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AN HISTORIC INDIAN BURIAL FROM COLUMBIA COUNTY, GEORGIA

Wilfred T. Neill

In the Savannah River, about five airline miles above Augusta, Georgia, is an island now called Indian Island. According to Claflin,¹ it was once called Stallings Island, and by this name it is well known in archeological literature. The huge shell midden on the island has yielded evidence of occupation during several archeological periods. In recent years a power company built two towers on the midden, carrying transmission lines across the river. During the construction of these towers, the midden was cleared of brush; shell and earth were stripped away from portions of the site not previously investigated by archeologists. On the southeastern side of the midden, a large pocket of red clay was thus disclosed. This contained an Indian burial.

The burial was that of a young child, about five years old, as indicated by the size of the bones and the presence of milk-teeth only. Sex was not determined. The burial was tightly flexed, with the head to the west.

About the neck were a great many beads, of three varieties. Most numerous were seed-beads of light blue glass (Fig. 1, F). These were not counted; they sufficed nearly to fill a pint jar. There were 198 larger beads, made of red glass over a black core, and varying in shape from spherical to oblong (Fig. 1, E). Also in the necklace were ten oblong beads made from perforated pearls (Fig. 1, G); the comparatively large, rude perforations appeared to have been made by some primitive drilling technique. (Pearls occur naturally in Savannah River mussels.) With the beads were eight canine teeth of some medium-sized carnivore, probably raccoon (Fig. 1, H). These were not perforated, but may have been bound into the necklace. Also among the beads, as part of a necklace, were four iron nails, each rectangular in cross-section and tapering gradually from head to point (Fig. 1, A).

At the level of the pelvis was a small, chisel-like blade chipped from a fairly hard slaty material (Fig. 1, D). This object somewhat resembled a gunflint; however, unlike most gunflints it was knapped to an equal extent on both faces. The slaty stone crops out along the Savannah River in the vicinity of the site.

1. *Claflin*, 1931, p. 1.

With this blade was a lump of red ocher (Fig. 1, C) and a rudely made cup-shaped object of untempered clay (Fig. 1, B). The latter had a perforation in the base, and suggested the bowl of a toy pipe. In contact with the skull, above and between the orbits, was a subtriangular bit of unworked turtle shell. This could have been part of a head-dress, or merely an accidental inclusion in the burial fill.

The remainder of the clay pocket was troweled out, but nothing else was found except a few mollusk shells, probably included in the clay by accident. Apparently a burial pit had been dug into the shell heap, then filled with clay.

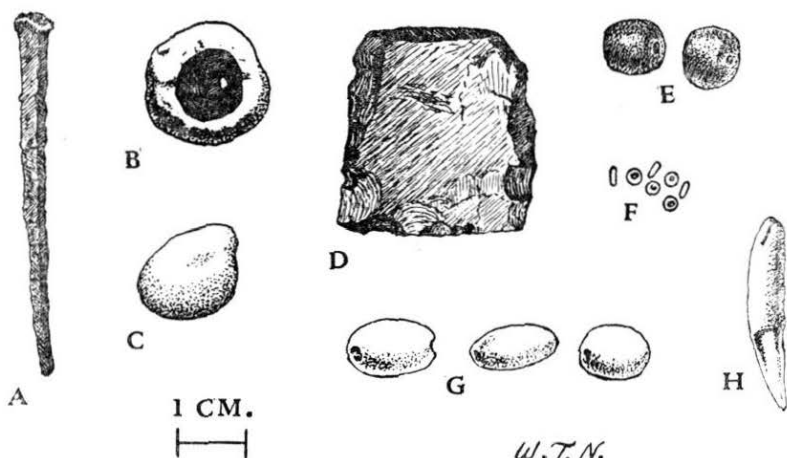


Fig. 1. Artifacts from an historic Indian burial in Georgia. A, Nail; B, object of unfired clay; C, lump of red ocher; D, chisel-like object of chipped stone; E, glass beads; F, glass seed beads; G, pearl beads; H, tooth of a carnivore.

At a depth of four feet below the surface of the midden, Claflin² found a level of red clay, but this probably had nothing to do with the burial pit. Claflin found no historic burials, but he did recover "the neck of one trade bottle, a piece from the neck of another similar bottle, and a piece of glass. Both fragments of trade bottles were of the pre-Revolutionary type. . . . All three pieces were sufficiently below the surface to remove any possibility of their having been left on the island by some

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

white man many years after the Indians had left this region . . ."³ The later pottery from Stallings Island included "sherds with a roughly scratched pattern [probably made] by some sort of crude brush."⁴ These, and certain rim sherds illustrated by Claflin, probably date from the historic period also.

Documentary sources aid in identifying the burial. The Augusta area was inhabited by many tribes in historic times. However, most of them dwelt at varying distances below the present-day city, in the low, flat Coastal Plain. This was certainly the case with the Apalachee, Chickasaw, and Shawnee, who were late comers into the area; and probably the case with the earlier Westo and protohistoric Kasihta. The only historic tribe clearly associated with the Stallings Island region, in the rocky Piedmont upland, is the Yuchi.⁵ Euchee Island and Uchee Creek, a few miles above Stallings Island, perpetuate the name of the tribe that dwelt in the vicinity. These place names are not of recent origin, but are mentioned in some fairly early accounts.

The Hogologe band of Yuchi appeared near Stallings Island in 1715 or perhaps a little earlier, and in 1716 presumably removed to the Chattahoochee River. In spite of their brief residence on the Savannah, this band apparently gave their name to Euchee Island and Uchee Creek. About the same time that the Hogologe band departed, other Yuchi moved into the Augusta region. These later settled below the city, according to Hawkins,⁶ but a few of them may have taken up residence in the area freshly abandoned by their kinsmen. The last of the Yuchi left the Savannah in 1751, falling back to the Chattahoochee. (The Yuchi band among the Florida Seminole probably were an offshoot of the Chattahoochee town.)

Thus, the historical burial on Stallings Island may well be a Yuchi interment of the early 18th Century. The grave goods do not contradict this supposition. Blue glass seed-beads are widespread; they appear as early as the 16th Century and are still in use today. Opaque red beads with a black core are a common "early" type.⁷ Pearls were widely used by Savannah River tribes in protohistoric times, but declined in popularity thereafter. There seems to be no dependable reference to pearls in the South-

3. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 20 and pl. 32.

5. See *Milling*, 1940, pp. 179-187; also *Swanton*, 1922, pp. 286-312. and 1946, pp. 212-215.

6. *Hawkins*, 1848, pp. 61-63, 66-67.

7. *Orchard*, 1929, p. 87.

east after the early 18th Century. One of the last observations is that of Pénicaut,⁸ who visited the Natchez about 1704. He stated that Natchez children under the age of ten each wore two or three pearls. Welch⁹ mentioned a pearl-ornamented garment among the 19th Century Seminole, but Welch's observations are not considered especially reliable. Hand-forged, square-stemmed nails appear early in historic times and continue well into the 19th Century. Chipped stone implements were in use in Georgia as late as the Ocmulgee Fields Period, *circa* 1690-1776 A.D.¹⁰

Certain previously described historic burials have features in common with that from Stallings Island. Moore¹¹ found three skeletons in a mound at Bayard Point, Clay County, Florida. One of these burials, that of a woman, yielded earrings, glass beads, brass rings, fragments of glass, and a lump of red pigment identified as cinnabar. With the other two burials, those of men, were flintlock guns, musket balls, remnants of a powder horn, and a flint-and-steel. Moore thought that the burials were not intrusive, and that the mound had been erected to cover them. Goggin¹² suggested the possibility that the Bayard Point mound had been constructed by "Yuchi or other Muskogean warriors" during their engagements at Fort Pupo. If so, it may date from about 1740. Goggin *et al.*¹³ described a burial from Alachua County, Florida, doubtless attributable to one of the bands that made up the Seminole. This burial was flexed, with the head to the west; funerary offerings included red pigment and square-stemmed nails as well as weapons and accoutrements, tools, ornaments, and other items. The Alachua County interment may be a bit later than the Clay County one, probably dating from the latter half of the 18th Century.

Archeological remains attributed to the Yuchi have been found in Tennessee. Among them are the "small log town house" sites of the Norris Basin, and the Mouse Creek Focus of the Hiwassee River. However, these remains seem to pertain respectively to the Tamahita and Chisca bands of the Yuchi, and in any event are a good bit earlier than the Stallings Island burial.¹⁴

8. *In Margry*, 1875-86, Vol. 5, p. 452.

9. *Welch*, 1841, p. 56.

10. *Fairbanks*, 1952, p. 298.

11. *Moore*, 1894, pp. 188-189.

12. *Goggin*, 1952, p. 59, footnote 16.

13. *Goggin et al.*, 1949.

14. *Webb*, 1938, pp. 380-382; *Lewis and Kneberg*, 1946, pp. 13-14; *Fairbanks*, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

Therefore they do not afford comparative data in the present case.

Historic times in eastern Georgia are not well known archeologically. Farther west in the state, an historic period, Ocmulgee Fields, has been recognized. The definition of the period is based on the remains of the Lower Creek towns from about 1690 to the American Revolution. Ocmulgee Fields burials were either flexed or extended, and were usually accompanied by abundant grave goods mostly of European origin.¹⁵ The Stallings Island burial is thus quite like some Ocmulgee Fields interments.

Mortuary customs of recent Yuchi include burial with the head to the west, painting of the corpse's face, dressing of the body in good clothes, and the placing of a few objects in the grave.¹⁶ Yuchi graves were bark-lined, as was the case with one (?) burial at Bayard Point. Bark was not observed in the Stallings Island burial; probably it would decay rapidly in the damp, acid clay that filled the grave. (Even the seed-beads were pitted and corroded.) Disturbance was considerable at Stallings Island, and it was impossible to determine whether the burial represented subfloor interment of the sort once practiced by the Yuchi.

To summarize: An historic burial was found at Stallings Island, Columbia County, Georgia. Grave goods reveal that it was an Indian burial, and documentary sources suggest that it may have been a Yuchi interment of the early 18th Century. The mortuary offerings do not negate this supposition. Trade items and certain aboriginal sherds, previously found by Claflin on Stallings Island, may well have been approximately contemporaneous with the aforesaid burial. There is at least a general similarity among the Stallings Island interment, the Bayard Point ones reported by Moore, the Alachua County one described by Goggin *et al.*, and some Ocmulgee Fields burials.

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15. *Fairbanks, op. cit.*, p. 298.

16. *Speck, 1909, pp. 97-98.*

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EVOLUTIONARY THEORY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Stanley South

A current trend in archaeological theory in the United States is to emphasize the construction of cultural contexts. Students are no longer satisfied with the mere collection and classification of archaeological specimens. Today their interest lies in the reconstruction of culture history. They are turning from a study of cultures to a study of culture.¹ This emphasis on the context of culture was outlined by Walter Taylor in his monograph, *A Study of Archaeology*, which appeared in 1948.² He urged the archaeological student of culture to construct an integrated picture of what actually happened in the past from his archaeological data. This process he called the conjunctive approach. Recently, a number of other articles have been published illustrating this point of view.³

The approach outlined by Taylor emphasizes the consideration of the cultural conjunctives in the archaeological manifestation being studied, and the making of inferences from the data as to the social organization, religious practices or other non-material aspects of the prehistoric culture being studied. Most archaeologists have agreed with Taylor, some have suggested approaches of their own in an attempt to achieve this suggested goal while others have said, in effect, "we agree with Taylor that archaeologists should look for cultural conjunctives but we cannot excavate personalities, or clans, or ideologies." As James A. Ford puts it:

If traces of ancient political ideas, religious practices, or forms of social organization were preserved, and could be sampled and classified, then archaeologists certainly would take advantage of such material. Unfortunately, these are not available to us, and we are forced by circumstances to rely on more durable cultural equipment.⁴

More will be said of Taylor's monograph later, but first let us examine a point of similarity that occurs in almost all of the monographs and papers written by current cultural theorists in archaeology. This similarity is the criticism of evolutionist theory, the apology for it, or the neglect of it. This is not surprising since the popular trend for many years has been to disavow

1. Daniel, 1950, p. 318.

2. Taylor, 1948, p. 31.

3. Phillips and Willey, 1953, 1955.

4. Ford, 1952, p. 319.

evolutionist theory and its influence in cultural theory. But another striking similarity of these theorists is that their basic assumptions, whether they admit it, or whether they are conscious of it, are based on evolutionist theory.

The purpose of this paper will be to examine the criticism that current archaeological theorists have for the evolutionary approach, and then to look at the work of the evolutionists E. B. Tylor and Lewis H. Morgan in order to determine the validity of this criticism. Tylor and Morgan have been chosen because it is felt that any criticism of "evolutionists" would certainly include these leading evolutionary theorists.

The current archaeological theorists whose work will be examined will include Walter Taylor, Phillip Phillips, Gordon R. Willey, and Julian Steward. Their expressed statements will be compared with the underlying assumptions in their work with a view of demonstrating that evolutionary theory is part of their basic assumption whether they realize it or not, and that it is one of the necessary assumptions upon which archaeology depends if it aspires to anything more than merely writing historical description. That is, if archaeologists attempt to construct a picture of the culture represented by their artifacts, and in so doing concern themselves with sequences of forms through time, they are using evolutionist theory. They are assuming that each culture is an integrated whole with a functional relationship between its several parts, and that culture, in general, has developed through various stages, from simple to complex, and that comparison can be made between the forms in archaeological and ethnological complexes. This is the assumption that many archaeologists are using, but which few are stating specifically.

James A. Ford, one of the few archaeological theorists who admits the importance of the evolutionary assumptions to the archaeologist, says:

The best thinkers in the field have long been aware that culture derives from preceding culture and is not exuded by the human animal that carries it. Archaeologists have taken this for granted ever since they began comparing artifacts and deducing historical connections from similarities.⁵

Perhaps they have taken it for granted, but there are many today who will deny any such assumption. In fact, in the criticism that is usually leveled against the evolutionists, there seems to be an obvious lack of understanding or familiarity with

5. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

the writings of the basic evolutionary theorists. An example of this attitude is shown in a quote from Boas:

. . . it does not seem to be certain that every people in an advanced stage of civilization must have passed through all the stages of development.⁶

Leslie White says of this:

. . . what evolutionist ever said that *every* people had to pass through all the stages of development? They have said that *culture* must pass through certain stages of development, but they have not said that "different groups," "every people," etc. have to go through these stages.⁷

Ralph Linton joins Boas in this same idea of what the evolutionists were supposed to have said, when he says:

A belief in the unilinear evolution of all institutions and cultures, that is, that all cultures had passed or were passing through exactly the same stages in their upward climb.⁸

Robert Lowie has little use for the developmental sequences as outlined by the evolutionists when he says:

In short, diffusion plays havoc with any universal law of sequence. This difficulty, however, Morgan does not face.⁹

Morgan does face diffusion, however, when he says:

Nations are apt to share in the more important elements of each other's progress.¹⁰

It would seem that in statements such as this Morgan did definitely face diffusion. Many other examples of Morgan's and Tylor's recognition of diffusion have been pointed out by Leslie White, who has admirably answered those critics who continually refer to diffusion as the weapon that dealt the fatal blow to evolutionary theory.¹¹

John Gillin does not reject everything produced by the evolutionists. He accepts the idea of culture stages, but joins Boas, Linton, and Lowie in a misinterpretation of the views of at least some of the "classical" evolutionists.

The essential idea of the evolutionary approach was that culture develops through a series of stages. This, so far as we know now, is true.¹²

Notice that here Gillin uses culture and not cultures in his agreement with the evolutionists. But in the next sentence he dis-

6. Boas, 1938, p. 178.

7. White, 1945, p. 345.

8. Linton, 1936, p. 314, in White, 1945, p. 352.

9. Lowie, 1937, p. 60.

10. Morgan, 1871, p. 448, in White, 1945, p. 343.

11. White, 1945.

12. Gillin, 1948, p. 600.

agrees, and uses cultures and not culture. The quotation continues:

But, in its classical form, the evolutionary theory held that all cultures inevitably must pass through the same stages of development. . . some cultures have "skipped" one or more of the "inevitable" stages, because of the operation of the diffusion process, because of peculiarities of the natural environment, and for other reasons.¹³

If Gillin had used "culture" in his second instance rather than "cultures," he would have been correctly quoting the evolutionists, and perhaps his criticism would have been different. If by "classical form" Gillin means the theory as outlined by Tylor and Morgan, then his interpretation is unjustified. I intend to introduce evidence, in the form of quotations from Tylor and Morgan, to illustrate that these evolutionists were speaking of *culture* and not *cultures*.

No further examination of what the critics have to say about evolutionary theory will be presented here, but, if the reader is interested, Leslie White has reviewed and answered many of the critics in a thorough manner in the *American Anthropologist*.¹⁴

The primary source for the evolutionist theory and assumptions will be Lewis Henry Morgan and Edward B. Tylor. Tylor says in regard to his stages of cultural development:

Its standard of reckoning progress and decline is not that of ideal good and evil, but of movement along a measured line from grade to grade of actual savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The thesis which I venture to sustain, within limits, is simply this, that the savage state in *some measure* represents an early condition of mankind, out of which the higher culture has gradually been developed or evolved, by processes still in regular operation as of old, the result showing that, on the whole, progress has far prevailed over relapse.¹⁵ (*italics mine*)

In regard to the criteria for establishing these stages Tylor says:

Seeking something like a definite line along which to reckon progression and retrogression in civilization, we may apparently find it best in the classification of real tribes and nations, past and present. . . . The principal criteria of classification are the absence or presence, high or low development, of the industrial arts, especially metal-working, manufacture of implements and vessels, agriculture, architecture, &c., the extent of scientific knowledge, the definiteness of moral principles, the condition of religious belief and ceremony, the degree of social and political organization, and so forth. Thus, on the basis of compared facts,

13. *Ibid.*, p. 600.

14. White, 1945.

15. Tylor, 1891, Vol. 1, p. 32.

ethnographers are able to set up *at least a rough scale* of civilization.¹⁶ (*italics mine*)

Tylor says in regard to comparisons between archaeological and ethnological culture complexes:

... an attempt is made to sketch a theoretical course of civilization among mankind, such as appears on the whole most accordant with the evidence. By comparing the various stages of civilization among races known to history, *with the aid of archaeological inference* from the remains of prehistoric tribes, it seems possible to judge *in a rough way of an early general condition of man*, which from our point of view is to be regarded as a primitive condition, whatever yet earlier state may in reality have lain behind it. This hypothetical primitive condition corresponds in a considerable degree to that of modern savage tribes, who, in spite of their difference and distance, have in common certain elements of civilization, which seem remains of an early state of the human race at large.¹⁷ (*italics mine*)

If the above statement can be taken to be part of evolutionary theory, then would the archaeologist not be utilizing evolutionist theory when he looks at a chipped stone and says, "This is a spear point," and proceeds to infer something of the culture from the artifact? Is he not in effect making this inference because the condition of the prehistoric culture "... corresponds in a considerable degree to that of modern savage tribes, who, in spite of their difference and distance, have in common certain elements of civilization, which seem remains of an early state of the human race at large"¹⁸? This seems to me to be an assumption of an evolutionist nature that is made by any archaeologist who infers from his artifacts something of the "early general condition of man."

Tylor says of the study of culture that it is:

... the history, *not of tribes or nations*, but of the *condition* of knowledge, religion, art, custom, and the like among them . . .¹⁹ (*italics mine*)

We see, then, that Tylor was concerned with culture, not tribes or nations. And we cannot find where Tylor says that all cultures must pass through the same conditions.

Lewis H. Morgan sets up a series of stages of the development of culture *in general*, from simple to complex levels. He says:

It may be remarked finally that the experience of mankind has run in nearly uniform channels; that human necessities in

16. *Ibid.*, p. 26-7.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

similar conditions have been substantially the same; and that the operations of the mental principle have been uniform in virtue of the specific identity of the brain of all the races of mankind. This, however, is but a part of the explanation of the uniformity in results.²⁰

Here Morgan has offered an explanation for the occurrence of uniformities in culture growth, but it does not appear to be a dogmatic assertion. Neither does his explanation for the setting up of stages offer a clue to the criticism of *all* cultures must pass through *all* stages of development. Morgan's explanation follows:

The discussion of these several classes of facts will be facilitated by the establishment of a certain number of Ethnical Periods; each representing a distinct condition of society, and distinguishable by a mode of life peculiar to itself.²¹ . . . With our present knowledge the main result can be attained by selecting such other inventions or discoveries as will afford sufficient tests of progress to characterize the commencement of successive ethnical periods. Even though accepted as provisional, these periods will be found convenient and useful. . . . It is difficult, if not impossible, to find such tests of progress to mark the commencement of these several periods as will be found absolute in their application, and without exceptions upon all the continents. Neither is it necessary, for the purpose at hand, that exceptions should not exist. It will be sufficient if the principal tribes of mankind can be classified, according to the degree of their relative progress, into conditions which can be recognized as distinct.²²

Each of these periods has a distinct culture and exhibits a mode of life more or less special and peculiar to itself. This specialization of ethnical periods renders it possible to treat a particular society according to its condition of relative advancement, and to make it a subject of independent study and discussion. It does not affect the main result that different tribes and nations on the same continent, and even of the same linguistic family, are in different conditions at the same time, since for our purpose the *condition* of each is the material fact, the *time* being immaterial.²³

It seems that Morgan outlines in a very careful manner his qualifications of the stages he is presenting. His stages are:

Savagery—acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire . . . subsisting upon fruits and nuts . . . invention of the bow and arrow, and ended with the invention of the art of pottery.

Barbarism—The invention or practice of the art of pottery, all

20. Morgan, 1877, p. 8.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 12-13.

things considered, is probably the most effective and conclusive test that can be selected to fix a boundary line, *necessarily arbitrary* (italics mine) between savagery and barbarism. . . . The first sub-period of barbarism commenced with the manufacture of pottery, whether by original invention or adoption. (italics mine) . . . In the Eastern hemisphere, the domestication of animals, and the Western, the cultivation of maize and plants by irrigation, together with the use of adobe-brick and stone in house building have been selected as sufficient evidence of progress to work a transition out of the Lower and into the Middle Status of Barbarism. . . . The invention of the process of smelting iron ore. . . . The invention of a phonetic alphabet, and the use of writing in literary composition.

Civilization—It commenced, as stated, with the use of a phonetic alphabet and the production of literary records, and divides into *Ancient* and *Modern*.²⁴

These three stages were broken down by Morgan into Lower, Middle and Upper stages. They have been combined here for conciseness and clarity. These stages along with the criteria suggested by Morgan will be compared later with stages established by more recent anthropologists who state that their stages are not related to these evolutionary stages of Morgan.

We can see from Morgan's explanation of his stages that he did take into consideration diffusion; he did not say that the stages set up were not to be altered, nor that there would not be exceptions to the stages; rather, Morgan says the stages are "accepted as provisional, and will be found convenient and useful." This does not sound like a man who is saying "*all cultures must.*"

Thus far I have pointed out some of the criticism that has been made against the evolutionists which seems to be the result of a lack of understanding of, or familiarity with, the literature. I have attempted to show that, by going directly to Morgan, much of the criticism will be found to be unjust when applied to him.

There is another type of criticism, however, that seems to border on the fanatic. It is not so much misunderstanding as it is emotional in character. These critics rebel against any theory resembling cultural evolution or stages of cultural development; in fact, the reaction of these critics seems to be against all theory arrived at by deduction rather than induction. This attitude is typical of some of the followers of Franz Boas who not only led the movement away from evolutionism but away from theory in

24. *Ibid.*, p. 9-12 (abstracted).

general. He concerned himself with the collection of facts and gave little consideration to the interpretation of the facts. This period is what F. C. S. Northrop has called "the natural history stage."²⁵ Emphasis was on the detailed study of a single culture, rather than on any comparison of similarities or uniformities of cultural forms. The attitude of one of the supporters of Boas in his anti-evolutionism is expressed in the following:

The theory of cultural evolution [is] to my mind the most inane, sterile, and pernicious theory ever conceived in the history of science.²⁶

And:

I must confess that I am in a state of mind where I would no longer give a dime to anyone for a new theory, but I am always enthusiastic about new facts. . . .²⁷

One of Boas' students, Robert Lowie, asks if the evolutionist formulas are "empirical inductions." White answers that:

. . . without creative imagination there is no science; with it, theories and formulas will be forthcoming. They are, as Einstein aptly puts it, "free inventions of the human intellect."²⁸

White continues:

The fact is, of course, that no amount of mere accumulation of facts will ever produce understanding, at least in the form of basic principles or generalizations of science. As Einstein has well expressed it: "There is no inductive method which could lead to the fundamental concepts of physics. Failure to understand this fact constituted the basic philosophical error of so many investigators of the nineteenth century. . . . We now realize with special clarity, how much in error are those theorists who believe that theory comes inductively from experience. . . ."²⁹

Leslie White, whose defense of the deductive method is presented above, is one of the few anthropologists today who sees the value of evolutionary theory for the interpretation of the cultural process. He says in regard to culture:

Culture is made up of many things. It includes tools and weapons, customs and institutions, ceremonies and rituals, art, science, philosophy, religion, and so on. An essential feature of culture is its continuity; for a large part of the culture of one generation or age is passed on to the next. Culture is thus a continuous process which grows and develops in accordance with principles of its own. We are able to formulate the laws of this

25. Steward, 1956, p. 70.

26. Laufer, 1918, p. 90, in White, 1947, p. 403.

27. Laufer, 1930, in White, 1947b, p. 407.

28. White, 1947b, p. 408 and Einstein, 1943, p. 33.

29. Einstein, 1936, pp. 360, 365-66, in White, 1946, p. 84.

development. And the basic law relates to energy . . . as more energy is harnessed, the more highly developed does the culture become.³⁰

White distinguishes between history and evolution. He says there is a:

. . . confusion of the process that is history, a temporal sequence of unique events, with the process that is evolution, a temporal sequence of forms . . . [History] deals with phenomena as unique events, with reference to specific time and place; [evolution] . . . deals with classes of phenomena without regard to specific time and place. The one particularizes, the other generalizes.³¹ (italics mine)

This definition of the evolutionary process is used in this paper as the basic definition. White states the need for a science of culture, "culturology."

A survey of the whole field of science as well as that of anthropology will demonstrate that science is always striving for larger and more inclusive systems of interpretation. . . . A science of culture is needed to grasp and interpret culture as a distinct order of reality, to lay bare and explain that "majestic order pervading civilization." Anthropology will be a culturological science rather than a psychological or psychiatric discipline. . . . It will deal with culture in its various aspects and time-space groupings, and it will deal with it as a whole. And the science will of course trace the evolution of culture from its beginning to the present day so that mankind will, as Tylor remarked, be able to a degree at least, to forecast the future and to guide our steps toward it. In doing this, however, anthropology will be attempting nothing new. On the contrary, it will merely be carrying on the work begun by such pre-Boasians as Tylor and Morgan, and men like Durkheim who lay outside the Boasian orbit of influence.³²

White continues with comments on the place of the individual in the culture process:

We turn then to human behavior, to such things as thinking, voting, inventing, and "attituding." How are we to interpret these events? We have a choice between psychological and culturological interpretations. If we are concerned with the reactions of this or that organism, or of human organisms in general, to such cultural stimuli as ballots, polyandry, guns, amulets, beliefs in ghosts, and the multiplication table, then our problem and interpretation are psychological. If, however, we wish to account for the institutions, beliefs, paraphernalia, etc., themselves, our problem is culturological. . . . Culture as culture can-

30. White, 1947a, p. 2.

31. White, 1946, p. 82.

32. White, 1946, p. 90-91.

not be explained psychologically at all, let alone on an individual basis. . . . Relative to the culture process the individual is neither creator nor determinant; he is merely a catalyst and a vehicle of expression. . . .³³

Needless to say this view of White's has caused considerable controversy among anthropologists. He says that a consideration of the individual is *not* pertinent to a study of culture, but that what the individual does is pertinent to a study of culture history. (See distinction between history and evolution above.)

White says that anthropology, like the other sciences interprets its data in terms of three concepts which are: the historical, the evolutionary, and the formal-functional. The historical process is concerned with a chronological sequence of events unique in time and space. The formal-functional process is characterized by chronological sequences and by a concern with formal-functional processes, but the evolutionist process is concerned with progression of forms through time.³⁴

In regard to the stages of cultural development, White would say that these depend upon *the amount of energy harnessed per capita per year*. When an increase in the amount of energy harnessed is made, the stage of cultural development would be affected. (See above for White on culture.) He points out some criticism of the stages of cultural development made by recent critics:

As recently as 1941, Professor Melville J. Herskovits wrote: "I am glad . . . to reaffirm my belief that the use (by economists, or anyone else) of such a concept as 'stages of development' implies a belief in a type of social evolution that cannot, on the basis of objectively verifiable data, be established as valid."³⁵

and adds that:

. . . the rejection and repudiation of evolutionist theory by many anthropologists, may be regarded as a temporary reaction against the exuberance and shortcomings of the evolutionism of the late nineteenth century. We say "temporary" because it is difficult to believe that cultural anthropology can long continue to oppose or ignore a theory so fundamental and fruitful in modern science and philosophy . . . when we survey the field of science in its great length and breadth, we find that the philosophy of evolution prevails almost everywhere except in cultural anthropology of the present day.³⁶

And it is one of the prime purposes of this paper to demonstrate

33. White, 1948, p. 80.

34. White, 1945a, p. 230.

35. White, 1945b, p. 247f.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 245-246.

that in the field of archaeology, of necessity, investigators are using evolutionist theory even though some may still deny it. The current direction of American archaeology is toward a greater emphasis on developmental sequences and the construction of cultural contexts from archaeological data. A statement of the latter viewpoint was made by Walter Taylor in his monograph, *A Study of Archeology*, which appeared in 1948.³⁷ It said what a great many archaeologists had been thinking, and some taking for granted for years, but it cleared the air, and since its appearance there has been increased interest in the approach he outlined. A summary of his "conjunctive approach" follows:

The conjunctive approach takes as its first concern the description of the cultures of human groups. It does this by studying the data which are "conjunctive; conjoining, connecting, connective; . . . Serving to connect the meaning as well as the construction" (Webster's *International Dictionary*). It is primarily interested in the interrelationships which existed *within* a particular cultural entity, while the comparative approach occupies itself primarily with data which have relationships *outside* the cultural unit and attempts to place the newly discovered material in taxonomic or other association with extra-local phenomena.³⁸

. . . a premise of the conjunctive approach [is] that interpretations are both justified and required, when once the empirical grounds have been made explicit.³⁹

. . . it should be pointed out that the conjunctive approach is a conceptual scheme made explicit in a set of goals which, in turn, are best attained by certain means. This scheme is one which views archaeological data as cultural data. It considers the writing of history to be the construction of cultural contexts with due regard for time, *not merely the arrangement of events and cultural phenomena in temporally sequential order*. It considers the writing of anthropology to be concerned with the nature of culture and cultural dynamics. . . . The conjunctive approach is not concerned as to whether the particular archaeologist has for his objective historiography or anthropology. But it does believe that, to justify itself as a social science as opposed to antiquarianism, archeology must at least write history, must at least construct the fullest possible cultural contexts.⁴⁰ (*italics mine*)

By definition, he [the archeologist] is interested in cultural contexts or in culture itself, . . . his interests lie, not in the phenomena of his own world, but in the world of the original makers, users, or possessors, individually or as groups. In other

37. Taylor, 1948.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

words, the pertinent question to be asked is, "What may be inferred today from present evidence as to those things that were relevant, significant, meaningful to the *bygone individuals and societies under investigation?*"⁴¹

From this, then, we can see that the conjunctive approach depends upon interpretations, inferences, and the construction of a cultural context from the archaeological data. This construction of a cultural context is "not merely the arrangement of events and cultural phenomena in temporally sequential order," but is the doing of historiography, which is "an abstraction or a set of abstractions from actuality, not that actuality itself." In other words Taylor is saying that archaeologists should concern themselves, not with a sequence of unique events through time, but with the sequence of forms through time, which he calls here, "abstractions from actuality." It seems to the writer that if the archaeologist deals with these "abstractions from actuality" in their "temporally sequential order," and not "that actuality itself," then he is utilizing the process that is evolution.⁴² Taylor makes the point that Americanist archaeologists seem to have thought that just because they were working on the culture of the American Indians, they were anthropologists. He says they say they are doing "historical reconstruction" but that they have come to look upon it as mere chronicle, "the ordering of cultural materials in temporal sequence together with an attempt to demonstrate their derivations and cross-cultural relationships." He continues his criticism of the Americanist archaeologist by saying that:

They have categorized events and items, tagged them, but not investigated them in their contexts or in their dynamic aspects. As a result of these conditions, Americanist archeology is not in a healthy state. Its metabolism has gone awry. It is wasting and not assimilating its foodstuffs.⁴³

He says that the archaeologist's work should be:

. . . *entirely a pyramiding of inferences* based on these foundations, [*spatial relationships, quantity, and chemico-physical specifications,*] and there is no remedy for this situation. It is in the nature of the archeological materials, and the student might as well face it! . . . the problem resolves itself into how, on the basis of these empirical data and with only an acceptable amount of inference, the *archaeologist is to construct classifications of archaeological materials which will reflect cultural*

41. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 31

43. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

*relationships as they existed among actual, pre-existing human groups.*⁴⁴ (*italics mine*)

There seems to be some parallel here between the "deductions" as defended by White, and the "inference" as advocated by Taylor; at least they are both advocating doing something with the data at hand rather than maintaining a hope that "if one can only pile up enough facts one will somehow come to some clear vision and deep understanding . . ." ⁴⁵

It would seem that to infer from the archaeological data something of the culture context of the people who used the artifacts, some assumptions would have to be made as to what other cultural patterns tend to be associated with, or occur with, a particular group of artifacts. This, as I see it, is what Taylor says one should do. In order to be able to say "from these associated phenomena we have inferred this," you would have first classified your archaeological material into similar groups or types on the basis of a combination of criteria. In so doing the archaeologist is no longer dealing with the individual sherds and pots, but with "potness," an abstraction. The archaeologist then makes comparisons between the "potness," or form, of his artifacts with similar artifact forms from other sites, and may infer on the basis of similarity that the cultures represented by the artifacts were similar. In order to make this inference the archaeologist is assuming *some regularity in the development of these cultures*. He is assuming that:

. . . the experience of mankind has run in nearly uniform channels; that human necessities in similar conditions have been substantially the same . . . ⁴⁶

However, if each culture is assumed to be so unique that no uniformities of development between two cultures exist, the archaeologist is not able to make this inference. "Making comparisons of similarities among cultures, and drawing inferences does not necessitate the use of evolutionist theory, (the functionalists do this all the time)." ⁴⁷ However, when the archaeologist goes beyond the making of comparisons and drawing inferences as to the cultural context, and begins treating his data in terms of developmental sequences of artifact forms through time, then he is no longer using merely a functionalist or historical approach,

44. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

45. White, 1946, p. 84 referring to lack of deduction among Boasians.

46. Morgan, 1877, p. 8.

47. Leslie White, personal communication.

but is employing the evolutionist approach to his archaeological data.

The current trend in archaeological theory is to use this evolutionist approach, and then hasten to make reservations and apologies for the resemblance between the developmental sequences "newly arrived at" and those of Morgan. One such article is by Phillip Phillips and Gordon R. Willey in which they outline six "Historical Developmental Stages," but nevertheless add:

... let us make it very clear that we are under no illusion that it is anything remotely resembling a "natural" evolutionary system. There is nothing *inevitable* about six stages; they might as well be four, or even eight. Nor is there any "law" that says that *all New World cultures must pass through these stages one after the other in proper order*. . . . We are not attempting to impose an evolutionary determinism on the data of New World archaeology.⁴⁸ (*italics mine*)

This is the same argument which, as we have seen, does not apply to Morgan and Tylor. They seem to be afraid someone will mistake their stages for evolutionary stages, and in order to insure that this mistake will not be made, they carefully outline the qualifications and limitations to *their* sequence.

... *we abstract . . . certain characteristics* that seem to have significance from the point of view of the *general development* of New World culture. . . . the sequence is historical as well as developmental but the individual segments can have no correspondent historical unity or reality, consequently the touchstone of "rightness" is irrelevant.

We have, therefore, not hesitated to formulate six developmental stages for New World archaeology although we are without any illusions about their *provisional*, not to say ephemeral, nature.⁴⁹ (*italics mine*)

For larger syntheses another type of formulation must be resorted to, one that is free from strict limitations of *space and time*, yet has a *general historical* validity in the widest sense. The only possible kind of scheme that meets these requirements, so far as we can see, is a series of cultural stages in a historical-developmental sequence.⁵⁰ (*italics mine*)

It is interesting to notice the similarity between the qualifications of their stages and the qualification that Morgan gave to his.

48. Phillips and Willey, 1955, p. 788.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 789.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 725.

Phillips and Willey:

We abstract . . . certain characteristics that seem to have significance . . .⁵¹

Morgan:

. . . the main result can be attained by selecting such other inventions or discoveries as will afford sufficient tests of progress to characterize the commencement of successive ethnical periods.⁵²

Phillips and Willey:

. . . we are without any illusions about their provisional . . . nature.⁵³

Morgan:

. . . Even though accepted as provisional, these periods will be found convenient and useful.⁵⁴

Phillips and Willey:

. . . another type of formulation must be resorted to . . . that is free from strict limitations of space and time, yet has a general historical validity in the widest sense.⁵⁵

Morgan:

It does not affect the main result that different tribes and nations on the same continent, and even of the same linguistic family, are in different conditions at the same time, since for our purpose the *condition* of each is the material fact, the *time* being immaterial.⁵⁶

Phillips and Willey point out difficulties they encountered in establishing their stages:

. . . we seldom have enough of the kind of information required to make strictly developmental determinations. . . . a culture in such a [culture lag] situation will have specific elements that properly belong to a later stage than that represented by its general configuration. . . . [one] of these primary difficulties is in the simplistic defect of *classifying wide varieties of cultures under the same cognomen* upon the basis of limited criteria . . .⁵⁷ (*italics mine*)

Morgan also had difficulties:

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find such tests of progress to mark the commencement of these several periods *as will be found absolute* in their application, *and without exceptions*, upon all continents. Neither is it necessary, for the purpose in hand, that exceptions should not exist. It will be sufficient if the prin-

51. *Ibid.*, p. 789.

52. *Morgan*, 1877, p. 8.

53. *Phillips and Willey*, 1955, p. 789.

54. *Morgan*, 1877, p. 9.

55. *Phillips and Willey*, 1955, p. 725.

56. *Morgan*, 1877, p. 13.

57. *Phillips and Willey*, 1955, p. 789-791.

cial tribes of mankind can be classified, according to the degree of their relative progress, into conditions which can be recognized as distinct.⁵⁸ (*italics mine*)

We see then, that Morgan qualified his sequences much in the same manner and wording as Phillips and Willey.

The stages of Phillips and Willey with the criteria for each are as follows:

Early Lithic

As used here . . . the term applies to a wide range of cultural traditions, from those that seem to reflect excessively primitive economic adjustments, with the main reliance upon wild vegetable foods, to cultures in which hunting is thought to have played the dominant role, with special emphasis on large game animals, including extinct Pleistocene forms . . . rough and chipped stone technology.

Archaic

. . . includes ground and polished stone forms.

Preformative

It may be defined briefly as the stage in which many, but not necessarily all, of the Formative elements are present: agriculture, sedentary or at least seasonal continuity of settlement, stable relationships to locality expressed in ceremonial or mortuary undertakings, technical elaboration in stone and other materials, textiles, and ceramics. . . . agriculture is the primary criterion.

Formative

The establishment of an agricultural, settled village type of life . . . presence of maize and/or manioc agriculture . . .

Classic

. . . Characterized by superlative performance in many lines of cultural endeavor. . . . monumental and ambitious architecture, and special buildings, seems to have been dedicated primarily to religious purposes. Found only in Peru and Middle American areas.

Postclassic

. . . the Postclassic stage in the New World is defined by the features of, or tendencies toward, urbanism, secularism, and militarism.⁵⁹

There is more than a little similarity between these stages and the stages of Morgan. These are, however, not to be confused with evolutionary stages, say the authors. Wherein lies the great difference between these and the stages of Morgan? Does using slightly different criteria make Morgan's stages evolu-

58. *Morgan*, 1877, p. 11.

59. *Phillips and Willey*, 1955 (abstracted).

tionary and the others non-evolutionary? If archaeologists are going to use evolutionary stages, and operate under basic evolutionary assumptions, why not say so? If the concept is the same why worry about the word?

The last of the contemporary evolutionary theorists to be considered here is Julian Steward. Steward is perhaps the most outstanding anthropologist in the Americas today who uses the evolutionary approach. He divides evolutionary theory into three categories:

First, *unilinear evolution*, the classical nineteenth-century formulation, dealt with particular cultures, placing them in stages of a universal sequence. Second, *universal evolution*—a rather arbitrary label to determine the modern revamping of unilinear evolution—is concerned with culture rather than with cultures. Third, *multilinear evolution*, a somewhat less ambitious approach than the other two, is like unilinear evolution in dealing with developmental sequences, but it is distinctive in searching for parallel of limited occurrence instead of universals.⁶⁰

In regard to Steward's definition of "unilinear evolution," it seems to be based on the assumption that the nineteenth century evolutionists said that "*all cultures must pass through all stages*" of the developmental sequence. This assumption has been discussed in the first part of this paper, and no further argument will be presented here. In regard to "universal evolution" it would seem also to include Morgan. And, finally, in regard to "multilinear evolution," it seems to me that there is very little difference between the developmental stages of Steward and those of Morgan; except perhaps, that Steward's criteria for defining the stages is more refined. It is natural that a great deal of refinement would take place in the seventy-five years since Morgan. But more refinement does not invalidate the theoretical basis upon which the developmental stages were constructed. Steward, however, seems to feel that it does. In a recent article he has said in reference to the nineteenth century evolutionists:

... their scheme was erected on such flimsy theoretical foundations and such faulty observation that *the entire structure collapsed* as soon as it was seriously tested.⁶¹ (*italics mine*)

If the "entire structure collapsed" it is an extreme coincidence that the developmental stages of Steward so closely resemble those of Morgan.

60. Steward, 1955, p. 14-15.

61. Steward, 1956, p. 70.

In his recent article,⁶² Steward illustrates Morgan's stages and refers to these as "Early Theory," he then illustrates the "Multilinear" or "Modern Theory," which he explains as having a limited, rather than a universal significance. Steward's stages in the development of complex societies along with his criteria are as follows:⁶³

ERA OR STAGE	CRITERIA
Pre-agricultural or Hunting and Gathering or Rainfall Farming	Hunting and gathering.
Incipient Agriculture or Incipient Farming Community	Began when the first cultivation of plant domesticates supplemented hunting and gathering, and ended when plant and animal breeding was able to support permanent communities. Irrigation introduced.
Formative Era of Basic Technologies and Folk Culture or Irrigation	Basketry, pottery, weaving, metallurgy and construction appeared, community culture took form.
Era of Regional Development and Florescence or Theocratic Irrigation State	Irrigation works enlarged, development of arts and crafts, class structured society developed, large religious edifices built, astronomy, mathematics, and writing.
Cyclical Conquest or Empire	Large-scale militarism, emergence of empires, tendency toward urbanization, fortification, elaborate burials, gods of war prominent, Bronze appeared in Peru, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, Iron in India, extensive trade between empires.

These, then are Steward's stages in the "Modern Theory." He is careful to list separate criteria for each area that is different from the general rule. The main difference between these stages and those of the evolutionists of the nineteenth century is that Steward is speaking of specific cultural traditions, while Morgan

62. *Ibid.*, p. 69-80.

63. *Ibid.*, and Steward, 1955, p. 178-209. The first "era" title is taken from the 1955 book and the second from the 1956 article. The "criteria" are from the 1955 book. This developmental sequence applies to Northern Peru, Meso-America, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China. (1955, p. 185.)

was speaking of culture in general. Of course, as has been pointed out before, these criteria are more elaborately spelled out than those of Morgan, but this is to be expected. In explaining his method of formulating basic regularities from these relationships which are common to all areas, Steward says:

These formulations are offered primarily as an illustration of the generalizing approach to cultural data. *Tentative and preliminary*, they will be revised again and again as long as research continues and as long as scholars probe for a deeper understanding of the basic processes of cultural development.⁶⁴ (italics mine)

This attitude of Steward's seems to be very little different from that of Morgan whose stages were also provisional.⁶⁵

I realize that quotations can be made from Morgan which indicate that Morgan had an opposite attitude from the one quoted above. The favorite, I think, is quoted by Steward to illustrate the general point of view of the nineteenth-century evolutionists:

It can now be asserted upon convincing evidence that savagery preceded barbarism in all the tribes of mankind, as barbarism is known to have preceded civilization.⁶⁶

I do not feel, however, that a battle of quotations from Morgan, in itself, will solve anything. It may, on the other hand, have some value in correcting consistently misleading quotations from a single viewpoint. It is with this in mind that I have presented these quotations directly from Morgan. This, however, is not the primary reason for evaluating Phillips', Willey's and Steward's attitude toward the early evolutionists. There is no criticism implied of their theoretical approach. On the contrary, it is felt that the approach they use is the necessary approach for archaeologists, and in the future there will be a continual return to the utilization of the evolutionary approach. The main objection is their categorical rejection of the nineteenth century evolutionists without due consideration being given to their contribution, and their influence upon present day cultural theory. Steward is less guilty than others on this point, but points out that present day evolutionists do not draw the close parallels with "biological evolution" that some of the nineteenth century evolutionists did. (Morgan and Tylor did not do this.) This, however, does not justify the statement that:

64. Steward, 1955, p. 187.

65. Morgan, 1877, p. 8.

66. Steward, 1956, p. 70.

... Their scheme was erected on such flimsy theoretical foundations and such *faulty observation* that the entire structure collapsed as soon as it was seriously tested.⁶⁷ (*italics mine*)

The statement concerning faulty observation does not apply to Morgan or Tylor. This is not said merely in their defense, but in order to point out the reason that the recent developmental stages of archaeologists so closely resemble those of Morgan. Regardless of the current ideas prevalent at the time Morgan wrote, Morgan was *not* a faulty observer. It is because he was an excellent observer that, whatever else in his orientation we do not now accept, our developmental stages remain in many ways almost identical to his. Therefore, when archaeologists and anthropological theorists apologize for the resemblance between their developmental sequences and those of Morgan, or say that the entire structure of the evolutionary theory collapsed when tested, but continue to build on this foundation, they are doing an injustice to say the least.

In this paper I have examined the theoretical approaches of several recent writers in the field of archaeology, and their relation to the theory of cultural evolution. Several interesting conclusions are seen as a result. These can be stated as follows:

1. Archaeologists are no longer satisfied with the mere collecting of facts.
2. They are interested in the construction of culture contexts.
3. They are beginning to stop digging long enough to consider the theoretical basis upon which they are operating.
4. This has resulted in the publication of several recent articles on the subject of archaeological theory.
5. The theory upon which the archaeologists find themselves working resembles greatly certain theories stated by Tylor and Morgan.
6. Some archaeologists state that their assumptions are evolutionary oriented and proceed to act accordingly.
7. Some archaeologists have difficulty with their theory, because they seem to be afraid of the word "evolution."
8. These same archaeologists, however, do utilize evolutionary theory in their work.

From these conclusions certain trends are indicated, and certain predictions can be made.

American archaeology is now in a period of transition. It is breaking out of its Boasian shell of fact gathering, and is begin-

67. Steward, 1956, p. 70.

ning to emerge as a science based upon a theoretical foundation. Gradually more and more archaeologists will come to realize the importance of a theoretical framework for their profession. And, slowly, they will begin to admit, how deeply the roots of archaeological theory lie within the evolutionary theory outlined by Tylor and Morgan.

There is no desire here to appeal for a return to the evolutionary concept as developed by Tylor and Morgan, nor is there a claim for perfection on their part. It is felt, however, that archaeologists should not apologize when they find their monographs are influenced by evolutionary theory. If they have qualms about using the term "evolution," then they can continue to use such terms as "developmental classification," "culture periods," "historical-developmental interpretation," "stages of culture growth," "functional-developmental classification," "historical-developmental process," "historical reconstruction," "historiography," or whatever terms they can think up. But to apologize or categorically reject evolutionary theory and its influence on modern cultural theory, and at the same time utilize its basic assumptions is to bite the hand that has fed them their theoretical food.⁶⁸

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CHEROKEE SUN AND FIRE OBSERVANCES

D. H. Corkran

It is perfectly logical from the point of view of primitive man that as the sun is the source of heat, sun rites should be connected with those of fire. The analogies that associate heat and life are equally obvious to him. The living body is warm, the corpse is cold. Heat, life, light, and fire are directly associated and may be regarded as synonymous. The rite of kindling new fire is connected with those for the creation of heat. The worship of the sun shares with those for the creation of heat. The worship of the sun shares with that of fire for a common purpose . . . fundamentally sun and fire worship are readily considered phases of a reverence for life and a desire for its production.¹

If, as Stirling contends, fire worship is the earliest of woodland Indian religious observances, an analysis of Cherokee religious concepts as they relate to fire should throw light upon Cherokee pre-history.² Such an analysis must primarily be concerned with the inter-relations of what some have seen as Cherokee sun and fire cults.

The earliest detailed presentation of undeniably Cherokee religious practices is that of Alexander Longe, written in 1725, and based upon his observations over a period of fifteen or more years among the Cherokees and Creeks. Among the several gods and spirits which interest Cherokee, Longe identifies three as major. First of these is the creative god, "the grate Emperor that Being Above . . . one supreme power that is above the firmament . . . he that mead heavens and the earth and all things that is therein . . . who has four messengers . . . to attend the four seasons of the year . . . and to mind the moving of the sone and the mone and stares . . . the supreme lord and emperor of all vesible and invisable . . . the grate ouga Calaster the vola."³ Besides being the creator, "the grate king . . . sends messages of his wrath . . . with ware or sickness or sore grievous famine" to destroy "rebellious people."⁴ The grate king, therefore, had to be

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 3. Longe, Alexander. "A Small Postscript of the ways and manners of the nashon of indians called Cherikees . . . this smaller peace was writ by one who write the journal of 74 pages." *Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. Photostat. Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. pp. 1, 3, 4.
 4. *Ibid.* p. 9.

placated, the major placation being the Green Corn Feast. "This feast," says Longe's informant, "is a thing not to be forgot for if we do the grate king that's above will quickly forget us . . . and send us noe more coren nor fruits of the fields, for so long as we remember him, he will remember us."⁵ In preparing for the green corn dance the priests "fasted for the grate king of heaven and to purge out the old corn before they eate the new."⁶ To the *grate king* sacrifice is made in the townhouse fire. Longe does not mention the making of new fire on this occasion.

Though the attributes of the *grate king* mentioned by Longe suggest those of a sun god, the sun appears in Longe's account as a subordinate deity to be aided in avoiding the doom of the eclipse, and whose primary duty is caring for the souls of the dead.⁷ The Creating Being or *grate king* seems derived from another source.

In Longe's account *Fire* appears as an independent spirit being, though utilized in sacrifices to the Creative Being. He mentions the town house or temple fire as one which never goes out, the sacrifice of flesh in the fire, and the making of war fires.⁸ In these, *Fire* appears as a spirit. Nevertheless, at the Green Corn Feast, upon the sacrifice of the first fruits in the temple fire, the priest raises his right hand aloft symbolizing the duty of *Fire* to convey the offering to the Creating Being above.⁹

The Creating Being, as something apart from the Sun but closely related to *Fire*, is more fully developed in Adair's account of the southeastern Indians derived from his forty years with the Chickasaws and Cherokees between 1735 and 1775. Discounting the Sun as a religious factor, he says, "the American Indians pay only a civil regard for the sun."¹⁰ The Cherokees, however, he presents as worshippers of Yo-he-wah, the Divine Fire or the spirit of *Fire*, "the celestial cherubim, fire, light, and spirit."¹¹ In this definition one sees the spirits of both heat and light, the things manifested in the sun and in the fire. The spirit has human manifestations also. The Cherokee priests, says Adair, are men resembling the holy fire, men in whom the Divine Fire

5. *Ibid.* p. 8.

6. *Ibid.* p. 8.

7. *Ibid.* p. 2.

8. *Ibid.* pp. 4, 37-40.

9. *Ibid.* p. 12.

10. Adair, James. *History of the American Indians*. London. 1775. p. 20.

11. *Ibid.* pp. 21, 81.

works.¹² The Creating Being through chosen men manifests itself in the passion of life. In Adair, the Green Corn festival of expiation before the great god, though he is describing the Creek observance, appears primarily as a new fire ceremonial in which degenerately the literal fire spirit is invoked and its blessing entreated for the ensuing year.¹³ This implies, of course, the creative nature of the Fire Spirit. Adair also mentions sacrifices in the fire: the hunter's sacrifice of a piece of the kill, the warrior's sacrifice of captives by burning in a bid to the fire spirit for success in war.¹⁴ Thus in Adair's account the Creating Being is a presiding genius, a Divine Light manifesting itself in *Fire* and in the breasts of the Priesthood.

In the Payne Manuscripts, information collected from Cherokee informants by John Howard Payne and Dr. Samuel Butrick between 1825 and 1840, Cherokee observances are divided between those of a sun cult and those of a fire cult. There is a mention of *Ye-ho-waah* or *Yi-ho-wa* as the source of holy fire and of a group of celestial beings who performed the primary act of creating the sun, the earth, and the other celestial bodies but who leave the sun and the moon as "lords of lower creation" and thenceforward pay no attention to this world.¹⁵ The sun then took over, "completed the work of creation, formed the man and woman . . . caused the trees, plants, and fruits to grow and continues to order, watch over, and preserve everything on earth."¹⁶ Here the Sun is the Creating Being. He is so addressed in a Cherokee morning prayer for success during the day said while going to the water: *A ke yu ku gu-Squa ne lo ne hi*—"Sun, my Creator" ran the ancient prayer.¹⁷ One of Butrick's informants referred to the foregoing prayer as made to "the Great White Being Above."¹⁸ To sun worshippers then Longe's "grate Being above," the Creating Being, appears as the sun.

Since neither Longe nor Adair heard of the Sun in this role one suspects Payne's informants to have been descendants of the Natchez remnants which joined the Cherokees after 1740, among whom sun worship was the way. Perhaps also the Natchez

12. *Ibid.* p. 81.

13. *Ibid.* p. 107.

14. *Ibid.* pp. 115, 117, 155, 199.

15. *Payne Manuscripts*, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library. Chicago. Vol. I, p. 17; Vol. III, p. 1; Vol. IV, p. 210.

16. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 210.

17. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 20.

18. Butrick, Samuel. *Antiquities of the Cherokees.* p. 12.

observance drew to itself dormant elements of a sun worship which long since had been assimilated into the Cherokee concept of the Divine Fire. One should note here, however, that to a primitive mind the sun ruling by day only could be something of a half-god, inferior to life and fire which went on both night and day.

Payne acknowledged that the sun held but a minor place in Cherokee belief and practice, that *Fire* held the more immediate place.¹⁹ He, however, gives little attention to the *Jo-he-wah* or Divine Fire concept of a creating spirit compact of heat, light, human warmth, and passion.

Payne's informants referred to *Fire* as "the most active and efficient agent appointed by the sun and moon to take care of man. When, therefore, any special favor was needed, it was made known to *Fire*, accompanied by an offering. It was considered as the intermediate Being nearest to the sun and received the same sort of homage from the Cherokees as the same element did from the Eastern Magi."²⁰ Smoke was deemed *Fire's* messenger, always in readiness to convey the petition on high. *Fire*, of course, in its own right as a spirit, had efficacy: "a child immediately after birth was sometimes waved over *Fire* to secure protection from snakes."²¹ *Fire* received the hunter's sacrifice and the sacrifice of first fruits.²²

From the Payne Manuscripts one can draw additional evidence to support Adair's statement that the Divine Fire manifested itself in the priests. In the new fire ceremony the Cherokee *uku* or Fire King, First Man of the Cherokees, presided under the title of *U li stu li* (probably corruptly written in the Longe manuscript as Calaster the vola, the name of the Great Emperor above) a term suggesting in its root *lus*, light shining.²³ This indicates that the Fire King robed in white sat as the embodiment of the Great Emperor, the Great White Being, the Great King above, the Creator Spirit, or Divine Fire. While to some this could suggest an identification with the sun it is actually white, the spirit of peace, as in the use of white beads and white wings in peace ceremonies.

The creating spirit may once have had a fertility manifesta-

19. Payne Manuscripts, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Corkran, D. H. "The Sacred Fire of the Cherokees." *Southern Indian Studies*. Chapel Hill. Vol. V. October, 1953.

23. Payne Manuscripts, op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 33, 34, 40.

tion in the priesthood itself for according to testimony given Payne: "These Auh, ne, coo, tauh, nies or Proud professed themselves, as is stated by traditions to be teachers of Heavenly knowledge from the Creator."²⁴ They came at night when the fires were extinguished, announcing "I am come from above" and taught the people. The Proud "exercised their offices to an extent that it became disagreeable and oppressive to the people; for that their demands were to be complied with, be their nature what they may: who were dreaded being considered . . . the bearer of the heavenly message."²⁵ The nature of the demands the Proud could and did make is implied in the fact that the Proud were overthrown when one of them demanded the wife of a hunter in his camp. Hicks, the informant on this subject, identifies the Proud with the Fire priests.

This relationship of the Fire priests to the Creator appears to stem from Cherokee observances much older than Sun worship. Payne learned from Cherokees who refused to accept the overlordship of the sun that "they considered Fire as having first descended direct from above," apparently from the same Creator as the Creator of the Sun.²⁶ They looked upon *Fire* as the eldest of their heritages, as "an active intelligent being in the form of a man, and dwelling in distant regions beyond wide waters whence their ancestors came. Some represent a portion of it as having been brought with them and sacred guarded, and others pretend that after crossing the wide waters they sent back for it to the Man of Fire."²⁷ This fire, carried perhaps in such a structure as the sacred ark mentioned by Adair as the resting place of the Cherokee Deity or in an earthen pot of the type used by the war priesthood to carry sacred fire to war, was the eternal fire from which all the undying flames in the Cherokee regional temples (such as that Payne mentions as having been at Toogalu in ancient times²⁸) descended.²⁹ *Fire*, the eldest spirit, the grandfather, represented the continuity of the nation with its remote past.

If, then, the undying fire with its shamans and rituals formed the ancient center of Cherokee faith it would appear that from it had developed a concept of Divine Fire which manifested itself

24. *Ibid.* Vol. III, Letter of C. R. Hicks Mar. 1st, 1826. pp. 5-7.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 17.

29. Adair. *op. cit.* p. 161.

on earth in the temple fires and in the person of the fire priests. The new fire rite, stemming in part from the fertility concept inherent in the doctrine of human fire, was expanded to accommodate ideas and rituals acquired with the agricultural processes from the south of the northern forest home.

Around the concept of the Divine Fire developed the political and religious organizations of the Cherokees into the red priests of the war fire and the white priests of the civil, creative, agricultural fire. Sun worship, in so far as it existed at all, appeared late on the Cherokee scene as part of the break down of the unitary concept of Divine Fire.

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