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Frank Gouldsmith Speck, 1881-1950

Ethnologist and Teacher

Frank Speck died February 6, 1950, at the age of 68, after two years' serious illness. He suffered his last relapse in the field, while studying the eagle dance ritual of the Alleghany Seneca. Those of us who were privileged to work with him will be forever humbled by three important traits of his character. Most conspicuous was his ability to communicate with his fellowman. This trait overcame all barriers, linguistic, cultural, and social. Speck met any man on his own ground, and from each he evoked what was worthy and constructive. Closely related to this was his tremendous enthusiasm for and interest in all phases of natural history and human experience. He viewed every biological and social organism with reverence and intellectual curiosity, and mind and spirit were enriched by every phenomenon he met. Finally, his great achievement in his chosen field was dearly won, in terms of energy, health, and self-interest. He gained for us a huge body of information and understanding about the tragic epic of Indian life in the Eastern Woodlands. This he accomplished by quiet but intense and patient labor in apparently barren fields of research.

In his youth Frank Speck came into close contact with the most conservative remnant of the Mohegan of Connecticut as well as with other primitives. Mohegan appealed to him as a linguistic challenge, and he had acquired a good knowledge of the Mohegan language and a start in American ethnology before he entered college. He came to advanced classical language studies with a good background in the classics and an interest in primitive languages and culture. Morris Jastrow, the Hebraic scholar and pioneer of "higher criticism" in biblical studies, introduced him

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THE DEER AND THE RABBIT HUNTING DRIVE IN VIRGINIA AND THE SOUTHEAST

FRANK G. SPECK AND CLAUDE E. SCHAEFFER

In an ethnological report on the Powhatan tribes of tidewater Virginia, Frank G. Speck in 1928 pointed out the occurrence of communal deer hunting in the subsistence economy of these southeastern Algonkians. [1] Historical evidence was adduced to show that two organized methods of deer hunting, (1) the fire surround and (2) the drive by men and dogs to water, were pursued in this region during the period of first contact with white men. The practice of the fire surround, we may assume, rapidly fell into disuse with the increasing settlement of the region by the English. In contrast, the persistence of the deer drive into modern times has made possible the recovery of many details of its organization and procedure. [2] Several visits to the Powhatan field by both of the present authors in 1938-40 yielded additional information on the Pamunkey deer hunt. Subsequent return to the region by Speck and a group of graduate students in 1940-43 turned up some unexpected data on another cooperative drive method—the rabbit hunt with throwing clubs among the neighboring Rappahannock and other groups of the Southeast. In the successive papers reporting the results of these inquiries, little or no attempt was made, beyond pointing out parallels in other areas, to analyze the relationships of the joint game procurement techniques involved, or to present their cultural and historical backgrounds. This study attempts to carry out this task, as well as to place on record the material mentioned above, hitherto unpublished, on the Pamunkey deer drive.

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1. F. G. Speck, *Chapters on the Ethnology of the Powhatan Tribes of Virginia. Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. 1, No. 5, New York, 1928, pp. 338-40.

2. The following notation was kindly supplied by Charles Edgar Gilliam, of Petersburg, Virginia, April 1, 1949: "There is a road near Petersburg extending through Dinwiddie County, now known as White Oak Road. In very early records, land now on this road was described as on *The White Oak Hunting Pathe*. Though a few whites, like James Needham, appear to have lived a little west of Petersburg prior to 1690 (he made a 1673 dash to the southernmost and westernmost limits of Cherokee country from here, and his location survives in *Needham's Branch* about 4 miles west of the city), Dinwiddie County filled up rapidly after 1690. This old Indian hunting path—styled by the English *The White Oak Hunting Pathe*—was evidently still in use, if not for driving deer, certainly for getting to hunting grounds west of here. As this item does not appear in readily available sources, it may fit in with the material in hand."

THE PAMUNKEY DEER DRIVE

Virginia Algonkian subsistence economy, it will be recalled, was earlier based upon mixed horticulture, hunting, and fishing. Hunting activities at Pamunkey and elsewhere in the area, accordingly, were confined to the season of October through February in the early reservation as well as in the aboriginal periods. On the approach of cold weather, the ruminants are said to leave the higher altitudes and descend to the lowlands along the stream. At this time both individual and communal hunts are still held. When deer were more abundant, the Pamunkey say that they frequently carried on the still-hunt from canoes at sunrise and at nightfall. Now, however, individuals seldom go out for deer more than two or three times a season. The cooperative drive is confined to a short period following the "tribute hunt" at Thanksgiving. It is held once a week until sufficient meat has been accumulated for the community. Any surplus is dried for future use. In 1938-39 only one deer was killed in the drive; the following season two were killed. Buck deer only are killed, the does and fawns being spared.

The annual deer drive at Pamunkey is an event of importance, when the hunters secure the venison which they carry to the Governor's house at Richmond in fulfillment of their treaty obligations to furnish yearly tribute in the form of flesh, fur, feathers, and scale. The tribute drive is now held some time around Thanksgiving. The Pamunkey are justly proud of the fact that they have performed this duty without a break since the adoption of the treaty between them and the General Assembly of Virginia in 1677.

In order to exhibit the communal hunt in its natural setting, it is necessary to characterize briefly the terrain, drainage, and flora of the Pamunkey habitat. The reservation comprises an area of some nine hundred acres. Two-thirds of this land, roughly, is virgin forested swamp, the balance being dry arable land suitable for cultivation. The swamp extends for four and a half to five miles along the Pamunkey River and encircles about four-fifths of the island-peninsula constituting the reservation. From higher ground towards the east, a series of creeks and

lagoons make their way through the interior of the swamp and open out into the river. The drives usually start at this higher ground, progress along the game runways generally paralleling the axes of the creeks, and terminate at some point along the river. The local vegetation is the arborescent growth of swamp-land in this latitude, swamp-gum, sour gum, swamp oak, maple, magnolia, hackberry, poplar, and their smaller ssociates. The natural inaccessibility and dense forest cover of this region offer a haven to both large and small species of game.

Personnel of the Drive Group.—The contemporary deer drive at Pamunkey seldom employs more than twelve to fifteen Indians, as contrasted with the two or three hundred participating in the hunt witnessed (1612) by Captain John Smith.[3] The hunters are divided by lot into two groups, the drivers and the canoemen. The drivers plunge into the swamp, accompanied by dogs, and drive the deer towards the river, where the canoemen await to shoot the animal as it emerges from the swamp. One of the hunters is informally selected leader of the drive held each season. The reservation chief also takes an active part in the drive or in the words of Paul Miles, "pushes the hunt."

Two men pair off for each canoe, one to propel and guide it and the other, the better marksman, to handle the rifle. The stands at which the canoes are stationed are also assigned by lot. As noted before, these are points along the river where the regular runways of the deer emerge from the swamp. Consequently, the best stands are those lying opposite the sections of swamp in which the deer are known to be most numerous. In order of preference, the following stands were named by Paul Miles: Rockyhock Point, Swetts Landing, Otterwallow, Whitehouse Point, Spring Creek, Indian Town Point, and Cornfield and Hog Pen Creeks.

The drive leader must be both an experienced hunter and a woodsman of considerable skill, as the outcome of the drive is largely dependent upon his efforts. He must also be in excellent physical condition, as his duties are arduous. He is required

3. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, quoted by Speck, op. cit., 1928, 339-40.

to traverse the slippery mud and ooze of the "wallows" [4] and tear through the tangled undergrowth of the swamp. He must keep his assistant drivers moving forward on a line and at the same rate that he is going. He must follow the dogs and their quarry as closely as possible in order to keep the latter headed for the river and the waiting marksmen. In brief, the drive leader, in the words of Paul Miles, must be a "hard fighter." Rarely was there more than one person considered eligible for the task in any one season. John Bradly, a skilled hunter and woodsman, has acted as leader for several recent seasons. Paul Miles has also served in the same capacity. In 1939 when a drive was held at Rockyhock Point, Claude Page was leader.

The pack of four to six dogs, employed to start and trail the deer in the communal hunt, is controlled and directed by the drive leader. For that reason he is often called the "dog master." He is commonly but not necessarily the owner and trainer. The dogs are trained especially for the drive and respond to the call of the hunting horn carried by their master. This instrument is fashioned from an ordinary cow horn of the type used among Southern white huntsmen. A bitch is regarded as the best type of lead dog, as she is considered to have a keener sense of scent. The pack is kept on leash at the start of the hunt and not released until the quarry is started. The bark or howl of each dog is known to the leader, and from the variations in sound he can determine the progress of the drive. From these sounds he knows when the dogs lose or find the scent, whether it is "hot" or "cold," etc. In addition, he is so familiar with the terrain that

4. Mud conditions are important factors of danger in the natural environment of the Pamunkey and Powhatan tribes. To quote from a previous work (Speck, op. cit., 1928, p. 337): "The Indians recognize two kinds of mud—the moderately firm and the 'floating' mud or 'floaty beds.' The former may be traversed by an experienced man if care is taken not to allow the weight of the body to remain more than an instant upon each leg, not to put the foot straight downward in the mud, but to proceed on flexed lower limbs, the weight carried on the shins. Should the mud be softer, of the floating variety, it may be necessary to advance prone on the belly in 'turtle' fashion. Movement must be continuous lest the body settle too deep to be worked loose." Paul Miles added remarks in 1949 as follows: "About the 'floaty beds,' if you don't know how to come out of them you will sink out of sight. They set a little higher than the other kind and look hard and dry. But when you break through the crust you go right down and have to crawl out."

From early childhood the Pamunkey are directed by their elders, who take them on duck hunting excursions for experience in the field. They learn how to estimate the solidarity of the terrain and to navigate mud surfaces of the river basin by crawling or creeping on bended lower knee and sliding with the help of a pole. The early explorers in the Virginia tidwater area encountered the discomfort and dangers of mud, especially at low tide. Smith (1612) wrote how the Indians waded out to his small craft and offered to carry the "sissified" English on their backs across the quaking mud flats to safety on higher ground (Tyler, quoted by Speck, op. cit., 1928, pp. 337-38).

he can tell which runway the deer is taking merely from the cries of the pack.

The best time to start the drive is in early morning when the tide in the river is low.[5] The most favorable wind is one from the west, as this carries the sound of the dogs and quarry back to the leader. The hunters assemble early in the place selected for the drive. Each carries a small bit of food in his pocket as sustenance for the strenuous exertions of the day. Certain preliminaries to the drive are now carried out. The leader prepares a number of small willow twigs, about the thickness of a match stick and ranging in length from 2½ to 3½ inches. These are tied at the center in a bundle and then held partially concealed in the hand of the leader, with only the leveled-off ends showing at the top. There are about as many long twigs as short ones, the total equalling the number of men in the group. Each hunter selects one. Those drawing the "longs" are assigned to positions in canoes, while the holders of the "shorts" form the drive party. Another selection by lot is held to determine the assignment of the best canoe stands. In this second trial the holders of the two longest twigs receive the two best stands. The rest of the canoemen arrange the selections of the remaining stands among themselves.

The hunters now depart in a group to take up their respective positions at various points. Each must reach his assigned place before the drive is started. The leader, the last to leave, makes his way with the other drivers to the place where the drive is actually to start. There he stations his assistants, at intervals, to form a line across the area to be covered. Of the drivers, the leader is the only one to carry a gun. As soon as the sounds of two shots fired by the last pair of canoemen to reach their station is heard, the drive is ready to begin. The occupants of the different canoes are required to remain at their stations until the dogs are recalled by a signal blast of the leader's horn.

The Deer Drive.—The drive leader gives the signal to the dogs with the cry, "Hush to! Rover (Rattler, Driver, Speed, Sport, etc.)." (The etymology of this command is unknown, but it may well represent a survival of the old Algonkian term.) At the

5. The rise and fall of the tide in the Pamunkey river in the longitude of the reservation, which is about seventy-five miles by its circuitous course from Chesapeake Bay, is about three to four feet.

same instant he moves forward, with his assistants, holding the dogs in leash. The dogs, infected with the excitement of the chase, bark and howl at the top of their voices. As soon as the dogs pick up the scent of a deer, the leash is slipped and they are off in full pursuit of the quarry. The drive leader and his companions follow as closely as possible upon the heels of the dogs, the leader constantly urging them on. Occasionally the deer attempts to elude pursuit by back-tracking upon the dogs and hunters. The leader must always be prepared for this attempt and try to turn the animal back towards the river.

More commonly, the deer continues in the runway, which eventually terminates at the river. The animal usually emerges from the swamp and takes to the water near one of the selected stands. The canoeman, alerted by the approaching noise of the hunt, drives his craft as close as possible to the swimming animal, so that his companion can place his shots. The marksman fires twice to dispatch his quarry and as a signal to his companions. If he should miss entirely, a penalty will be exacted of him later. Sometimes the dugout can be manoevered so close that the deer can be stunned by a blow from the paddle. The animal is now hauled into the canoe and its throat cut. The canoeman then makes for one of three customary landing places. Here the women and children of the village have assembled to greet the returning canoes and to learn the outcome of the drive. The leader, meanwhile, has recalled the dogs with a blast of his horn. He and the drivers, as well as the occupants of the other canoes, now make their way to the assembly place. Within the memory of this generation it has usually been located at Paul Miles landing.

Division of the Kill.—The assembled company now prepare to watch the division of the kill. Two of the hunters most adept at this work are appointed to skin and butcher the deer. An incision is made along the animal's underparts from the "crotch" to the throat and the hide removed. The exposed carcass is next suspended from a tree by passing a line through cuts made in the rear hocks. The entrails are removed and fed to the dogs, as are the lungs, which are never eaten by the Pamunkey. The carcass is now divided into as many portions as the number of individuals taking part in the drive. The drive leader, in accord-

ance with traditional custom, receives the head, a rear quarter, and the hide. Even though he may have killed a deer himself, he is not entitled to a greater share. If several deer have been killed, the driver is entitled to the best hide, the others being given to any who ask for them. The other hind quarter, the antlers and the skin from the head are given to the person who killed the deer. Both lower legs and antlers provide material for gun racks in the homes of the Pamunkey.

The remainder of the kill is now distributed by lot. It is usually cut up into three portions, the two front quarters and a third consisting of the neck and "middlings." If more than one deer has been killed, the portions are increased accordingly. These parts are next laid aside in a row about a foot apart. The drive leader then asks some person in the company to step forward. The one selected is blindfolded, or else turned so that he cannot see the piles of meat. The leader then steps forward beside the meat, points his finger at a certain portion, and asks, "Whose is this?" The blindfolded persons, in response, names some member of the drive party, the first to come to mind, and the one thus indicated steps forward to receive the portion allotted. In the same manner the other hunters are named in succession and the remaining piles of meat thus impartially disposed of.

The communal deer drive takes precedence over individual forms of hunting among the Pamunkey. The Indians, to implement the regulation, have set up and are prepared to enforce police regulations both preliminary to and during the course of the cooperative endeavor. During these periods any person who, by hunting individually in the area, renders uncertain the successful outcome of the drive, is subject to fine by the tribal chief. Evidently no breach of this tribal law has taken place, however, within traditional times, since informants were unable to recall any incident of the kind. Formal restraints upon individual freedom of action in hunting activities are more characteristic of areas where the predominant game animal is both gregarious and migratory, *i.e.*, the bison of the western plains. The Pamunkey ruling, it may be noted, represents an additional infringement upon individual rights, as the drive was carried on

across the individual hunting territories of certain of the tribesmen. The theoretical conflict between individual and communal prerogatives represents, most likely, a late historic condition. It dates back, presumably, only to the 17th century when the Pamunkey abandoned their communal hunting grounds in the Piedmont in favor of lands within the present reservation boundaries.

There are two other regulations connected with the village hunt. One of these requires that any hunter who leaves his canoe stand prematurely is subject to the penalty of having his shirttail cut off with a knife and hung up on a bush. Paul Miles recalls seeing three such pieces of cloth held up to public view, accompanied by considerable raillery and good-natured laughter directed at the victims during the close of one drive. Persons who had incurred this penalty were never required, however, to forfeit their share of the kill. The same penalty was exacted of any marksman who failed to hit and kill the deer from his canoe in the drive.

A few notes were collected in regard to inculcating the young in the procedures and organization of the game drive. Training for communal hunting began at an early period in life. Youths of fourteen were often selected to handle the dugout canoe, and in later times the plank skiffs, as a means of acquainting them with hunting techniques. Often younger boys were taken along as spectators for the same purpose. Old men, it was said, rarely took an active part in the drive.

Pictographic Representation of the Pamunkey Deer Drive.— The deer drive, especially the drive that took place in the fall to supply the annual tribute in accordance with the stipulation of the Treaty of 1677 requiring the Pamunkey to send tribute to the governor of Virginia, is one of the outstanding events in the social cycle of the Pamunkey Reservation. Paul Miles, ex-chief, had participated in various capacities in the deer drives since boyhood and the occasion was so deeply impressed on his consciousness that the idea took form in his mind to delineate its details in pictographic form. Prior to 1940 he had made several attempts to inscribe the procedure of the drive on wooden tablets or panels by means of black paint on a brown painted background. The panels measured about 1¾ x 13½ inches, four-

teen in number, and were strung vertically by a cord to be suspended and hung on the wall in his home. The pictographic narrative represented his fanciful conception of the drive from beginning to end, idealized by insertion of all incidents which in his memory clustered about it. His tablet was obtained during a field trip made by the research party in the fall of 1940, and is now in the collection of the Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado. The explanation of the glyphs was taken down in dictation by Virginia C. Speck, a member of the party, who also made a sketch of the figures thereon. Later questioned in detail, Paul Miles was reluctant to amplify his explanation to the extent of assigning narrative values to the single elements of design in the pictorial text. The rendition, therefore, stands as a generalized interpretation of the figures as he gave them to his questioner in the first recording.

The hunting score, as one might term it, must be considered as the product of ethnic intuition of the individual who made it, having no known connection with any continuous tradition of pictography within the group. A related manifestation of pictographic art, however, is to be found in the custom of inscribing events in the course of Indian-white history (unusually rich in the Virginia area from the era of Captain John Smith) on Pamunkey pottery, made for the tourist trade.[6] It should be noted that pottery has never ceased as a craft in the industrial history of the Pamunkey tribe. The hunting score, as here put on record, may be regarded as one of the unformulated traits functioning in the recent culture of the reservation—a "sub-cultural" phenomenon. Paul Miles disclaims having seen or heard of anything like this record among the Pamunkey men of his father's generation. As he expressed it concisely, it was his own idea. Whether the embryo of the idea represented in his product had developed from some obliterated memory or whether it constituted a response more appealing to his tradition as an Indian than to record it in faulty English raises a question that cannot well be answered. One more remark may be made. The Pamunkey Indians have always striven deliberately to perpetuate their

6. The Pamunkey Pottery School was founded on the Reservation in 1932 under the term of Chieftaincy of Paul Miles. Its purpose was to preserve and develop tribal crafts. Some of the pictographic designs used by Pamunkey potters were, it should be noted, derived from printed sources.

PAMUNKEY PICTOGRAPHIC TABLET

Planning for big hunt, plenty to eat. Men bring food.

(1) Wavy lines denote "planning'; (2) figure denotes plenty of meat hung on rack; (3) figure of man; (4) meat hung on carrying pole.

On full moon. Runners, drivers and dogs.

(1-2) Duplicated figures of moon; human figures showing deer "runners" and "drivers"; (5) dog.

Men are placed on points near "Crooked Maple" by stream.

(1) Figure of man; (2) marks for location of hunters' places at creek outlets; (3) deer head (?); (4) figure of "crooked maple" tree; (5) lagoon in river; (6) river.

After the hunt they were to have a big dance near river.

(1-5) Squares and filled areas denote dance ground, houses and arrangement of participants, details not specified; (6) wavy lines, the river.

It rained 3 days and 3 nights.

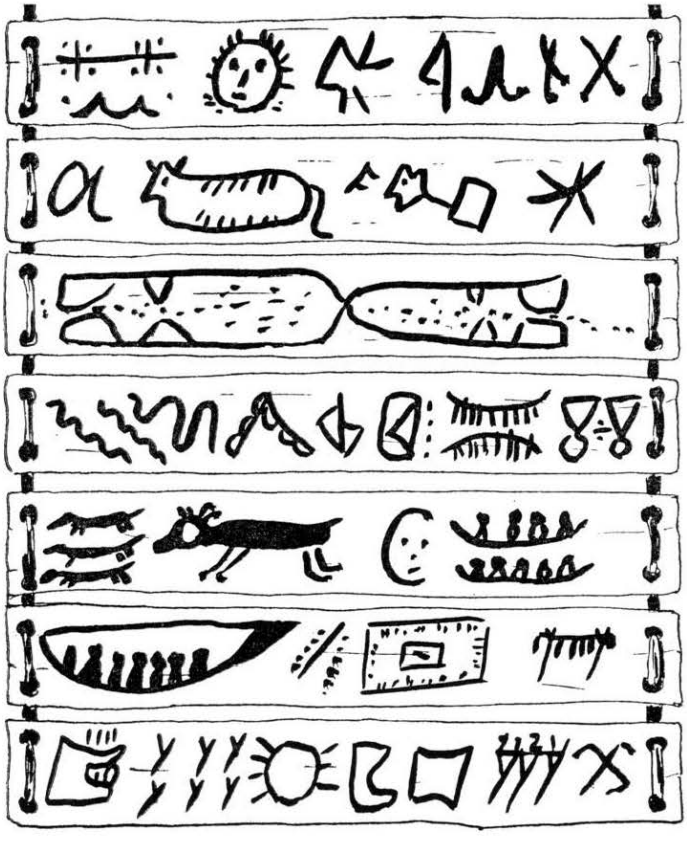
(1-3) Symbol of rain from clouds by day and night; (4) rain graph repeated; (5) open and closed circles denote day and night in sequence on string, figure beneath not specified, possibly denotes the earth.

The dogs went after the deer.

(1-2) Dogs connected by hoofprints in mud pursuing deer.

The men at home shouted to the dogs.

(1)Zigzag tracks of dogs on the run; (2-4) the men shouting; (5) unspecified.



More people came over mountains on full moon for feast.

(1) People from the four cardinal directions, curved lines are mountains; (2) full moon; (3) axe; (4-7) weapons and meat, specific figures not identified.

Bringing meat and weapons.

Informant declined to give details.

They came along a trail near a creek.

Graph of deer and dog tracks on trail in swamp landscape.

After the rain it became very dry.

Series of graphs unexplained in detail, though denoting course of river and cessation of rain.

One deer got wounded and chased three dogs. Then they left.

(1-2) Wounded deer turning on dogs; (3) moon; (4) hunters departing in canoes at conclusion of drive.

When they reached home, they walked around, had a feast, much food.

(1) Hunters after returning home, denoted by enclosure; (2) footprints of men walking around; (3) house enclosure filled with feasters and meat in center square, denoting feating party; (4) much meat hanging on rack.

Had big talk, ate turtle stew and planned for the next year.

(1) Mouth with graphs at night, denoting "big talk'; (2) turtle cooked for feast; (3-6) details unspecified to denote "planning for next year's hunt."

Paul Miles' translation of the pictographs are given in his words alongside the tablets in bold face type, with annotations subjoined. Small numerals in the annotation denote the figures, or groups of figures, from left to right on each tablet.

separate identity as descendants of the Powhatan Confederacy in the overwhelmingly non-Indian population of the State of Virginia. The hunting score is introduced into our account of the hunting economy of the Pamunkey Indians as a historically-mysterious and etiologically-unexplained functioning attribute of the topic we present.

Summary.—The data on the Pamunkey-Rappahannock communal hunting practises may now be briefly summarized. Investigation has revealed a complex of organized techniques and observances centering about the taking of deer among the Pamunkey. The communal hunt there involves the driving of deer by men and dogs towards a stream, where the deer are killed by hunters waiting in canoes. The specific activity of each hunter, the assignment of canoe stands, and the final distribution of the kill are all determined by lot. The drive is held under the supervision of a leader, informally selected by the group. Communal hunting takes precedence over individual hunting to the extent that fines are exacted from offenders. Penalties are also imposed for premature departure from a canoe stand and failure to kill the quarry. A formalized reception is given the returning hunters by their wives and children. The kill is equally divided by lot among participants, with certain choice portions given to the leader and to the slayer of the deer. Presumably these practices are aboriginal customs persisting relatively unchanged in their essential features into modern times.

THE RABBIT DRIVE IN THE SOUTHEAST

Another type of cooperative drive in the Powhatan region concerns an entirely different food animal—the rabbit hunt with throwing clubs. Information on a practice so reminiscent of far distant culture areas and so isolated in the Eastern woodlands was first turned up among the Rappahannock Indians in 1941-43. [7] The Rappahannock are descended from the Northern peoples of the Powhatan Confederacy, situated along the central portion of the drainage system of the same name. The organization and procedure of a Rappahannock rabbit drive, typical of the informant's younger days (1890's), are described practically verbatim below.

7. F. G. Speck, R. B. Hassrick, and E. S. Carpenter. *Rappahannock Taking Devices: Traps, Hunting and Fishing.* Joint publications, University of Pennsylvania Museum and Philadelphia Anthropological Society No. 1, Philadelphia, 1946.

THE RAPPAHANNOCK RABBIT DRIVE

The Rappahannock Indians stage a rabbit hunt at least once a year during the winter months from October until early spring. Fifteen or twenty men and boys gather by appointment at a selected farm house in the morning, bringing dogs and clubs. Some men carry guns, but the others, usually more successful, carry only clubs. The men with clubs sometimes carry a rock to throw in the thick underbrush, and a man may carry as many as three clubs for use in case he misses a rabbit in the first cast.

The most successful and oldest hunter is usually considered the leader. In the particular drive discussed by the informant, an individual was selected leader because he was also the "dog master." Sometimes the man at whose house the group assembles is chosen until the next stop, where the resident of this place takes charge. In any case, the leader decides all details.

Drive Procedures.—When the dogs are collected and everyone is ready, the hunters form a single line with the leader out ahead. They travel in Indian fashion until they come to the woods where the drive is to be held. Here they fan out until they are about ten or twelve feet apart, and proceed in this manner. The dogs are in the lead, with the "dog master" driving them. At the shout, "Roll rabbit out," or "Jump him out of bed," the group closes in on the rabbit and kill him with the throwing clubs. As many as forty-five to sixty rabbits are thus dispatched in three hours. Each man carries the rabbits he has killed in his "hapsack," along with a jug of spirituous liquor.

On the first day of a typical drive the drive party moved north of Beazley's Post Office almost to Carneal Corners, reaching there by early afternoon. Then they circled south and hurried towards a point about a mile southeast of their starting point. Here, at the home of one of the hunters, the group spent the night. On some hunts, however, the men stay out all night, build a fire and if cold, throw up a brush windbreak. Removing the entrails from some of the rabbits, they tie the legs to a split hickory stick and cook their game over a big fire.

After eating breakfast the next morning, the hunters continued the drive in the direction of King and Queen Church,

arriving there shortly before noon. When within sight of the church, all sat down to rest for half an hour. As a diversion the men took out their knives and threw them into a tree as high as they could. A good cast should remain imbedded in the wood. The leader, who is able to equal any of the marks with a hatchet, retrieves as a matter of duty all of the knives and hatchets by climbing the tree.

After resting the participants went over to the "Swamp" (Root Swamp Creek) and continued almost as far as Salvia. "Any animal they see," according to the informant, "they jump, and there is plenty of joking and drinking along the way." At the "Swamp" the hunters turned east and returned to their stopping place of the previous night.

Division of the Game.—At the end of the day the hunters divide the spoils, each one throwing his rabbits into a central pile. The leader then asks each man, "You want a rabbit?" The first one may answer, "All right, I'll take two or three." "You want a rabbit?" the leader inquires of the next. "No," he may say, "I don't want any. Give mine to so-and-so." Many of the hunters don't need the meat, and so it is the policy that it be distributed according to necessity, though the killer is entitled to the hind quarter, the choice section. Sometimes non-participants are given part of the supply. All rabbits killed by the dogs, regardless of the dog's owner, belong to the leader. Although free to dispose of them as he sees fit, they are usually divided among the dogs. When the kill is brought home, the Rappahannock say that the children "fight" to get the brains of the cooked rabbits.

The Rappahannock throwing club, an important adjunct of the rabbit drive, is about two feet in length, fashioned from the base and trunk of a dogwood sapling. The club end is the thickened base of the trunk near the ground. The bark is not removed. In experienced hands, the club becomes an effective weapon, being thrown in an overhand-sidewise manner which sends it spinning at the victim. The club is heavy as a whole, the striking end outweighing the grip end. In use, it is never hurled at a rabbit until the animal has started to run. A call or shout is given to start the rabbit when one is spotted in the grass. As the rabbit bounds forward the club is thrown to intercept it,

which it invariably does when launched from the hands of an experienced club slinger. Two or three clubs thrown at a victim leaves little chance of escape. The authors testify to the accuracy of judgment of several of the contemporary Rappahannock, who demonstrated the club attack upon tin cans thrown across the ground as a substitute for rabbits. Several dogs attracted by the imitation chase barely escaped being hit and maimed by the bounding missiles. The men observed had not lost their skill in striking the cans. They did much better when the tin quarry was in rapid motion.

The rabbit drive of the Rappahannock affords one of the occasions of welcome relief from the routine of the year. The course followed by the huntsmen, as we may picture it, is a fanwise sweep approximately several hundred feet broad from one end to the other. Each day's hunt covers a roughly triangular course for about six miles through the inhabited country, as indicated on the chart. Within these sections there would be small chance for a rabbit to escape. According to the information obtained, the rabbit drive is devoid of ceremonial aspects. We may surmise, however, that in former times there were formalities connected with it.

Evidence for the presence of the rabbit drive among the remaining Powhatan groups is scanty but sufficient to suggest that the practice was widespread at an earlier date. E. P. Bradby, chief of the eastern Chickahominy Indians, recalls hearing his mother speak of the men of this tribe going together in groups for the purpose of hunting rabbits with clubs.[8] Similarly, Chief Joseph Adams, of the upper Mattaponi Indians (Adamstown, Va.), reports that his people formerly employed throwing clubs for killing rabbits.[9] The latter group is sufficiently closely related to the Pamunkey to establish the probability for the use of the throwing club in the Pamunkey area.

THE NANTICOKE RABBIT HUNT

Subsequent investigation in the Middle Atlantic region demonstrated the extension northward of the rabbit club, if not the organized drive, as far as Delaware Bay. Inquiry among the

8. Ibid., p. 17, fn. 7.
9. F. G. Speck, "Cudgelling Rabbits: An old Nanticoke Hunting Tradition and Its Significance." (*Bulletin* The Archaeological Society of Delaware, Vol. 4. No. 3. Wilmington, 1946, pp. 9-12, fn. 4.

Nanticoke Indians, of Indian River, Delaware, revealed that certain men formerly went forth after snowstorms when rabbit taking was easy and knocked down their game with "cudgels" carried as throwing sticks.[10] They use the designation "cudgellin'" in referring to the sport. Here, however, the activity was an individual rather than a communally-organized endeavor. Another point of departure, of uncertain significance, from the Rappahannock pattern rested in the Nanticoke preference for casting clubs at stationary rather than running rabbits. The Nanticoke throwing club, as described, closely resembled the Rappahannock type in material, size and shape.

THE CATAWBA RABBIT DRIVE

Farther afield from previously-noted occurences, the rabbit drive-throwing club complex was traced southward to the Catawba Indians of South Carolina. Among these Siouan-speaking people, four or five hunters each armed with three throwing clubs and accompanied by dogs, hunt rabbits in areas of burn-over brush.[11] Further details of present-day procedure are lacking. At an earlier period when the Catawba were more numerous, however, it is not unlikely that their drive procedures were more highly organized. The Catawba throwing club differed somewhat in shape from the Rappahannock-Nanticoke type. Instead of increasing gradually in circumference from the handle to the butt, the Catawba missile for half its length (the butt portion) was approximately twice as large in diameter.

THE CHOCTAW RABBIT DRIVE

A brief but interesting account of cooperative rabbit hunts and the throwing club, published by Frank Bryan, extends the eastern distribution of this technique and weapon to the Choctaw of Oklahoma.[12] The author's information is based upon observations made years ago of hunting practices current among Choctaw students attending the old Spencer Academy, of Nelson, Oklahoma. There the youths employed the so-called "Spencer" clubs in procuring squirrels, rabbits, and wild turkeys. In hunting turkeys forty or fifty boys, each armed with three to six

10. Ibid., pp. 9-12.
11. F. G. Speck, *Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing*. Joint Publications, University of Pennsylvania Museum and Philadelphia Anthropological Society No. 2, Philadelphia, 1946, pp. 11-12.
12. Frank Bryan, "A Choctaw Throwing Club." *The Masterkey* Vol. 7, No. 6. Los Angeles, 1933, pp. 178-179.

clubs, would form a long, thin line around some two to four square miles, in which were numerous blackberry thickets. At a signal relayed along the line from the leader, the young hunters gradually converged on the largest thicket. After much turning back and dodging here and there, the turkeys would attempt to break through the circle. Turkeys flying low were said to be easy victims, and on one occasion the boys returned with a deer.

The Choctaw throwing club, it is interesting to note, resembled more closely in shape the Catawba than the Rappahannock-Nanticoke cudgel. It consisted of an expanded butt from which extended a long, *flexible* handle, the whole carved from a single piece of second-growth hickory. The club was thrown by the over-hand method and shot through the air as straight and true as an arrow. In the hands of an expert, our authority states, the club was far more efficient for small game than the bow and arrow. He notes having seen an Indian boy throw one of these long, flexible-handled missiles a distance of 200 yards, and has known skilled youths who could hit a tin can at 40 yards almost every time.

SUMMARY OF COMMUNAL GAME DRIVES IN SOUTHEAST

The distribution of communal game drives in the Southeast is a matter of considerable uncertainty. That the surround—generally with the use of fire—was in widespread use in this area for securing deer is commonly accepted by most students. Swanton has brought together historical evidence to show the occurrence of this hunting technique applied to deer among the Virginia Algonkians (Smith, Strachey), the Carolina Siouan tribes (Lawson, Catesby), the Timucus (Calderon), and Yuchi (Speck), as well as to bison, elk, etc., over a wider area (Beverley).[13] He also quotes similar reference to deer hunts, which are difficult to localize (Spelman, Byrd, and Bartram). The present data augment considerably our knowledge of another method of game procurement—the organized drive to water by men and dogs.

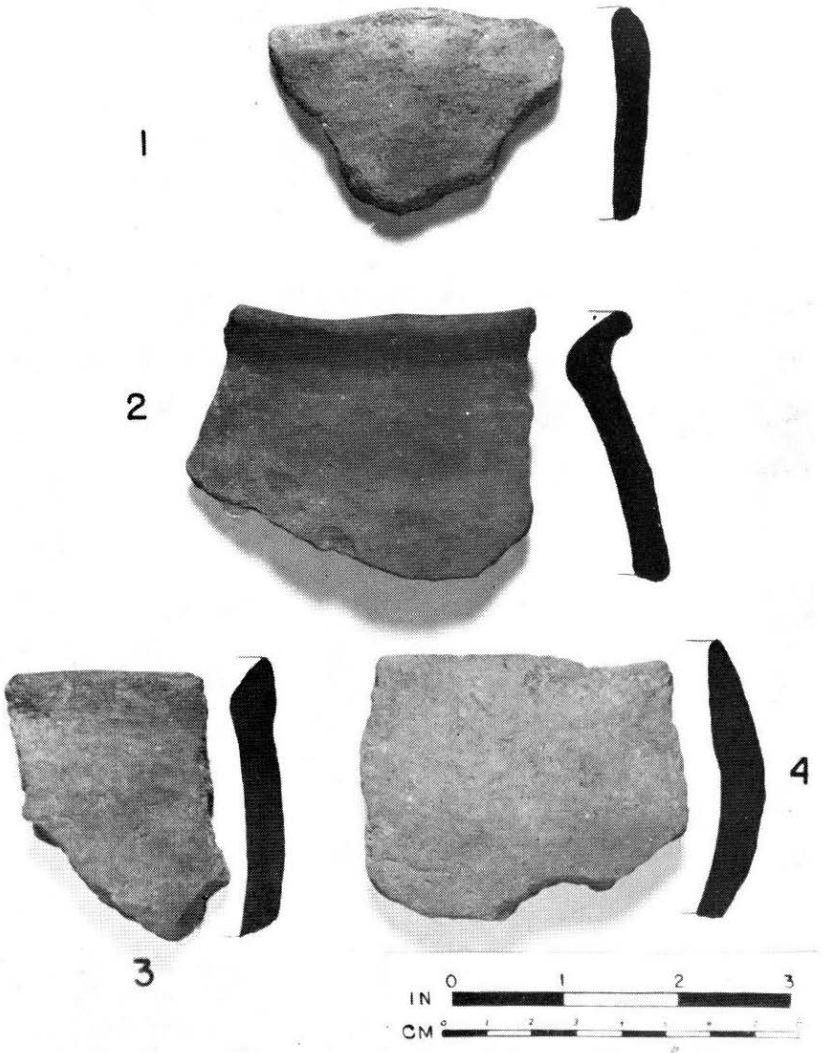
Likewise, we have discussed the occurrence of the rabbit drive with throwing clubs among the Rappahannock Indians and indicated its earlier presence among the adjacent Chicka-

13. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137, Washington, 1946, pp. 317-320.

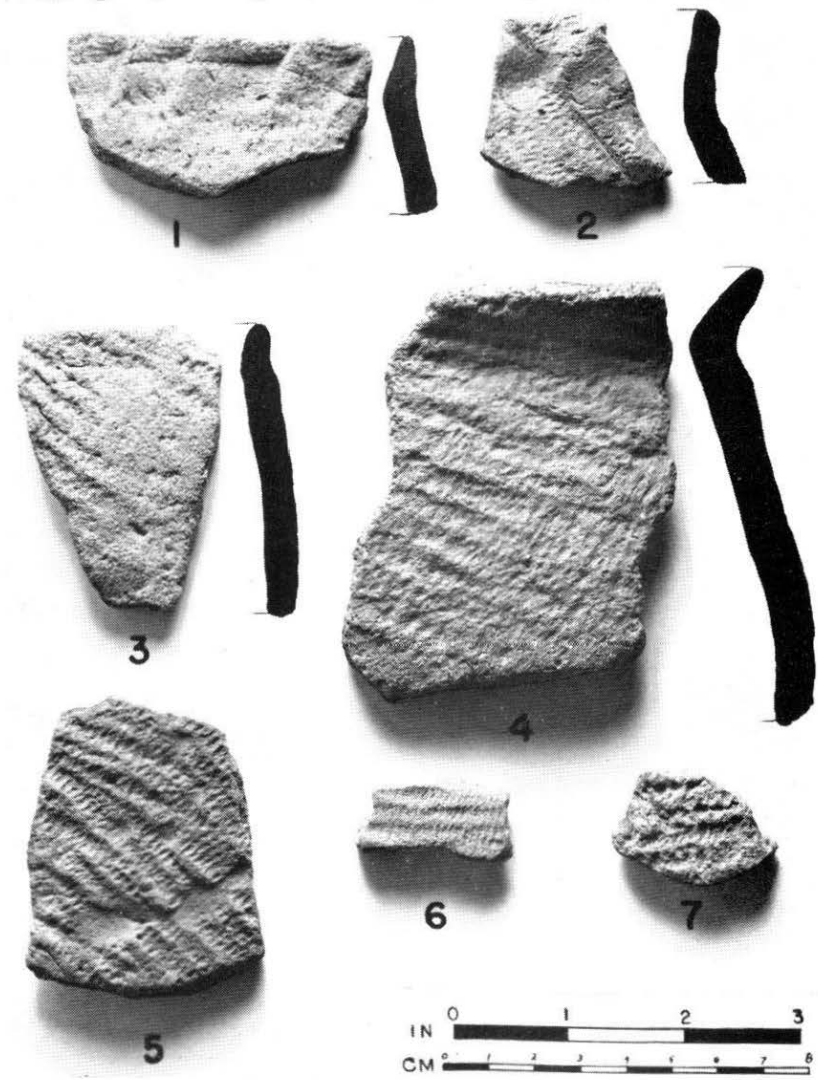
hominy, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey. Further, we have traced the rabbit hunt, on an *individual* basis, and the associated throwing clubs northward as far as the Nanticoke of Delaware Bay. Here, at least in the light of our present knowledge, the occurrence of the individual rabbit hunt may be regarded, tentatively, as a weakening, on the northern limits of its area of distribution, of the communally-organized rabbit drive—a technique apparently more highly elaborated in the deep Southeast. This assumption appears to be borne out by the somewhat greater development of the rabbit drive and throwing club among the Catawba and Choctaw. The lack of reference to the rabbit drive-throwing club complex elsewhere in the Southeast is perhaps due to an oversight in reporting native food procurement techniques and weapons so simple and "unsportsmanlike," so casual and so irregular in a hunting economy as to create little impression upon the minds of early chroniclers who lived in the portentous periods of newly discovered lands and peoples engaged in belligerency.

Department of Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

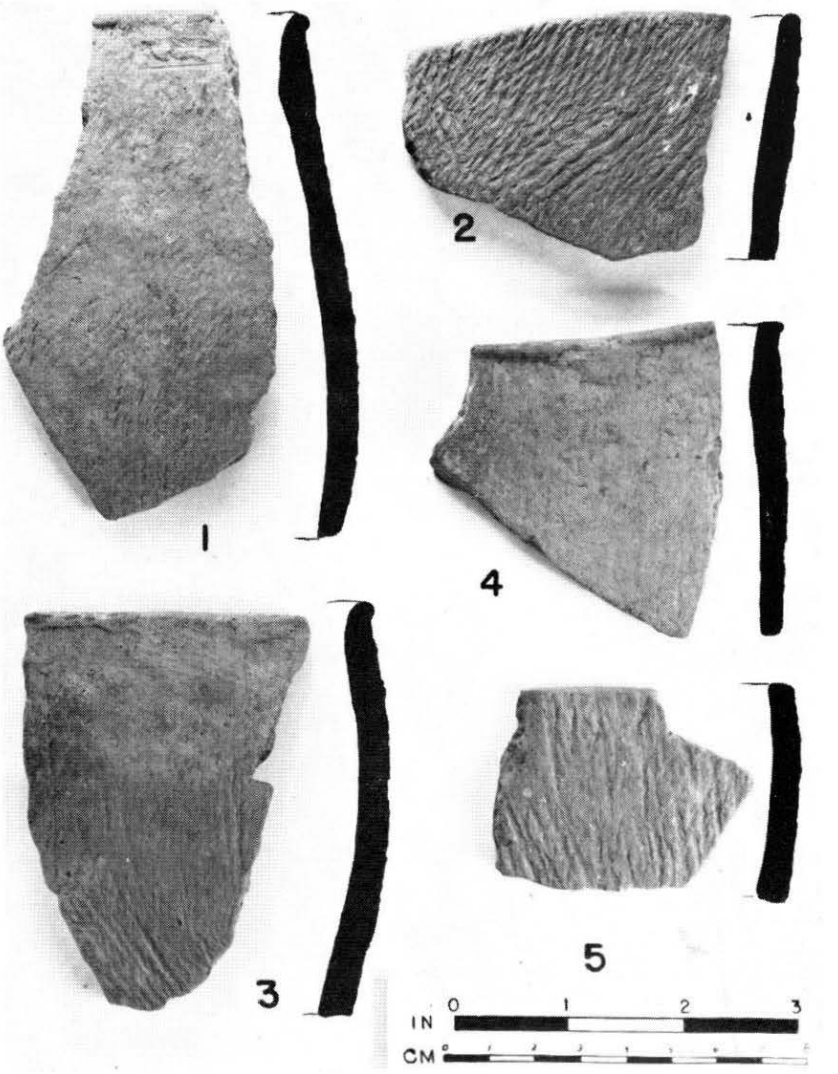
Museum of the Plains Indians
Browning, Montana



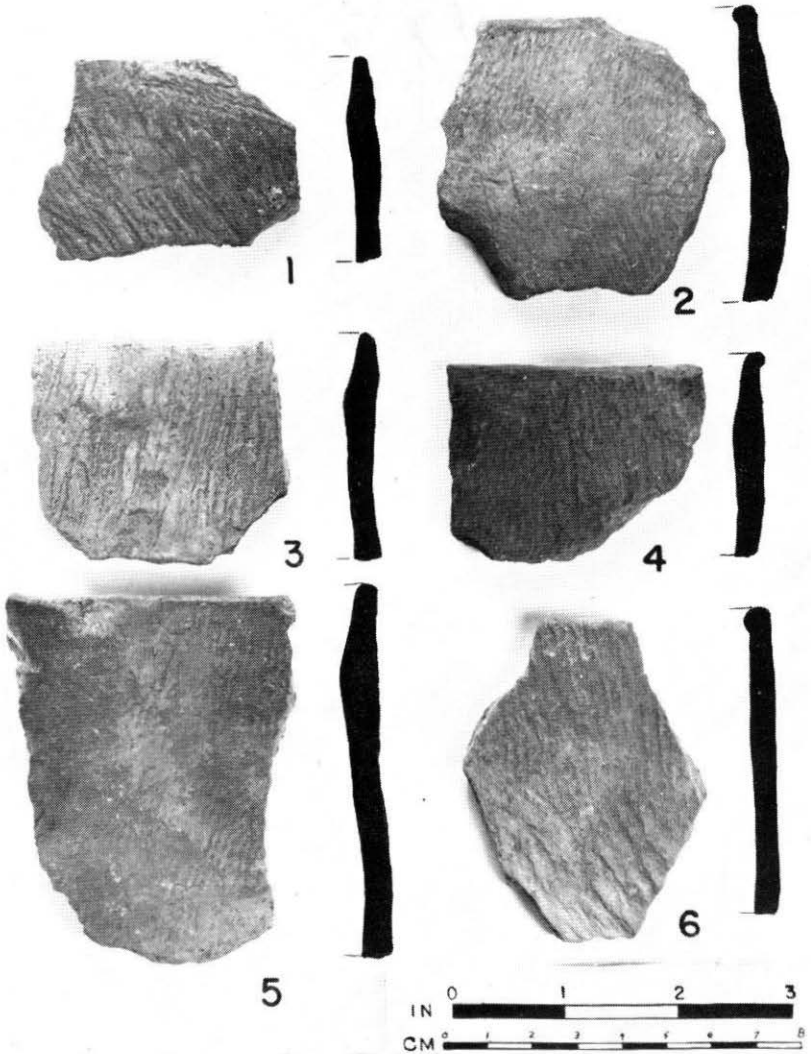
1, 2. **BALDWIN PLAIN** from a post mold of a large circular structure pattern in the village of MCs 16. 3. **TISHOMINGO PLAIN** from beneath the rim of the central burial pit atthe base of Mound B, MCs 16. 4. **TISHOMINGO PLAIN** from the lower fill of Mound B, MCs 16. (Since plain sherds from MLe 62 are no longer available and no satisfactory photographs were made of them, the above sherds were selected from the Bynum Site, MCs 16, situated 40 miles south of MLe 62.)



SALTILLO FABRIC IMPRESSED. 1, 2, 3, 5. From the type site, MLe 53a, village; 4. From Bynum site, MCs 16; 6, 7. From Miller site, MLe 62, Mound A, old humus at base of fill.



FURRS CORDMARKED from Miller site MLe 62. 1, 3, 4. Mound A. 2, 5. Village.



TISHOMINGO CORDMARKED, all from village of Miller site, MLe 62.

THE MILLER POTTERY TYPES IN REVIEW

JOHN L. COTTER

The Miller cultural horizon as described by Jesse D. Jennings [1] includes certain pottery types which may represent a basic link between Hopewellian of the Ohio drainage and related cultural horizons in Louisiana and Mississippi, postulating a mutual development from the basic Woodland pattern. The Miller types are distinguished by the fact that they "stayed Woodland" and did not take on the incising, stamping, and bird design elements of Hopewell and Marksville pottery. Contact of the Alexander horizon of Pickwick and Wheeler basins of the Tennessee with Miller types was also pointed out. The Miller cultural horizon could also suggest a bridge between the Southern Hopewell burial mound complex and lower Middle Mississippi which occupies a horizon directly above and, in turn, closely antedates the beginning of temple mound building.

These pottery types are reviewed by agreement with Dr. Jennings in order to present them to a wider field with more detailed illustrations than have so far been published. More comprehensive studies of form and related types will be presented in a forthcoming report entitled "Excavations at the Bynum Site in Mississippi" by the author and John M. Corbett.

All studies represented here were carried on in connection with the Archaeological Survey of Natchez Trace Parkway, a project of the National Park Service. [2]

In considering the following five pottery types, it is well to point out that *Saltillo Fabric Impressed* was recognized originally at MLe 53, a village site where no diagnostic features were found. The other types were reported from the Miller site, MLe 62, a mound and village location and MLe 56, a limited village site—all in Lee County, northeastern Mississippi, in the drainage of the Tombigbee River.

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1. J. D. Jennings, "Chickasaw and Earlier Indian Cultures of Northeastern Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History, III,* (July, 1941).

2. John L. Cotter, "Archaeological Survey of the Natchez Trace Parkway." *Southern Indian Studies, I* (October, 1949).

Since the type sites were excavated in 1939-40 by Albert C. Spaulding and Jesse D. Jennings, the Archaeological Survey of Natchez Trace Parkway has increased the perspective of the Miller types by excavations at the Bynum site, MCs 16, some 40 miles to the south. The Bynum site includes the temporal range suggested by all three Miller sites combined.

At MLe 62, *Furrs Cordmarked* and *Baldwin Plain* were identified with the period of mound building, with only occasional *Tishomingo Cordmarked* sherds in the mound fill. The clay-grit tempered ware predominated in the village surface. At Bynum a parallel situation occurred, with clay-grit tempered wares dominant in the prehistoric village, although the horizon of the Bynum mounds extends further downward to the *Saltillo Fabric Impressed* of MLe 53 in a definite Hopewellian horizon.

BALDWIN PLAIN

Manufacture: Coiling, fired in oxidizing atmosphere.

Paste:
Temper: Sand, coarse, 1 to 2 mm. to very fine and so abundant as to overbalance plastic. Mica flakes common. Clay pellets absent.
Texture: Homogeneous, rough to fine, flaky or straight fracture, friable to touch.
Color—Surface: gray, tan, dull brown, red brown, dark red.
Color—Interior: gray, red brown, black.

Surface Finish: Generally smooth exterior, smoothed interior.

Form:
Rims: Everted, from right angle to almost straight; less often inverted. Extra strips sometimes pressed onto outside. Punctations around exterior, usually with single cord, sometimes a reed.
Lip: Rounded to slightly flattened, sometimes gently crennelated.
Body: Bowls, shallow to deep.
Base: Flattened and rounded (indistinguishable from *Furrs Cordmarked* and *Saltillo Fabric* bases).
Thickness: 8 mm. Range 7.0 to 14.5 mm.
Appendages: No handles, lugs or other appendages noted.

Range of Type: Northeastern Mississippi to north and east.

Comparable Types: Serves as plain counterpart of *Saltillo Fabric Impressed* and *Furrs Cordmarked.*

Chronological Position: Southern Hopewell-Marksville and later.

Type Site: Miller Site, MLe 62.

TISHOMINGO PLAIN

See *Tishomingo Cordmarked.*

SALTILLO FABRIC IMPRESSED

Manufacture: Coiling, malleated against a fabric, probably basketry, which was impressed upon the outside surface. Fired in oxidizing atmosphere.

Paste:

Temper: Sand, coarse, 1 to 2 mm. to very fine; so abundant that plastic is overbalanced. Rare charcoal bits and clay pellets at type site.

Texture: Fine, compact, undefined; hard and gritty, sand grains easily rubbed off.

Color—Surface: Reds, darkening to dull brown.

Color—Interior: Same as exterior or gray.

Surface Finish: Interior well smoothed. The whole exterior has been malleated against a basket fragment leaving an imprint of plain-plaiting or plain-twining. Although the impressions may be parallel to, perpendicular to, or diagonal to the rim, they are of a large fabric surface which follows the contour of the vessel. It is therefore not probable that the instrument was a fabric wrapped stick. Probably no true textile was used. The base is smooth.

Decoration: None other than the general fabric impressions.

Form:

Rims: Majority everted but ranging from straight to slightly flaring. Occasionally an extra strip of clay was added to the rim exterior from the lip down almost an inch. The strip was placed over the fabric imprint, then itself imprinted. No right angle everted rims.

Lip: Simple, flattened or rounded.

Body: Commonest form is a deep jar with slightly constricted neck and flaring rim; open bowl with straight to everted rim. Jugs with straight collars indicated by sherds.

Base: Flattened and rounded (indistinguishable from *Baldwin Plain* and *Furrs Cordmarked*).

Thickness: 6.5 mm. Average range 5.0 to 7.0 mm.

Appendages: None observed.

Range of Type: From Delta of Western Mississippi through Northeastern Mississippi toward Northern Alabama.

Comparable Types: Baumer type Fabric Marked (Southern Illinois, etc.), *Long Branch Fabric Marked* (Pickwick, Wilson, and Wheeler Basins). In Mississippi, *Baldwin Plain* is a related type.

Chronological Position: Southern Hopewell-Marksville and later. Coeval with *Furrs Cordmarked,* possibly earlier.

Type Site: MLe 53.

FURRS CORDMARKED

Manufacture: Coiling; fractures observed. Vessels appear to have been malleated with (or against) cordwrapped implement. Since the cordmarked impressions follow the contours of the vessels, it is probable that they were rolled on in the malleation process with a curved or round cordwrapped bat, not a flat paddle. The cordmarking was sometimes deliberately erased.

Paste:

Temper: Sand, fine to very fine. Mica flakes common. Rare clay pellets. This is the chief distinction from *Tishomingo Cordmarked*, which is clay-grit tempered.

Texture: Fine to very fine, homogeneous; gritty and friable to touch. touch.

Color—Surface: Light gray through tan, red, brown to dull brown.

Color—Interior: Gray, black, red-brown.

Surface Finish: Interior of vessel smoothed. The exterior is cordmarked, the impressions being that of twined string varying from predominantly large to small. Most cord widths are 1 to 2 mm. Impressions usualy start at the lip of the rim and extend diagonally or at right angles to the rim over most of the vessel surface.

Decoration: None other than general cord impressions.

Form:

Rims: Jennings reported everted rims most common in Lee County, Mississippi; however, at the Bynum site a globular bowl with slightly incurving rim is most frequent. Some rims are straight. Some exterior strips of clay added over cordmarks for reinforcement, then pressed on with a cord-wound implement.

Lip: Rounded or slightly flattened.

Body: Deep globular bowl most common. Jennings reports a conoidal base from Miller site.

Base: Flattened and rounded. Jennings reports one conoidal base. Since cordmarking is absent on bases, *Baldwin Plain, Saltillo Fabric Impressed* and *Furrs Cordmarked* are virtually indistinguishable.

Appendages: No lugs, handles, or feet.

Range of Type: This is a local variant of the numerous widespread cordmarked types.

Chronological Position: Southern Hopewell-Marksville and later. Coeval with *Saltillo Fabric Impressed*, possibly later.

Comparable Types: Mulberry Creek Cordmarked, Tishomingo Cordmarked, and *Bluff Creek Cordmarked* are all local cordmarked wares.

Chronological Position: Hopewellian-Marksville into lower Middle Mississippi.

Type Site: Miller Site, MLe 62.

TISHOMINGO CORDMARKED

Manufacture: Coiling, fractures observed. Clay malleated by pressure against—or by—a cordwrapped implement.

Paste:

Temper: Clay-grit, often containing clay pellets and charcoal fragments; occasionally fossil shell or limestone. Some bentonite (tufa). Clay-grit is the chief distinction of *Tishomingo Cordmarked. Furrs Cordmarked* is sand tempered.

Texture: Lumpy, irregular, contorted.

Color—Surface: Tans, browns, dull reds, dark grays to almost black.

Color—Interior: Usually gray, dull brown.

Surface Finish: Smoothed interior. Exterior has irregularly applied cordmarking which shows the bat was wrapped with strings averaging 1 mm. or less, closely spaced together.

Decoration: None other than cordmarking.

Form:

Rims: Incurving through straight to slightly everted. Majority at Bynum site slightly incurving; Jennings reports simple everted predominates at Miller site.

Lip: Thin, rounded, or flattened.

Body: Deep globular bowl, incurving rim, most common. Some straight-sided bowls.

Base: Probably bases thick, rounded or flat. (Adequate study not possible because bases usually not cordmarked.)

Thickness: 4.5 mm. to 5.0 mm. Range 4 mm. to 10 mm.

Appendages: None noted.

Range of Type: Local variant of familiar recent cordmarked types over Southeast.

Comparable Types: Very similar to the *Mulberry Creek Cordmarked* from the Deasonville site in Mississippi; differs in temper, thickness and color contrast between surfaces to core. Sandier and lacks variety of vessel shapes. Also comparable to *Furrs Cordmarked* except for clay temper and finer cords.

Chronological Position: Probably later than *Furrs Cordmarked* ranging well into lower Middle Mississippi.

Type Site: Miller site, MLe 62.

TISHOMINGO PLAIN

Same as *Tishomingo Cordmarked,* but undecorated. (See *Baldwin Plain,* Plate I.)

Archaeologist
Natchez Trace Parkway
Tupelo, Mississippi

NOTES OF GENERAL INTEREST

ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

In 1926, the Department of Anhropology and Archaeology was established on the campus at Lexington, with William S. Webb as Head and Professor of Archaeology and the late William D. Funkhouser as Professor of Anthropology. Upper class courses were authorized by the University in the fall of 1927, and the next quarter (winter, 1928) the new offerings drew interested students to both Principles of Anthropology (a general course by Funkhouser) and Kentucky Archaeology (offered by Webb). In addition to their academic venture into Anthropology, these men, aided by a grant from the National Research Council and cooperating with Smithsonian Institution, initiated the research and publication program which is still producing the Reports in Anthropology published by the Department. In 1934-1935 the first field course was given with a summer's excavation.

Professors Funkhouser, zoologist, and Webb, physicist, completed their first fruitful manuscript in 1927, which appeared under the title *Ancient Life in Kentucky,* 341 pages, published in 1928 by the Geological Survey of the State. This readable, illustrated book brought to lay readers for the first time something of the interesting geological history of the state and the prehistoric record of Indian archaeology as well. The great need was stressed for an informed public to help preserve the rich archaeological heritage of the commonwealth.

These professors, combining their talents and training, continued to push their archaeological inquiries to the very borders of the state, literally wearing out several automobiles in their diligent search for "Indian Signs" even through the roadless backwoods and "hollows" of the eastern hill country. Their undaunted enthusiasm interested many students who offered the free services of their labor to advance the fascinating search in "diggin Injuns."

The record of these activities and researches of Webb and Funkhouser, later in cooperation with other archaeologists and

physical anthropologists, is available in the following reports in Anthropology published by the Department:

Volume	I	Nos. 1-6	1929-31	487 pages plus index
	II	Entire Volume	1932	436 pages plus index
	III	Nos. 1-6	1940	269 pages plus index
	IV	Nos. 1-3	1948	532 pages plus index
	V	Nos. 1-7	1943	672 pages plus index
	VI	Entire Volume	1945	356 pages plus index
	VII	Nos. 1-3	1947-48	258 pages
		Nos. 4-5	In press	

These reports, totaling more than 3000 pages, including maps, tables, charts and illustrations describing the prehistoric occupations by the Archaic, Woodland, Adena, Middle Mississippi and Fort Ancient peoples, are available through the Division of University Extension, of the University of Kentucky, Lexington 29.

Beginning in 1933, Major Webb, as he was affectionately known to his TVA associates, undertook the direction of one of the most extensive archaeological programs known to the American science. Norris Basin, Wheeler, Pickwick and finally the Guntersville Basins were as systematically and thoroughly excavated as possible before each basin was inundated. Between semesters, over weekends and holidays, and through the summer months, Webb continued to stimulate and direct the numerous field supervisors in their efforts. The mass of archaeological information gained, and the documented specimens recovered are impressive. The archaeological record of these vast digs may be found in the Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin series, Nos. 118, 122, and 129. A description of the findings from the Guntersville Basin area will appear soon as a volume published by the University of Kentucky Press.

In 1931 the University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology was established in the former Library building on the campus. Several student assistants, who began their first practical archaeological laboratory training here at the museum, later became field directors of excavation projects both in Alabama and Kentucky. The names of John L. Buckner, J. Russell Foster, and William G. Haag were among those who received

instructional guidance from Webb and Funkhouser. Later in 1937 Haag became Curator of the Museum, and began the preparations of archaeological exhibits which remained as lasting impressions in the minds of the many school children who with their teachers, came to visit the museum on their campus trips. Haag began teaching in 1939 and added materially to the departmental offerings. The student could now obtain course material, field experience, and laboratory techniques at the University of Kentucky.

The Master's degree in Science was awarded one enterprising anthropology student during this period: Mr. John L. Buckner in 1935, former archaeologist, now a practicing oil geologist in Kentucky.

Federal aid in financing archaeological excavations came in 1934, with the FERA program. In 1937 aided by a state-wide WPA-University Museum Archaeological Project, Mr. Ivar Skarland began the first intensive studies of the human remains found associated with the archaeological items in their cultural provenience and published the description of the Chiggersville people in Vol. IV, No. 1 of the Department *Reports*. This equal emphasis upon the entire archaeological picture—the culture bearers as well as the cultural manifestations they left—has since characterized the numerous Departmental Reports. H. T. E. Hertzberg followed Skarland and directed the WPA museum laboratory in 1940-41 and described the first Adena Skeletons (Ricketts Site Vol. III, No. 6—Wright Site Vol. V, No. 1). After Hertzberger left (Summer, 1941) Charles E. Snow arrived to help direct the continued processing of Indian skeletons through the Museum laboratory. Snow continued to prepare the skeleton reports on both Adena and Shell Mound remains.

The Department and the University Museum were hosts to the last meeting of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference held on the campus of the University of Kentucky in September, 1941.

Following the quick termination of all WPA projects after Pearl Harbor, Snow was appointed to the staff of the University as a part-time instructor in Anthropology and part-time researcher. In the Fall quarter, 1942, the first lower division course offerings in General Anthropology were listed for the beginning

student. Quite secondary to the intensive ASTP program then in full sway, the course in Physical Anthropology was eagerly sought by students in pre-medicine.

Beginning in 1945, and continuing for several years the Department was able to procure many skulls and several skeletons of the African anthropoid apes, the chimpanzee and the gorilla. The skulls form an excellent collection for studies of size and sex differences, morphological variations, and other comparative research problems.

A large representative collection of the casts of fossil man and some of the important fossil apes were provided for the student and museum-goer, with palpable evidences of the early forerunners and ancestors of Man.

During 1946-47, with the surge of the returning veterans, the Department served over a thousand students, or one-sixth of the total University. The year 1947 marked the beginnings of the current trend in the departmental growth-change, with its stimulus. The title *Archaeology* was officially dropped from the department name; reversion to the semester system from the wartime quarter basis was accomplished, and a unified program of course offerings was adopted. To replace Snow, on leave as Anthropologist with the American Graves Registration Service in Hawaii, Dr. Frank J. Essene, an Ethnologist from the University of California, was appointed to the staff. In addition to the elementary offerings Dr. Essene took over Dr. Funkhouser's popular upper division courses when Funkhouser's health began to fail. In the early summer, 1948, Dr. Funkhouser, then Dean of the Graduate School, died. At the August commencement, 1948, Robert S. Smither received an M.S. in Anthropology.

In the Fall, 1949, Dr. Wm. G. Haag, Jr., resigned to accept a position at the University of Mississippi, leaving both the Curatorship and his teaching position. Mr. Glenn G. Stille, a graduate student in Anthropology, was appointed as museum supervisor. In January, 1950, Dr. Richard B. Woodbury, an archaeologist with wide experiences in Guatemala and the Southwest, joined the staff as Archaeologist.

With the present staff and the Museum facilities for both research and exhibit purposes, with many prospective sites for

continued archaeological excavation, and with the current University student interest, the Department seems destined to continue to grow. With the completion of the new maintenance building now under way, ample, secure storage space will, for the first time, be available to the Department. This means that scholars interested in Kentucky Archaeology may find convenient facilities to further their studies of either the Adena or Shell Mound Peoples where their lifeways and their skeletal remains are best known from very extensive diggings.

The present faculty and course offerings are listed below:

Wm. S. Webb, B.A. and M.S., University of Kentucky, D.Sc., University of Alabama. Professor of Anthropology, Head of the Department of Anthropology.

Charles E. Snow, A.B., University of Colorado, A.M. and Ph.D., Harvard. Professor of Anthropology (Physical Anthropology).

Frank J. Essene, A.B. and Ph.D., University of California. Associate Professor of Anthropology (Ethnology).

Richard B. Woodbury, B.S., A.M., and Ph.D., Harvard, Associate Professor of Anthropology (Archaeology).

Offerings:

(1) Freshman courses
  (a) Introduction to Physical Anthropology
  (b) Introduction to Cultural Anthropology
  (c) "Societies Around the World"—detailed study of three primitive groups.

(2) Sophomore courses*
  (a) Kentucky Archaeology
  (b) Primitive Inventions
  (c) Field Work

(3) Upper Division Courses*
  (a) Independent Work
  (b) New World Ethnology
  (c) Development of Culture
  (d) Field Methods
  (e) North American Archaeology
  (f) Advanced Physical Anthropology with Laboratory
  (g) North Pacific Coast Ethnology

(h) Ethnology of Oceania
(i) Mythology
(j) Applied Anthropology
(k) Beginnings of Civilization
(l) Diffusion of Civilization
(m) Tutorial Seminar

(4) Graduate Work
(a) Seminars
(b) Independent Work

Degrees granted: B.S. with a major in Anthropology
M.S. in Anthropology

With these offerings, the Department provides a moderately well rounded course of study in Anthropology, totaling 75 semester hours of credit in the field. Additional courses are contemplated both in Archaeology and Physical Anthropology.* Supplementary study is encouraged in the fields of Anatomy and Physiology, Genetics, Surveying, Geography, Geology, Psychology, and Sociology.

The Staff

Department of Anthropology
University of Kentucky
Lexington

* Five new courses, Anthropometry (2), Archaeological Theory and Methods (3), Prehistoric Meso-America and Peru (3), Culture and Personality (3), and Human Ancestry (3), a total of 14 semester hours, have now been submitted for University approval.

ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

In September, 1949, the Sociology Department of the University of Mississippi was reconstituted the Department of Sociology and Anthropology under the chairmanship of Morton B. King. Julien R. Tatum has become Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, specializing in rural sociology and cultural anthropology. William G. Haag has joined the staff as Associate Professor of Anthropology.

The Department is endeavoring to offer courses that will provide basic training in the fields of Sociology and Anthropology. In the latter area, upper division courses are offered in The Indians of North America, North American Archaeology, Middle and South American Archaeology, Latin American Culture, The Development of Culture, and Field Methods in Archaeology. A six weeks' field school will be given in the summer of 1950, and a village site near the University campus will be excavated.

Graduate work is offered in anthropological and sociological fields, and fellowships are available to qualified candidates for the Master's degree.

WILLIAM G. HAAG

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Mississippi
University

NEW BOOKS WORTH READING

SIMPLIFIED ANTHROPOLOGY

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Harry Holbert Turney-High. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949. xxii, 581 pages, 125 illustrations, 24 maps and charts. $4.00.

Someday a textbook in general Anthropology will be written that will serve to introduce lower division students to the media, scope, and principles of anthropology. This new book of the chairman of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of South Carolina, is not it. The rash of new texts in beginning anthropology is a concommittant of the introduction of anthropology courses into the curricula of many universities and colleges. Nearly all of these schools have been giving introductory courses in sociology for many years and now some have attempted, with more or less success, to give a combined introductory course that presents the related aims of sociology and anthropology. This book will not serve as a text in this situation either. Despite these immediate shortcomings, the book is comprehensive and occasionally has a novel presentation. However, in over-all summation, nothing is presented that has not been more ably done before.

In the preface, Turney-High portends to give the student a generalized picture of the scope and subject matter of the field of anthropology, avoiding theory as much as possible. The book is divided into four parts: I, *Basic Concepts and Data,* which includes human evolution, races and cultural dynamics; II, *Archaeology,* Old World and New World; III, *Ethnography,* of Americas, Africa, Oceania, and Asia; IV, *Ethnology and Social Anthropology,* which has chapters on language, the dietary, techniques and tools, social organization, economics, and the magico-religious.

Such theory as appears in the book comes in Part I. Some Lamarkian statements probably would be welcomed by a teacher as a point of departure, e. g., "As the drying of waters in the

Devonian period of the Paleozoic Era caused the fauna to acquire amphibious characteristics or die, so much later the diminished forests compelled prehumans to adapt themselves to a treeless and colder life, migrate or perish!" Another feature I found objectionable was the re-introduction of trinomial nomenclature, such as *Pithecanthropus erectus dubois* and *Eoanthropus dawsoni piltdown*. These only compound an already anamolous situation. The chapter entitled Cultural Dynamics which largely does pertain to theory fails in the area of an appreciation of the nature of culture. Conceptual tools like trait, trait-complex, and patterns are used here in the sense of group-products. To consider traits "in isolation is to rob them of reality."

A critical analysis of each chapter of this book is not warranted. Nevertheless, the chapters on archaeology, especially New World, leave much to be desired. They are written very much as a social anthropologist of twenty years ago would write about archaeology. All cultural remains in the New World are classified as Pre-Archaic, Archaic, and Post-Archaic. "The term Archaic, culturally speaking, refers to the invention and dissemination of gardening and farming and traits linked to this complex such as ceramics, textiles, and others." However, in the Southwest everything included in "Pre-Basket-maker" (Cochise) through Pueblo V is Archaic. "Basket-maker culture has been tentatively placed in the period 1500-2000 B.C." This is still Archaic, not Pre-Archaic. One of the most widely misused devises of American archaeologists, the Midwestern Taxonomic System, gets a severe misuse by Turney-High. All categories of the system are redefined. In fact, this author seems to have a penchant for definitions, most of which do not improve upon accepted definitions.

One of the really fascinating fields of anthropology is Linguistics. Perhaps unfamiliarity with the subject makes me pronounce the chapter on the Aspects and Classification of Language as the best in the book. The treatment of the Ethnographic sections is rapid, terse and condensed, but there is given nonetheless a brief glimpse into many corners of the globe. Certainly the list of references by chapters is reasonably complete.

I am aware that this book has been adopted at one southern university "because the better texts are too profound for fresh-

men." I have been told by a publisher's representative that two eastern universities have discontinued more-difficult new texts in favor of this one. It is true that the "good" books are "difficult" but if the purpose of a teacher is "to describe and render intelligible" then he would be very busy when using Turney-High.

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FRANK GOULDSMITH SPECK

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to the entrancing world of philology and of linguistics as a tool in the study of cultures. Speck was soon closely allied with John D. Prince, whose intense interest in Algonkian fired Speck's enthusiasm and bolstered his determination to devote his life to American ethnology. Together they began to study the almost extinct Indian languages and cultures of southern New England. Thus began the Algonkian studies for which Speck is best known and which were continued for almost fifty years.

In selecting his area of specialization, Speck made a choice which determined much of his later work. This was to concentrate on languages and cultures which were nearing extinction, where the most grueling work and the most cautious technique were necessary to make even small extensions of knowledge. Here the ethnologist was faced with his last opportunity to observe, record, and interpret a distinct and unique culture complex. Such a situation was especially challenging to Frank Speck.

In the beginnings of American ethnology, students turned to the most conservative and largest communities for research. Such groups still hold their cultures intact enough today, and have lost relatively little as compared with the many small communities which lost their languages and residue of aboriginal culture during the last century. When Lewis Henry Morgan studied the Seneca in the 1840's, he collected little data that were not still available in 1900. But in 1850 many Algonkian communities of southern New England, Ontario, and Indian territory preserved intact large segments of their old languages and cultures, and these were practically extinct by 1900. Had Morgan gone to Mohegan rather than Tonawanda, or had James Mooney gone to Catawba rather than Qualla, our data from the Eastern Woodlands would be much fuller today. Speck was one of the first to see the importance of intensifying research in sectors where data were being lost most rapidly. In most cases he was none too soon, and his vast experience with the study of dying Indian cultures gave him an unusual knowledge of one phase of the development of American culture—the transition of the frontier community and the Indian remnant group into the modern American folk community.

Although Speck received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, he did most of his graduate work at Columbia University as a student of Franz Boas. From Boas he acquired an exceptional skill at linguistic techniques and a scholarship aimed at a knowledge of man that was world-wide and all-inclusive. Speck developed a knowledge of his science that was amazing in its breadth and depth. He carried, as a result of constant growth, a brain too filled with his beloved studies to be even partially emptied into publications and lectures. But Boas left another mark on him, an effect of the European scholastic tyranny brought here from the German Universities. Speck always avoided the controversies of theoretical anthropology, and generally abstained from the statement of basic correlations and the derivation of anything like natural laws from his data. Frequently he dealt with such fundamentals in his data and interpretations, but he always stopped short of the final, concise statement. In large part, he was wise in keeping clear of the

muddied thinking of most theoretical anthropology, and, where he deferred to his colleagues, he was preparing better for students who followed.

In his studies of northern North American hunting territorialism, he made one of his greatest contributions to American ethnogoly. Here he investigated the correlations between a peculiar type of land tenure, a specific type of economy, and a quite distinctive form of social organization. Interrelationships between these different aspects of one culture pattern were too strong for explanation by any thesis but causative connection. This was a test case for Boas' didactic rejection of the concept of cultural evolution. The significance of hunting territories is obvious in Speck's papers, and the conclusions are all implied, but it remained for John Cooper to state the case in emphatic form twenty years later. Speck carefully avoided the assertion of certitude, the assumption of authority. This may have placed him at a disadvantage in dealing with certain types of people, but his lack of dogmatism gives some measure of the man.

Speck began his first intensive studies of southeastern Indian cultures at the age of 22, when he spent his first field season in Indian territory. His study of Taskigi is still our best picture of the culture of a Creek town, and, like his Yuchi volume, it is one of the few examples of intensified ethnological research form the Southeast. Where other southeastern specialists looked to historic data for their primary information, he went to the living peoples and was able to derive much fuller and more significant information from direct observation. He acquired a fair speaking knowledge of the Creek language, and had always hoped to do the ethnology of other major Creek towns, but the opportunity never came. The ethnological opportunities of Indian Territory seemed tremendous, and Speck made some contact with most of the peoples of the area. In later years he returned to Oklahoma to carry on other major studies. Here a wealth of information was available from nearly intact cultures, and at times Speck was the only individual scholar who was studying it.

The other phase of Speck's southeastern work began with his studies of Catawba, and was extended to numerous other vestiges of Indian communities still in the Southeast. James Mooney, in

the 1880's, began his analysis of the data on the Siouan peoples of the Southeast. The problems were largely historical and most of the information came from written sources; the Catawba community was considered too broken down to have any relevance to this research. In order to gain background in the cultures and ways of life of the area, Mooney made his first visits to Cherokee, and was quickly drawn into his classical work on Cherokee ethnology. Speck, however, bypassed Cherokee where the culture was still so intact, and concentrated directly on field research in the Catawba community. Here he began, about 1909, to salvage, with huge effort, what linguistic and cultural data remained. A generation earlier, the community had included the last of those who lived in the old culture. These last conservatives had been raised in Siouan-speaking households with playmates who spoke Catawba, and had lived in a tiny reservation universe which was still Indian, cut off by social, cultural and linguistic barriers from all communication with surrounding White communities. They were an unbelievably impoverished group, living on the very edge of survival. The overwhelming proportion of infants' graves in the reservation cemeteries still bears mute testimony to nineteenth-century Catawba life. Their only friends were the Mormon missionaries, and almost every Catawba with sufficient strength and familiarity with White culture migrated elsewhere, so that the reservation lost most of its male population and most of those who were adaptable to White American culture. The next generation suffered the effects of this poverty and cultural isolation, and bore the whole pressure of culture change. The third generation, although born into households of truncated Indian culture, grew up in what was essentially a white man's world. Albert Gatschet might have worked with the first generation, and we can study the third, but Speck sought out the last representatives of the second. He knew full well the conservative nature of Indian personality structure, and he attempted to track down every fragment of culture and language that survived with it.

Edward Sapir has said that no human being of normal mentality and senses exists or can exist without full and adequate use of a language. However, in the most disastrous forms of the acculturation process, individuals grow up in such an impov-

erished intellectual environment and with such intense and deep-seated conflict that they may approximate this linguistic isolation. Speck's best Catawba informants spoke a Siouan jargon of very small vocabulary and simplified grammar, and their English was little better. The world in which they grew up had quite effectively cut them off from all achievement. Speck recorded the priceless heritage which they had retained, and he contributed more than any other man to the betterment of the Catawba community and to the renaissance of recent years by which the Catawba are becoming a productive part of our American nation. Speck, like John Collier in recent years, was always aware of the valuable cultural and personality characteristics which Indian peoples may contribute to American life, but Speck had a much better knowledge of what was involved. Speck knew that cultural barriers of Indian-European order were almost impenetrable, and he was one of the few people who had acquired the art and knowledge to pass them and make conscious, meaningful analysis within alien cultural contexts. As a scientist he chronicled and interpreted disappearing cultures of the Eastern Woodlands, and as an individual he worked intelligently and constantly to better the physical and social status of submerged groups. His efforts were a real factor in the survival of many communities of Indian origin. He never became involved in reservation politics or the devious machinations of the Indian Service. In his close contacts with innumerable Indians and Indian descendants, he was an important agent for understanding between cultures and for the amelioration of the acculturation process. As a personality, he gave to many people and to whole communities some of the courage, dignity, and knowledge which they needed to carry on life in our culture.

Speck's work at Catawba led to two other phases of his southeastern studies. He first worked at Qualla with Catawba who had migrated there, and, after Mooney's death he began his long researches in Cherokee culture. His first major publication on Cherokee ceremonialism is now in press. A lengthy study of new texts of medicinal and magical formulas remains unfinished. His work at Catawba led to investigation of other Indian remnants in the Southeast, and he worked most intensively among the last submerged Algonkian descendants of the coastal areas. Speck

investigated almost every possible community of possible Indian derivation. Speck had intimate contact with nearly every Indian community of the Eastern Woodlands. In later years, as the submerged groups became better known, he turned more of his efforts to better preserved cultures, Cherokee, Seneca, Cayuga, Naskapi, and others, but researches in any segment of the field were never finished, and he always returned for further data and notes on change. His wife, Florence Insley Speck, was a frequent companion and co-worker in the field, and contributed greatly to his productivity.

Studies of the Powhatan remnants, of the Houma, Chickasaw, and Alabama survivors, of Nanticoke and Moor, were carried on in a marginal field between Indian and White cultures. Speck was too good an ethnologist to neglect European folklore and problems of European folk communities, and he had a strong background and much actual experience in rural American community studies. The work which he did on Indian remnant groups was detailed and exhaustive. In late years, Speck and some of his students began to study remnant groups by the techniques of community analysis and analysis of the roles of the submerged community and its members in larger social frameworks. Little of this research is yet published, but it represents a valuable approach to many historical and functional problems in the development of modern American culture.

Frank Speck's bibliography and a full-length obituary will be published in the *American Anthropologist,* and reference should be made to that for many phases of his work not discussed here and for a complete list of his publications. The great number and high quality of his publications testify to his achievement, but the vast number of friends he had everywhere are the most conspicuous effect of his activities. I hope that this tribute may serve as an expression of the grief of so many of us, white, brown, and black, who gained so much by contact with him.

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