
- 2012 Sarah Jane Kendzior. The Uzbek Opposition in Exile: Diaspora and Dissident Politics in the Digital Age.
- 2012 Eric Scott Repice. Emerging Artists: An Ethnography of High Art in Higher Education.
- 2012 Christopher Arthur Shaffer. Ranging Behavior, Group Cohesiveness, and Patch Use in Northern Bearded Sakis (*Chiropotes sagulatus*) in Guyana.
- 2012 Rajaish Philip Geishan Vandercone. Dietary Shifts, Niche Relationships and Interspecific Competition in Sympatric Grey Langur (*Semnopithecus entellus*) and Purple-faced Langur (*Trachypithecus vetulus*) in Sri Lanka.

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V. Personal Recollections on the Early Development of the 1968 Department.

(Note: ‘personal’ in that I take full responsibility for errors, and also that I have editorialized in places. But this section has benefited significantly from comments and contributions by Bob Canfield, Steve Molnar, Bob Sussman, and Patty Jo Watson).

As a first observation, I might elaborate for some of my colleagues who have not gone through this exercise before, why I am a ‘seeing is believing’ kind of skeptic about our new building. As noted above, when the Department was formed in 1967-68, there had been talk since 1966 about the creation of a new ‘Social Science Building’ which would include Anthropology. When I was hired in the spring of 1970, as one of the enticements to come to WUSTL, John Bennett told me that a new building was in the offing. And soon after I arrived and started teaching the first semester here, the department faculty received a memo from Bennett dated November 19, 1970 regarding the proposal to move into a new building, particularly asking the physical and archaeology faculty to explicitly specify what lab and research space and equipment we would need in the “New Social Science Building”. Over the years, at least more three times since then, I have received the same type of memo from the then current chairman, asking what my lab and research space needs would be, what my lab equipment needs were, for the new building, which assuredly was going to be constructed this time. At least twice the planning went as far as having preliminary architectural schematics drawn up, only to have the idea dissipate. I used to joke back then that I would be retired before a new building would happen, but writing this 42 years after the first time I was involved in such planning, I wonder if my retirement in 2016 may actually come before any new promised building to house anthropology is actually finally constructed. And in fact that would be 50 years after the first proposal for a WUSTL building to house anthropology was broached back in the spring of 1966.

And a few words about the leadership and growth of the department. I do not have access to all the documents, but the list of chairmen as I have been able to reconstruct from various sources, particularly the 2003 highly personal memoir by John Bennett, is included in Part IV, Figure #1. Bennett had been Chairman of the second version of the Department since its beginning in 1967-68, but after serving for about three years, he announced that he would no longer serve as Chairman, and the department would need to find a replacement. This was the context in which a chairing troika was formed, consisting of Marshall Durbin, Stephen Molnar, and Patty Jo Watson, who, along with Robert Canfield, were the then other senior tenured faculty. The plan was for three of them to take turns in rotation serving as chair. Patty Jo took the first year, and then Molnar took the next turn.

Initially life in the department was very harmonious. Marshall Durbin frequently hosted departmental get-togethers at his house in Clayton, nearly on a monthly schedule, to which the entire department faculty came. Several of us marveled about the harmony, having come from various departments at other institutions which had the typical intra-departmental feuds resulting from individuals bound to the same department by tenure, but having run into difficulties because, unlike business, it was not possible to readily displace recalcitrant colleagues.

The department believed itself on track to soon increase from 8 members to 12 members, from a four sub-discipline department with two tenured faculty in each sub-field, to one with three tenured faculty in each sub-field, but at this point internal strife

resulted in the shift to essentially a three sub-discipline department. During the time when Molnar was chair, Canfield noted that an explosive rift developed between Durbin and the other two troika members, in part related to the next sub-discipline recruitment priority, which eventually expanded to affect the whole department. After no resolution seemed forthcoming, the rest of the department met and decided to propose to Dean Ralph Morrow that Durbin be placed either as a university professor at large, or in a different department. Dean Morrow would not accept that proposal. Canfield noted that the issues with Durbin expanded to include his wife, who had been teaching as the second linguist in the department since the 1972-73 term, but was not on a tenure-track appointment. Mridula had expected to secure a tenured position in the department, and when this did not happen, the pair filed a lawsuit alleging discrimination. Not very long after this flare-up, Marshall Durbin died from asthma, and his wife moved over to the anthropology department at the University of Missouri – St. Louis. From that point forward the department has usually had one ‘token’ anthropological linguist, often quite gifted scholars, but these individuals have found being the single linguist not an academically satisfying position, and did not remain long.

Molnar and Watson did not want to continue this rotating practice of chairmanship among themselves, feeling that like Bennett, they had done their required service. They suggested that recently tenured departmental faculty, organized by seniority, should all serve three year terms sequentially. The benefit of this practice was envisioned as providing the department with a number of senior faculty members who understood the mechanisms of running the department as well as dealing with the administration, providing depth in management skills. Ed Montgomery nominated himself as the first candidate. One item that Montgomery was proud of accomplishing during his term was finding a set of mail boxes that would exactly fit the second door space of McMillan 112, our current mail set-up. While he served for three years, he came into conflict with a number of members of the department because of his management style. At the end of three years, the rest of the department asked Canfield to serve as chair. Montgomery tendered his resignation to Dean Morrow but without telling the Dean about the department's decision. The Dean initially refused to accept Montgomery's resignation; the Dean's stance was that it took the administration a finite period to learn to work with each new chairman, and it took the new chairman also a similar period of time to learn how to effectively execute the duties of the position. Dean Morrow felt that about the time both sides understood what was required for smooth operations in managing the department, that individual's term was over; thus he wanted the department to maintain the chairman's term longer than three years. After the faculty went to the Dean to explain this vote was the unanimous departmental position, which the Dean had not previously known, the Dean then appointed Canfield to be chairman.

Even though the administration was somewhat unhappy with the department's plan to cycle a chairman candidate in and out of the position every three years, and suggested more strongly that the department consider another plan, the department kept on with the short term tenure of individuals in that position. One of the rationales was that because of the then small size of the department, by alternating the position between a socio-cultural anthropologist, an archaeologist, and a biological anthropologist, each sub-discipline of the department would have an advocate for that period, eliminating any potentially lasting issues of heavy-handedness or favoritism. The administration's desire

to have an individual serving for a long term in the chairmanship position was finally satisfied with the later appointment of Dr. Richard Smith, who had been Assistant Dean at the Dental School, when he moved from the Medical Campus at the closing of the Dental School, to become the Chairman of Anthropology then for 15 years, before going on to become the Graduate School Dean.

The department had an excellent colloquia series during the first few years, thanks to funds provided anonymously by Charlie Thomas from his salary line. Thomas gave his courses in anthropology for free but the department's faculty were not supposed to officially know this. The story for public consumption was that an anonymous donor, a psychiatrist, had provided the funds. The department opted to use the money released from Thomas's salary for a series of lectures by major socio-cultural anthropologists, including Cyril Belshaw, David Mayberry-Lewis, and Victor Turner, among others.

It was during Canfield's second time as chairman that we had the first major spurt in growth, in large part due to the fact that the department agreed to have our first external review, with the idea of using this review as a tool to enhance our faculty and prestige. Richard Rossett, the new Dean of the Faculty, was anxious to show his ability to develop the university by focusing on different departments and trying to make them better. Most departments were reluctant to go through the outside peer evaluation, as it was a little known procedure for a healthy department, but our department invited Rossett to proceed with an evaluation of our program in hopes that his promise to use the review to enhance the department would in fact occur. Canfield's gamble paid off; in response to recommendations from that review, four socio-cultural anthropologists were hired shortly thereafter. Thus we hired three young anthropologists: John Bowen, Jean Ensminger, and Philippe Bourgois, all in the same year, as well as a senior anthropologist, Richard Fox, soon thereafter. And thanks to continuing conversations with the Medical School by Steve Molnar, it was also about this same time that the department added James Cheverud, Jane Phillips Conroy, Glenn Conroy, and Brian Suarez, as joint appointments, greatly benefitting the department. Subsequently, when Richard Smith came aboard, he was very active and skilled in recognizing and capitalizing on opportunities to add shared faculty appointments with other programs, and much of the current size of the department resulted from his able stewardship.

During the first few years, because the department had no institutional history of funding, our needs were great, but the resources were few. Let me give a brief flavor of this penury of the early years, based on my own experiences.

When I was first hired, the department could not even afford to buy me any office furniture. My desk, chair, and filing cabinets had to be 'borrowed' from Education, Sociology, and the Social Science Institute. I did not realize it at the time, but this office equipment was only available to Anthropology because of the downsizing in those areas. As an untenured assistant professor, I had visions of coming to work one day, and finding all my papers and books dumped unceremoniously on the floor in a big pile, as the staff from these those other departments reclaimed their furniture, a possible signal of the end of my position. That never happened; in fact I still am using the original desk and filing cabinets that the department obtained decades ago on loan.

Another story of the early poverty of the department: when the economy experienced a downturn in the mid-1970s, budget cut-backs left us with insufficient resources to fully fund what one might expect to be regular and normal departmental

office support. The department faculty were given a choice: one could have a phone with limited outside calling privileges, or instead of outside phone access, one could have slightly more mail privileges. Because I was working in Central Andes, where in the 1970s it was basically impossible to reach colleagues by phone, I opted not to have outside phone line privileges but rather to have mail support for my letters to colleagues in Peru and Bolivia. (For any outside calls, I went to the departmental office with my pitch for access.) Each item I mailed was noted and counted by the office staff and the postage charges added to my monthly total; more than once I was informed that I had gone over my mail quota. I heard frequent complaints from colleagues about the same issue regarding outside phone calls. The department initially could only afford to purchase a single slide projector (the University did not provide any kind of A.V. services or equipment back then, although it now has done a 180 degree turn in that area), which meant that Watson, Browman, Molnar, Sussman, and the rest of the teaching staff had to tightly schedule and shuttle the single projector back and forth between our competing lecture needs.

A quick note about the departmental founding of our anthropological honorary: Lambda Alpha – Beta chapter of Missouri, as I have not covered it elsewhere. Browman was interested in founding a chapter of this honorary for our students, and filed initial papers for creating the ‘Alpha’ chapter here at WUSTL. But when Pat Watson saw that the honorary’s definition indicated that it was for the ‘study of man’, she was adamant that we should not create a chapter until they eliminated the sexist language. Hence Browman got together with Dr. Van Reidhead, and the Alpha chapter was established at the University of Missouri – St. Louis. By 1991, the WUSTL department’s strongly worded objection to the discriminatory language registered with the headquarters of Lambda Alpha (which were at Ball State University in Indiana), and after they changed the wording at our request, our department established the ‘Beta’ chapter in Missouri that year. Our students have gone on to win the first graduate level research grant from this group, and our students also have competed for and received several other grants from Lambda Alpha over the years.

Anthropology ‘Space Wars’ and the Quest for Lab Space

Office and lab space needs resulted in continuing ‘space wars’ for the first few decades. The department was shoehorned into McMillan Hall, into space that was already claimed and utilized by Economics, Education, Sociology, the Social Science Institute, the Graduate Institute of Education, and even Psychology. Bob Canfield remembers that one of the times when he became departmental chair that Patty Jo Watson, the out-going chair, handed him a large private folder entitled “Space Wars” with the warning that this would take up much of his time and energy.

As one example of the continuing battle to secure space, John Bennett, who already had some research space because of his previous appointment in Sociology, sought more space for his new western Canadian research project. He had a project room on the first floor but for his research on the ‘Settlement of the West’ he needed more area. However he was told by the administration that nothing was available in the building. Bennett prowled around the building and found a room on the third floor that belonged to

Education but which was not then being used. He took it over and the chair of Education had no idea for several months that it was now Bennett's research space.

In a similar vein, Pat Watson later was able to convert one of the offices up on 3rd floor into a mini-lab. She had first asked for a one of the old trunk storage rooms on the north side of the 3rd floor, but was told that those spaces were not then being assigned. (These are the rooms on the north side of third floor with no windows, low slanted ceilings, and now mainly graduate student offices). However as Education shrank in size, and consolidated on the 2nd floor, Dr. Watson secured a room adjacent to her regular office on the 3rd floor to utilize as the *American Antiquity* editorial office from 1984 to 1987 when she was the journal editor, and when her editorial duties ended, she kept the office space and converted it into a lab research area.

We had a protracted battle to secure archaeological and biological anthropology lab space. The administration took a long time to understand that lab facilities were essential for a vibrant, research-oriented anthropology department. They had been familiar with the former Sociology-Anthropology department, where the anthropology component had been primarily staffed by professors with socio-cultural focus who generally had not had any lab space requirements. In the administration's mind, the practices of those socio-cultural anthropologists characterized all of anthropology for them: thus why did archaeology or biological anthropology keep asking for lab space?

First archaeology lab equipment.

I turn first to archaeological lab space and equipment, which I remember best from personal experience.

One of the new classes which was set up in consultation with Dr. Watson and Dr. Bennett when I first arrived in 1970 was a Saturday archaeological excavation training class to be offered in the spring semester. In answer to the petition that I filed with the administration indicating that I needed excavation equipment for a class of 20 students, I was called to Dean of Arts and Sciences Ira Hirsch's office, I assumed to arrange for funding for this request. Instead he had brought in a rickety, dilapidated garden wheelbarrow and a rusty old spade from his home in University City, as his reply to that request. Fortunately Dr. Watson had a long-term research project at Salts Cave in Kentucky. I was able to borrow some equipment from that project, and Dr. Molnar had a little money in his lab budget which he generously used to buy some equipment for the class as well, so we were able to minimally equip the first excavation class in spite of these obstacles. But it was years before the administration provided us with requested funds for even the most basic equipment. The department chair had to repeatedly beg the Arts and Sciences Dean for everything beyond basic salaries and minimal office space.

The department was especially handicapped by its small size, reduction in funding sources, and continued problems with maintenance. For example, as detailed in the 'lab space quest wars' below, when the fume hood purchased from Chemistry in 1987 was installed, the fans were installed wrong and blew backwards. When we needed cold water in the paleoethnobotany lab, maintenance tapped into the heating pipe instead of cold water for this line, which persisted for several months before being corrected. The

department in its early days had a severely restricted budget by Deans whom we came to feel looked upon us as something of a nuisance – interesting people but still a nuisance.

Archaeology Lab Space

The first place the archaeologists were offered for laboratory work was the abandoned ROTC shooting range in a building space located off of the Brookings Quadrangle. This space became available to us in part because of the 1969 Washington University student anti-Vietnam war ‘riots’ which included the burning of the ROTC building which had been situated over by the Millbrook Field House, resulting in the subsequent temporary suspension of the ROTC program on campus. But the ROTC firing range space had floors then only in two places, at one end for the shooter, and the other end for the targets, and in between there were just bare rafters.

After we explained why this space was not suitable for a lab, in part because we needed counter space to process materials recovered from middens, and mentioning as well that we needed water to process these midden assemblages, further having to explain that the term ‘midden’ was archaeological jargon essentially covering prehistoric refuse deposits (our mistake for using such language), the Dean then assigned us the garbage can washing room in a one car garage unit in the old faculty housing on Millbrook (now remodeled as the Millbrook Student Housing on Snow Way). This was also the place where the garbage incinerator had been located for the faculty apartments. While, yes it had a fixture for washing garbage cans and thus it had water, it was extremely filthy with no lights, heat, chairs, tables, etc. After one visit, we quickly pointed out its deficiencies.

The next place we were offered for lab space was the basement of Graham Chapel. The chapel basement had some old choir robe changing rooms, no longer being used. This was at least tolerable for temporary space. We used the two small robe closets and changing rooms for equipment and artifact collection storage, and in the larger apparently previous practice room, we put in some tables, chairs and shelving for lab work. It was seen as an appropriate space by the Dean because it was adjacent to the ‘cage’ where the remnants of the Terry Osteological Collection were stored. These were the specimens from the Terry collection which lacked proper documentation and so had not been sent with the rest of the skeletal material on loan to the Smithsonian Institution, but which Dr. Molnar found useful for teaching human osteology. As noted elsewhere, the bulk of the Terry Collection (sometimes called the Terry-Trotter collection, because as reviewed above, Dr. Trotter took over building the collection from Dr. Terry) had previously been sent to the Smithsonian Institution on permanent loan. Dr. Molnar had been successful in rescuing the few remaining skeletons and Terry’s personal library from the Medical School, with the hope of turning the materials into a teaching lab collection. After Dr. Molnar had discovered pilfering of the bones by campus students for Halloween and other pranks, he had a chicken-wire ‘cage’ built around the remaining bone boxes to deter further destruction of the collection.

But we soon discovered the basement of Graham Chapel at that time had a partially clogged drainage system. So more than once we went down to the lab, only to find 6-12 inches of water on the floor. We quickly learned not to put anything in storage on or near the floor, and to put the wooden chairs up on the tables when we left for the

day. And except for the unwanted water from the flooding, otherwise there was no sink or other running water source at that time. This space was very isolated then, and had only one dark stairwell entry. The current rather recent building re-configuration of multiple well-lit airy entries into the basement (and running water) was not then in place, and our students, particularly female, felt quite a bit at risk, if working alone in that archaeology lab. At that time there was no phone service available to call for aid; cell-phones were not yet on the scene, and the university would not put in a phone line.

To store analytical collections for future research, as well as to comply with federal regulations for curating collections excavated from federal lands, we secured use of one of the old ammunition bunkers that the federal government had de-accessioned after World War II and which had been obtained by the university as part of their Tyson Valley Research Center. This bunker turned out to minimally meet the then federal standards then for curation, because being underground, it had the required constant temperature (about 55 degrees), and the required constant humidity (we bought two de-humidifiers to keep the humidity low).

The archaeologists also got permission from Dr. Molnar to use the loft space next to his photo darkroom in McM 259 as a drafting room (this same space has recently been Dr. Smith's office). This little loft was at the east end of what had been a gymnasium during McMillan Hall's days as a girls' dorm, and the loft had been the projectionist's booth for movies shown to audiences assembled in the gym. Because the university was not providing lab support yet, Pat Watson paid out of pocket for our graduate student, Bill Marquardt, to drive over and purchase a used drafting table from surplus U.S. Army supplies which were then available for educational institutions through an outlet in Jefferson City.

Another teaching lab space we sought in these first decades was the kitchen space next to the cafeteria in McMillan. The cafeteria was still functioning at that point, but the kitchen itself had been decommissioned and cafeteria food was brought in by van from across campus. By 1976 we had secured access to the decommissioned kitchen, although a good portion of the kitchen equipment was still in the room. The kitchen still had the six-inch raised stainless steel drainage catchments where the steam kettles had been along the east and south walls; it still had the dumb waiter which had been used to bring supplies up from the basement storeroom and basement walk-in freezer (now the Human Osteology lab) right in the middle of the room; it still had the drain boards and machines for dish and tray washing at the north end, and so on. So for the first years the lab was in use, we only had adequate access to about half to two-thirds of the potential workspace. Later in 1989 we finally received funding to have those kitchen equipment features removed, to the lab's current configuration.

In writing this section, I pulled out one of our many old petitions to the Dean's office for lab space from my files, this one dated 1987, to refresh my memory. This petition indicated that archaeology had the official support of the department to "once again" ask the administration for the cafeteria in addition to the kitchen as lab space. We justified this in part, in addition to our research needs, because the department found the presence of a cafeteria serving three meals a day in the midst of our offices and classrooms, with its attendant noise, crowds of chatting students clogging the hallways at noon, garbage strewn around the building, etc., quite disruptive.

The archaeologists also had looked initially at the food services basement storeroom where the Human Osteology lab is currently, but at that time there was no money in the budget for renovation, and our requests for such help from the administration were turned down. And as well, Dr. Sussman had set up a mini-lab for primatology in the northwest corner office in the storage area under the kitchen, and the large walk-in cooler still functioned well enough that it was being utilized to store both various anthropoid specimens from the St. Louis zoo for dissection, as well as to store the occasional road-kill to deflesh to obtain skeletons for zooarchaeological comparative specimens. It was suggested that because of the cooler, that this basement storage space should be reserved for the next biological anthropology lab rather than archaeology lab, if and when we secured funds to make the space appropriate for teaching.

Slowly archaeology secured appropriate teaching and research lab space in various additional basement rooms. Dr. Molnar had recruited various individuals from the McMillan building janitorial maintenance staff in the first few years to scout for clues for empty or unused rooms in the basement to assist us in this quest. Some of these rooms had been claimed by Psychology, for example, but had not been used by them for years. However in space wars on campus, departments are notoriously reluctant to give up any claim.

Browman was then interested in researching phytoliths as a possible aid in identifying the origins of plant and animal domestication, so we purchased a fume hood from a campus chemistry building remodeling project, and converted one of the abandoned basement restrooms into a 'wet lab'. Unfortunately, the first time the fume hood was used to process materials to extract phytoliths, we discovered why chemistry had 'surplused' it; not only had campus maintenance not installed it correctly, but it simply did not work properly for the boiling of the caustic acids required, and the entire building was filled with miasmic fumes. End of phytolith work. This room then was used a regular 'wet lab' space.

We had a recurring problem with the original 1906 building construction technique that plagued basement labs. A sparse mixture of acorn- and walnut-sized pieces of coal had been included with other more standard rock materials in the concrete aggregate when the McMillan Hall first floor was poured. Over time, the coal absorbs water, swells and ultimately fractures the concrete matrix, and chunks of the concrete aggregate simply occasionally fall off the ceilings of the basement labs onto whatever is below. The first time I remember this happening was when we had borrowed a set of comparative llama and alpaca skeletons from the Field Museum in 1977, to help identify some of the faunal specimens I had recovered from my excavations at Chiripa in Bolivia, and which Jon Kent was using during the analysis and write up for his Ph.D. We came in one morning to find the skeletons smashed into multiple fragments by a large slab of aggregate which had fallen from the ceiling. I need not tell you what the Field Museum folk thought of this when we returned the shattered collection in 1982. The occasional ceiling collapse happened I believe in every one of our basement labs over time. I know it happened in the Watson/Browman field archaeology lab that was later the geoarchaeology lab. And, with more excitement in another basement room, which had been converted into the 'dry lab', and then into the zooarchaeology lab. Dr. Marshall was holding class in B10 on zooarchaeological techniques, when a chunk fell at one end of

the room, fortunately not hitting anyone, but producing a good deal of angst. Class was immediately cancelled in that room until the issue was addressed.

The zooarchaeology lab as well as the first paleoethnobotany lab were constructed in rooms which had been part of the space claimed by the Psychology department. This space had been arranged so that one of the set of rooms had a one-way mirror for observing behavior of children whose parents had agreed to having them being engaged as subjects for the experiments for some kind of child psychology research, with a second room behind the mirror set aside for the experimenters to sit in and take notes. The playroom space was converted into the first paleoethnobotany lab, initially used by Dr. Leonard Blake, but soon given to Dr. Fritz. Because we have had good relationships with local avocational archaeologists, when the adjacent zooarchaeology lab had its official opening, we cut the ceremonial ribbon in front of the door when lab renovations were finished with a replica Plainview style Paleo-indian spear point, which had been flint-knapped with very beautiful workmanship by David Klostermeier, a point which Dr. Watson still has.

Browman and Watson shared a basement lab (now the Geoarchaeology lab) converted from old storage space. The southern end of that lab was underneath a women's restroom on first floor which had frequent flooding problems, the upshot of which was that waste water on these occasions dripped down on the specimens and counters in Watson and Browman's lab. When the leakage problems proved intractable, we finally convinced maintenance to close that restroom and it was converted into the current first floor lab space for paleoethnobotany. When Kidder came (and Watson was soon to leave), Browman and Watson transferred this lab space to Kidder. Browman moved his historical archaeology materials into the basement changing room for the showers of the former girls' dorm, and the old Browman-Watson lab was converted into the Geoarchaeology lab. Fortunately both spaces were remodeled a bit more quickly than had been some of the earlier facilities. And when both Dr. Frachetti and Dr. Freidel came with their attendant lab needs, the administration has been much quicker and more generous with their response to providing basic lab facilities.

We also secured the use of the B41 storage area early on. This storage area consisted of a pair of rooms back of the mop sink closet in the basement, which had been the showers of the old shower room complex when McMillan had been a girls' dormitory. The Education Department had been using the space for storage for some of their old files, but as that department shrank in size, and because of the marginal condition of the space, we secured the space from them for a possible on-campus archaeological storage facility. We utilized the 'lower' room for on-site storage for materials less likely to be damaged by the constant water leak along the south wall, such as various students' and faculty unprocessed project sediment and flotation samples, excavation equipment, the lab's flotation barrels, etc. The somewhat elevated middle hallway that linked to the stairs up into the southwest 'tower' was at first used for dry storage. But after campus maintenance crews left the door to the basement storage area from this 'tower' unlocked several times, and our various collection materials were pawed through and stolen, we had to abandon use of that hallway, and secure padlocks of our own on all the remaining doorways. The 'upper' room on B41 we furnished with a lab table and as well we moved several of the strong steel storage shelves which we had purchased for the Graham Chapel lab space over to this part of B41, but we soon

discovered the space was not conducive to research either (too dark, dingy, damp and isolated), and it became storage space for the 'Adams Collection' (a collection precipitously de-accessioned from the St. Louis Science Center in response to NAGPRA legislation), as well as some ethnographic materials. Regrettably even that room leaks in heavy rains, resulting in damaging and destroying some field collections and comparative materials. As a result we finally transferred the ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological collections first, and then recently also the Adams Collection, to the Illinois State Museum in Springfield.

Initially some of the basement wall leaks along the south side of this part of the building were so bad that water actually ran down the corridor in the west part of McMillan basement after heavy rains. Pat Watson remembers seeing the water cascade down the short stairway outside of the Zooarchaeology lab, and then running on out the back door of McMillan Hall at the northwest corner (that entry has now been removed as part of the New Business Building #3 green space project). Although university maintenance has sought to address the leakage issues many times, as late as 2012 such leaks were still a significant problem, but when the Business School finishes destroying the labs during the removal of part of the west wing of McMillan hall for green space for their third building, those issues may finally be ended.

Biological Anthropology Labs.

When he first came, Dr. Molnar converted part of the projectionist room in McM 259 above McM 149 into a departmental photo darkroom, and also secured access to the old dining room bakery space in the northeast corner of the basement for physical anthropological lab space. After a design struggle with the university's architectural committee, Molnar was able to arrange to have the basement space partially remodeled by joining three small rooms, merging two and leaving one for an office, to utilize as a dental anthropology research lab, with a small 'loft' added later for storage. Subsequently these rooms were converted into one larger research space when the lab was upgraded for Dr. Trinkaus.

The rooms in the northwest corner of the basement under the former McMillan kitchen were acquired with great difficulty, as food services did not want to give up the storage space, even though they were not using most of it, except the walk-in cooler, as they were trucking in prepared food from elsewhere on campus. Initially the department shared the walk-in cooler with the cafeteria upstairs. But finally, after a few years, upon observing a partially dissected gorilla head next to a tray of potato salad, the cafeteria personnel changed their minds and ceded the space to the department. The first mini-lab for Dr. Sussman was a previous office/storage space at the far northwest corner. He had the area remodeled into an office with sinks, which was used for dissection and as an analytical lab space. As the physical anthropology needs grew (well, actually as money finally was available for remodeling by 1985), the previous basement food storage room and basement walk-in freezer for the kitchen, and the intervening space between Sussman's lab were first converted into a temporary lab space and work space. The physical anthropologists used the small connecting space in the middle for storage and display of some of their specimens. The large area with the walk-in freezer was used as an all purpose teaching lab for osteology, film analysis, skeletal analysis, etc. By the late

1980s, the walk-in freezer (which had failed) was ripped out, and this suite of three spaces was remodeled into its current configuration, primarily now used as a teaching lab, especially for Human Osteology, a lab course first taught by Dr. Sussman and more recently by Dr. Rasmussen.

There were half a dozen rooms at the south end of the basement, under McM 149, the first floor room which had been the former girls' gym. Heavy rains would result not only in leaks through the south basement wall of the foundation of McMillan, but rains also frequently flooded down the outside steps under the entry way door at the southwest corner, with the storm water surging into the hallway, flooding both it and adjacent rooms. Only recently did Building and Grounds raise the entry door sill at ground level, and enlarge the drainage catchment, so that the issue of water flooding in this door was ended. The two rooms nearest these entry stairs on the southwest side of the basement had been faculty office space claimed by the Russian/Slavic department before anthropology secured use of the rooms. Two other rooms in this corner were used as graduate student offices before later being turned into a journal storage space for the Anthropology library, and more recently, renovated as biological anthropology lab space for Dr. Tab Rasmussen. All of these spaces have been demolished this summer (2012) as part of the Business School Building #3 construction project.

The Terry Collection or Terry-Trotter Collection retrieval attempt in 1985.

Dr. Trotter had sent the major osteological 'Terry Collection' in six Beacon moving vans to the Smithsonian Institution in 1967 when she retired – as at that point, there was no one doing physical anthropology on campus (we missed it by just a year). In c. 1985, Pat Watson and I were informed that the mother of one of our former archaeology students, a student who had worked with both Pat and me on field projects, was so impressed and interested in our program, that she had given a significant endowment ear-marked for archaeological facilities and research to the university. My recollection was that it was quite large, perhaps half a million dollars (but none of us involved – Browman, Canfield, Molnar, Watson – can remember for sure).

The Department conferred with then Dean Richard Rossett about the idea of using this money to convert the cafeteria into a teaching museum, with one portion focusing on the archaeological collections such as the Knockers' materials as well as our on-going research projects in places like Kentucky, New Mexico, and Bolivia, and the rest of the space dedicated to storage and research for the osteological materials in the Terry collection. We had architects draw up designs and plans, and provide cost estimates for the shelving compactors, work stations, and other renovations.

However a number of subsequent actions terminated this project. Dean Rossett, who not only had helped us double the size of the department, but who also had been quite interested in helping to retrieve the Terry Collection from the Smithsonian Institution, had been replaced by Dean Martin Israel by Fall 1987; and, in the interim, Max Cowan also had been appointed Provost. Dr. Watson recollected receiving an agitated phone call in response to our attempt to seek information from the Smithsonian Institution on the progress of our request for the return of the collection, from Dr. T. Dale Stewart, Senior Physical Anthropologist there, who thought she was still chair. In the

original agreement signed when the collection was transferred in 1967, the collection was stipulated to be only a loan, and the university could request its return. Initially the Smithsonian Institution administrators reluctantly agreed they might have to return it. The collection was after all our university's property on loan (and still is). Dr. Stewart was quite worked up over the issue, and he heatedly told Dr. Watson in no uncertain terms in essence that possession was 9/10^{ths} of the law, and now that the Smithsonian had the collection, they would not return it, as it was too important a resource, that it was staying right there in Washington D.C. In addition Provost Cowan told Dr. Molnar that now the new personnel in the university's administration had changed their minds about turning the cafeteria space into a teaching museum. The Provost told Molnar that instead they had decided to keep the McMillan cafeteria as a meeting/reception place due to its ambiance. And Dean Israel told me, in a meeting we had at that time, that teaching museums such as we proposed were not then in the university's mission statement, that such things were already handled well by the St. Louis Art Museum and Missouri Historical Society Museum. And he also informed me that the mother who had made the endowment gift had been contacted by the WUSTL endowment office, and had been convinced by them that it would be a much greater aid to the university if her funds were instead employed for unrestricted student scholarship aid, so that the department no longer had access to these funds. These several events resulted in the end of our attempt to reunite the two parts of the Terry Collection, and to develop a teaching museum.

On a related note, it is difficult to tell how often donations may have been made to the Anthropology department by alums or their families. As detailed above, we only found out about the redirection of the large donation when we tried to spend it; we were not informed at the time that the administration had shifted the funds from our department coffers to the general fund. This was not, unfortunately, unique. We know several years ago also that one of our former archaeology undergraduate senior honors students, Doris Epstein, made a donation of \$1,000 to WUSTL specifically earmarked for our department. Dr. Watson, who was then serving as chair, only found out about it due to a clerical error, when she inadvertently saw a copy of the acknowledgement letter sent to Epstein from the administration. When Pat tried to find out about the donation, she discovered that it had been reassigned; when she tried to retrieve the funds, the administration finally grudgingly returned about 2/3 of the original donation. Are these the only two cases? No one in our department knows.

Seminar and Colloquium Rooms.

The larger room on the north side of the hall under McM 149, which had been another part of Dr. Jane Loevinger's research space for the child psychology project, was turned into the Anthropology library when Dr. Canfield was chairman. Our departmental administrative assistant, Marcella Waddell, had training in library science, and did a very good job of turning the donations from the department faculty (particularly major offerings from Dr. John Bennett) into a departmental library, and for some years it was part of every T.A.'s duties to serve as one of the departmental circulation librarians for a few hours every week so we could open and staff the library. Later we transferred those

library holdings to Olin Library, and turned the space into a departmental meeting and seminar room, B7. It has been destroyed this summer (2012).

The McM 149 classroom was changed into its recent configuration thanks in large part by the combined efforts of Dr. Smith and Dr. Sussman. When the department first had access to the room, there was a small stage at the west end, and movable desk-armed chairs were arranged facing that stage, in rows at right-angles to the long access, so that students in the last rows had a hard time hearing, much less seeing the blackboard. The seating was movable, because the room also doubled as a dance studio for campus dance classes at that time. Thus occasionally before one could start to teach a class session, the chairs had to be unstacked and set up before you could begin your lecture. (Elsewhere above I have documented the use of the room for its original gym purposes, followed by its use as a TV studio, and computer facility). Sussman worked with the university architects to change the seating and equipment arrangement, adding the projection cabinets at the back, the computer and web facilities, the microphones, and the fixed seating now arranged in east-west rows rather than the previous north-south arrangement, so that the room became one of our standard facilities for small and large departmental symposia and colloquia, as well as medium large anthropology classes of 120 students or less. It too has been destroyed this summer as part of the Business School Building #3 landscaping design.

Thus ends this version of my history of the department. July 1, 2012.