



An Administrative History of the Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska



Report prepared by the Organization of American Historians
for the National Park Service

Theodore Catton, Principal Investigator
Thomas Thiessen, Co-Author

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Midwest Archeological Center
Lincoln, Nebraska

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PREFACE

The Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) is a field office of the National Park Service in Lincoln, Nebraska, where a staff of archeologists and support personnel conduct archeological research and conservation. The Center is dedicated to preserving, investigating, and interpreting archeological resources in the national parks in the Midwest. It also renders archeological assistance to national parks outside the Midwest as well as to other entities outside the National Park System.

MWAC was formed on July 1, 1969, from the former Missouri Basin Project (MBP). The MBP was the Lincoln field office of the Smithsonian Institution's long-running program of salvage archeology known as the River Basin Surveys (RBS). The RBS had a 23-year run from 1946 to 1969. It was aimed at salvaging the archeological record in areas that were condemned for dam and reservoir development during the era of big dam projects following World War II. Administered by the Smithsonian Institution in cooperation with the National Park Service, the RBS formed the core of the federal government's interagency archeological salvage program through the middle decades of the twentieth century, and it holds an important place in the development of archeology in the United States. MWAC's origin in the RBS and the MBP in particular gives the Center an illustrious background. The reasons behind the termination of the RBS and the transfer of the MBP field office from the Smithsonian Institution to the National Park Service in 1969 forms an important part of MWAC's history. This is the subject of Chapter One.

Other regional archeological centers came into existence in the National Park Service around the same time as MWAC. The concentration of archeological staffs in regional centers in the late 1960s and early 1970s occurred partly by historical accident and partly by design. It set archeology apart from most other disciplines within the agency. Staging the archeological discipline in centers rather than simply seeding it across the National Park System field areas made sense to some in the agency but provoked distrust in others, and a fight over the archeological centers ensued. Placing MWAC's early years from 1969 to 1975 within the context of the larger NPS archeological program's historical development during this critical period is another important part of MWAC's history. This is the focus of Chapter Two.

MWAC's mission changed. Starting out with a mix of interagency archeological salvage projects and cultural resource management (CRM) projects in the parks, it came to focus primarily on the latter. F. A. Calabrese, Center chief from 1974 to 1995, grew the Center around the increasing demand for CRM in the parks. Calabrese was a strong advocate for developing a specialized professional staff dedicated to park archeology. He wanted to make the NPS archeology program a leader in the field and not just a contracting arm of the government. MWAC's years of expansion from 1975 to 1995 are the subject of Chapter Three.

In the mid-1990s, as the NPS went through a major reorganization, the relative autonomy of archeology in the centers was once again challenged. It fell to Calabrese's successor, Mark Lynott, Center manager from 1996 to 2013, to defend the Center idea

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and reorganize the Center in the wake of the NPS reorganization. In contrast to the previous two decades of Center growth, Lynott had to struggle with flatlining budgets and rising costs and an existential threat to MWAC that arose in the early 2000s when it was proposed that the work of the archeological centers might be outsourced to private contractors. The mandated “A-76 study” of MWAC’s operations that came from this proposal stands as a painful episode in MWAC’s history. Steering the Center through those challenging times is the main theme of Chapter Four.

Administrative history aims to chronicle an institutional record as well as provide an interpretive understanding of how an institution got where it is, and so this administrative history touches on many other important facets of MWAC’s history. Subchapters discuss such items as MWAC’s longstanding promotion of geophysical survey, its collection management program, its role in archeological information management, and its support of the National Historic Landmarks Program, among others. The narrative makes several excursions into archeology projects at particular parks. The aim is to highlight some of the more important projects and provide examples of field work without attempting to be at all comprehensive. MWAC exists for the sake of the archeology found in the parks, so it is essential that the narrative include description of a variety of parks and archeological resources under MWAC’s purview.

This administrative history has two authors. Thomas D. Thiessen wrote Chapter One almost 20 years ago. As a former MWAC archeologist, he has maintained an interest in the history of MWAC and recently contributed a chapter on the MBP in *Dam Projects and the Growth of American Archaeology: The River Basin Surveys and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program*. Chapter One is taken from his 1999 work, “Emergency Archeology in the Missouri River Basin: The Role of the Missouri River Basin Project and the Midwest Archeological Center in the Interagency Salvation Program, 1946-1975.”

Theodore Catton wrote the remainder of this history under contract with the National Park Service through the Organization of American Historians. He served in the NPS for two years in the Cultural Resources Division of the Pacific Northwest Regional Office in 1993-1995 (experiencing firsthand the NPS reorganization of that time). His public history career has focused largely on preparing NPS administrative histories such as this one.

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TIMELINE

1933-1942 Depression-era work-relief programs spawn numerous federal archeological investigations

1935 Historic Sites Act gives the National Park Service (NPS) an oversight role in federal archeology alongside the Smithsonian Institution (SI)

1944 Flood Control Act lays the foundation for a massive federal program of big dam projects that will drive salvage archeology work for the next 25 years

1945 The Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains is formed and provides technical guidance to the expanding federal archeology program

1945 The Interagency Archeological Salvage Program (IASP) is formed and establishes the partnership between the NPS and the SI in conducting salvage archeology

1945 The River Basin Survey (RBS) is formed as the major component of the IASP

1946 The Missouri Basin Project (MBP) is formed with office in Lincoln, Nebraska, and soon becomes the dominant field office of the RBS

1958 The NPS Southwest Archeological Center is formed

1960 The Reservoir Salvage Act enlarges the role of the Secretary of the Interior and the NPS in administering federal archeology

1966 The NPS Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) is formed

1966 The National Historic Preservation Act provides for protection of archeological resources and lays the foundation for cultural resource management (CRM)

1967 The Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) is established within the NPS and promotes the NPS archeological centers as hubs for the IASP

1969 The Midwest Archeological Center is formed as the RBS is terminated after 25 years of existence and the MBP staff transfer into the NPS

1969 The number of NPS archeological centers is raised to four with the addition of the Chaco Center

1970-73 A fight over control of the archeological centers within the NPS is resolved with the centers placed under the regional directors instead of the OAHP

1974 The Archeological and Historic Preservation Act (the Moss- Bennett Act) allows for archeology as a component of federal construction projects, greatly enlarging the scope of interagency archeological salvage projects

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1973-1975 Responding to Moss-Bennett, the NPS establishes the Interagency Archeological Services Division (IASD) and bifurcates its archeology program into “in-house” and “out-house” projects with the centers focused on “in-house” projects or park archeology

1974 NPS reorganization results in a major realignment of the Midwest Region and the establishment of a new Rocky Mountain Region with MWAC serving the two regions

1975-1995 From a low of just five FTEs in 1975, MWAC steadily grows a larger staff on the strength of Chief F. A. Calabrese’s entrepreneurial leadership and an ever-expanding project workload

1994-1996 MWAC provides technical assistance for a major NPS reorganization

1995 NPS regions are realigned and MWAC is reassigned, henceforth serving an expanded Midwest Region

1995-2016 In contrast to the preceding two decades of growth, MWAC transitions to a period of retrenchment, reorganizing and innovating to sustain a fairly even level of staffing and budget in a more competitive fiscal environment

2002-2003 MWAC and SEAC are subjected to an A-76 study, a disruptive and demoralizing exercise aimed at considering whether the NPS archeological program carried out by the Centers can be privatized

2013 Mark Lynott, Center manager since 1996, retires after 34 years of service with MWAC

2013-2016 During his short tenure as Center manager, Robert Bryson brings an outsider perspective to MWAC following the nearly 40-year span of leadership by Calabrese and Lynott

2016 MWAC completes its *Midwest Archeological Center Strategic Plan 2017-2022*

CHAPTER ONE

EARLY ANTECEDENTS AND THE INTERAGENCY ARCHEOLOGICAL SALVAGE PROGRAM

The Missouri Basin Project and the Midwest Archeological Center were both important parts of the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program that originated in 1945. This chapter provides a brief review of the federal government's involvement in archeology during the work relief programs of the 1930s and early 1940s. Experiences gained from New Deal-era archeological work greatly helped shape the way the federal government and the archeological community approached archeology after World War II. The result was the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program.

Work Relief Programs

Widespread unemployment during the economic depression of the 1930s led to massive federal efforts to create employment for thousands of unemployed laborers. Several "make-work" programs were established for this purpose, most of them designed to rehabilitate and otherwise improve parks and other public lands throughout the nation, thereby benefiting the public good in ways other than simply reducing unemployment. Several of these programs used archeological excavations as one of the vehicles for work relief. Federally sponsored archeological excavations could utilize large amounts of labor, would not compete with private industry, and would further the goals of science by increasing public knowledge of the past. Most of these archeological projects occurred in the southeastern part of the nation, where unemployment was rife and mild weather permitted outdoor work through the winter months.¹

Several federal work relief programs utilized archeology in the achievement of their goals.² The first major archeological fieldwork undertaken under the auspices of a work relief program, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), was initiated at Marksville, Louisiana, in August of 1933. Another early work relief program

¹ Frederick Johnson, Emil W. Haury, and James B. Griffin, Report of the Planning Committee in "Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting - 1945," *American Antiquity* 11, no. 2 (1945), 140-44; James B. Stoltman, "The Southeastern United States," in *The Development of North American Archaeology*, edited by James E. Fitting (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), 116-50; Bernard K. Means, editor, *Shovel Ready: Archaeology and Roosevelt's New Deal for America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 8.

² Carl E. Guthe, "Twenty-Five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States," in *Archeology of the Eastern United States*, edited by James B. Griffin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 1-12; Stoltman, "The Southeastern United States," 116-50; William G. Haag, "Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985), 272-80; Means, *Shovel Ready*, 4-8. Edwin Austin Lyon II. *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996) presents an excellent history of work relief archeological activities in the southeastern United States. Lyon's book is largely based on reorganization and expansion of his Ph.D. dissertation, "New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast: WPA, TVA, NPS, 1934-1942," Department of History, Louisiana State University, 1982. The maturation and increasing political sophistication of American archeology during the work relief era, culminating with the formation of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, are aptly related by Paul Fagette, *Digging for Dollars: American Archaeology and the New Deal* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

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to sponsor archeological investigations was the Civil Works Administration (CWA), which was established in November 1933. Through the CWA, about 1,500 people were employed on eleven archeological projects in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and California. The CWA was also the source of labor used for the massive archeological salvage efforts necessitated by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), one of the earliest water resource development projects of the federal government that recognized the need to recover and record archeological data that would be endangered as a result of dam construction.³ As the scientific research arm of the federal government, the Smithsonian Institution assumed responsibility for technical supervision of the CWA and TVA archeological research efforts and furnished field directors to oversee the projects. Although the “make-work” archeological programs were considered successful at the time from both political and scientific viewpoints, the CWA was designed only to be a short-lived work relief program, which ended on March 31, 1934. After the end of the Civil Works Administration, archeological work continued under the auspices of the FERA.⁴

The CWA was soon followed by a longer-lived relief program called the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which was established in August 1935 after passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act in April of that year. Archeological work was a component of the WPA program, but unlike the earlier CWA, local project sponsors were required to make a 25 percent contribution to the total cost of proposed projects, foreshadowing the cost-sharing arrangement between federal and non-federal parties that participated in the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program of the 1950s and 1960s. Project proposals were reviewed for scientific merit by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service, which had recently been given responsibility for surveying the nation’s archeological and historical resources under the Historic Sites Act of 1935. Beginning in early 1936, numerous WPA archeological projects were conducted, some of them of quite large scale. Many of these projects were located in the South and some of them continued to be linked to the salvage needs of the TVA program. WPA archeological projects were also conducted elsewhere in the nation, but these have not been as comprehensively described as those performed in the South. The pressures of a wartime economy following the entrance of the United States into World War II resulted in the end of WPA support for archeology early in 1942.⁵

³ Lyon *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 1-4, 28, 63; Haag, “Federal Aid to Archeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942,” 275; Means, *Shovel Ready*, 5-6, 10-11; M. W. Stirling, “Smithsonian Archeological Projects Conducted Under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1933-34,” in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, for the Year Ending June 30, 1934* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1934), 371-400. The Tennessee Valley Authority Act was signed into law on May 18, 1933 (Lyon, 1996, p. 37). Shortly afterward, the archeological salvage program of the TVA was developed at the instigation of both professional and avocational archeologists, such as William S. Webb, who subsequently directed the TVA research program, and Burnham Colburn, an Asheville, North Carolina, banker who was influential with the TVA (Lyon, 1982, pp. 46-49 and 1996 p. 40; Jesse D. Jennings, personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, October 3, 1991). The TVA fieldwork began in January 1934 (Lyon, 1996, p. 40).

⁴ Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 30; Jesse D. Jennings, personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, October 3, 1991.

⁵ Haag, “Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942,” 272-80; Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 63, 73-74; A. R. Kelly, “Archaeology in the National Park Service,” *American Antiquity* 5, no. 4 (1940), 276-77; Stoltman, “The Southeastern United States,” 116-50; Guthe, “Twenty-Five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States,” 6; Fagette, *Digging for Dollars*, 125.

Archeological investigations were also conducted under the auspices of another Depression-era relief program, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), but to a much more limited extent than in the CWA and WPA programs.⁶

The archeology that was accomplished under the New Deal relief programs has been often assessed.⁷ Griffin has enumerated fourteen specific benefits of this work to archeology. Most archeologists agree that the advances in knowledge that resulted from this work were enormous and that the “make-work” programs gave invaluable training and experience to a generation of archeologists who later went on to follow eminent and productive careers in the field. However, the New Deal archeology has also been harshly criticized. It has been asserted that the overall research effort between 1933 and 1942 suffered from lack of central direction, insufficient numbers of trained supervisory personnel, administrative ineptness, publication lag, and scattering and even loss of the resultant data. Many of these problems were recognized and caused concern soon after the inception of the FERA and CWA phases of archeological research. Given the fact that the objective of the work relief programs was to reduce unemployment and not to stimulate archeological research, the results of the “make-work” archeology could not have been entirely satisfactory to the discipline of archeology. For example, over 90 percent of the funding for the CWA program was used for salaries for field personnel, making it virtually impossible to follow up with timely analysis and reporting. Consequently, it took years for much of the work relief investigations to be written up, and some of them are still not reported to this day.⁸

The experience gained from the work relief programs soon mobilized the archeological profession to seek a way to prevent the same problems from recurring in the future. As early as 1939, the National Research Council appointed a committee to review the results of the WPA archeological work and recommend ways to avoid the problems that attended the New Deal archeological efforts. Chaired by William Duncan Strong, the Committee on Basic Needs in Archaeology consisted of Carl Guthe, Clark Wissler, A.V. Kidder, Fay-Cooper Cole, W.C. McKern, J.O. Brew, and W.S. Webb, many of the leading anthropologists and archeologists of the day. The Committee published a statement that same year, in which it defined the “minimum requirements of scientific archeology” and indirectly addressed many of the shortcomings of the work relief archeological experience. Echoing concerns expressed earlier by Setzler and

⁶ Haag, “Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942,” 278. See also Means, *Shovel Ready*, 4.

⁷ Guthe, “Twenty-Five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States,” 1-12; Stoltman, “The Southeastern United States,” 116-50; James B. Griffin, “A Commentary on Some Archaeological Activities in the Mid-Continent 1925-1975,” *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (1976), 5-38; Lyon, “New Deal Archaeology in the Southeast,” and *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*; Haag, “Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942,” 272-80; Fagette, *Digging for Dollars*; Means, *Shovel Ready*.

⁸ Guthe, “Twenty-Five Years of Archeology in the Eastern United States,” 1-12; Stoltman, “The Southeastern United States,” 116-50; Griffin, “A Commentary on Some Archaeological Activities in the Mid-Continent 1925-1975,” 28; Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 71-73; Haag, “Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1933-1942,” 272-80; Fagette, *Digging for Dollars*; F. M. Setzler and W. D. Strong, “Archaeology and Relief,” *American Antiquity* 1, no. 4 (1936), 301-09; Frederick Johnson, Emil W. Haury, and James B. Griffin, Report of the Planning Committee, in “Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting – 1945,” 140-44.

Strong about the diminishing nature of the nation's archeological resource base, the Committee's statement also identified a need for "national conservation" of archeological sites and called for the National Park Service to take a prominent role in preserving sites for the future.⁹

The Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains

The recommendations of the Committee on Basic Needs in Archaeology regarding federal sponsorship of archeological programs did not fall on deaf ears. As the Second World War neared its end, Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr., and Julian Steward, both anthropologists employed by the Smithsonian Institution, made enquiries of federal officials about federal reservoir construction projects that were being planned for construction after the war. What they learned caused archeologists in the Washington, D.C., area to become alarmed at the scope of the ambitious reservoir construction programs on the drawing boards of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. Roberts and Steward discussed the situation with Strong, Frederick Johnson, and J.O. Brew, and the matter was raised for discussion at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology held in Washington on May 13, 1944. On July 20, 1944, the Society established a "Planning Committee" to review the results and problems of the WPA investigations. The Committee, chaired by Frederick Johnson with James B. Griffin and Emil W. Haury as members, was also charged with considering "any other policies pertinent to the welfare of American Archaeology, or of this Society." Implicit in this charge was a desire not to repeat the problems of the work relief archeological experience in any future federally sponsored archeological programs.¹⁰

The Planning Committee met with members of the Committee on Basic Needs in Archaeology and other Washington-area archeologists on January 8-13, 1945. Its report was presented to the Society for American Archaeology at the organization's annual meeting on May 19, 1945. The report offered several recommendations for future federally supported archeological programs "which are in any way analogous" to the relief-era archeological programs: (1) a "guiding force" should be established to provide central direction to the effort; (2) the professional personnel engaged in such programs should not be burdened with administrative responsibilities, but rather should remain free to concentrate their attention on archeological matters; (3) properly qualified organizations and personnel should be selected; and (4) analysis and reporting of research should be completed for each project begun. It also reported that the January meeting and subsequent discussions through March 1945 had resulted in the establishment in April of another committee, the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains (CRAR), to give explicit guidance to the salvage effort that would be required by the postwar reservoir construction programs. In effect, the CRAR became the "guiding force"

⁹ Frederick Johnson, "Archeology in an Emergency," *Science* 152, no. 3729 (June 17, 1966), p. 1594; Lyon, *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*, 71; Guthe, "The Basic Needs of American Archeology," *Science* 90, no. 2345 (December 8, 1939), 528-29; Fagette, *Digging for Dollars*, 124; Setzler and Strong, "Archeology and Relief," 307-09.

¹⁰ Donald J. Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, Anthropological Papers 1 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1971), 1; Waldo R. Wedel, "Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting - 1944," *American Antiquity* 10, no. 2 (1944), 221; Frederick Johnson, Emil W. Haury, and James B. Griffin, "The Planning Committee of the Society for American Archaeology: A Preliminary Assessment," *American Antiquity* 10, no. 3 (1945), 320.

that was recommended by the Planning Committee for future federal archeological programs. The Committee held its first meeting in May 1945.¹¹

One of the first formal public statements of the newly formed CRAR was soon forthcoming. A resolution was published in the July 13, 1945, issue of *Science*, which called for legislatively mandated “adequate conservation of archeological resources” in federal water resource project areas and offered five explicit guidelines as to how such an effort should be staffed and operated. The resolution was multi-organizational in nature and was signed by William Duncan Strong on behalf of the Committee on Basic Needs in Archaeology of the National Research Council, by Frederick Johnson for the Planning Committee of the Society for American Archaeology, and by William S. Webb for the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains.¹²

In the early years of its existence, the CRAR consisted of Frederick Johnson (representing the Society for American Archaeology), A.V. Kidder and William S. Webb (both representing the American Council of Learned Societies), and J.O. Brew (on behalf of the American Anthropological Association). William Duncan Strong and Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr., were appointed to serve as liaison with the CRAR for the National Research Council and the Smithsonian Institution, respectively. The purposes of the CRAR were: (1) to ensure the development of an adequate overall organization to the federal salvage effort and (2) to encourage the work to be performed in accordance with the current standards of the archeological discipline. The objective of the advisory group was to ensure the preservation of threatened archeological remains through systematic excavation, analysis, and publication of the results of reservoir-related research. The Committee stressed the need for timely dissemination of the results of salvage investigations in order to avoid one of the severest criticisms leveled at the work relief archeological programs — publication lag.¹³

The composition of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains changed somewhat over the years as members dropped off the committee and new ones were added. One member, J. O. Brew, remained on the committee from its inception through its last formally scheduled meeting in 1976. Although composed of delegates from three professional organizations, the CRAR was free to act independently and in accordance with the professional judgment of its members. It was not tied to any governmental entity and so was free from political control or pressure. In the early years of the salvage program, the CRAR was very effective in lobbying for widespread

¹¹ Johnson et al., Report of the Planning Committee, in “Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting – 1945,” 142; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. . .for the Year Ended. . .1952* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1952), 351; Frederick Johnson, “The Work of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains: Aims, History, and Activities to Date,” in J. O. Brew et al., Symposium on River Valley Archaeology, *American Antiquity* 12, no. 4 (1947), 213; Fred Wendorf and Ray Thompson, “The Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains: Three Decades of Service to the Archaeological Profession,” *American Antiquity* 67, no. 2 (2002), 317-30.

¹² William Duncan Strong, Frederick Johnson, and William S. Webb, “National Archeological Resources: Resolution Concerning the Conservation of National Archaeological Resources in the Valleys of the United States,” *Science* 102, no. 2637 (July 13, 1945), 44.

¹³ Strong et al., “National Archeological Resources,” 143-44; Johnson, “The Work of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains,” 212-15.

popular and governmental support for the federal salvage program. This was achieved largely by means of contacts with Congressional and bureau officials, presentations at professional meetings, and publications aimed at the general public. In later years, it continued its advisory role by means of annual meetings attended by representatives of many federal agencies.¹⁴

The Interagency Archeological Salvage Program

As the United States approached the end of World War II, American civil works planners prepared to turn their attention to the construction of many dams which would flood a large part of the nation's watercourses. The Flood Control Act was passed in late 1944, which authorized dam construction on a massive scale throughout the nation. Many of these reservoir projects had been planned and even authorized before the war, but construction of them was suspended while the nation was at war. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation were the organizations primarily responsible for planning and constructing these dams. Many of the reservoirs would be quite large, such as the Oahe Reservoir, which would inundate over 300 miles of the Missouri River valley in North and South Dakota. Four other reservoirs were also planned for the "mainstem" of the upper Missouri. These would flood most of the remainder of that river valley in the Dakotas, leaving very little of the Missouri River in anything approaching a natural condition. Hundreds of other reservoirs of varying sizes were also planned throughout the United States, over 100 of them in the vast Missouri River Basin (MRB) alone. The specific plan for water resource development in the MRB was the so-called Pick-Sloan Plan, a blending of two plans independently developed by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation.¹⁵

The archeological community was quick to realize the implications of this intensive program of dam building for the archeological sites that lay within the nation's river valleys where eighty percent of the nation's archeological resources were estimated to be located. Consequently, it became apparent that many of these sites would be destroyed by dam construction or inundated below reservoir pools. It was recognized that this would result in the loss of large and irreplaceable portions of the prehistoric and historic record of past life in the United States. Since construction of many dams was

¹⁴Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 2; Johnson, "Archeology in an Emergency," p. 1595; Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, *The Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program After Twelve Years* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1958), passim. Charles R. McGimsey, III has stated that the CRAR "died in 1977 largely as a result of a Carter Administration decision against advisory committees." See McGimsey, "Forward. Protecting the Past: Cultural Resource Management – A Personal Perspective," in *Protecting the Past*, edited by George S. Smith and John E. Ehrenhard (Boca Raton, Fla.: CRC Press, 1991), xviii. For CRAR's annual meetings, see U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Reports Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains," 1969-1976 (titles vary, some years missing).

¹⁵J. O. Brew, "Emergency Archeology: Salvage in Advance of Technological Progress," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 105, no. 1 (1961), 3; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for the Year Ended . . . 1952*, 352; Richard G. Baumhoff, *The Dammed Missouri Valley: One Sixth of Our Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 276-77.

set to commence as soon as the war was over, the urgency of this danger gave rise to the concept of “salvage” archeology or, as it is sometimes called, “emergency” archeology. Salvage archeology is archeology conducted for the purpose of recovering archeological specimens and data threatened with destruction or flooding. At first stemming solely from water development projects, the salvage concept was later broadened to include investigations conducted as a result of highway construction programs, pipeline construction projects, and many other forms of governmentally sponsored development. The historical “roots” of the archeological salvage concept lay in the Tennessee Valley Authority excavations of the work relief era.¹⁶

The federal salvage archeology effort that emerged after World War II in response to federal water resource development programs was called the Interagency Archeological and Paleontological Salvage Program, later shortened to the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program (IASP). Created in the late summer and early fall of 1945, the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program was a multi-agency, cooperative program designed to inventory and assess the importance of archeological resources in planned reservoir areas and to preserve a portion of the archeological record in those reservoir areas by conducting excavations at selected sites.

Participating organizations were the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation as the nation’s foremost dam-building agencies; the Smithsonian Institution (SI) as the scientific research arm of the federal government; the National Park Service (NPS) as the federal bureau with legislatively mandated responsibility for surveying the nation’s archeological and historical resources; the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains as the principal advisory spokesperson for the archeological profession; and state or local universities, historical societies, and museums that had both an archeological research capability and an interest in furthering the goal of the salvage program. A complex set of interrelationships developed among these entities.¹⁷

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 charged the Secretary of the Interior with responsibility for identifying potential new historic and archeological areas to add to the National Park System. This responsibility was carried out by the NPS as the primary federal agency that administered parks of historical and archeological value. In addition, prior to the 1945 IASP agreement, the NPS had entered into agreements with the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to assist those agencies with planning recreational facilities for their reservoir projects. These studies were to be carried out under the authority of the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Study Act

¹⁶ Strong et al., “National Archeological Resources,” 44; Jesse D. Jennings, “River Basin Surveys: Origins, Operations, and Results, 1945-1969,” *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985), 282.

¹⁷ See Kimball M. Banks and Jon S. Czaplicki, editors, *Dam Projects and the Growth of American Archaeology: The River Basin Surveys and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2014), for perspectives on many aspects of the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program across the United States. See also Kimball M. Banks, J. Signe Snortland, and Jon Czaplicki, “The Price We’ve Paid: From Salvage Archaeology to Cultural Resource Management and Beyond in the Missouri River Basin,” *Plains Anthropologist* 56, no. 220 (2011), 371-85. Marlin Hawley provides an insightful review of the development of archeology in the Plains, including the contributions of the RBS, in his introduction to Marlin F. Hawley and Virginia A. Wulfkuhle, compilers and editors, “Plains Archaeology’s Past: A Collection of Personal Narratives,” *Plains Anthropologist* 51, no. 200, Special Issue (2006), 487-517.

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of 1936. As early as May 1945, the NPS was interpreting studies of archeological and historical resources to be within the purview of its recreational resource studies in reservoir areas. Consequently, the NPS assumed a major coordinative role in the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program. Brew has also pointed out that the NPS became the central coordinating agency for the IASP “Partly because of its convenient regional organization throughout the country, which coincides roughly with the regional organization of the construction agencies.”¹⁸

Largely at the instigation of Arthur E. Demaray, then Associate Director of the National Park Service and an early supporter of the salvage concept, a Memorandum of Understanding between the NPS and the SI was developed and approved on October 9, 1945, by the Secretary of the Interior (Appendix A). It formally initiated the IASP and defined the relationship between the two bureaus. It was subsequently replaced by Memoranda of Understanding dated April 27, 1961 (the date of approval by the Acting Secretary of the Interior – Appendix B), and April 30, 1965 (Appendix C), both of which continued the same basic relationship between the bureaus and clarified certain conditions regarding the disposition of collections resulting from the program. All three agreements included paleontological, as well as archeological, remains within their scope.¹⁹

As defined in the 1945 Memorandum of Understanding, the NPS, in the course of its surveys of recreational resources in Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation reservoir areas, was to advise the SI of the locations of proposed dams and reservoirs. The Smithsonian, in turn, was to advise the NPS of the “number and importance of the known archeological or paleontological sites located within such reservoir areas.” Not restricted only to sites that were already recorded, the Smithsonian was also charged with recommending to the NPS “such surveys in the field as seem indicated” (i.e., necessary) to identify other, presently unknown archeological and paleontological resources of potential importance. The NPS would then inform the appropriate dam-building bureau of the “cultural and paleontological remains that would be lost if thorough investigation and excavation of the sites are not undertaken sufficiently in advance of the flooding of the reservoirs.” Nothing in the agreement or its supporting legislation required the constructing bureaus to fund archeological or paleontological surveys or excavations in connection with their reservoir projects. Their participation in the IASP was voluntary.²⁰

¹⁸ Herbert E. Kahler, “The Role of the National Park Service in River Basin Archaeology With Particular Reference to Inter-bureau Agreements,” in J. O. Brew et al., Symposium on River Valley Archaeology, *American Antiquity* 12, no. 4 (1947), 216; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. . .for the Year Ended. . .1952*, 352; Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., “The River Basin Salvage Program After 15 Years,” *Smithsonian Report for 1960* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1961), 524; Brew, “Emergency Archaeology,” 3-4.

¹⁹ Smithsonian Institution, “A Review of the River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, Museum of Natural History, for the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee,” report prepared by the Smithsonian Institution, River Basin Surveys, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1968, 54-56; Johnson, “Archeology in an Emergency,” p. 1595; Jennings, “River Basin Surveys,” 282; Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, *The Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program After Twelve Years*, 2. Public Law 228, 81st Congress, approved August 15, 1949, explicitly authorized the Smithsonian Institution to cooperate with other institutions in conducting paleontological investigations in reservoir areas.

²⁰ Although not active participants in the salvage work, Corps of Engineers and Bureau of

The remaining provisions of the 1945 agreement gave the National Park Service responsibility for planning exhibition rooms and museum laboratories in reservoir areas. These were to be used for the processing and display of collections resulting from Interagency Archeological Salvage Program excavations. The Smithsonian was to advise the NPS on locations suitable for such facilities. The agreement also established the policy of depositing “important” excavated materials in the U.S. National Museum, with “duplicate collections” being retained in local museums. “Surplus” materials from those collections could be placed with other institutions or museums as jointly decided by the NPS and the Smithsonian Institution.

The language of the 1945 agreement was generally vague and non-explicit about the ultimate responsibilities of each bureau, but the 1961 and 1965 agreements substantially clarified the roles of the NPS and the SI in the IASP and clearly established the legislative and fiscal basis of the program. Both agreements continued the requirement that the bureaus would swap information on “any and all reservoirs, planned or authorized,” of which they possessed information. The NPS was given formal responsibility for requesting funds from Congress for necessary surveys and excavations in reservoir areas pursuant to the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960. For this purpose, the Smithsonian was to furnish the NPS with cost estimates for such work. The 1961 and 1965 agreements designated the SI as advisor to the NPS on the scientific aspects of the IASP and charged the SI, “within the limits of the funds transferred to it,” with conducting “its designated part of the program of archeological survey, excavation, laboratory analysis, and reporting.” The agreements gave the NPS explicit responsibility for coordinating the overall program and administering the funds which it received from Congress for the IASP. It clearly presented the NPS with three options to “accomplish the objectives of the program:” (1) through “its own staff services;” (2) through “research contracts with qualified educational and scientific institutions;” and (3) by transferring funds to the SI.

The 1961 and 1965 agreements also required the two bureaus to exchange reports of the work conducted under the auspices of the IASP and clarified the disposition of certain portions of the resultant collections — such as “representative series of artifacts,” unique specimens, and artifacts that have been illustrated in published reports — in the U.S. National Museum. Another provision also required review of the agreement every three years “so that it can either be revised to fit new conditions or be terminated if it is no longer desirable.” This provision ultimately played an important role in the termination of the Smithsonian’s participation in the IASP and the establishment of the Midwest Archeological Center, as explained later in the chapter.

The Missouri River Basin was the scene of the first IASP fieldwork. A sum of \$20,000 was transferred to the NPS by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1946 for work on both Bureau and Corps of Engineers projects in the MRB, and this was augmented by

Reclamation personnel often shared information and assisted the work in many ways. See, for example, the acknowledgement given Bureau Project Engineer Philip E. Ehrenhard “for providing reservoir maps, engineering data, and wise counsel” during the 1952 investigations in the Jamestown Reservoir area in Richard P. Wheeler, *Appraisal of the Archeological and Paleontological Resources of the Jamestown Reservoir, North Dakota: Supplement* (Lincoln, Neb.: Smithsonian Institution, Missouri Basin Project, 1953), 2.

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an additional \$40,000 in 1947. Later in 1946 and 1947, the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation both transferred additional funds to NPS for work outside the MRB. These monies came from appropriations made to these bureaus for construction or other non-archeological purposes.²¹

The funding arrangements for the IASP became complicated soon after the program was initiated. During 1946 and 1947, extended discussions were held between Bureau of the Budget officials and representatives of other bureaus involved in federal water resource development programs regarding the propriety of funding the archeological work out of appropriations made to the constructing agencies for construction purposes. At first, most of the participating Department of the Interior bureaus considered it proper for the construction agencies to pay for the archeological salvage excavations necessitated by their activities. This view was supported by advice from Bureau of the Budget officials as well as by a March 27, 1947, Solicitor's opinion relating to the Bureau of Reclamation's Davis Dam project (in Arizona and Nevada) and a precedent case involving the relocation of water mains and sewers during the construction of government buildings in Washington, D.C.²²

The Corps of Engineers repeatedly questioned the legality of these expenditures, maintaining that the Corps had no statutory authority to expend funds for archeological work.²³ On September 22, 1947, the Secretary of the Army wrote to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to formally question the existing practice of transferring Corps funds to the NPS for archeological salvage investigations, pointing out that the NPS, and not the Corps, was legislatively authorized to conduct archeological researches in the United States.²⁴ Bureau of the Budget officials rethought the matter and on November 4, 1947, the Acting Assistant Director of the Bureau replied to the Secretary, stating that

²¹ Waldo R. Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program: Summary Report on the Missouri River Basin Archeological Survey in 1946," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 107, no. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1947), 11; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1952*, 353.

²² The history of the funding of the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program, and the funding sources used for it, are a complicated story involving multiple bureaus, agencies, and levels of government. See Thomas D. Thiessen, *Emergency Archeology in the Missouri River Basin: The Role of the Missouri River Basin Project and the Midwest Archeological Center in the Interagency Salvage Program, 1946-1975* (Lincoln, Nebr.: Midwest Archeological Center, 1999), 29n15.

²³ See Charles W. Kinney, Corps of Engineers, to Mr. Beard, Corps of Engineers; Subject: Meeting Held on 25 October 1946 with Interested Parties Relative to Archaeological Investigations at Impoundments, October 28, 1946; C. D. Curran, Bureau of the Budget, to the Files; Subject: Corps of Engineers-National Park Service Relationship in regard to Archaeology, August 15, 1947; and W. Barton Greenwood, Bureau of the Budget; Subject: Discussion with Interior Department representatives concerning the financing of work required...to recover archeological deposits in areas that will be affected by the construction programs of the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation, undated but accompanied by a routing slip dated September 19, 1947. These documents are in National Archives, Bureau of the Budget Records, Record Group 51, Subject Files for the Director, folder titled "Archeology" (hereafter cited as NA, RG 51).

²⁴ Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army, to the Honorable James E. Webb, Director, Bureau of the Budget, September 22, 1947, NA, RG 51.

...we have carefully reexamined the legislative background and the history to date of Federal activity in the field of archeology. On this basis it has now been decided that, unless or until new legislation on the subject is enacted, future Federal financing of archeological work on Government-owned lands and in connection with Government construction projects should be requested from Congress, pursuant to the Historic Sites Act of 1935, upon the basis of estimates submitted and justified by the Department of the Interior under our regular budgetary procedures.²⁵

This placed the funding responsibility for the salvage program squarely on the NPS as the Interior bureau with legislative authority for conducting archeological investigations. In addition, the broad language of the Bureau of the Budget decision expanded the scope of the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program to include investigations conducted in connection with the water resource development projects of federal bureaus other than the Bureau of Reclamation and the Corps of Engineers, as well as projects of state governments.²⁶

During the life of the IASP, program administrators maintained a distinction between work funded and conducted within the MRB and work funded and conducted in river basins outside the MRB. This was reflected in the fact that NPS received funds from two sources for all of the salvage program work. Investigations outside the MRB were funded from money requested in the NPS's annual budget request to Congress. The water resource development program in the MRB, however, was viewed as a unified, comprehensive plan in which all of the participating Department of the Interior bureaus cooperated fiscally under the lead of the Bureau of Reclamation. Consequently, the several Interior bureaus provided budget estimates to the Bureau of Reclamation for submittal to Congress as part of the Bureau's annual budget request; when received by the Bureau of Reclamation, these monies were transferred to the estimating bureaus. In the case of the IASP work in the MRB, NPS budget estimates were included in the "Maintenance and Protection" portion of the Bureau of Reclamation's budget requests.²⁷

For over twenty years (1946-1969), the IASP was carried out by two means: investigations conducted by staff of the Smithsonian Institution, through the River Basin Surveys (RBS), a program established solely for that purpose; and investigations carried out by researchers in universities, museums, and historical societies. Between

²⁵ F. J. Lawton, Acting Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget, to the Secretary of the Army, November 4, 1947, NA, RG 51. See also Roberts, "River Basin Surveys," 353, and John M. Corbett, "General Situations and Problems Outside the Missouri Basin," in *Symposium on Salvage Archaeology*, edited by John M. Corbett (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1961), 14.

²⁶ Roberts, "River Basin Surveys," 353.

²⁷ The dual nature of the IASP funding arrangement is outlined in "Archeological Program, Fiscal Year 1960," draft report prepared by T. Homer Black, Branch of Archeology, Division of Interpretation, NPS, July 1959, in MWAC Files. "M&P" funds were used for IASP work in the MRB until superseded by the Preservation of Historic Properties (PHP) appropriation during the later years of the salvage program. The team approach to MRB water resource development is explained in "Statement of Assistant Secretary William E. Warne Before Joint Meeting of Water Resources Committee and Interior Missouri Basin Field Committee, October 14, 1947," in National Anthropological Archives, River Basin Survey Records, Container 15, Records of the Washington, D.C. Office, Administrative and Reference File (hereafter cited as NAA, River Basin Survey Records).

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1946 and 1950, the federal government provided no financial support for research conducted by local “cooperating” institutions, who voluntarily contributed their services out of a shared sense of emergency. The cooperation of these institutions was formally recognized through letters issued by the SI which authorized them to undertake research at specific sites or reservoir areas. In 1950, however, the NPS began to support their efforts by diverting a portion of the salvage program appropriation into cooperative agreements with local institutions who had the willingness and interest to conduct salvage investigations, as well as the capability of doing so. These agreements did not bear the full cost of the research, however, as they were intended only to “defray” the cooperators’ expenses. Cooperating institutions were expected to contribute some portion of project costs. This cost-sharing practice was continued throughout the life of the cooperative aspect of the IASP, until the mid-1970s when passage of the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 authorized all federal bureaus to fully pay for archeological salvage investigations necessitated by their programs.²⁸

In many years, the funds diverted to cooperative agreements or contracts with cooperating institutions were substantial, particularly for research outside the MRB, where the total of contracted research funds often far exceeded that allocated to the Smithsonian Institution. This is because in 1952 the NPS took over responsibility for funding salvage investigations outside of the MRB, except for areas in Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee. In the MRB, however, the greater part of IASP funding was always allocated to the Smithsonian Institution (Table 1).²⁹

The research conducted by the cooperating institutions was not conducted in a scientific vacuum, however. It was integrated with the salvage research program of the Smithsonian Institution through: (1) Smithsonian recommendations for excavations at specific sites; (2) the Smithsonian making available records from its own researches; (3) the Smithsonian providing technical consultation on in-progress work by cooperators; and (4) the NPS disseminating the results of the cooperators’ research to the Smithsonian. Waldo R. Wedel, an early leading figure in the River Basin Surveys, has reflected that the research efforts of the cooperating institutions “have always been planned and carried out in coordination with the broader salvage procedures and objects of the River Basin Surveys and the National Park Service”³⁰ The cooperative aspect of the IASP has been a valuable and indispensable part of the overall program:

²⁸Waldo R. Wedel, “Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program,” 39; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution... for the Year Ended... 1951*, 66; Paul L. Cooper, “The Archeological and Paleontological Salvage Program in the Missouri Basin 1950-1951,” Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 126, no. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1955), 71; Jesse D. Jennings, personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, October 3, 1991. Cooperative agreements were initially used during the earlier years of the IASP, but by at least 1954 contracts were in use as well (Hillary A. Tolson, Acting Director, NPS, to Regional Directors, NPS, June 29, 1954, NAA, River Basin Survey Records.) Jennings has stated that the concept of the cooperative program was developed between 1947 and 1949, but the first actual agreements were awarded in 1950. See Jennings, “River Basin Surveys,” 286-87, and Jesse D. Jennings, *Accidental Archaeologist: Memoirs of Jesse D. Jennings* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 135, 291.

²⁹Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution... for the Year Ended... 1961*, 527.

³⁰Wedel, “Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program,” 39; Cooper, “The

The value of the cooperation provided by non-government institutions cannot be overestimated. This more than anything else, indicates the basic interest ordinary citizens have in the prehistory of the locality in which they live.³¹

Not only have the financial contributions of the cooperating institutions to the IASP been substantial (though untallied), but the increase in knowledge of prehistory resulting from their research has been equal to the very considerable scientific advances

Table 1. Funds appropriated for the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program, 1946-1967.

Missouri River Basin					Elsewhere in the US			
Fiscal Year	Total Amount	SI	Contracts	NPS	Total Amount	SI	Contracts	NPS
1946	20,000	20,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
1947	41,500	40,000	—	1,500	30,000	27,000	—	3,000
1948	53,000	50,300	—	2,700	29,500	23,500	—	6,000
1949	88,900	81,000	—	7,900	66,900	64,400	—	2,500
1950	220,600	155,140	22,250	43,210	69,169	60,746	7,250	1,173
1951	222,030	121,875	23,000	77,155	75,000	52,500	9,000	13,500
1952	175,000	120,783	37,000	17,217	59,400	29,020	13,800	16,580
1953	165,000	111,065	7,750	46,185	64,000	12,135	13,500	38,365
1954	95,000	64,500	12,750	17,750	53,570	6,995	12,750	33,825
1955	95,000	52,700	11,500	30,800	—	—	—	—
1956	145,000	92,360	11,500	41,140	25,000	—	23,000	2,000
1957	147,500	90,000	21,750	35,750	132,000	18,500	78,510	34,990
1958	208,950	157,624	14,000	37,326	319,900	18,000	229,145	72,755
1959	196,500	137,00	17,200	42,300	353,449	25,000	292,075	36,374
1960	168,480	98,055	19,400	51,025	413,149	24,000	309,100	80,049
1961	172,800	103,895	24,000	44,905	488,600	20,000	428,455	40,145
1962	299,600	204,500	31,500	63,600	589,200	27,205	497,675	64,320
1963	365,000	271,000	25,650	68,350	750,000	—	541,615	208,385
1964	348,700	254,500	39,725	54,475	761,700	—	567,630	194,070
1965	346,300	237,000	56,150	53,150	765,000	—	641,911	123,089
1966	341,000	220,500	44,890	75,610	775,600	—	626,911	123,089
1967	341,000	219,000	58,000	64,000	783,300	—	571,638	211,662
	4,256,860	2,902,797	478,015	876,048	6,604,437	409,001	4,863,801	1,331,635

NOTE: Adapted from "A Review of the River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, Museum of Natural History for the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee," Lincoln, Nebraska, 1968, page 42.

made by RBS participation in the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program.³²

Archeological and Paleontological Salvage Program in the Missouri Basin, 1950-1951," 4; Waldo R. Wedel, "Salvage Archeology in the Missouri Basin," *Science* 156, no. 3775 (May 5, 1967), 592.

³¹Johnson, "Archeology in an Emergency," p. 1596.

³²Brew, "Emergency Archaeology," 4. For a list of the cooperating institutions and the dates of their participation see Donald J. Lehmer, "Salvage Archeology in the Middle Missouri," report prepared for the National Park Service, pp. A.21-A.22, and Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle*

The River Basin Surveys

The best-known component of the IASP was the River Basin Surveys (RBS), a program established by the Smithsonian Institution for the sole purpose of carrying out its research responsibilities in the IASP. The RBS was organized during the fall of 1945 in response to the 1945 Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution. Administratively within the Smithsonian's organization, it was placed under the Bureau of American Ethnology, where it remained until February 1, 1965, when the Bureau was merged into the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology, a newly created division of the Museum of Natural History with responsibility for all of the anthropological activities of the Museum.³³ The River Basin Surveys existed for twenty-four years, from 1945 through mid-1969.

Dr. Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr., Associate Chief of the Bureau, was appointed to be the first Chief of the RBS, a position he held through October 15, 1963, when he went on sick leave. He was an excellent choice for the position because of his scientific preeminence and his earlier work on behalf of the Smithsonian with the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains and the NPS in planning and coordinating the start of archeological salvage efforts.³⁴ He was succeeded by Robert L. Stephenson (in an acting capacity) and Warren W. Caldwell (Table 2).

Most RBS investigations were conducted from field offices established in Lincoln, Nebraska; Eugene, Oregon; Berkeley, California; and Austin, Texas, which provided

Table 2. Directors of the River Basin Surveys.

Name	Term	Source
Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr.	Oct 1945 to 15 Oct 1963	Stirling 1947:66 Stephenson 1965:85
Robert L. Stephenson (acting)	15 Oct 1963 to Feb 1966?	Stephenson 1965:85 Smithsonian Institution 1966a:87
Warren W. Caldwell	Feb 1966 to 25 Jan 1969	Smithsonian Institution 1966a:87 Smithsonian Institution 1969b:2
Richard B. Johnston ^a	ca. 25 Jan 1969 to 28 Jun 1969	Smithsonian Institution 1969b:683 Smithsonian Institution 1969c:2

^a Johnston's actual title after Caldwell's departure was "Curator" (J.J. Hoffman, personal communication, June 1991).

necessary administrative and laboratory support (Table 3). Investigations in certain states outside of the MRB were directed from the Washington office of the RBS, and a laboratory was briefly maintained in Athens, Georgia. All these offices were established in cooperation with local universities, and generally were housed in university facilities.

Missouri Archeology, 7.

³³ Smithsonian Institution, *Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1948*, 64; Smithsonian Institution, "River Basin Surveys," *Smithsonian Year 1965* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1965), 13, 39.

³⁴ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1946*, 58; and Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1947*, 66; Robert L. Stephenson, "Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., 1897-1966," *American Antiquity* 32, no. 1 (1967), 83.

At the close of Fiscal Year 1952 (i.e., June 30 of that year) all RBS offices outside the MRB were turned over to the NPS, which assumed responsibility for conducting salvage investigations in those areas, except for the MRB, where a project office continued to be staffed, and the states of Virginia, Georgia, and Tennessee.³⁵

Generally, and perhaps coincidentally, the phasing out of the RBS field offices seems to have occurred shortly after initiation of the practice of entering into cooperative agreements with local institutions, which the NPS began in 1950. This increased reliance on local assistance with the salvage program evidently obviated the need for the SI to maintain local logistical bases, except for the Missouri River Basin where the water

Table 3. Field offices of the River Basin Surveys.

River Basin	Office Location	In Operation
Missouri	Lincoln, Nebraska	1946-1969
Columbia-Snake	Eugene, Oregon	1946-1952
Various in Texas	Austin, Texas	1946-1952 ^a
Various in California	Berkeley, California	1946-1952? ^b
Various in Georgia	Athens, Georgia	1950-1952?

Note: This information is from the annual reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Smithsonian Institution.

^a Jennings (1985:284) gives the terminal date as 1953.

^b Jennings (1985:284) gives the terminal date as 1950.

resource development threat remained massive and long term.³⁶

The RBS was the largest and most intensive archeological salvage operation ever conducted by a single institution in the United States. In some years, virtually dozens of field crews were dispatched across the nation to reservoir areas. Intensive as were the RBS research efforts and those of the cooperating institutions in the IASP, the total salvage effort fell far short of preserving a complete record of the thousands of threatened archeological sites in the nation's reservoir areas. In retrospect, the scope and pace of reservoir construction proved inexorable and overwhelming. Available time and funds permitted the excavation of only a relatively small number of the known sites in reservoir areas – perhaps 10 percent or less, according to a recent estimate – and many important

³⁵ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. . . for the Year Ended. . . 1953*, 56-85; Roberts, "The River Basin Salvage Program After 15 Years," 527. Edward B. Jelks, who was in charge of the Austin office in 1952, recalled that the NPS continued to administer the Austin office for several years after 1952. See Jelks, "Reminiscences of Archeology in Texas, 1947-1968," *The Kansas Anthropologist* 18, no. 2 (1997), 1-3. Some of the details of the transfer of most outside MRB RBS activities to NPS administration are explained in Conrad L. Wirth, Director, NPS, to Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, May 6, 1952, NAA, River Basin Survey Records.

³⁶ Jennings, "River Basin Surveys," 286-89. Wilfred D. Logan recalled that the phasing out of the River Basin Surveys offices outside the Missouri River Basin was due more to reduced funding levels than to the contracting activity of the NPS. (Wilfred D. Logan interview by Thomas D. Thiessen, February 5, 1990.) Author Robert Silverberg attributed severe budget reductions and cutbacks in River Basin Survey personnel to fiscal belt-tightening during the Korean War. See Robert Silverberg, *Men Against Time: Salvage Archaeology in the United States* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1967), 67-68.

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resources were consumed by construction or inundated by reservoir waters without any significant degree of investigation.³⁷

Nevertheless, an impressive amount of work was accomplished. Investigations were conducted in more than 275 reservoir or other project areas in 29 states, and more than 5,000 archeological sites were recorded as a result of RBS efforts. Three months before the River Basin Surveys program was ended, it was reported that the Lincoln office had cataloged more than 1,800,000 artifacts and specimens.³⁸

During its twenty-four-year lifespan, the RBS program gathered massive amounts of data on the prehistoric and historic archeological resources of the nation. The initial inventories of sites in specific reservoir areas were reported in dozens of mimeographed “appraisals” which described individual sites, assessed their significance for understanding local culture history as then understood, and assigned research priorities to them. These became the basis for planning excavations and further surveys in reservoir areas. Because they contained precise locational information, these reports were produced in limited quantity and received restricted distribution to the construction agencies and participating institutions. Nearly 200 appraisals were issued over the life of the RBS program, many of which reported more than one reservoir.³⁹

The results of major investigations were formally reported in “River Basin Surveys Papers” that were published in the Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin series. Thirty-nine such papers were published between 1953 and 1967. Between 1966 and 1969, thirteen more reports were published in a series issued by the MBP, entitled *Publications in Salvage Archeology*. Through the end of Fiscal Year 1964, the year-by-year administrative details of the RBS operation were amply documented in annual summaries published as part of the Bureau of American Ethnology’s annual reports contained in the annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution. After that date through the end of Fiscal Year 1969, RBS activities were only briefly reported in the Smithsonian’s annual reports entitled *Smithsonian Year*. These annual summaries were supplemented by detailed, periodic summaries covering the first 5, 15, and 22 years of the program’s existence.⁴⁰

³⁷Jennings, “River Basin Surveys,” 294.

³⁸Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for the Year Ended . . . 1965*, 84; Stephenson, “Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., 1897-1966,” 89; Smithsonian Institution, “Quarterly Progress Report, National Park Service Activities with the Cooperation of the Smithsonian Institution, January-February-March, 1969,” report prepared by the Smithsonian Institution, River Basin Surveys, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1969, 2.

³⁹Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for the Year Ended . . . 1961*, 53-54.

⁴⁰Neil M. Judd, *The Bureau of American Ethnology: A Partial History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 122-26; Jennings, “River Basin Surveys,” 285; James R. Glenn, “The River Basin Surveys Program,” *North Dakota Archaeology* 5 (1994), 5-14; Thomas D. Thiessen, “The National Park Service and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program in the Missouri River Mainstem Reservoirs,” *North Dakota Archaeology* 5 (1994), 19; Roberts, “River Basin Surveys: The First Five Years of the Inter-Agency Archeological and Paleontological Salvage Program,” in Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, by M. W. Stirling, in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ended June 30, 1951* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1952), 351-82.

The RBS has justly been called “an event of transcendent importance” to American archeology for the enormous advances in archeological knowledge which resulted from its extensive research. Considered with the results of the research conducted by the other “cooperating” institutions of the IASP, the total accomplishments of the salvage effort appear all the more profound. RBS and cooperating IASP researchers illuminated huge voids in the archeological record of the United States and established “the broad outlines, as well as the details, of most regional cultural sequences and of the continent as a whole.” In many places throughout the United States, the cultural-historical sequences proposed by IASP researchers still serve as the foundation for most contemporary archeological research and undoubtedly will continue to do so for many years to come. An insightful critique of the RBS program has recently been published and provides a valuable historical perspective on the program, but the full depth of the contributions of the River Basin Surveys and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program to American archeology remains to be plumbed.⁴¹

The Missouri Basin Project

The largest and longest-lived of the RBS field offices was the Missouri Basin Project (MBP) in Lincoln, Nebraska, which subsequently became the Midwest Archeological Center when the RBS program ended. The MBP was maintained from the second year of the RBS program — 1946 — through the end of June 1969, when the RBS program was terminated altogether.⁴²

Because of the size and imminence of the reservoir projects planned along the upper Missouri River, as well as the paucity of knowledge about the archeology of the Missouri Basin, the MRB became the first scene of RBS field activities. In July of 1946, Waldo R. Wedel arrived in Lincoln, Nebraska, to establish a logistical base for RBS operations throughout the immense MRB. Funding for the first year was meager. A sum of \$20,000 was transferred to the RBS by the Bureau of Reclamation in May 1946 to initiate work in the MRB. This amount comprised the total funding for the RBS program in Fiscal Year 1946 but was supplemented by an additional \$40,000 from the Bureau for Fiscal Year 1947 investigations in the MRB. These funds were for use in projects of both the Bureau and the Corps of Engineers.⁴³

⁴¹Jennings, “River Basin Surveys,” 281, 294.

⁴²As a result of the RBS program being administratively transferred within the Smithsonian from the Bureau of American Ethnology to the newly formed Office of Anthropology, and the fact that RBS operations were confined to the MBP alone during the latter years of the program, the name “Missouri Basin Project” was dropped and the Lincoln office was referred to simply as the “River Basin Surveys.” This appears to have happened early in 1966. The MBP title is used throughout the present study, however, to distinguish the Lincoln office from other RBS operations. The River Basin Surveys and the Missouri Basin Project are briefly summarized by Lynn M. Snyder, Deborah Hull-Walski, Thomas D. Thiessen, and Myra J. Giesen, “Postwar Partners in Archeology – The Bureau of Reclamation, the National Park Service, and the River Basin Surveys in the Missouri River Basin (1945-1969),” *CRM Journal* 23, no. 1 (2000), 17-20.

⁴³Roberts, “River Basin Surveys,” 352; Roberts, “The River Basin Salvage Program After 15 Years,” 525; Wedel, “Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program,” 11; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1948*, 64.

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Research results quickly followed establishment of the office. Wedel hired five archeologists by the end of July and another in October 1946; field survey investigations were initiated on August 3, 1946. By the end of June 1947, field surveys had been conducted in 44 Bureau and six Corps reservoir project areas in six states, and appraisals of the archeological resources in 25 of the 1946 project areas were completed and distributed to the construction agencies.⁴⁴

Paleontological investigations were also an element of MBP operations for several years after establishment of the office. A paleontologist from Harvard University, Theodore E. White, joined the MBP staff in April 1947. He conducted paleontological research in MRB reservoir areas intermittently through the end of June 1953. White's work consisted of a mix of traditional paleontology (i.e., the study of fossil animal remains regardless of their association with evidence of man) and analysis of unmodified faunal remains from archeological sites, which was conducted as an adjunct to archeological research. White transferred to the National Park Service in 1953, which ended the paleontological aspect of the RBS program. After that date, he twice returned to the MBP on brief details (six weeks in 1957 and one month in 1960 or 1961) to analyze unmodified faunal assemblages from Missouri Basin Project excavations. Largely from his IASP work, White is acknowledged as being responsible for establishing zooarcheology as an essential part of the modern practice of archeology.⁴⁵

Lincoln was chosen as the home of the Missouri River Basin operations for several reasons. Chief among them were: (1) the availability of office and laboratory space at the University of Nebraska; (2) proximity to the Region Two office of the NPS and the Corps of Engineers division office, both located in nearby Omaha; (3) excellent museum and library facilities in Lincoln, as well as the availability of professional consultants representing many disciplines; and (4) access to the Plains Cross-Cultural

⁴⁴ Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program," 12; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1948*, 67-71.

⁴⁵ Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program," 36; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution...for the Year Ended...1948*, 72; ...1954, 80-81; ...1955, 33; 1949...70; 1950...77-79; 1958...56; 1962...61; Carl R. Falk, "Analysis of Unmodified Vertebrate Fauna from Sites in the Middle Missouri Subarea: A Review," in *Trends in Middle Missouri Prehistory: A Festschrift Honoring the Contributions of Donald J. Lehmer*, *Plains Anthropologist*, Memoir 13, Vol. 22, No. 78, Part 2, 152; W Raymond Wood and J. J. Hoffman, "Reminiscences of Two Missouri Basin Shovel Bums," *North Dakota Archaeology* 5 (1994), 228; W. Raymond Wood, "The Lincoln Office and the Upper Missouri River Basin," in *Dam Projects and the Growth of American Archaeology: The River Basin Surveys and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program*, edited by Kimball M. Banks and Jon S. Czaplicki (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2014), 48-49; Thomas D. Thiessen, Deborah Hull-Walski, and Lynn M. Snyder, "The National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution," in *Dam Projects and the Growth of American Archaeology: The River Basin Surveys and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program*, edited by Kimball M. Banks and Jon S. Czaplicki (New York: Routledge, 2016), 31. White's career and contributions were recently reviewed in detail by John W. Hoganson, "Paleontological Significance of the Missouri River Basin Surveys," in the same volume, and by Lee R. Lyman, *Theodore E. White and the Development of Zooarchaeology in North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).

Survey information on Missouri Basin native groups then being compiled jointly by the University of Nebraska and Yale University.⁴⁶

As the result of deliberations by a faculty committee composed of Deans R.W. Goss and C.H. Oldfather, Professor J.O. Hertzler of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and Dr. John L. Champe of the Laboratory of Anthropology, RBS quarters were established on the University of Nebraska campus. The committee recognized the importance of the national archeological salvage program then being launched and viewed the University's cooperation with the RBS as "its obligation to assist in every way possible the recovery of the archaeological and paleontological remains endangered by the Missouri River development."⁴⁷

The first home of the River Basin Surveys was in the basement of the Social Sciences Building, which also housed the University's Laboratory of Anthropology. In 1947, the Missouri Basin Project quarters were relocated to a basement hallway of the University's Don L. Love Memorial Library. After September 1948, the MBP was housed in the basement of Burnett Hall. Vehicles and field equipment were stored at the Lincoln Municipal Airport and additional laboratory space at the Nebraska State Historical Society was also used during 1948. Storage space at the Lincoln Air Base was used through at least the end of calendar year 1949. Additionally, a World War II-vintage building at the Pierre, South Dakota, airport was used to store equipment and as a logistical base for MBP field crews working along the Missouri River in the Dakotas.⁴⁸

The growing operations of the office soon required additional space, and the first floor and basement of a store building at 1517 O Street were leased in early 1951. For a time, most of the laboratory functions were housed in the leased building, while the MBP offices continued to be housed within the Laboratory of Anthropology at Burnett Hall. In 1953, the offices on the University campus were also moved into the O Street facility.⁴⁹

The final move of the Missouri Basin Project occurred in 1963 and 1964, when the deteriorating condition of the O Street building resulted in relocation of the offices and laboratory into a 14,000-square-foot building at 1835 P Street, which was rented on May 1,

⁴⁶ Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program," 11.

⁴⁷ John L. Champe, "The University of Nebraska and the Missouri Valley Project," in J. O. Brew et al., Symposium on River Valley Archaeology, *American Antiquity* 12, no. 4 (1947), 222-23.

⁴⁸ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. . . for the Year Ended. . . 1964*, 82; Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program," 11; Waldo R. Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program: Summary Report on the Missouri River Basin Archeological Survey in 1948," River Basin Surveys Papers No. 1, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 154 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), 8-9; Waldo R. Wedel, "Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program: Summary Report on the Missouri River Basin Archeological Survey in 1949," River Basin Surveys Papers No. 2, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 154 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), 68.

⁴⁹ Cooper, *The Archeological and Paleontological Salvage Program in the Missouri Basin, 1950-1951*, 6-7; Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. . . for the Year Ended. . . 1964*, 82.

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1963.⁵⁰ The Missouri Basin Project remained at this address until the summer of 1969, when the Midwest Archeological Center was established at yet another location in Lincoln.

The Missouri Basin Project shared quarters with the Laboratory of Anthropology for seven or eight years, during which time both entities conducted very active programs of archeological field research. In order to distinguish their equipment from one another and to facilitate equipment loans, they color-coded items of field, laboratory, and office equipment by painting them with swatches of distinctive colors.⁵¹ The colors adopted by the Missouri Basin Project were red and yellow, while other Lincoln-based cooperating institutions used red and white.⁵² The MBP also assisted other cooperating institutions working in the Missouri Basin by sometimes loaning equipment. These institutions, too, adorned their own equipment with distinctive colors for the same purpose. Examples of “vintage” equipment, still bearing colorful red/yellow swatches of paint indicating that they date to the days of the MBP operation, have been preserved at the Midwest Archeological Center.

The Missouri Basin Project existed for nearly twenty-four years, during which time it was a major focus of RBS program activities. Waldo R. Wedel was the first director of the office, and he was followed by a long succession of capable archeologist-administrators (Table 4). Many other archeologists received invaluable professional experience through employment by the MBP (Table 5), and many of them later went on to lead productive academic and professional lives elsewhere. Employment on MBP field projects trained dozens if not hundreds of students in archeological field and laboratory research techniques and stimulated many of them to earn advanced degrees in anthropology and develop professional archeological careers for themselves.⁵³

During the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program, more salvage work was accomplished in the Missouri River Basin than in any other river basin in the nation. In 1968, the Missouri Basin Project published a bibliography of all IASP publications

⁵⁰ Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. . . for the Year Ended. . . 1965*, 87.

⁵¹ Robert L. Stephenson personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, March 7, 1990; Lawrence L. Tomsyck personal communication to Thiessen, March 27, 1990.

⁵² James H. Gunnerson informed the author that the University of Nebraska, the Nebraska State Historical Society, and possibly the University of Nebraska State Museum used red and white paint swatches to identify their equipment, while he used blue to distinguish his own personal equipment (personal communication, September 6, 1997). Former River Basin Surveys archeologist J. J. Hoffman also informed the author in June 1991 that the late Lee G. Madison, a long-service Museum Technician with the River Basin Surveys, once told him that the Nebraska State Historical Society color-coded its equipment with red and white.

⁵³ W. Raymond Wood summarizes innovative contributions that the RBS made in site recording, zooarchaeology, and use of mechanized equipment in the field, aerial photography, remote sensing, publications, and historical archeology in “The Lincoln Office and the Upper Missouri River Basin,” 48-51. The collections and records that resulted from RBS researches are another lasting contribution from RBS participation in the IASP. See Thomas D. Thiessen and Karin M. Roberts, “The River Basin Surveys Collections: A Legacy for American Archeology,” in *Plains Anthropologist* 54, no. 210 (2009), 121-36. RBS and other IASP research also stimulated the training and career development of many neophytes who went on to lead professional careers in archeology and boosted the development of nascent anthropology programs at educational institutions in the Plains.

Table 4. Directors and Chiefs of the Missouri Basin Project of the River Basin Surveys

Name	Term	Source
Waldo R. Wedel	8 Jul 1946 to 7 Oct 1946	Stirling 1948:66
Paul L. Cooper (acting)	7 Oct 1946 to 21 May 1947	Stirling 1948:66, 68
Waldo R. Wedel	21 May 1947 to 31 Oct 1947	Stirling 1948:66; Stirling 1949:71
Paul L. Cooper (acting)	31 Oct 1947 to ca. 1 Jun 1948	Stirling 1949:71, 73
Waldo L. Wedel	ca. 1 Jun 1948 to 1949	Stirling 1949:71
Paul L. Cooper (acting)	24 Mar 1949 to 1 Jul 1949	Stirling 1950:75; Roberts 1951:58
Waldo R. Wedel	1 Jul 1949 to 31 Dec 1949	Roberts 1951:58
Paul L. Cooper (acting)	23 Jan 1950 to 3 Oct 1950	Roberts 1951:59,60; Roberts 1952b:71
Paul L. Cooper	3 Oct 1950 to 28 Feb 1952	Roberts 1952b:71; Roberts 1953:67,72
Ralph D. Brown (acting?)	28 Feb 1952 to 1 Jul 1952	Roberts 1953:67,72; Roberts 1954:71
Ralph D. Brown	1 Jul 1952 to 7 Sep 1952	Roberts 1954:71
Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr. (interim)	7 Sep 1952 to 22 Sep 1952	Roberts 1954:71
Robert L. Stephenson (acting)	22 Sep 1952 to 14 Jun 1954	Roberts 1954:86; Roberts 1955:35
Robert L. Stephenson	14 Jun 1954 to 3 Sep 1954	Roberts 1955:35; Roberts 1956:43
G. Hubert Smith (acting)	3 Sep 1954 to 10 Jan 1956	Roberts 1956:43,51
Robert L. Stephenson	10 Jan 1956 to 30 Sep 1963	Roberts 1957:49-50 Stephenson 1965:85,87
Warren W. Caldwell	1 Oct 1963 to 25 Jan 1969	Stephenson 1965:87 Smithsonian Institution 1969b:2 Smithsonian Institution 1969c:2
Richard B. Johnston ^a	ca. 25 Jan 1969 to 28 Jun 1969	—

Note: The title "Director" was replaced by "Chief" in early 1952. Ralph D. Brown was the first to carry the title "Chief" (Roberts 1953:67).

^a Johnston's actual title after Caldwell's departure was "Curator" (J.J. Hoffman, personal communication, June 1991).

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Table 5. Archeologists on the staff of the Missouri Basin Project, 1946-1969

Name	Term	Name	Term
William M. Bass III	1956a, 1957a, 1958a, 1959, 1962, 1963	Wilfred M. Husted	1962-1969
J. Joseph Bauxar	1946-1949	William N. Irving	1957-1959
Walter Birkby	1963	Richard E. Jensen	1961-1969
Wesley L. Bliss	1946-1949	Alfred E. Johnson	1956-1957
Alfred W. Bowers	1959, 1962, 1963, 1964	Elden Johnson	1963
Lionel A. Brown	1962-1968	Richard B. Johnston	1964-1969
Ralph D. Brown	1952	David T. Jones	1964-1968 (?) intermittent
William G. Buckles	1961	Marvin F. Kivett	1946-1949
G. Ellis Burcaw	1950	Donald J. Lehmer	1950-1951
Warren W. Caldwell	1956-1969	Lee G. Madison	1958-1969
Richard E. Carter	1962	Oscar L. Mallory	1962-1969
Alan H. Coogan	1958	Charles H. McNutt	1957-1960
Paul L. Cooper	1946-1954	George Metcalf	1947-1953, 1955c
Robert B. Cumming, Jr.	1946-1954	Carl F. Miller	1951, 1955, 1956, 1962
James J.F. Deetz	1958	John E. Mills	1952-1953
Walter D. Enger, Jr.	1950	Jon Muller	1962
Franklin Fenenga	1950-1953	Robert W. Neuman	1956-1966 (?)
William J. Folan	1963	Frank H.H. Roberts, Jr.	1952
Thomas R. Garth	1950	Stephen H. Schwartz	1963
Bernard Golden	1958	Robert L. Shalkop	1950-1951
Robert E. Greengo	1957a	James M. Shippee	1947-1953
Donald D. Hartle	1950, 1951-1953, 1957	G. Hubert Smith	1951-1953, 1954-1968
Vernon R. Helmen	1962b	Ralph S. Solecki	1952
J.J. Hoffman	1962-1969	James J. Stanek	1962
James H. Howard	1957a	Robert L. Stephenson	1952-1954, 1956-1963
Jack T. Hughes	1946-1949	Waldo R. Wedel	1946-1949, 1951c, 1955c, 1956c, 1957c
Harold A. Huscher	1953, 1954, 1956-1958	Richard P. Wheeler	1949-1959

Note: This information has been taken from River Basin Surveys annual reports. The table includes individuals in positions described as archeologists, field assistants, and physical anthropologists.

^a Technically assigned to the Washington office of the River Basin Surveys but detailed to the Missouri Basin Project.

Greengo and Howard worked outside the Missouri River Basin while detailed to the Missouri Basin Project.

^b Worked on a voluntary basis.

^c Detailed from the U.S. National Museum.

and reports completed to that date (both those resulting from the River Basin Surveys program and those written by “cooperating” researchers as well), listing 2,600 entries organized by state.⁵⁴ Under the states which in large part comprised the Missouri River Basin — Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming — 898 entries were listed, or 34.5 percent of all of the entries contained in the bibliography. Much of this literature reported research conducted by the River Basin Surveys program.

Of the two formal series published by the RBS, 26 of the 39 “River Basin Surveys Papers” described Missouri River Basin investigations and 10 of the 13 *Publications in Salvage Archeology* reported the results of Missouri River Basin research. Despite this impressive publication record, the RBS was frequently criticized for the slowness of its publication progress and, sometimes, for professional shortcomings in the quality of its publications as well. This criticism and continuing dissatisfaction with the RBS program on the part of administrators both inside and outside the Smithsonian Institution ultimately contributed to the termination of the River Basin Surveys program and the transfer of the Missouri Basin Project facilities and staff to the National Park Service.

End of the River Basin Surveys

The rationale and circumstances behind the termination of the RBS program and the establishment of the National Park Service’s Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) are largely obscure to this day and can be incompletely reconstructed only from the scattered and fragmentary documentation which has come to the author’s attention. The termination of the RBS program was largely the result of inter- and intra-agency infighting that appears to have left deep emotional scars among those who participated in it. Little notice of the end of the RBS and the creation of MWAC was taken in published administrative reports of the SI or the NPS, and other documentation of the decisions made about these matters in 1968 and 1969 is difficult to locate. From an outsider’s vantage, it seems strange indeed that the RBS program was ended only to have its mission, staff, and facilities continued largely intact under the administration of another agency.⁵⁵

As mentioned earlier, the original 1945 Memorandum of Understanding between the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service was replaced with another on April 27, 1961. Ten months earlier, the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960 had passed, which for the first time explicitly vested the Secretary of the Interior with a central coordinating and funding role in the IASP. In addition to generally reaffirming the relationship

⁵⁴Jerome E. Petsche (compiler), *Bibliography of Salvage Archeology in the United States*. Publications in Salvage Archeology No. 10 (Lincoln, Neb.: Smithsonian Institution, River Basin Surveys, 1968).

⁵⁵The bulk of surviving documentation relating to the end of the RBS exists at the National Anthropological Archives (NAA) of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Relevant documents are in the U.S. National Museum, Department of Anthropology records, primarily in the “River Basin Surveys Files 1965-1969” and the “Richard Woodbury Office File on ‘RBS Reorganization.’” Lesser amounts of information survive at the Midwest Archeological Center and the National Park Service archives in the Harpers Ferry Center at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. The circumstances behind the termination of the River Basin Surveys program have also been briefly reviewed by Glenn, “The River Basin Surveys Program,” and Thiessen, “The National Park Service and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program,” based on use of largely different sources.

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between the two bureaus, the 1961 agreement stipulated two conditions that would help set the stage for the termination of the RBS program a few years later. The first of these was a statement that “The National Park Service will administer the [salvage program] funds and accomplish the objectives of the program through its own staff services, through research contracts with qualified educational and scientific institutions, and through transfer of working funds to the Smithsonian Institution.” This clause, which was repeated in a succeeding Memorandum of Agreement enacted on April 30, 1965, not only gave the Service primary funding and coordination responsibility for the entire salvage program, but it also relegated the RBS program to being merely one of three options available to the Service for accomplishment of salvage research.

The second condition of the 1961 agreement that would prove to have an impact on the fate of the RBS program is contained in the last paragraph, which stipulated that the Memorandum of Understanding would be reviewed every three years “so that it can either be revised to fit new conditions or be terminated if it is no longer desirable.” The succeeding 1965 agreement also contained an identical provision regarding program review. Eight years later, in 1969, the RBS program was terminated as the result of recommendations stemming from one of these periodic program reviews.

The first of these reviews took place in Washington, D.C., on December 14 and 15, 1964. The results are discussed in a March 2, 1965, memorandum from T. Dale Stewart (Director, Museum of Natural History) to S. Dillon Ripley (Secretary, Smithsonian Institution), which transmitted the review committee’s report. The reviewing committee consisted of T.D. Stewart (chair), Albert C. Spaulding (University of Oregon), Robert H. Lister (University of Colorado), Jesse D. Jennings (University of Utah), and Douglas S. Byers (R.S. Peabody Foundation). Waldo R. Wedel, Senior Scientist of the Museum of Natural History, and Robert L. Stephenson, then acting director of the RBS, also attended the meeting for the purpose of providing information to the committee. The committee’s report, signed in February 1965, commended the RBS for the important advances in archeological knowledge that had resulted from its research and for “pioneering” the application of new research techniques such as the careful use of powered earth-moving equipment for excavation projects and utilization of aerial photographs to identify archeological sites along the Missouri River. It also severely criticized the publication record of the RBS. The committee noted that “a large backlog of publishable but unedited manuscripts” existed in the RBS office, that many other reports were incomplete, and that many RBS collections were totally unreported in any published or manuscript form. Six recommendations were offered to expedite publication of the results of RBS research, including devoting less emphasis to field research and more attention to follow-up analysis and report preparation; the addition of editorial staff to facilitate report production; increasing the funds used for publication purposes; and urging RBS staff, archeologists outside the RBS, and university graduate students to complete reports on existing collections. In general, the tone of the report was critical of the RBS program, with most of the discussion and recommendations being directed at what the committee perceived as the program’s poor publication record. The 1964 committee recommended that the RBS program again be reviewed in three years. Ironically in light of subsequent developments, the committee’s report also recognized the “certainty of indefinite continuation of the [RBS] program” in light of federal plans to build dams in all parts of the nation “through the rest of the century.”

The MBP also received sharp criticism in the mid-1960s from an NPS-sponsored review of salvage research in the Missouri River valley in the Dakotas and in a 1967 *Science* magazine article by Waldo R. Wedel, an early participant in the salvage program.⁵⁶ While generally praising the advances in knowledge that resulted from RBS researches, these assessments particularly criticized the publication record of the RBS, noting general problems with report quality and lack of synthetic content. Lehmer estimated that “Well over 70% of the work done is still to be published,” and offered specific recommendations to transform the RBS from “a pedestrian salvage operation into an archeological classic.” RBS staff, however, disagreed with the critical views of Lehmer and Wedel. In a letter to the editor of *Science*, Richard B. Johnston, an MBP archeologist, defended the publication record of the RBS, concluding that “The Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys is proud of both its field operations and its publication program.” A former chief of the MBP, Robert L. Stephenson, also defended the RBS publication record in a paper presented before the 1967 Plains Anthropological Conference. A later review of the RBS, benefiting from a perspective of the entire RBS program some fifteen years after its end, has been kinder than contemporary critics of the program.⁵⁷

Contrary to the optimistic view of the 1964 RBS review committee, the Smithsonian itself, it seems, soon had doubts about the future role of the RBS in the Office of Anthropology and about the prospects for its continued funding as well. On October 11, 1967, the director of the Museum of Natural History, Richard S. Cowan, directed that the RBS report directly to his office.⁵⁸ “Scientific leadership and direction” for the RBS was to be provided through a “Scientific Advisory Committee” of four Smithsonian Office of Anthropology staff members, which he also established on that date. The Scientific Advisory Committee consisted of Richard B. Woodbury (chair and Curator of North American Anthropology); Saul H. Riesenber (Chairman of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology); Donald F. Squires (Deputy Director of the Museum of Natural History); and Waldo R. Wedel (Senior Archeologist of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology). The first charge given by Cowan to the Scientific Advisory Committee was to arrange for another “ad hoc” review of the RBS. Other “specific problems” to be considered by the Scientific Advisory Committee included “the future of the River Basin Surveys and the development of appropriate funding to support its activities;” establishment of a review procedure for RBS reports and publications; and evaluation of specific “research and salvage programs” proposed by RBS director Warren W. Caldwell. Specific “recommendations for future funding” of the program were solicited from the committee.

The second RBS review meeting was held in the MBP office in Lincoln on January 30 and 31, 1968. The committee for this “ad hoc” review consisted of Douglas W. Schwartz (chair) of the School of American Research, David A. Baerreis of the University of Wisconsin, Jesse D. Jennings of the University of Utah, and W. Raymond

⁵⁶Lehmer, “Salvage Archeology in the Middle Missouri,” and Wedel, “Salvage Archeology in the Missouri Basin.”

⁵⁷Lehmer, “Salvage Archeology in the Middle Missouri,” p. E-13; Johnston, “River Basin Surveys,” p. 1685; Robert L. Stephenson, *Reflections on the River Basin Surveys Program*, Preprint Series No. 48 (Reno: University of Nevada, Desert Research Institute, 1967), passim; Jennings, “River Basin Surveys.”

⁵⁸Richard S. Cowan to Richard B. Woodbury, October 11, 1967, NAA.

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Wood of the University of Missouri. Also attending the meeting were at least some of the members of the Scientific Advisory Committee (including Squires and Woodbury), Sidney R. Galler (Assistant Secretary for Science, Smithsonian Institution), John J. Prenzel (Administrative Officer, Museum of Natural History), John M. Corbett (Chief Archeologist, National Park Service), and Cowan, in addition to Warren W. Caldwell of the MBP staff.

Caldwell and his staff had prepared a combined organizational resume and prospectus for the RBS program (Appendix D), which was distributed beforehand to the committee members. This extremely informative booklet was entitled "A Review of the River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, Museum of Natural History for the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee" but was informally called the "Blue Book" after the color of its covers. It provided an excellent brief overview of the history of the RBS, a profile of the present MBP facility and staff, and directions for future growth of the RBS program, including the outline of a "Projected Five Year Research Plan." The "Blue Book" — which was in actuality a position paper — strongly advocated expansion of the RBS role to include "not only salvage but general archeological researches anywhere [in the United States] which are deemed worthy of scientific pursuit." How the "ad hoc" committee or the Smithsonian's management reacted to this far-reaching proposal is not documented on paper other than the committee report's passing remark that the "new research directions...seemed diffuse and inadequately formulated." It is hard to believe, however, that the overseers of the RBS program could have responded enthusiastically to such a profound reorientation in program emphasis as that proposed in the "Blue Book."

The report of the 1968 review committee expressed two broad concerns about the management of the RBS program. First, the old problem of publication backlog was viewed as the "major scientific problem" facing the RBS, despite the facts that the MBP had, in the intervening years since the 1964 review, added an editor to its staff to facilitate publication, established the *Publications in Salvage Archeology* series, which was issued from the Lincoln office on what was essentially a quarterly basis, and "made a general attempt to reduce the backlog of unpublished manuscripts." The committee expressed concern that insufficient funds were devoted to the publication backlog problem, and that manuscripts were not evaluated by reviewers outside the RBS prior to publication. The committee as well encouraged the RBS to consider using more non-Smithsonian publication outlets for its productions and to reconsider "the wisdom of making each report broadly comparative as well as descriptive, instead of designing special comparative and synthesizing reports on larger regions of its concern." The latter was tantamount to a recommendation to de-emphasize the synthetic content of RBS reports, ironically contrary to criticisms often leveled at cultural resource management studies today.

The "most far reaching problem" of the RBS, to which the bulk of the seven-page report was devoted, was seen as the ambiguity of its administrative relationships to the Smithsonian and the NPS. The committee described the RBS as an "autonomous" unit of the Smithsonian whose funding was controlled by an outside bureau, the NPS. It was viewed neither as an integral part of the Smithsonian, sharing in that organization's traditional mission of research, nor as a part of the outside bureau, NPS, to whose mission it directly contributed. Neither the Smithsonian nor the NPS exercised complete

administrative control of the RBS. “Thus,” the report concluded, “the River Basin Surveys has, in effect, two masters but without clear lines of authority to either.”⁵⁹

This reasoning, coupled with the committee’s belief that “the need for an organization such as the River Basin Surveys is no longer so crucial as it was at the time of its inception” because many of the largest dams in the country had achieved operational status, led the committee to propose four possible directions for the future of the RBS: (1) the *status quo* could be maintained, with the RBS continuing to be dually responsible to the Smithsonian and the NPS; (2) the RBS operation could be gradually phased out under the current administrative arrangement “after completing its original objectives of major salvage archeology;” (3) the RBS could be completely absorbed into the Smithsonian’s management and funding structure and redirected toward “problem-directed research” of the sort proposed in the “Blue Book;” or (4) the RBS could be completely turned over to the NPS and managed by that agency as a regional research center that conducted salvage research as well as research in park areas.⁶⁰

The review committee’s report briefly listed advantages and disadvantages of each reorganizational alternative and offered a general endorsement of the fourth — transfer of the RBS to NPS. It cited three advantages and a single disadvantage of the NPS transfer alternative.

- The most important advantage of this alternative is that the distinction between the funding agency and the supervisory agency would finally be clear and could result in greater quality control by the National Park Service.
- Salvage archeology could continue under the federal agency directly responsible for that activity.
- Such a change would result in the loss of research flexibility inherent in the affiliation of the RBS with the Smithsonian.
- Under this arrangement RBS would be in a position to mount a mobile task force not tied to academic schedules and move into areas where emergency excavation needs develop and where no collaborators are available to carry out the necessary salvage work.⁶¹

The committee’s report also noted in passing that the NPS already possessed two such regional research centers of this kind, in the southwestern and the southeastern

⁵⁹Jesse D. Jennings (personal communication to Thomas D. Thiessen, October 3, 1991), a former NPS archeologist in the Region Two office during 1947 and 1948, has pointed out that in the early days of the IASP, NPS personnel (on the regional level at least) lacked authority to discuss IASP policy and funding matters with Smithsonian personnel and consequently had no say in how NPS funding was used by the RBS. Research was not regarded by the highest levels of NPS management as one of the three purposes of the NPS (preservation, protection, and interpretation), and so implementation of the reservoir salvage research program was left entirely in the hands of the RBS. See Jennings’s comments on the early NPS-RBS relationship in his 1994 memoir (pp. 132-133).

⁶⁰W. Raymond Wood, a member of the 1968 review committee, has summarized the review and the four alternative outcomes in his 2011 memoir.

⁶¹Quoted from report. See Appendix D.

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United States. Warren W. Caldwell, director of the RBS, took issue with several of the review committee's criticisms and urged that the RBS be fully absorbed into the Smithsonian structure with NPS funding continuing at decreasing levels until all salvage projects "now at hand" were completed.⁶² His suggestion was not implemented.

The undated report of the 1968 review committee was received by Museum of Natural History Director Richard S. Cowan by April 4, 1968.⁶³ A final decision regarding the fate of the RBS was not made for over a year after the "ad hoc" review meeting. However, it is clear that the recommended alternative — transfer of the RBS to the NPS — was the subject of discussions during the ensuing months. On September 6, 1968, George B. Hartzog, Jr., director of the NPS, wrote to Secretary S. Dillon Ripley II of the Smithsonian seeking his "thoughts and reactions" on the proposed transfer.⁶⁴ In his reply, dated in January 1969, Ripley proposed a meeting between Smithsonian and NPS officials to resolve the matter.⁶⁵ The suggested meeting was held on February 17, 1969, and was attended by Cowan and Galler of the Smithsonian and Ernest A. Connally (Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation), John Corbett (Chief Archeologist) and Zorro Bradley (Assistant Chief Archeologist) of the NPS. At the meeting, it was agreed that the MBP would be transferred to the NPS effective July 1, 1969, and that the two bureaus would cooperate to work out the many details of the transfer. The apparently informal agreement also stipulated that the NPS would continue the "present operations of the River Basin Surveys... for the foreseeable future," which meant, in effect, continuing the salvage mission of the RBS.⁶⁶

Many of the details of the transfer were resolved at a second meeting held on February 26, which was attended by the same individuals as well as Riesenber, Woodbury, Richard B. Johnston (who directed the MBP for several months prior to its transfer to the NPS), Samuel D. Falbo (a personnel management specialist for the Smithsonian), Lawrence L. Tomsyck (administrative officer, MBP), and Paul K. Knierim (assistant director, Museum of Natural History) of the Smithsonian staff, as well as Wilfred D. Logan, chief of archeological research in the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service, and other administrative officials of both agencies. The agreements reached at this meeting were summarized in an attachment to a communication of February 28, 1969, from Knierim to Corbett (Appendix E).⁶⁷

They covered such subjects as establishing the effective date of transfer; transfer to the NPS of the lease for the space occupied by the MBP; disposition of the MBP collections, records, and library; loan of specimens to other institutions; transfer of personnel and non-expendable property to the NPS; issuance of RBS publications "in process" at the time of the transfer; development of a memorandum of agreement between the two agencies for future collaborative research; and the preparation of a

⁶² Warren W. Caldwell to Richard S. Cowan, May 3, 1968, NAA.

⁶³ A copy of Cowan's April 4, 1969, letter acknowledgement of receipt is in the possession of W. Raymond Wood, University of Missouri.

⁶⁴ MWAC Files.

⁶⁵ MWAC Files. The exact date is not legible, but January 21 can be inferred from another copy in the NAA.

⁶⁶ George B. Hartzog, Jr. to S. Dillon Ripley II, February 28, 1969, MWAC Files.

⁶⁷ MWAC Files.

joint press release to formally announce the administrative change. It was also agreed in general terms that the Smithsonian in the future may engage in archeological research in the Missouri Basin with the cooperation of the newly established NPS office in Lincoln. The stage was now set for the transfer of the MBP to the NPS.

Establishment of the Midwest Archeological Center

The changeover evidently proceeded smoothly. On April 1, 1969, A-D-T Incorporated notified Administrative Officer Lawrence L. Tomsyck of the Missouri Basin Project that it would not renew the lease on the MBP quarters at 1835 P Street when it expired on June 30.⁶⁸ Consequently, it became necessary to seek a new building to house the soon-to-be-established NPS research center. For a time, consideration was given to moving the facility and staff to Omaha, which would have the advantage of placing the center in proximity to the headquarters of the Midwest Region of the NPS, the regional office that would ultimately exercise supervision of the new center.⁶⁹ Early press announcements, dated in April of 1969, were either mute on the location of the facility or indicated that the office would “probably” remain in Lincoln. By mid-May, however, the decision to leave the office in Lincoln seems to have been made, and announcements appeared in the press.⁷⁰ Nebraska Congressman Robert Denney interceded at the request of the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce and his influence apparently was instrumental in deciding the issue. The cost of moving the staff and the office, estimated at \$115,000, and the presumed financial loss to the city of Lincoln appear to have been important factors in the decision to leave the office in Lincoln. The May 20, 1969, issue of the *Review Preview*, a publication of the Lincoln Chamber of Commerce, announced that

A \$200 million annual payroll will stay in Lincoln now that the *Smithsonian Institution's* Lincoln based research office has found office space on North 27th Street. The organization's scheduled plans to move to Omaha have been cancelled.

The Chamber of Commerce announcement was not altogether accurate, as it overestimated the Center's annual payroll by a factor of approximately 1,000!

New quarters were soon located in two adjacent buildings at 2605 and 2621 North 27th Street, and the General Services Administration arranged to lease a total of 9,150 square feet for an annual rent of \$27,450.⁷¹ One building (2605) was used primarily for office space, records storage, library, and photographic and cartographic studios, while the other building (2621) housed the analytical laboratory and collections. Field equipment was stored in a rented commercial building on the west side of 16th Street,

⁶⁸ A. DuTeau to L. Tomsyck, April 1, 1969, MWAC Files.

⁶⁹ Logan interview.

⁷⁰ *Lincoln Evening Journal and Nebraska State Journal*, April 2, 1969, *Omaha World-Herald*, April 3, 1969, National Park Service, Midwest Region press release dated April 4, 1969, *Lincoln Journal*, April 8, 1969, *Omaha World-Herald*, May 13, 1969, and *Lincoln Evening Journal and Nebraska State Journal*, May 13, 1969, all in MWAC Files.

⁷¹ Joe Riha to Robert Giles, June 4, 1969, and General Services Administration, Record of Space Acquired, July 1, 1969, both in MWAC Files.

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between O and N Streets, where the parking garage for the Robert V. Denney Federal Building now stands.

The new office, named the Midwest Archeological Center, was formally established on July 1, 1969, as part of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) of the Washington Office of the NPS. The name, Plains Archeological Research Center, was considered for the new office briefly in early 1969. Dr. Wilfred D. Logan, formerly Chief of Archeological Research in the Midwest Region, transferred to Lincoln to become Chief of the new center. His assistant, Archeologist Jackson (“Smokey”) W. Moore, Jr., and a vacant Clerk-Stenographer position also transferred to Lincoln. The new office was assigned the number 921 (later changed to its current number, 6115) as its organizational code, and its organizational acronym was MIDW (later changed to MWAC, its current form). Sixteen full-time employees of the Missouri Basin Project transferred to the NPS on June 29, the beginning of a federal pay period. One archeologist position became vacant shortly after the transfer to NPS because of the resignation of Oscar L. Mallory.⁷²

Apart from local newspaper coverage, the end of the River Basin Surveys and the establishment of the Midwest Archeological Center received little fanfare. The change was explained in the April 1969 issue of *The Smithsonian Torch*, as mentioned above, but the annual reports of the Smithsonian for Fiscal Years 1969 and 1970 (issued under the title *Smithsonian Year* for the appropriate year) contain no mention of the termination of the RBS other than a short footnote in the listing of Smithsonian staff contained in the report for 1969, which merely observes that the RBS “was transferred to the National Park Service 28 June 1969.”⁷³ The annual summary of NPS archeological activities for Fiscal Year 1968 mentions the 1968 “ad hoc” review of the RBS and suggests that “a substantial change may be made in the near future in the operations of the River Basin Surveys” office,” but the report for the following year mentions only briefly that Corbett and Bradley initiated discussions in February 1969 with Smithsonian representatives regarding the transfer of the RBS to NPS. The National Park Service archeological program report for fiscal year 1970 featured a photograph of the newly established Midwest Archeological Center as its frontispiece. Page 37 of the same report briefly noted that

Chief Archeologist Corbett and Assistant Chief Archeologist Bradley spent considerable time during the fiscal year setting up the Midwest Archeological Center and dealing with its major problem, the excavation of the steamboat *Bertrand*.

Little notice of the change was also taken in the written minutes of the 1969 and 1970 annual meetings of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, at which various federal bureaus reported on their archeological activities during the

⁷² Monthly reports of the Division of Archeology, National Park Service, for February, March, June, and July 1969; Midwest Region, Accounting Office Memorandum No. 54, July 9, 1969; Leonard B. Pouliot, Smithsonian Institution, to James D. Workman, National Park Service, May 1, 1969, MWAC Files; Logan interview.

⁷³ Smithsonian Institution, “Basin Surveys Transferring to Park Service,” *The Smithsonian Torch* no. 4 (April 1969), 1.

previous year. In his report to the 1969 gathering of the CRAR, Richard B. Johnston of the MBP related that

The year 1968 at the Smithsonian River Basin Surveys was one of retrenchment and change arising chiefly from fiscal conditions and the process of administrative review and reassessment of the role of the Smithsonian Institution and the Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program. The process of examination and administrative action is not yet complete, and the outcome of any reorientation and the trend of resultant changes should be much clearer as this group convenes a year hence.⁷⁴

The Smithsonian evidently did not present a formal, written report at the next year's meeting of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, in 1970, but Wilfred D. Logan, reporting on archeological activities within the NPS Midwest Region, merely observed that "The transfer of the staff of the River Basin Surveys, Smithsonian Institution, to the newly formed [Midwest Archeological] Center occurred in orderly fashion."⁷⁵ If there was any further discussion of the transfer at that year's meeting of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, it was not documented in the minutes of the meeting.

The Smithsonian Institution's spokesman at the 1973 CRAR meeting, Clifford Evans, did, however, offer a sort of *post facto* explanation of the reason for the Smithsonian's standing down from the salvage program:

As reported last year, the Department [i.e., the National Museum of Natural History] is no longer directly involved in salvage archeology.... The reason for this is quite clear: The Smithsonian Institution does not have the staff; the Smithsonian does not have the space; other organizations already charged with salvage, such as State archeologists, seem more logical to support such activities; if a national program of salvage archeology (or public archeology) is contemplated, it must have local backing and State support even if the funds are Federal; Congress requested the Smithsonian Institution to end some of its programs originally proposed for short-term, and from past experiences it would appear as if centralized coordination in a Federal agency, such as the Smithsonian Institution, is not the best solution when other Federal bodies are charged with the recording of sites of historical and scientific significance, etc.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Review and Analysis of Archeology Program, Fiscal Year. . ." (Annual Reports, 1967-1970), (Washington, D.C.: Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Division of Archeology, 1967-1970), 1968: 37, 1969: 48, 70.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 1970: 18.

⁷⁶ Clifford Evans, "Smithsonian Institution," in *Reports Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, March 22-23, 1973* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1973), 132-33.

CHAPTER TWO TRANSITION YEARS

On June 27, 1969, a Friday, sixteen federal employees switched agencies; their names were dropped from the rolls of the Smithsonian Institution and added to the rolls of the National Park Service. Together with two NPS employees brought over from the NPS Midwest Regional Office in Omaha to provide new leadership, this group formed the initial staff of the Midwest Archeological Center in Lincoln, Nebraska.¹ The Center opened at its new location on North 27th Street on the following Tuesday, July 1.

The personnel transfer marked the end of an era stretching back more than twenty years as recounted in Chapter One. In 1946, the Missouri Basin Project (MBP) was established in Lincoln, Nebraska as a subdivision of the River Basin Surveys (RBS). Through the late 1940s, the MBP's offices were housed with the University of Nebraska's Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the basement of Burnett Hall.² In 1951, the MBP rented office space at 1517 O Street, and in 1963, it moved digs to 1835 P Street. In 1964, the MBP was abolished as an administrative unit and the office on P Street became the headquarters for the entire RBS. Most of the archeologists who went over to the new Center in 1969 were original MBP employees though they were known officially as RBS when they transferred from the Smithsonian Institution to the NPS.³

After the lights were turned off in the office on P Street on that Friday in June, and when MWAC opened its doors four days later, it marked a new beginning for the Lincoln-based archeological research center. But the Center's new beginning was not so much a sharp break with the past as the start of a six-year transitional period. During this time, MWAC would undergo a change of mission, a nearly complete turnover of personnel, no less than three changes of leadership, and two realignments within the NPS organization. Even its new physical location on North 27th Street would prove to be transitory; at the end of the six-year period it moved into the new Robert V. Denney Federal Building at 100 Centennial Mall North, where it has remained since.

This chapter traces how MWAC took shape in the transitional period from 1969 to 1975. The most significant development was MWAC's change of mission. On July 1, 1969, the NPS inherited the interagency salvage archeology program of the RBS and

¹ With the decentralization of the NPS during the New Deal era of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, four regional offices were established. The Region Two Office opened its doors in Omaha, Nebraska, on August 1, 1937. An Omaha NPS office had opened in 1935 as one of many NPS State Park Division offices to administer Civilian Conservation Corps camps and other conservation programs in national and state parks. The new regional office had 250 employees, oversaw parks and monuments in fourteen states, and Thomas J. Allen was the first regional director. The geographic name "Midwest Regional Office" was adopted in 1962.

² The MBP's offices reportedly were located in the department laboratory and the basement of Love Library for a time, according to Tom Thiessen and Karin Roberts, respectively.

³ W. Raymond Wood, "The Missouri River Basin Surveys: Archeology without the Middle 'A,'" *Plains Anthropologist* 51, no. 200 (2006), 671; Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 4; Robert Hassler, "The Effects of CRM: A Sociohistorical Perspective of the Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska at Lincoln," *Plains Anthropologist* 34, no. 124, Part 1 (1989), 113-15.

MWAC assumed an active research role in the program. Six years later, MWAC was focused primarily on doing archeology within the National Park System. The two kinds of archeology projects were mostly very different from each other, so the change of mission brought a significant change in the character of the Center's archeology work. The change of mission did not happen overnight, and the point of this chapter is to examine how MWAC adapted to its new mission amidst a welter of other influences.

NHPA, Moss-Bennett, and the Changing Scope of NPS Archeology

MWAC started operations against a backdrop of momentous change in public archeology. Not since the rise of salvage archeology in the 1930s had there been such an expansion of public funding and support for the protection of archeological resources. Federal legislation gave the NPS and other federal agencies new mandates to follow, and it prompted the federal government to hire many scores of archeologists. Funding for archeological investigations grew tremendously. The expanded federal efforts to protect historic and archeological resources acquired a new name: cultural resource management (CRM). The rise of CRM created more opportunities for universities to contract with the federal government on archeological research projects. Universities responded to the rise of CRM by expanding their academic programs for the study of archeology and turning out more Ph.D.'s and master's degrees. Private consulting firms specializing in contract archeology started to form and occupy a new economic niche consisting of contract archeology. Thus, the establishment of MWAC came as part of a growing commitment to archeology by the NPS, while the rising NPS archeology program was itself part of a surge of support for public archeology across a whole spectrum of public and private institutions. The rise of CRM and contract archeology created new opportunities for an array of federal and state agencies, museums, academic departments, and private-sector contractors. The late sixties and early seventies were an exciting period for American archeology, but even as the profession enjoyed boom times of a sort, it stayed highly competitive. Research moneys remained in short supply, and field work still had to be performed on lean budgets.⁴

Rising concern for the environment was at the root of the new public archeology. In the mid-1960s, the archeological record still lying in the ground was under threat of destruction as never before. The great age of dam building that had given rise to salvage archeology was ending – in the Missouri Basin, the last of the big dams authorized under the Pick Sloan Plan was completed in 1966 – yet new land uses arose in place of the big reservoirs to threaten the obliteration of more and more of the archeological past. In the changing times, as effects of population growth and economic development became ubiquitous, lands were plowed up and paved over at an ever-increasing rate. Archeological sites now faced destruction practically wherever they were found. Prehistoric American Indian occupation sites that had lain practically undisturbed through two centuries of United States history were disappearing under the spread of residential subdivisions, shopping malls, industrial parks, and municipal airports. More and more untilled acreage was turned into farm land. More forest lands

⁴For a description of the ferment in archeology in this period and a tongue-in-cheek analysis of paradigm shifts and generational conflict in the profession, see Kent V. Flannery, "The Golden Marshalltown: A Parable for the Archeology of the 1980s," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 84, no. 2 (June 1982), 265-78.

were subjected to heavy logging. Wide areas were ripped open by strip mining. In the Southwest, scrublands were converted to grazing lands by a process called chaining: an anchor chain was dragged across the ground between two heavy tractors, snagging and uprooting small trees and shrubs to make way for grasses, and incidentally tearing up the earth in a way that made a hash of archeological sites. In the Midwest, new industrial farming practices were destroying archeological sites that had survived relatively intact through several generations of light tillage on the small family farm. As pointed out by Arkansas State Archeologist Hester A. Davis, a horse-drawn plow did not do the damage of a tractor-pulled chisel plow or subsoiler, which turned the earth to a depth of two or three feet. Ancient Indian mounds that farmers had once been content to work around were now being leveled by heavy-duty bulldozers.⁵

Modern society's unprecedented assault on the landscape generated growing concern by historic preservationists as well as the archeology community. Congress responded by passing the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966. The law called for an evaluation of historic and archeological resources lying in the path of any federally funded or licensed project. The evaluation had to follow a standard process known as a Section 106 review. The Section 106 review would identify historic and archeological resources, evaluate their significance, and recommend measures to mitigate impacts. Mitigation measures might range from preservation (altering the project to deflect impacts away from the cultural site) to recordation (excavating an archeological site or photographing historic structures before the cultural site was obliterated).

The NHPA built on mandates for survey and investigation of archeological sites that were already laid down in the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960. The 1966 law went much farther than the 1960 law in establishing an inventory system for historic properties and archeological sites. It created the National Register of Historic Places under NPS auspices. It called for each state to appoint a State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), and it established an Advisory Council of Historic Preservation composed of 23 members, with those entities serving to advise the NPS on carrying out the purposes of the act. All the new apparatus for preserving cultural resources was to be supported through annual appropriations by Congress.⁶

In 1969, Congress enacted the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). NEPA was the centerpiece legislation among a suite of environmental protection laws that Congress would enact over the next decade. Like the NHPA, the law aimed to halt mindless, piecemeal destruction of the environment by establishing processes that would ensure deliberation and intentionality toward the environment wherever federal actions were concerned. As Senator Henry Jackson (Democrat – Washington) observed, the federal government had promoted economic growth at environmental expense since the nation's founding based upon the nation's abundant land and low population density. It had taken measures without considering side effects or weighing alternatives,

⁵Hester A. Davis, "Is there a Future for the Past?" *Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (1971), 301-02.

⁶Bert Salwen, "The Evolution of a National Policy for the Preservation of Archeological Remains in the United States," September 25, 1978, Folder 3, Box 7, Ernest Connally Collection, Harpers Ferry Center (HFC).

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allowing environmental problems to mount toward a later time of reckoning. “Today,” Jackson said, “it is clear that we cannot continue to perpetuate the mistakes of the past. We no longer have the margins for error and mistake that we once enjoyed.” What was needed was a national policy to give action to a new environmental consciousness. With NEPA, the federal government sought to perform that profound pivot on environmental policy.⁷

The law’s most important feature was the environmental impact study. For all federally-funded projects, the responsible agency could be required to develop an interdisciplinary, scientific analysis of likely environmental consequences called an environmental assessment (EA), and possibly an even more rigorous study called an environmental impact statement (EIS), prior to breaking ground for the project. Since NEPA was aimed primarily at protecting the natural environment, the NPS and other federal agencies were slow to apply the law for the protection of cultural resources. However, federal regulations pursuant to NEPA stipulated that an EIS could be required for any “major Federal action significantly affecting the quality of the human environment.” The archeology community eventually homed in on that humanistic language to insist that NEPA’s environmental review process should address the preservation of cultural resources. They argued that NEPA compliance should be coordinated with the NHPA’s Section 106 review process. When the two were joined, cultural resources acquired the additional protection afforded by the singularly powerful environmental law.⁸

Meanwhile, an executive order and another law provided two more significant boosts for public archeology. In 1971, President Nixon signed Executive Order 11593, which called on all federal agencies to inventory and evaluate federally-owned historic buildings and archeological sites under their care. Rather than simply evaluate cultural properties reactively when the resources were threatened by a construction project, federal agencies were directed to take a proactive approach in getting all eligible properties listed on the National Register. Executive Order 11593, even more than the NHPA, signaled the need for federal land managing agencies like the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to hire their own archeologists. The order’s direction was subsequently codified in 1980 amendments to the NHPA (Section 110).⁹

The Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974 (also known as the Moss-Bennett Act) was the capstone legislation for the advancement of public archeology programs in the 1970s. Moss-Bennett was named after the legislation’s two chief sponsors, Senator Frank Moss (Democrat – Idaho) and Congressman Charles E.

⁷ Lynton Keith Caldwell, *The National Environmental Policy Act: An Agenda for the Future* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 2.

⁸ Charles R. McGimsey, III, “‘This, Too, Will Pass’: Moss-Bennett in Perspective,” *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985), 329; Charles R. McGimsey, III, “Perceptions of the Past: Public Archaeology and Moss-Bennett – Then and Now,” *Southeastern Archaeology* 81, no. 1 (Summer 1989), 74-75. While NEPA is focused on the natural environment, it explicitly includes historic and cultural aspects of the environment in Section 101 (b) (4).

⁹ Wilfred D. Logan and F. A. Calabrese, “National Park Service Archaeological Programs: An Historical Overview,” *Proceedings of the First Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks*, edited by Robert M. Linn, USDI, NPS, Transactions and Proceedings Series, No. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), 61.

Bennett (Democrat – Florida). The law broadened the terms of the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960 to apply to all federal projects that involved earthmoving. Any such project could allocate up to 1 percent of funding for archeological survey and site excavation. The NPS was named the coordinating agency. With passage of this law, funding for public archeology promptly increased many-fold. Charles R. McGimsey, III, an archeologist with the Arkansas Archeological Survey who served as a consultant as the legislation was developed, estimated that the total amount of public money spent on field archeology by federal and state agencies nationwide rose from approximately a million dollars in 1971 to somewhere between one and two *hundred* million dollars ten years later. Most of the increase could be traced to Moss-Bennett, with other sizeable portions coming from Section 106 and NEPA compliance.¹⁰

With the establishment of the National Register of Historic Places under the NHPA, the NPS became the federal government's de facto lead agency for federal archeology. The NPS formed the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) in 1967 to oversee that effort. With Moss-Bennett nearing passage, the NPS prepared to take on a more robust leadership role in CRM. In the early 1970s, the NPS began to hire more archeologists. The expectation was that NPS archeologists would provide professional oversight as federal agencies contracted with universities and other institutions to survey and investigate archeological resources lying in the way of federal construction projects. The NPS formed the Interagency Archeological Services Division (IASD) to handle all that work across the federal government. The IASD was subsidiary to the OAHP. The effects of these organizational changes on MWAC will be detailed later in this chapter. Suffice it to say here that Moss-Bennett was the main driver behind the expansion of the NPS archeology program during these transition years for MWAC. The IASD staff of around two dozen archeologists was in Washington, D.C. and three regional offices in Atlanta, Denver, and San Francisco. The IASD's three regional offices oversaw CRM in the eastern, central, and western states, respectively, matching regional offices in the Army Corps of Engineers.¹¹

Another change in the landscape of public archeology came with the disbanding of the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains (CRAR) in the mid-1970s. The committee had a long and storied career in promoting public archeology. In its early years, it raised the alarm over destruction of archeological sites. In the 1950s and early 1960s, it goaded the NPS and Smithsonian Institution to impose higher professional standards on salvage archeology projects. By the late 1960s, however, federal archeology projects were becoming too numerous and widely dispersed for CRAR to offer continuing technical oversight. In an effort to adapt the committee to serve the NPS's evolving archeology program, CRAR was reconstituted and expanded from four members to eight; one member stepped down and another five were added. In this last phase of CRAR's career, the committee lobbied Congress on behalf of the advancement of federal archeology programs and advised congressional staff on the Moss-Bennett legislation.¹²

¹⁰ McGimsey, "‘This, Too, Will Pass’: Moss-Bennett in Perspective," 330.

¹¹ Rex L. Wilson, Interagency Archeological Services Division, *A Status Report to the Archeological Community* (Washington, D.C.: The Interagency Archeological Services Division, National Park Service, 1976), 1-12.

¹² Wendorf and Thompson, "The Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains: Three

CRAR's future was called into question after Congress passed the Federal Advisory Committees Act (FACA) of 1972. This law was not specific to environmental policy but was aimed at improving and standardizing how federal agencies all across the government sought and received outside advice. The law's formal reporting requirements for federal advisory committees were a poor fit for CRAR. Although the NPS gave CRAR a charter under the new act in 1973, the NPS soon became dissatisfied with the arrangement and allowed the charter to lapse. CRAR ceased to exist after 1976. Some said that the dissolution of CRAR proved a setback for federal archeology, as longstanding ties between the NPS and the archeological profession suffered afterwards. The separation between university-based archeology and federal archeology led to charges that the latter lacked academic rigor. CRM, like salvage archeology in an earlier time, was stigmatized as second-rate archeology. Program leaders were left to defend the reputation of NPS archeology on their own, without the help of an institutional liaison to the rest of the archeological community.¹³

This brief overview of the changing scope of NPS archeology in the late 1960s and early 1970s has focused thus far on laws and policy. In addition to laws and policy, two important shifts in the philosophy of American archeology occurred around this time. One was a shift in archeological thought called the New Archeology. The other was a shift in archeological ethics toward conservation of the archeological record. Both affected NPS archeology profoundly; in the case of the latter, the NPS became a leader in promoting the new conservation ethic.

The New Archeology drew upon anthropological and ethnohistorical studies to help interpret the archeological record. It was stridently interdisciplinary. It revived the nineteenth-century belief in cultural evolution, but with a new emphasis on the catalytic role of technology. A central aim of the New Archeology was to make archeology more scientific and enlarge its claim for deciphering the human past. The New Archeology posited that the archeological record, if properly examined, held clues to how past societies functioned and interacted with their environments. The New Archeology claimed that it was possible for archeologists to ask questions and develop a modern understanding of how past peoples lived and thought about their world. The New Archeology was critical of the culture-history school of American archeology that prevailed in the 1950s and 60s, which focused on comparing pottery styles found at different sites so as to construct a cultural sequence based on a general theory of cultural diffusion across space and time. The goals of culture-history archeology were too modest, the New Archeology asserted. Rather, archeologists ought to be posing

Decades of Service to the Archaeological Profession," 327; Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 2; Wilfred D. Logan, "Briefing Notes on the Midwest Archeological Center and Trends Affecting Service Archeology in this Region," no date, HFC, Records of the National Park Service, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC. CRAR's four members in 1969 were J. O. Brew, Richard D. Daugherty, Henry W. Hamilton, and Emil W. Haury. Daugherty stepped down and the five new appointees were Raymond H. Thompson, Robert McGimsey, Douglas Schwartz, James Deetz, and Fred Wendorf.

¹³ Wendorf and Thompson, "The Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains," 327; McGimsey, "This, Too, Will Pass: Moss-Bennett in Perspective," 329; "A Proposal for the Realignment of the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program" (no author), April 3, 1974, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC).

theories about cultural evolution, and testing those theories with the archeological evidence. Archeology should be in partnership with cultural anthropology in figuring out the evolutionary development of human societies.¹⁴

The New Archeology emphasized ecology and the human connection to ecosystems. It sought to understand past habitation sites in relation to local environments. The traditional focus on recovering cultural artifacts was expanded to other kinds of data gathering such as faunal bones, seeds, tree-ring data for dendrochronology, and lakebed pollen deposits and other indicators of paleoclimate. The introduction of computers allowed more complex data processing. The underlying goal was to understand culture systems and processes of cultural change. With its ambition to discover universal laws concerning processes of cultural change, the New Archeology was also called Processual Archeology. The terms were interchangeable.¹⁵

The New Archeology responded to the social unrest of the 1960s. It sought to grapple with issues of social status and hierarchy as revealed in the archeological record, and it insisted on its own relevance to social change in the present. Many practitioners of the New Archeology were anti-establishmentarians within their own profession. Demanding that archeology do more than simply continue to accrete knowledge in the culture-history mold, they challenged established sources of authority and insisted on a kind of democratization of the discipline. As one historian of the profession has pointed out, it was no coincidence that the New Archeology emerged at a time when academic departments of anthropology and archeology were rapidly expanding. “The New Archeology position that new knowledge is validated through explicit testing rather than reference to authority opened the doors for young, unknown scholars to make significant contributions to the field,” wrote Charles L. Redman. “Such contributions became the major means of attaining credibility for young scholars and for programs at universities without an established tradition in graduate anthropology.”¹⁶

The New Archeology created a ferment in the discipline that influenced the growth of public archeology in various ways. NPS archeologists were keen to ensure that CRM projects were structured in a way that each archeological survey or investigation would engage with the New Archeology. A project needed to start with a relevant hypothesis, and it had to lead to problem-solving analysis. It needed to have a scientifically rigorous methodology, and it should draw on an interdisciplinary background literature. Or such was the ideal. Those high standards could not always be met, and the New Archeology was prone to denigrate the work of contract archeologists as being slipshod or superficial. Part of the challenge for the NPS archeology program in

¹⁴ Harry Lerner, “Lewis Binford and the New Archaeology,” *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 57-62; Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 304-23.

¹⁵ Alice B. Kehoe, “Processual and Postprocessual Archaeology: A Brief Critical Review,” in *Beyond Subsistence: Plains Archaeology and the Postprocessual Critique* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 23; Wilfred Logan, “Briefing Notes on the Midwest Archeological Center and Trends Affecting Service Archeology in this Region,” no date, p.8, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

¹⁶ Charles L. Redman, “Distinguished Lecture in Archeology: In Defense of the Seventies – The Adolescence of New Archeology,” *American Anthropologist* 93, no 2 (1991), 296-97.

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the 1970s was to stay current with such a restless, vibrant academic discipline, and forge close ties with some key academicians.¹⁷

Besides the New Archeology, a new conservation ethic in archeology formed the context for MWAC's early development. Conservation archeology arose in part from the New Archeology and in part from the historic preservation movement; that is, it was influenced by changes both within the discipline and outside of it. The idea of conserving the archeological record was not new – salvage archeology was a form of conservation – but the meaning of conservation changed sharply. Under the older salvage archeology program, conservation of archeological resources was equated with digging up artifacts and recording sites as they were excavated. Salvage archeology was premised on the idea that excavating a site, recovering the cultural materials, and making a report for professional dissemination was tantamount to preserving the archeological record for posterity. In this view, the knowledge acquired from the archeological investigation took the place of the archeological site itself. During the 1960s and 70s, archeologists came to a different view of the matter. As they asked new questions about the archeological past, used new methods for studying archeological resources, and applied new technology for the study of artifacts in the lab, all those developments led to the realization that archeological collections in museums dating from the 1930s, 40s, and 50s were of limited use to a later generation of archeological investigators. Site excavation, rather than preserving artifacts, converted the resource into collections of artifacts and records of provenience that were oriented to the analytical technology in use at the time of excavation. Consequently, sites excavated in the past were rendered illegible for purposes of later lines of inquiry. Archeologists needed to examine archeological resources that were still lying intact in the ground to employ their newer methods and technology and satisfy their research questions. It followed, then, that future generations of archeologists would also want to study archeological sites that had never been excavated. As more and more archeologists came to share that view, archeological resources lying untouched in the ground took on the complexion of a finite, non-renewable resource; the resources must be conserved as much as possible for the future. NPS archeologists were especially sensitive to the new conservation ethic since their agency was charged with preserving the nation's past for present and future generations.¹⁸

¹⁷ Interagency Archeological Services Division, National Park Service, *A Status Report to the Archeological Community* (Washington, D.C.: The Interagency Archeological Services Division, National Park Service, 1976), 13-17. See also Flannery, "The Golden Marshalltown," 268-69.

¹⁸ Mark D. Mitchell, "Research Traditions, Public Policy, and the Underdevelopment of Theory in Plains Archeology: Tracing the Legacy of the Missouri Basin Project," *American Antiquity*, 71, no. 2 (2006), 387; Jesse D. Jennings, "River Basin Surveys, 293; Acting Director Denis P. Galvin to Directorate and Field Directorate, WASO Division Chiefs and Park Superintendents, July 16, 1987, File Archeological Curation, Box 1, History of Archeology Program, Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC). For a contemporaneous (mid-1980s) description of the legal and philosophical basis of conservation archeology written by MWAC archeological staff, see Mark J. Lynott, Jeffrey J. Richner and Mona Thompson, *Archeological Investigations at Voyageurs National Park: 1979 and 1980*, Midwest Archeological Center Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 16 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1986), 2-6, or Mark J. Lynott, "The Dynamics of Significance: An Example from Central Texas," *American Antiquity* 45, no. 1, (1980), 117-20. An oft-cited seminal article is William W. Lipe, "A Conservation Model for American Archaeology," *The Kiva* 39 (1974), 213-45.

To sum up, MWAC came into being within the context of great changes in American archeology. Most pertinent was the explosive growth of federal archeology, which now fell under the general terms of CRM. The rapid rise of CRM propelled the NPS into a leadership role in public archeology at a time when the academic discipline embraced new theory and method in the New Archeology. Consequently, NPS archeologists took pains to shape CRM to meet the demands of the New Archeology. NPS archeologists also became advocates of the new conservation ethic surrounding archeological excavation.

Center Staffing and New Leadership

The Midwest Archeological Center's first chief was Wilfred D. Logan, regional archeologist for the Midwest Region. Born in Shelby, Nebraska, on March 11, 1923, Logan grew up on a farm near Blackwell, Oklahoma. After the United States entered World War II, he enlisted in the Army Air Corps, was trained as a radio operator aircrewman, and flew on numerous transport missions in both the European and Pacific theaters. After his war service, he went to the University of Missouri-Columbia and earned a B.A. in journalism in 1948, followed by an M.A. in anthropology in 1950 (the first graduate degree in anthropology ever granted by that university). He went from there directly into a Ph.D. program at the University of Michigan where he studied under the eminent archeologist James B. Griffin. When Logan was newly embarked on his Ph.D. studies, Griffin suggested that he take a job with the NPS as park archeologist at Effigy Mounds National Monument, Iowa. That job launched his career in the NPS in 1951, and subsequently he completed his Ph.D. in 1958.¹⁹

As park archeologist at Effigy Mounds, Logan organized the past work of two pioneers in Iowa archeology, Charles R. Keyes and Ellison Orr, which he integrated into the monument's interpretive program and synthesized in his dissertation. In 1956, Logan transferred to Ocmulgee National Monument, Georgia, where he once again served as park archeologist. At Ocmulgee, Logan had responsibility for an excavated Mississippian site known in archeological circles as the "Big Dig," the largest salvage archeology project of the 1930s. Not happy with living in the Deep South, in 1958 he found his way to the NPS Washington Office and an archeologist position with the Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks program.²⁰ He was promoted to regional archeologist in the Midwest Region in 1962, and then to chief of archeological research for interagency projects in 1966, both positions being in the Omaha office. In each capacity, he oversaw archeology in the parks as well as NPS involvement in the intensive archeological salvage research program in the Missouri River basin.²¹

Logan transferred from the regional office to the Center together with archeologist Jackson W. "Smokey" Moore, Jr., who became the Center's assistant chief. A vacant secretarial position was also transferred, which was soon filled by Michael Haram. A total of sixteen individuals transferred from the RBS to the NPS, filling

¹⁹ Thomas Thiessen and W. Raymond Wood, "Wilfred David Logan, 1923-1991," *Plains Anthropologist* 37, no. 139 (May 1992), 171; Logan interview.

²⁰The formal title of the Historic Sites Survey is the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.

²¹ Thiessen and Wood, "Wilfred David Logan, 1923-1991," 171; Wilfred D. Logan interview by Thomas D. Thiessen, February 5, 1990.

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out the rest of the Center staff. Those individuals were: administrative officer Larry Tomsyck; archeologists Richard B. Johnston, John J. Hoffman, and Wilfred M. Husted; writer-editor Jerome Petsche; photographer Wayne Nelson; scientific illustrator Jerry Livingston; museum technicians Edgar Dodd, Lee Madison, and Clarence Johnson; museum aid Gaillard Jackson; administrative clerk Paulette Workman; secretary Joyce Williams; clerk-typists Janice Westfall and Linda Stubbendick; and one more archeologist, Oscar Mallory, who tendered his resignation shortly before the transfer. Altogether, that made nineteen positions for the new Center.²²

Logan's first formal communication with the staff was a memorandum dated July 1, 1969, the day of transfer. The subject was "Research Performance." Logan informed the staff that the Center was "embarking on a new era in Federally-directed archeological research in the Plains," and predicted that their performance would draw scrutiny by other institutions in the region. He did not have to remind the staff that the RBS had been strongly criticized for not publishing enough over the years. To remedy that problem, Logan announced a new policy:

Beginning July 1, 1969, all fieldwork carried out during a given field season will be reported on fully before the next field season. This means that anyone doing research in this organization *must submit, before June 1 of the next year, a final detailed report suitable for publication*. Members of the professional staff who fail to comply with this rule will not return to the field next season, and noncompliance with the rule will be reflected in annual efficiency ratings.²³

That harsh crack of the whip by the incoming chief, together with general uncertainties surrounding the transfer, produced tensions between the new leadership and the old RBS staff. A couple of personnel quit soon after the transfer, while others started looking for other opportunities. Logan's challenges with personnel were compounded by the fact that he and Moore spent little time in the Lincoln office, as each one maintained his Omaha residence and conducted a considerable amount of work at the regional office in Omaha as well as on the road. Besides running the Center, Logan was soon tasked with getting another NPS archeological research center, the Chaco Center in New Mexico, running on its own. Moreover, a single salvage archeology project, the excavation of the steamboat *Bertrand*, soon turned into a mammoth job and an outsized drain on administrative resources. For all of these reasons – change of employer, change of leadership, changing workload – morale and productivity at MWAC suffered. Martini lunches and early-afternoon departures were a too-frequent feature of the new Center's work culture. For one reason or another, practically the whole RBS outfit resigned or retired over the course of the next few years.²⁴

Fortunately, Logan was able to hire new archeologists to fill in behind the archeologists who quit. The first new hire was Ron Switzer, who came onboard as a conservator to handle the flood of artifacts coming from the *Bertrand* excavation.

²²Assistant Regional Director, Administration, to Superintendents, Midwest Region, June 3, 1969, MWAC History Study Materials, Box 5; Logan interview.

²³Wilfred D. Logan, Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to The Staff, Midwest Archeological Center, July 1, 1969, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC).

²⁴Logan interview; Carl R. Falk interview by Theodore Catton, December 6, 2016.

Switzer worked at the Maxwell Museum at the University of New Mexico, and Logan interviewed him when he and Zorro Bradley, the assistant chief archeologist, were in Albuquerque working on the Chaco Center initiative. Before offering him the job, they wrote a purchase order and flew him out to Nebraska to visit the *Bertrand* site, see the dig in progress, and inspect the overwhelmed conservation lab nearby at De Soto Bend National Wildlife Refuge where the conservator had just resigned. Switzer wrote an evaluation report, which Logan and Bradley liked, and then he was hired as a conservator for both MWAC and the De Soto Bend conservation lab.²⁵

The next recruit was Carl R. Falk, a graduate student at the University of Missouri. In Falk, Logan saw a smart investigator applying an ecological perspective in field work that would form the basis for his dissertation. In 1969, the University of Missouri contracted with the NPS to conduct salvage archeology at the Lower Grand site on the upper Missouri River in South Dakota. The project soon passed from the RBS's purview to MWAC's, and then expanded to two other sites. The three sites together were known as the Upper Oahe project. The principal investigator was W. Raymond Wood, professor at University of Missouri, and the project managers were his graduate students Carl Falk and Stanley Ahler. Logan and the MWAC team recognized the archeological work being conducted there as state-of-the-art, an example of the New Archeology being carried out under federal auspices. When Falk moved to Lincoln for a summer job in a lab at the University of Nebraska in 1970, he sent a letter of inquiry to Logan at MWAC. That fall, Logan brought Falk into a temporary staff archeologist position at the Center, which was soon made permanent. For Logan, Falk represented "the kind of multi-disciplinary awareness that archeology needed at that time."²⁶

Logan found Falk to be an excellent researcher, and he mentored him in administration. Although Falk still had his eye on completing his Ph.D. and pursuing a more research-oriented position at a future time, nonetheless he took on the role of Logan's understudy and assistant. A generation apart, the two men were a good fit in the organization. In 1972, when Logan was informed that he would be transferred to the new Denver Service Center, his mentoring of Falk acquired new immediacy. He was asked to recommend his own successor at MWAC. Since assistant chief Smokey Moore was moving on to a position in the Washington Office, Moore was out of the running. Without hesitation, Logan recommended Falk.²⁷

The change of leadership from Logan to Falk was worked out during the Plains Anthropological Conference in 1972. The person in charge of the selection process was Robert Lister, the NPS acting chief archeologist following the retirement of John

²⁵Ronald R. Switzer to Thomas D. Thiessen, July 23, 1991, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Logan interview.

²⁶ Falk interview; Logan interview; Wood, *A White-Bearded Plainsman: The Memoirs of Archaeologist W. Raymond Wood* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011), 199. The RBS conducted some excavations at the Lower Grand site from 1962 to 1964 prior to the contract in 1969. For a summary see Carl R. Falk and Stanley A. Ahler, *Archeological Investigations in the Mobridge Area, South Dakota, 1969-1970: Lower Grand (Davis), 39CO14; Walth Bay 39WW203; and Helb, 39CA208*, report prepared for the National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, (Columbia: University of Missouri, Department of Anthropology, American Archaeology Division, 1988).

²⁷Logan interview.

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Corbett. Lister was a World War II veteran (a former lieutenant colonel in the Army). Students called him “Captain Bob” and responded to his requests with a “Yes, sir.” Lister taught at the University of Colorado before joining the NPS as chief of the new Chaco Center in 1970. Lister supported Logan’s recommendation of Falk, but when he considered Falk’s level of experience and the fact that he wanted to complete his Ph.D., he thought it was important to hire an assistant chief who would work closely with him. To Lister, the obvious candidate was Francis A. “Cal” Calabrese. Calabrese was known to Lister from his undergraduate studies at the University of Colorado. After Calabrese got his bachelor’s degree at the University of Colorado in 1965, he went on to attain a Ph.D. at the University of Missouri in 1971 under Ray Wood’s direction, and then a teaching position at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. Calabrese worked on the excavation of the Lower Grand site in the early 1970s, knew Falk from that project, and like Falk counted Ray Wood as his mentor. So, the two young scholars were cut from the same cloth and able to work together. Lister and Logan offered the positions of chief and assistant chief to Falk and Calabrese separately but with each offer contingent on the other one’s acceptance – almost a dual hire – while all four men were attending the Plains Anthropological Conference. Both Falk and Calabrese readily accepted. Logan transferred to the Denver Service Center and Falk became the next chief of MWAC toward the end of 1972, and Calabrese stepped into the job of assistant chief at the start of 1973 (Table 6). Falk and Calabrese each expected to stay with MWAC for just a few years and then return to academia; for Falk, the expectation was born out, while for Calabrese it was the start of 22 years with MWAC and 33 years with the NPS.²⁸

Table 6. Chiefs and Managers of the Midwest Archeological Center.

Name	Term	Source
Wilfred B. Logan	July 1, 1969 to early 1972	Logan interview
Carl R. Falk	early 1972 to late 1974	Falk interview
F. A. Calabrese	late 1974 to March 31, 1996	MWAC annual reports for 1995 and 1996
Mark Lynott	March 31, 1996 to early 2013	Annual report for 1996, Bryson interview
Robert Bryson	Sept. 8, 2013 to early 2017	Bryson interview

Not long before Falk assumed leadership two more former RBS archeologists left, and Logan moved quickly to hire two archeologists before the vacant positions were taken away. The new hires were Thomas Thiessen and Robert Nickel. Both men were graduate students at the University of Nebraska in 1972; both were already working at MWAC under temporary appointments. When the vacancies appeared, Logan invited them to take the civil service exam and apply. Thiessen and Nickel both started in permanent positions in November 1972. Together with Switzer, Falk, and Calabrese, they represented a younger generation of NPS archeologists joining the Center as the former RBS archeologists left.²⁹

²⁸ Wood, *A White-Bearded Plainsman*, 199; Logan interview; Falk interview; Francis A. “Cal” Calabrese interview by Theodore Catton, September 26, 2016.

²⁹ Logan interview; Thomas Thiessen interview by Theodore Catton, September 22, 2016; Robert Nickel interview by Theodore Catton, September 27, 2016.

The Fight over the Centers

MWAC was one of four NPS archeological research centers in 1969. The first one established was the Southwest Archeological Research Center in Globe, Arizona, authorized by Congress in 1952 and formally opened for business in 1958. The second center began at Ocmulgee National Monument in 1966 and was called the Southeast Archeological Center. MWAC was the third. While the Southeast and Midwest centers were still in the development stage, Logan was tasked by Chief Archeologist John Corbett to work on a fourth, the Chaco Center, which was authorized at Chaco Canyon National Monument at the end of 1969.³⁰

When Falk and Calabrese took over leadership of MWAC, the future of the four archeological research centers was far from settled. A fight ensued inside the NPS over who would control the centers and what the centers' mission would be. The fight occurred at higher levels within the NPS organization. In part it was a fight over decentralization of the bureaucracy: regional directors vied with program leaders in the Washington Office for line authority over the center staffs. And in part it was a fight over agency mission: archeologists sought to place cultural resource management on a level with natural resource management. The archeological research centers were upstarts within the traditional bureaucratic structure of the NPS. They were outliers in the long-established system of line authority from NPS director to regional director to park superintendent to park ranger. The argument for the centers challenged some long-held conceptions about how the national parks were developed and who was in charge of them. It pitted the historic preservation disciplines – archeology, history, and architectural history – against the traditional grey-and-greens with their educational backgrounds typically in the biological and physical sciences and their resource management philosophy rooted in a blend of landscape architecture and ecology.³¹

To explain how the fight over the centers impacted MWAC in the early to mid-1970s, it is necessary to go back a few years before then. Director Hartzog set the stage for the fight over the centers when he created the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) in 1967. The OAHP was established in direct response to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. While the NHPA was still moving through Congress, Hartzog appointed an ad hoc committee to advise him on how he might restructure the NPS to handle the new responsibilities under the pending law. Ernest Connally, an architectural historian at the University of Illinois, served on the committee at Hartzog's invitation. After Connally suggested to Hartzog that the archeology and history personnel should be combined in a new Office of Archeology and Historic

³⁰ Cameron Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig": A History of the Southeast Archeological Center* (Tallahassee, Florida: Southeast Archeological Center, 2007), 32-33; Gloria J. Fenner, Lynn Mitchell, James Roberts, Johanna M. Alexander, A. Trinkle Jones, Susan J. Wells, Adrienne G. Rankin, and Jeffery F. Burton, "Hidden Heritage Resources of the Southwest: The Western Archeological and Conservation Center," *Archaeology in Tucson* 7, no. 2 (April 1993), 1; Logan and Calabrese, "National Park Service Archeological Programs: An Historical Overview," 59-60. The Chaco Center differed from the other three centers in being specific to the archeological resources of a specific locale.

³¹ Richard W. Sellars and Melody Webb, "An Interview with Robert M. Utley on the History of Historic Preservation in the National Park Service – 1947-1980," *Professional Papers No. 16* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: National Park Service, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1985), 11-12.

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Preservation, Hartzog not only agreed with Connally's plan, he asked Connally to give up his academic post and head the new office. Connally accepted the offer and joined the NPS as director of the OAHP in June 1967.³²

While the NHPA provided the impetus for establishing the OAHP, Hartzog's initiative in forming the office was consistent with his drive to expand the National Park System in a big way with the addition of numerous historic sites and recreation areas, many in urban settings. The OAHP, Hartzog announced in 1967, would be "the equivalent of the European monuments offices" that focused altogether on management of cultural sites. It would be a "scholarly institution," Hartzog said, with ties to the Society of Architectural Historians and the College Art Association. The OAHP would be set up as "a bureau within a bureau," with line supervision over the archeology, history, and architectural history disciplines in the NPS. Essentially, historic preservation would be a separate "stovepipe" within the agency with a team of professionals holding responsibility for cultural resources through all phases of management. Hartzog had Connally's concurrence with this plan as well as Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall's explicit support.³³

In accord with Connally's thinking, the OAHP was set up with a Division of Archeology headed by Chief Archeologist John Corbett and a Division of History headed by Chief Historian Robert M. Utley, with each of those men reporting to Connally. As an outsider coming into the NPS from academia, Connally was saddled with a negative perception inside the NPS that he was a meddler and empire builder. The OAHP's high profile notwithstanding, many career archeologists in the NPS regarded the realignment of archeology and history in the OAHP as a step backward for their program. For years, archeology had struggled to get out of the shadow of the history program and now it was lumped with history again with Connally, an architectural historian, in charge overall. Nevertheless, Connally was a strong advocate for making the NPS a leader in the historic preservation movement. Connally had very good relations with CRAR and CRAR's chairman, John Otis Brew, and through CRAR he was instrumental in getting the River Basin Surveys (RBS) transferred to the NPS to form the Midwest Archeological Center.³⁴

Besides Connally, two career NPS people were also forceful proponents in elevating history and archeology in the agency at this time. Chief Archeologist John Corbett was a towering figure in NPS archeology both literally and figuratively. He was a very tall man with an imposing presence and energy, and he was respected as one of the first archeologists in the service to hold a Ph.D. As a former Army captain in World War II, he related well to the many park superintendents and regional directors who were military service veterans, while his academic credentials put him in good standing with professional archeologists outside the agency. Having those connections both inside and outside the agency mattered a great deal, because funding for NPS archeology still

³² Barry Mackintosh, "The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service, A History," report prepared for the National Park Service, 1986, at npshistory.com/publications/national-historic-preservation-act.pdf <April 28, 2018>; Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 38-39.

³³ Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 62-63.

³⁴ Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 38-39; Logan interview.

came mostly from salvage archeology projects external to the National Park System. As NPS chief archeologist, Corbett worked assiduously to increase staffing and funding for archeology within the National Park System. He persuaded CRAR to leverage more salvage archeology funds for the NPS, and at every opportunity he peeled away salvage moneys to help fund archeology in the national parks.³⁵

Corbett was a strong advocate for the archeological research centers. He believed the centers were the most effective way to coalesce professional staff and promote more archeology in the parks. The alternative of trying to appoint a park archeologist to each unit of the National Park System was not realistic from a fiscal standpoint, and efforts made in that direction only served to create a diffuse, ineffectual program overall. It was better, he thought, to concentrate the archeologists at centers where they would be adequately supported with research lab facilities and university connections. Long after Corbett left the NPS in 1972, Logan paid him a great tribute by stating that “few programs involving American archeology would be what they are today had it not been for the efforts of this man.”³⁶

The other NPS insider who was helping to build a new foundation for CRM in the years following the passage of the NHPA was Ronald F. Lee. Lee’s long career in the NPS went back to 1933 when he was hired by the Park Service’s first chief historian, Verne Chatelain. That was the year of the reorganization when dozens of national battlefields, cemeteries, historic sites, and national monuments, together with the public monuments in the nation’s capital, were consolidated into the National Park System. From 1933 to 1969, the number of historical areas in the National Park System grew to 166. Over that time span, Ronald F. Lee became one of the agency’s highest placed historians, serving as assistant director, regional director for the Northeast Region, and associate director for interpretation. In contrast to Connally, Lee was a consummate insider, well-respected by the traditionalists in the agency.

In October 1969, Lee prepared a thoughtful memorandum for Hartzog on the role of the National Park Service in the coming decade. He pointed to current efforts to make the National Park System more accessible for minorities, the elderly, urban youth, and school children. He underscored the agency’s role as a bearer of “national identity and traditions from generation to generation.” One of Lee’s major recommendations to Hartzog was that the name of the agency be changed to the National Park and Historic Preservation Service. A rebranding was necessary, Lee argued, to clarify for the American people that cultural sites were included in the National Park System.³⁷

³⁵Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the “Big Dig,”* 31-32; Thiessen, et al., “The National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution: Partners in Salvage Archaeology,” 29; Logan and Calabrese, “National Park Service Archeological Programs: An Historical Overview,” 59.

³⁶Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the “Big Dig,”* 32-33; Gloria J. Fenner, Lynn Mitchell, James Roberts, Johanna M. Alexander, A. Trinkle Jones, Susan J. Wells, Adrienne G. Rankin, and Jeffery F. Burton, “Hidden Heritage Resources of the Southwest: The Western Archeological and Conservation Center,” *Archaeology in Tucson* 7, no. 2 (April 1993), 1; Logan and Calabrese, “National Park Service Archeological Programs: An Historical Overview,” 59-60. The Chaco Center differed from the other three centers in being specific to the archeological resources of a specific locale.

³⁷Ronald F. Lee, “The Role of the National Park Service During the 1970s,” October 14, 1969, Box 4, Ernest Connally Collection, HFC.

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In another memorandum, Lee concurred with Connally that combining the professional archeology and history staffs in one unit created a synergy that was important for fulfilling the NPS historic preservation mission. At the beginning of the Nixon administration, the NPS faced strong pressure to move positions in the Washington Office out to the field. Lee argued that the archeology and history staffs should be exempt. "There are not enough experts to divide them up and scatter them around without serious loss of efficiency and erosion of professional standards," he wrote.³⁸ To traditionalists, this effort to wrap the historic preservation disciplines in some kind of protective cloak sounded like intellectual elitism with a design to upend the NPS's internal power structure.

The tensions surrounding the treatment of the historic preservation disciplines brewed a fight over the archeological research centers. Traditionalists wanted to take away the OAHP's line supervision over the centers and hand it to the regional directors. Traditionalists argued that the OAHP and the centers were overcommitted to external programs and were losing sight of cultural resource management needs within the National Park System. Lee urged the director to stay the course in setting up the OAHP as a "bureau within a bureau" and reject the traditionalists' demands. To that end, Lee wanted a statement issued to the field that would clarify the OAHP's line supervision over the archeological, historical, and architectural history disciplines as they applied both to external programs and park management. There were by this time four external programs under OAHP's purview: the National Register of Historic Places, the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, the National Historic Landmarks, and the Interagency Archeological Services Program. In addition to those external programs, Lee emphasized, the OAHP should exercise "oversight," or at least coordinating responsibility, over cultural resource management within the National Park System. The centers formed part of a "small staff" performing "a large volume of high quality professional work for the Service at low cost."³⁹

Connally, like Lee, thought the centers were an asset. One of his major goals was to improve ties between the NPS and universities. He saw the centers as playing an important role in that effort. Connally worked with the research center chiefs in Globe, Arizona and Ocmulgee, Georgia, to get those centers relocated to cities where each one would be linked to a university. In the early 1970s, the Southwest Archeological Research Center was moved to Tucson, Arizona, and connected with the University of Arizona, while the Southeast Research Center was moved to Tallahassee, Florida, and linked with Florida State University. The Chaco Center was moved to the campus of the University of New Mexico and renamed the New Mexico Archeological Center, with Robert Lister in charge of it. MWAC was already well located in Lincoln with informal ties to the University of Nebraska. Those ties were formalized under a memorandum of agreement between MWAC and the university's Department of Anthropology, signed January 14, 1974. Patterned after the formal agreements made with the universities in Tucson

³⁸Special Assistant to the Director to Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, June 17, 1969, Box 4, Ernest Connally Collection, HFC.

³⁹Special Assistant to the Director to Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, June 17, 1969, Box 4, Ernest Connally Collection, HFC.

and Tallahassee, it provided university facilities to Center personnel and provided an impetus for developing programs of mutual interest.⁴⁰

The center in Tucson was renamed the Arizona Archeological Center, and later became the Western Archeological and Conservation Center. There was a proposal to name the Midwest Archeological Center the Plains Archeological Center in deference to the academic field of plains archeology, but NPS traditionalists wanted to maintain the Center's name association with the NPS Midwest Region, and so they shot down the proposed name change. Consideration was also given to relocating the Center to Lawrence, Kansas, but that idea, too, was set aside.⁴¹

Connally thought that the archeological research centers, by forging closer ties to academia, would gain prestige for the NPS and achieve higher professional standards for historic preservation while providing the universities with valuable research opportunities. He envisioned NPS archeologists at the centers holding combined federal and academic appointments and fulfilling their bureaucratic responsibilities at the same time they taught classes and conducted research. The same would hold true for NPS historians and architectural historians working in the OAHP in Washington, D.C. For many old-line NPS officials, the greater prestige that would accrue to those people was perceived as a threat to their own status in the agency. Connally's attempt to elevate the historic preservation disciplines through association with academia sparked a class division between NPS superintendents who had come up through the ranger ranks and cultural resource managers touting their advanced college degrees.⁴²

Traditionalists finally gained the upper hand with NPS leadership and moved against the OAHP. Chief Historian Utley later suggested that the decision to take down Connally and the OAHP was Hartzog's. "I think George saw a threat in Connally's rising visibility and rising prominence, rising power over budgetary and program matters with the National Park Service," Utley later stated in an interview. "So George made organizational changes that wrecked the concept."⁴³ One crucial organizational change was to transfer control of the four archeological research centers from the OAHP to the regional directors. Accounts differ as to precisely when this happened, and no official pronouncement of the transfer has been found. OAHP's oversight of the centers steadily waned from 1970 onward, yet it seems that OAHP's evisceration was not complete until after President Nixon fired Hartzog at the end of 1972 and appointed Ronald Walker, a former White House aide, in Hartzog's place. Early in 1973, Walker reorganized the Washington Office and trimmed the OAHP's responsibilities to external programs only. Henceforth, NPS archeology was bifurcated into "out-house" and "in-house" projects:

⁴⁰Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 43-62; Fenner et al., "Hidden Heritage Resources of the Southwest: The Western Archeological and Conservation Center," 1; Ernest Allan Connally to Thomas D. Thiessen, August 31, 1992, and Carl R. Falk, "Midwest Archeological Center Summary of Activities - 1973," Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁴¹Logan interview.

⁴²Robert M. Utley to Thomas D. Thiessen, May 14, 1992, and Ernest Allan Connally to Thomas D. Thiessen, August 31, 1992, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 63.

⁴³Sellars and Webb, "An Interview with Robert M. Utley on the History of Historic Preservation in the National Park Service - 1947-1980," 11.

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the OAHP handled the former; the centers, being attached to regions, were to focus primarily on the latter.⁴⁴

At MWAC, the Center staff's realignment with the region took place in stages while Hartzog was still director. When the Center was established in 1969 Logan reported to Chief Archeologist Corbett in Washington, who served under OAHP Director Connally. Later on, Logan reported to Regional Director Fred Fagergren in the Midwest Regional Office in Omaha. By the end of his tenure in 1972, Logan reported to the regional director through Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, John Kawamoto. Falk reported to Kawamoto from the outset of his tenure in 1972.⁴⁵

Logan was aware of the fight over the centers happening at higher levels in the NPS organization. In his position as Center chief he was limited in how much he could influence the outcome. Near the end of his tenure he prepared a detailed memo on trends affecting NPS archeology in the region and the Center's future. He foresaw the Center putting more emphasis on archeology in the parks but carrying on the interagency archeological salvage mission as well. He supported the initiative coming out of the OAHP but largely homegrown in the Plains as well to bring federal archeology and university anthropology departments into close mutual support. He saw a movement toward a regional "cooperative archeological program" that would be both multi-institutional and interdisciplinary with MWAC playing a key coordinating role.⁴⁶

Falk began his tenure after the fight over the centers was resolved. He entered on duty with the full understanding that the Center served the Midwest Region and had only a "functional relationship" with the OAHP. But during Falk's brief tenure from 1972 through most of 1974 the mission of the Center was still in flux, being finely balanced between the archeological needs of the NPS field areas in the Midwest Region and the older interagency archeological salvage mission. Falk saw himself as a transitional person, providing leadership to the Center while the NPS archeology program as a whole went through further adjustments. Falk described himself as well-organized, attentive to the Center staff, a good caretaker.⁴⁷ On the national level, the NPS archeology program still needed to work out a division of labor between "out-house" and "in-house" projects. In the meantime, MWAC had its own opportunities and challenges to deal with, such as the *Bertrand*.

⁴⁴Mackintosh, "The National Historic Preservation Act and the National Park Service, A History," 8-9.

⁴⁵Logan interview; Falk interview; Memorandum of telephone call from John Kawamoto to Tom Thiessen, April 6, 1992, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Director to Regional Directors, December 18, 1973, File 8, Box 9, Ernest Connally Collection, HFC.

⁴⁶Wilfred D. Logan, "Briefing Notes on the Midwest Archeological Center and Trends Affecting Service Archeology in this Region," no date, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC; Logan interview. Note that the document entitled "Briefing Notes" does not bear the name of the author, but Logan was shown the document during his oral history interview by Thiessen and confirmed that he was its author and that he wrote it shortly before his departure.

⁴⁷Falk interview.

The Steamboat Bertrand Project

One salvage archeology project already in progress in 1969 dominated the energies of archeology staff through the beginning years of MWAC operations. This was the steamboat *Bertrand* excavation on the De Soto National Wildlife Refuge. The controversial project yielded an immense cache of historical artifacts even as it failed to turn up the precious items that motivated two private citizens to instigate the dig in the first place. Those in the federal government who came to champion the *Bertrand* project saw a unique opportunity to learn about the material culture of the American frontier. The project's detractors saw it as a red herring that bled away precious salvage archeology dollars from other, more interesting projects relating to Middle Missouri archeology. The cost and scope of excavating the *Bertrand* and curating the massive haul of artifacts far outstripped original expectations, yet the technical achievement proved to be a landmark in salvage archeology.

The *Bertrand* project blended aspects of a treasure hunt and an archeological salvage excavation. Unlike most Missouri River Basin salvage projects, it was unrelated to any federal water development project; rather, it fell into the category of marine salvage. The steamboat *Bertrand* sank in the Missouri River on April 1, 1865, loaded with supplies for miners' camps in the Montana gold fields. Besides her cargo of food, liquor, patent medicines, clothing, and other manufactures for use by the mining population, she reportedly had aboard a large quantity of mercury for use in the amalgamating process for refining gold ore. After she was lost, decades passed as natural changes in the course of the river caused the hulk to be totally inundated with mud and silt. An effort was made in 1896 to recover the precious goods, but it did not succeed. Local tradition came to insist that the hidden wreck held buried treasure in the form of some 35,000 pounds of mercury and 5,000 gallons of whisky in oaken casks. In the fall of 1967, two salvors in Omaha, Jesse Pursell and Sam Corbino, discovered a clue in an 1896 newspaper article describing that earlier salvage effort. It convinced them of where to search for the wreck with its precious cargo. As the evidence indicated that the wreck was located on federal land in the De Soto National Wildlife Refuge, the salvors entered a contract with the General Services Administration to salvage the wreck based on a 60-40 split with the U.S. government of all recovered treasure (mercury, whisky, and any gold or silver). The terms of the contract invoked the Antiquities Act with its rules and regulations, placed the project under the direction of the chief of archeological research in the Midwest Region, and stipulated that all recovered historical artifacts other than treasure would be deemed U.S. property and turned over to the federal manager of the wildlife refuge.⁴⁸

Having determined where to search, the salvors used fluxgate magnetometers to pinpoint where to dig. Magnetometers measure slight variations in the Earth's magnetic field to form a picture of anomalies beneath the ground surface. Once the buried wreck was detected, the salvors took magnetometer readings at five-foot intervals over an area of approximately 190 by 60 feet to obtain a picture of the wreck's likely orientation. A composite of the magnetometer readouts showed two hotspots, which

⁴⁸Jerome E. Petsche, *The Steamboat Bertrand: History, Excavation, and Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1974), 1-3, 21-27.

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turned out to be iron plows, cannonballs, steel bars, and kegs of iron nails positioned fore and aft in the hold.⁴⁹

Excavation began in March 1968. At a depth of ten feet the excavators struck the water table and began to employ water pumps. At a depth of fifteen feet, slumping around the edge of the hole became a serious impediment to further progress. The salvors used a water pipe jet to probe deeper into the ground and determine how far below the surface the wreck lay buried. They located the top decking at thirteen feet depth below the water table. To continue the excavation, they had to sink wells around the site to intercept the ground water. They gained access to the stern section and recovered a slice of the cargo. Among the items were farm tools, engine parts, plumbing fixtures, lamps of various styles, hogsheads of salted meat, kegs of powder, boxes of mirrors, bar glasses, and approximately 800 intact bottles of Dr. Hostetter's bitters.⁵⁰

Work halted in January due to cold temperatures and equipment problems. The contractors and the government amended the contract to provide for more dewatering. When the dig resumed in the spring, the operation grew in size and complexity until there were 210 wells pumping 4,100 gallons of water per minute constantly to keep the pit from filling back up with water. Finally, in June 1969, the wreck was unearthed and dewatered to the extent that the entire deck was exposed, and the boat's cargo could be systematically removed. By that point, more than a year into the process, the excavation had morphed from a treasure hunt into a major federal salvage archeology project. While the yield of mercury proved a disappointment, the rest of the cargo promised to be a unique time capsule of mid-nineteenth century commerce on the Missouri.⁵¹

When the former RBS became the Midwest Archeological Center on July 1, 1969, the *Bertrand* project was in full swing with a crew of sixty at work. The crew members were then mainly focused on extracting cargo and recording the cargo's cornucopia of fragile artifacts. That summer, the assistant secretary for fish, wildlife and parks recognized the historical significance of the recovery effort and directed the NPS to spend no less than \$140,000 per year on the project (almost \$1,000,000 in today's dollars) diverting money from other archeological salvage projects as needed. Logan, among others, regarded the assistant secretary's directive as meddling, and believed it played havoc with MWAC's budget priorities. In a set of briefing notes prepared shortly before his departure, Logan wrote that the moneys diverted to the *Bertrand* "forced curtailment of expenditures for [other] archeological salvage, with consequent damage to the quality of work performed, and caused considerable anger and discontent among the members of the professional archeological community on the several campuses of this Region. Contracting institutions as a whole have been very hostile to the *Bertrand* project." Logan even went so far as to declare that the project was "one of the great disasters of the

⁴⁹ Petsche, *The Steamboat Bertrand*, 28.

⁵⁰ National Park Service, *Archeology Program Fiscal Year 1969* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1969), 18.

⁵¹ Petsche, *The Steamboat Bertrand*, 32-39. Based on their research, the salvors hoped to recover 465 to 550 cylinders of mercury, each cylinder containing 76 pounds of the liquid metal, with the mercury in aggregate worth approximately \$250,000 in 1968, or about \$1,760,000 in today's dollars. Eventually, it became evident that the *Bertrand* had been salvaged before, probably shortly after she foundered, when the most valuable contents, including most of the cylinders of mercury, were removed.

Midwest Region's archeological programs." History would judge the overall results of the *Bertrand* excavation far more favorably, yet it is worth remembering how vexing the project was to Logan and other administrators who were closely involved. Even when he was interviewed many years later, Logan would still recall how the *Bertrand* project "gutted the salvage funds" and "shook things from stem to stern."⁵²

Logan was involved in supervising the *Bertrand* project initially through his position as chief of archeological research in the Midwest Regional Office, and then as chief of MWAC. He was assisted at times by his assistant, Jackson "Smokey" Moore, and by George R. Fischer of the Division of Archeology, OAHP, in Washington. In the latter half of 1969, Logan delegated most of the direct supervision to Jerome E. Petsche, a former RBS staff member who transferred to the NPS. Another RBS holdover, scientific illustrator Jerry L. Livingston, worked on the project as well.⁵³

Late in 1969, Logan brought Ron Switzer to the site prior to offering him a position with MWAC. As Switzer later recalled, on his first site visit the excavation was still underway and cargo was coming out of the wreck by the dump-truck load. The recovered material was estimated to total about 10,000 cubic feet. After being submerged in water and mud for a hundred years, the organic material faced rapid decomposition when it was exposed to the air. As a temporary measure, all this material was being wrapped in wet burlap and later it was transferred to 1,000-gallon steel stock tanks filled with water and fungicide and covered by tarps. However, these crude efforts at conservation could not stop many items from being lost to rot and corrosion.⁵⁴

Switzer entered on duty as the NPS project manager in March 1970. His official job title was museum specialist-laboratory director. With the help of the De Soto Bend National Wildlife Refuge manager, Switzer gained temporary use of a vehicle maintenance building. Refuge staff cleared the garage bays, built rows of shelves, installed air conditioners and space heaters, and applied foam insulation to the walls, turning the building into a makeshift storage lab with environmental controls. The burlap-wrapped cargo was arranged on the shelves by lot numbers and many though not all of the perishable artifacts were saved. As soon as the temporary lab was functioning, Switzer oversaw planning and development of a permanent lab facility on the refuge. The new structure, completed in the fall of 1970, contained a total of four laboratories equipped with various sinks, ovens, ventilators, and water blasters for treating the variety of objects.⁵⁵

⁵² Petsche, *The Steamboat Bertrand*, 30; Wilfred D. Logan, "Briefing Notes on the Midwest Archeological Center and Trends Affecting Service Archeology in this Region," no date, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC; Logan interview.

⁵³ Thomas D. Thiessen, "The Bertrand Project," Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁵⁴ Ronald R. Switzer to Thomas D. Thiessen, July 23, 1991, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁵⁵ Ronald R. Switzer to Thomas D. Thiessen, July 23, 1991, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Petsche, *The Steamboat Bertrand*, 130-32. Switzer later recalled that the permanent staff he supervised at De Soto Bend National Wildlife Refuge consisted of Barbara Daniels, laboratory supervisor; Russell Rocheford, Paula McCrary, David Evans, Kermit Hanson, and Nancy Osborn, laboratory technicians; Mary Dolinda Partsch, museum curator; and Valerie Reiley, secretary.

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The variety of perishable artifacts and the sheer quantity of items needing individual treatment posed unique challenges for curation. The material included a mixture of wooden items, canned and bottled fruit, canned meats, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, glassware, china, textiles, paper, candles, soap, and more. The team devised a system for field recording every item by lots. Eventually, an estimated three million objects were salvaged. Curation under these unprecedented conditions required consultation (with the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., among others) as well as much trial and error.⁵⁶

Besides draining resources from other archeological salvage projects, the *Bertrand* project put a strain on MWAC's own laboratory operations as textiles from the *Bertrand* were brought there for chemical treatment and curation. On the other hand, the work contributed to MWAC's early reputation as an archeological research center with unique experience and capability in collections management. Ironically, the final disposition of the *Bertrand* collection between the NPS and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) was poorly documented. The sister agencies within the Department of the Interior contested ownership of the collection, and the matter had to be resolved by a solicitor's opinion. The 1975 opinion found that the FWS, as property owner at the excavation site, had custody over the collection. Likewise, the laboratory facility at De Soto Bend National Wildlife Refuge, which was a joint project of the two agencies and was built in part with NPS-administered funds, became the sole property of the FWS.⁵⁷

MWAC's involvement with the *Bertrand* largely concluded in 1973. In October, work at the refuge laboratory facility ceased. The laboratory supervisor, Russell Rocheford, transferred to the Lincoln office for a short time and then to Yellowstone, while most of the laboratory staff was terminated.⁵⁸ Earlier in the year, Switzer moved on to become superintendent at Mesa Verde National Park after publishing nearly a dozen articles on *Bertrand* artifacts.⁵⁹ Jerome E. Petsche wrote a comprehensive report about the project and its findings that was published by the Government Printing Office and distributed by the Midwest Interpretive Association. Replete with photos and drawings, this official report also contained a preface by NPS Director Ronald H. Walker and a foreword by Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton. The federal archeological salvage project appeared to be concluded.

But three years later, in 1976, the FWS requested further assistance from the NPS in processing the *Bertrand* collection. The two agencies developed and implemented

⁵⁶ Ronald R. Switzer to Thomas D. Thiessen, July 23, 1991, Box 4, and Thomas D. Thiessen, "A Brief History of the Midwest Archeological Center," draft report, copy provided by Thiessen to the author; Carol E. Kohan, "Bertrand Conservation Laboratory: An Evaluation of the Records-keeping System," August 1, 1977, Folder 1, Box 2, Subseries D, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

⁵⁷ Jackson W. Moore, Jr. to Associate Director, Professional Services, April 21, 1975, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Dean Knudsen, Curator, Steamboat Bertrand Collection to the author, September 7, 2017 (email).

⁵⁸ Thomas D. Thiessen, , "A Brief History of the Midwest Archeological Center," draft report, copy provided by Thiessen to the author.

⁵⁹ Ronald R. Switzer, "Munitions on the Bertrand," *Archaeology* 4, no. 25 (October 1972), 250-55. For a full list, see the bibliography in Ronald R. Switzer, *The Steamboat Bertrand and Missouri River Commerce* (Norman, Okla.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2013), 360.

a subsequent “Bertrand Work Plan,” which provided for the Bertrand Conservation Laboratory to be operated by the NPS and staffed by two NPS personnel and one FWS trainee for a period of three years. For unknown reasons, this latter effort by the NPS did not involve MWAC but rather came under the supervision of the chief, Division of Museum Services, who was based at Harpers Ferry Center. Jackson “Smokey” Moore, who had worked on the *Bertrand* project in 1969 and had since transferred to the Washington Office, supplied Calabrese with a copy of the new work plan as soon as it was signed by the director.⁶⁰ The Steamboat Bertrand Collection Museum at the refuge opened in 1981, with a selection of the collection’s 250,000 recorded artifacts exhibited behind a long glass wall.

In 1988, another steamboat wreck on the Missouri was turned into an archeological find when the *Arabia* was excavated from beneath 45 feet of silt and topsoil on a Kansas farm bordering the river. Selected artifacts were exhibited in the Arabia Steamboat Museum in Kansas City, complementing the Steamboat Bertrand Collection on public display at De Soto Bend National Wildlife Refuge. In the early 1990s, Tom Thiessen reflected on the *Bertrand* project in light of the recent salvage of the *Arabia*. He found that the *Bertrand* project was an “immense success” from a historical and scientific perspective. “The details of the vessel’s construction and cargo have illuminated the material culture of America’s mid-nineteenth century frontier as no historical documents can,” he wrote.

Today, the *Bertrand*’s cargo is taking on even greater importance as a body of material culture to compare with cargos recovered from other Missouri River steamboats that sank in the mid-nineteenth century, such as the recently excavated cargo of the *Great White Arabia*, which was bound for Omaha and Council Bluffs when she sank in 1856. Analysis and comparison of the cargoes carried by vessels such as these, bound for different points on the American frontier, can tell us much about the differential lifestyles and affluence of people faced with taming the land at the very edge of settlement versus those who lived in more established and relatively comfortable frontier communities.⁶¹

The Upper Oahe Project and Middle Missouri Archeology

Among other salvage archeology projects already in progress in 1969, another one that deserves notice was the Upper Oahe project. In the field of Middle Missouri archeology at that time, the Upper Oahe project was regarded as cutting edge. This project was composed of three main archeological sites strung along the shoreline of Lake Oahe on the upper Missouri. Lake Oahe is a reservoir formed by the Oahe Dam located on the main stem of the Missouri near Pierre, South Dakota. The artificial lake stretches for 231 miles from the center of South Dakota due north into North Dakota.

⁶⁰J. W. Moore, Jr. to F. A. Calabrese, September 13, 1977, attaching National Park Service and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, “Bertrand Work Plan,” March 23, 1977, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Laboratory Manager to Chief, Division of Museum Services, August 7, 1978, Folder 1, Box 2, Subseries D, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

⁶¹Thomas D. Thiessen, “A Brief History of the Midwest Archeological Center,” draft report, copy provided by Thiessen to the author. For a comparison of the *Bertrand* and *Arabia* collections see Annalies Corbin, *The Material Culture of Steamboat Passengers in Archeological Evidence from the Missouri River* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2000).

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The three main archeological sites are known today as the Lower Grand, Helb, and Walth Bay sites.

The three sites were recorded by the RBS survey of the Missouri River, but excavation was limited because the sites were situated above the reservoir fill line. After the reservoir filled, however, wave action along the shoreline of the new artificial lake caused slumping to occur on some of the steeper slopes. By 1969, it had become clear that wave action along the lakeshore would destroy those higher archeological sites in a few more years. At the Helb site, for example, the RBS survey recorded a large prehistoric village site of about seven acres in 1966; three years later, just four acres remained – the rest had slumped into the reservoir.⁶²

In 1969, the NPS Midwest Regional Office contracted with the University of Missouri to undertake an archeological investigation at the Lower Grand site (39CO14) on the west side of Lake Oahe near Mobridge, South Dakota. The project expanded in the following year to include the nearby Helb site (39CA208) and Walth Bay site (39WW203) north and south of Mobridge on the opposite shore. All three sites were large prehistoric village sites that were threatened with destruction by wave action on Lake Oahe. Once MWAC took over the contract administration from the Midwest Regional Office, the three site investigations were collectively known as the Upper Oahe project since the research objectives and methodologies were basically similar for all three.⁶³

To understand the significance of the Upper Oahe project, it will be helpful to take a step back for a wider view of Middle Missouri archeology at this particular time, and to consider the role of Donald J. Lehmer, professor of anthropology at Dana College, Blair, Nebraska, just north of Omaha. Wilfred Logan once wrote that Lehmer's "thoughts and his research approaches are indelibly stamped on the field of Middle Missouri prehistory."⁶⁴ Lehmer provided a published synthesis of Middle Missouri archeology precisely when it was most needed, and his work re-energized the field just as MWAC was established.

Born in 1918 in New York, Lehmer grew up in Omaha. He did his undergraduate studies in the Southwest, received an M.A. in anthropology from the University of Chicago, and completed a Ph.D. at Harvard University in 1952. In the early 1950s, he worked for the RBS on two archeological digs near the site of the Oahe Dam, acquiring material that informed his dissertation, which offered a synthesis of Middle Missouri prehistory over the last millennium. Lehmer's synthesis provided a nuanced delineation of three major cultural traditions – Central Plains, Middle Missouri, and Coalescent – that dominated the area from about A.D. 900 to 1700. But his synthesis was not without some conceptual problems, which Lehmer acknowledged and continued to

⁶² Carl R. Falk and F. A. Calabrese, "Helb: A Preliminary Statement," *Plains Anthropologist* 18, no. 62, Parts 1 and 2 (November 1973), 337.

⁶³ Wood, *A White-Bearded Plainsman*, 199; Thiessen, *Emergency Archeology in the Missouri River Basin*, 60; Falk and Ahler, *Archeological Investigations in the Mobridge Area, South Dakota, 1969-1970: Lower Grand (Davis), 39CO14; Walth Bay, 39WW203; and Helb, 39CA208*.

⁶⁴ Wilfred D. Logan, "Donald J. Lehmer: A Personal Appraisal," in *Trends in Middle Missouri Prehistory: A Festschrift Honoring the Contributions of Donald J. Lehmer*, edited by W. Raymond Wood, *Plains Anthropologist* 22, no. 78, Memoir 13 (November 1977), 3.

wrestle with. After a stint at the University of Washington and then a few years with an engineering firm in Omaha, in 1961 Lehmer joined the small faculty at Dana College in Blair, Nebraska, twenty-five miles north of Omaha, where he remained for the rest of his career. Around 1963, at the invitation of Wil Logan and John Corbett in the NPS and Warren Caldwell in the RBS, Lehmer launched into a reworking of his earlier synthesis of Middle Missouri prehistory – this one couched in an administrative report for the NPS on the accomplishments to date of the Missouri River Basin salvage program. Lehmer produced a preliminary report in 1965, and then a final version – his capstone achievement – in 1971. The book was entitled *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*. It was published by the National Park Service as the inaugural work in a new series of anthropological papers.⁶⁵

As Logan later attested, Lehmer's synthesis was desperately needed. "By the middle of the 1960s, masses of information had accumulated which were in sore need of systematic organization," Logan wrote. "Many people, particularly in Washington, were beginning to raise questions as to whether the results being obtained were commensurate with the number of tax dollars spent." Logan, as regional archeologist in Omaha, thought what was needed was "an appraisal of the program, complete with a synthesis of the work accomplished, and an evaluation of past accomplishments in comparison to research trends to guide future action." Of course, it was not possible to assign an archeologist in the NPS to perform such a task, because one agency could not do an audit of another. Logan thought of Lehmer. He had once worked in the RBS and knew the salvage program from the inside. More recently, he had teamed with Ray Wood at the University of Missouri on government contracts. Most importantly, Lehmer had demonstrated in his work that he was keenly interested in further developing a synthesis of Middle Missouri archeology. So, Logan recruited Lehmer to do the study, supported him in it, and took great pride afterwards in having brought the study about.⁶⁶

Lehmer's revised and updated synthesis in *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology* essentially provided a culture history for the Middle Missouri culture area based on the system of taxonomy put forward by Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips in *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* (1958). He also followed Willey's summary of four major occupational periods on the Great Plains as set forth in *An Introduction to North American Archaeology* (1966), namely Paleoindian (to 4000 B.C.), Archaic (4000 B.C. to A.D. 1), Woodland (A.D. 1 to 1000), and Plains Village (A.D. 1000 to protohistoric and historic). Lehmer limited his overview to three of Willey's subareas within the Great Plains: Middle Missouri, Central Plains, and Northwestern Plains.⁶⁷

Then, in Part Two of the work, Lehmer focused on the Middle Missouri subarea – the Missouri Valley and the narrower Missouri River trench in that portion of the Missouri River basin where the river angles mainly from north to south across the Dakotas – where so much of the RBS salvage archeology had been done. His synthesis

⁶⁵Richard A. Krause, "Donald Jayne Lehmer, 1918-1975," *Plains Anthropologist* 21, no. 71 (February 1976), 74; Logan, "Donald J. Lehmer: A Personal Appraisal," 1-2; Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, v.

⁶⁶Logan, "Donald J. Lehmer: A Personal Reappraisal," 1-2; Thiessen and Wood, "Wilfred David Logan, 1923-1991," 172.

⁶⁷Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 25-29.

described the Middle Missouri Tradition as a more particularized and geographically focused expression of the greater Plains Village cultural tradition. The Middle Missouri Tradition was in turn divided into three “variants” or temporal phases, Initial (A.D. 900-1400), Extended (1100-1550), and Terminal (1550-1675). His synthesis also included the Coalescent Tradition (so-named because it absorbed elements from both the Middle Missouri Tradition and the Central Plains Tradition to the south). The Coalescent Tradition was divided into four variants, Initial (1400-1550), Extended (1550-1675), Post-Contact (1675-1780), and Disorganized (1780-1862).⁶⁸

Lehmer’s synthetic study energized the field of Middle Missouri archeology. Excavation of the Lower Grand, Helb, and Walth Bay sites came at the tail end of twenty years of salvage archeology projects on the main stem of the Missouri. Yet in light of all that had come before, the investigations represented a final burst of discovery, an effervescence. The work coincided with significant advances in field methodology and laboratory analysis, innovations generally associated with the New Archeology. The archeological investigations known as the Upper Oahe project came to exhibit the full potential of salvage archeology just as the federal program was shifting its focus away from water development projects.⁶⁹

Carl Falk and Stanley Ahler, students of Ray Wood at the University of Missouri, designed the Upper Oahe project. Aiming to test patterns of variability between sites in ways that had not been done before, Falk developed a sampling and recovery system that was much more rigorous than the earlier standard. Sampling was carried out according to a regular grid system. Sampling went beyond the exterior walls of house depressions to take in outer fortifications, cache pits, trash pits, and other features of the prehistoric village site. All excavated soil was processed using a fine-mesh water screening method. At the end of the screening process there was no back dirt; all of the dirt was liquified and the water went into the reservoir. “It was revolutionary in how work was being practiced in the Middle Missouri,” Falk said later. “It was a difficult and time-consuming process, but it resulted in a very different kind of information and lots of material – literally tons.”⁷⁰ In the past, salvage archeology might have turned up ceramics and a few diagnostic lithics and large faunal bones primarily of bison; now, the haul included tiny bones of small mammals, fish, and birds, fragments of lithics, charred and uncharred seeds, pollen samples, wood charcoal samples for radiocarbon dating, and more.⁷¹

In 1971, Lehmer, assisted by F. A. Calabrese, investigated two Middle Missouri sites in North Dakota called the Bagnell site (32OL16) and Cross Ranch site (32OL14).

⁶⁸Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 33, 49-54.

⁶⁹Melissa A. Connor, “Paradigm in the Rough,” in *Beyond Subsistence: Plains Archaeology and the Postprocessual Critique*, edited by Philip Duke and Michael C. Wilson (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 231-34.

⁷⁰Falk interview.

⁷¹Falk, “Analyses of Unmodified Vertebrate Fauna from Sites in the Middle Missouri Subarea: A Review,” 151-61; Stanley A. Ahler, David K. Davies, Carl R. Falk, and David B. Madsen, “Holocene Stratigraphy and Archeology in the Middle Missouri Trench, South Dakota,” *Science* 184, no. 4139 (May 24, 1974), 905-08.

The investigation led to new findings on the evolution of Middle Missouri architectural styles. Calabrese used the field research from Cross Ranch in his dissertation.⁷²

Professional collaboration between Lehmer, Wood and the NPS archeologists in Omaha, and the innovative field work of Falk, Ahler, and Calabrese, created a fertile environment for the startup of MWAC. The NPS picked Falk and Calabrese to lead MWAC because they were involved in cutting-edge federal archeology in the very place – along the Missouri trench – where federal archeology was getting a lot of attention and favorable review in the early 1970s. Although the intense focus on salvage archeology along the Missouri River trench was not to last, Falk’s and Calabrese’s grounding in Middle Missouri archeology would remain a strong asset as MWAC transitioned to doing CRM for the National Park System. For example, after Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site was established in central North Dakota in 1974, Calabrese developed an archeological program for the site. He recruited Stanley Ahler, who had taken a position at the Illinois State Museum, to return to his home state of North Dakota and join the faculty at the University of North Dakota as a research archeologist. Ahler’s first task for the NPS was to produce a research plan for Knife River investigations with the help of MWAC staff and NPS personnel on site. It led to a long-range collaboration between the NPS and the University of North Dakota, building on earlier field investigations at the Knife River archeological sites performed by Lehmer and Wood.⁷³

MWAC’s field work at the Upper Oahe sites concluded in 1973. At the commencement of the project, the Helb site was characterized as a large, fortified, earth-lodge village occupied around A.D. 1300-1500. By the end of the project an additional 15,000 square feet of living surface were exposed together with two sub-rectangular semi-subterranean earth lodges and two fortification systems. The site’s antiquity was pushed back to the eleventh century and the chronology for that part of the Missouri trench was revised. The fine-grained screening of material yielded insights into eleventh-century subsistence systems and intra-village cultural processes. The Walth Bay site yielded evidence of human use of the area as early as 6000 B.C.⁷⁴

Archeology in the Parks

As noted earlier, the RBS performed archeology in National Park System areas before MWAC came into existence. Three archeological investigations were underway in the summer of 1969 at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site on the Montana/North Dakota state line, Fort Larned National Historic Site in Kansas, and Grand Portage National Monument in Minnesota. All three efforts involved historical

⁷² Wood, *A White-Bearded Plainsman*, 202; D. J. Lehmer, L. K. Meston, and C. L. Dill, “Structural Details of a Middle Missouri House,” *Plains Anthropologist* 18, no. 60 (May 1973), 160-66; Calabrese interview.

⁷³ F. A. Calabrese to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, February 24, 1978, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, “National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center Knife River Indian Villages Research Program – In Retrospect,” paper presented at the 73rd Plains Anthropological Conference, Iowa City, October 2005, copy provided to the author.

⁷⁴ Acting Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Director, Professional Support, Midwest Regional Office, January 22, 1973, and Carl R. Falk, “Midwest Archeological Center Summary of Activities 1973,” Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

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archeology at sites featuring eighteenth- and nineteenth-century frontier installations. In the case of Fort Larned, seven historic buildings were still standing, while at the other two sites nothing historic remained above grade. At Fort Union Trading Post and Grand Portage, archeological crews tested the areas to determine the precise location and dimensions of the early-nineteenth century buildings so that historical reconstructions could proceed. At Grand Portage, members of the local Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa participated in the archeological investigation.⁷⁵

Most areas of the National Park System had not yet received even a basic archeological survey in 1969. Before leaving MWAC in 1972, Logan made a summary table on the status of archeological studies in field areas in the Midwest Region. (The Midwest Region at that time took in Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, plus two units in northern Arizona.) Out of a total of 42 areas, just 19 had ever been even partially surveyed. Areas not yet surveyed included such large, archeologically rich places as Grand Teton National Park, Canyonlands National Park, and Great Sand Dunes National Monument. Some national historic sites were not yet surveyed even though they contained archeological resources pertaining to the area's national historical significance. Examples included Big Hole National Battlefield in Montana, where U.S. troops attacked a Nez Perce encampment in 1877, and Golden Spike National Historic Site in Utah, where the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869.

All archeological surveys completed to date, Logan wrote in 1972, had been performed "by trimming small amounts of money off the M&P Archeological Salvage budget." Prior to Fiscal Year 1971, there was no separate line item in the NPS budget for archeological projects in field areas; all archeological projects had to compete with archeological salvage in areas outside the Missouri River Basin. Salvage emergency always took precedence. Those archeological surveys that had been accomplished were in many cases inadequate or partial. Yellowstone National Park, for example, still needed survey in its vast backcountry. Hovenweep National Monument, in Colorado and Utah, was only 20 percent surveyed and many of its ruins needed stabilization.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ National Park Service, *Archeology Program Fiscal Year 1969* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1969), 17; National Park Service, *Archeology Program Fiscal Year 1970* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1970), 20. The RBS was no newcomer to historical archeology, having been involved previously with nine major salvage excavations of historic sites, according to Lehmer (*Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 194-95). See also Douglas D. Scott, "Euro-American Archaeology," in *Archaeology on the Great Plains*, edited by W. Raymond Wood (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 481-510, and William B. Lees, "Missouri Basin Projects and the Emergence of Historical Archaeology on the Great Plains," in *Dam Projects and the Growth of American Archaeology: The River Basin Surveys and the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program*, edited by Kimball M. Banks and Jon Czaplicki (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2014), 151-66.

⁷⁶ Wilfred Logan, "Briefing Notes on the Midwest Archeological Center and Trends Affecting Service Archeology in this Region," no date, p.8, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC. One park that received extensive survey in the early and mid-1970s was Grand Teton National Park (together with John D. Rockefeller National Parkway). The work was contracted through State University of New York-Albany with Dr. Gary Wright leading a team of students in several consecutive seasons. The survey resulted in a large collection and generated a number of dissertations and

Competition for funds was not the only impediment to doing more archeology in the parks. Archeologists had to overcome an institutional bias within the agency against focusing too much attention on human history in natural areas. In some cases, there was a reluctance even to acknowledge that national parks had a human history. Some superintendents tended to ignore archeological sites or deny they were part of the area's resources; consequently, surveys and excavations were often not high on area priority lists. Nixon's E.O. 11593 spurred greater awareness of cultural resources on the part of many superintendents, but not in others. Indeed, it caused more than a few people in the agency to want to go slow on inventorying those resources.⁷⁷

Archeologists pushed the term "cultural resource management" in an effort to attain parity with the natural science disciplines. In an agency strongly weighted toward the administration of national parks over cultural sites, archeologists demanded that there be a proper "balance" between the biological sciences and social sciences, natural resource management and cultural resource management, natural areas and cultural areas. NPS historians had a dog in that fight, too. In the early 1970s, the historians began a push for National Register listing of historic buildings within the national parks, including old lodges and ranger cabins built in the early twentieth century. The call to preserve such buildings came as an affront to NPS traditionalists who thought of national parks as Eden where the built environment was basically an intrusion on natural conditions. Some recalcitrant superintendents tried to burn down old buildings before they could be listed and maintained.⁷⁸

When MWAC got started, much of the archeology in parks occurred in connection with Section 106 review prior to a construction project. Some Section 106 work was performed by NPS archeologists attached to park units or regional office staff; most of it, however, was contracted out. Some of the contracts for Section 106 archeology projects were administered by regional offices and others were administered by the NPS service centers that were directly involved in planning and design of the construction projects. Around eighteen contracts totaling more than \$150,000 of archeology work got transferred from the service centers to MWAC in 1973. Those contracts marked the beginning of a growing mass of "in-house" or NPS-generated contracts for archeological work that MWAC would oversee.⁷⁹

Among the contracted projects that were transferred to MWAC in 1973, there was one large one for \$90,800. It was with the University of Colorado for archeological survey at Mesa Verde National Park in connection with a road construction project to provide public access to Wetherill Mesa. The project had been in progress since 1965 and was nearing completion. There was another contract for \$12,500 with the University of Colorado for archeology at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site. There was

theses.

⁷⁷ Director to Regional Directors, December 18, 1973, Folder 8, Box 9, Ernest Connally Collection, HFC. See also Kelly, "Archaeology in the National Park Service," 274-82.

⁷⁸ Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig,"* 64-69; Stephanie S. Toothman, "Cultural Resource Management in Natural Areas of the National Park System," *The Public Historian* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1987), 64-76.

⁷⁹ Acting Chief, MWAC, to Archeologist, DSC, April 27, 1973, and list titled Western Service Center Projects Transferred to Midwest Archeological Center, no date, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

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a contract with the University of North Dakota for \$11,500 for archeology at Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area in Montana. All the other contracts transferred to MWAC ranged in size from \$11,000 down to \$500. The contracted projects were in various stages of completion. In one case, a contract with the Minnesota Historical Society for archeological work at Grand Portage National Monument, MWAC had written the contract on the Service Center's behalf in 1970 only to have the contract transferred back to MWAC three years later.⁸⁰

When MWAC began operations the NPS had an Eastern Office of Design and Construction in Philadelphia and a Western Office of Design and Construction in San Francisco. Like the archeological research centers, the service centers were in a state of flux. The Philadelphia office was replaced by a new Eastern Service Center in Washington, and the San Francisco office was renamed the Western Service Center. In 1971, the two service centers were abolished and replaced by a new Denver Service Center.⁸¹ In this reorganization of the NPS design and construction staff, contracts were not the only thing that got transferred; there was a concerted effort to move positions and personnel out to parks and regional offices. The number of employees in the service centers was reduced from 580 to 350. It was a tumultuous time for the service center personnel. Many of them had to uproot their families and sell their houses in order to follow their jobs to Denver. When the Eastern Service Center and Western Service Center staffs were combined, they found they had philosophical differences. Their differences mostly reflected the fact that cultural area parks predominated in the East while natural area parks predominated in the West. The new manager for the Denver Service Center was Glenn O. Hendrix, former chief of the Western Service Center. Inevitably, many of the former Eastern Service Center staff perceived a bias in Hendrix's leadership and thought the former Western Service Center staff received preferential treatment in job placement within the new entity.⁸²

MWAC was not immune to the tumult surrounding the reorganization of the service centers. Logan transferred from MWAC to the new Denver Service Center in 1972, where he assumed the title of supervisory archeologist. He joined a staff group called the Historic Preservation Team headed by historian Merrill J. Mattes. As MWAC took on more archeology projects in the parks, competition soon developed between MWAC and the Denver Service Center's Historic Preservation Team. Even though Logan and Falk had worked well together at MWAC, communications between the two offices became strained. Confusion arose over the division of functions and responsibilities between MWAC and the Denver Service Center. To resolve the matter, key personnel of the two offices held a meeting in Lincoln on May 22, 1974 and agreed on a new set of protocols. In essence, the protocols called for greater formality (and, crucially, a transfer of requisite funds) for MWAC review of Denver Service Center planning documents.

⁸⁰ Acting Chief, MWAC, to Archeologist, DSC, April 27, 1973, and list titled Western Service Center Projects Transferred to Midwest Archeological Center, no date, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

⁸¹ The Denver Service Center was established on November 15, 1971, combining the staffs of two planning centers, the Eastern Center of Design and Construction in Philadelphia and the Western Center of Design and Construction in San Francisco. The establishment of the Denver Service Center is discussed further later in the chapter.

⁸² Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 328; Gerald Patten interview by Theodore Catton, May 7, 2008.

The supervisory archeologist in Denver (Logan) was to serve as liaison between the large planning staff in Denver and MWAC.⁸³

There was also a realignment of NPS regions in January 1974 with significant implications for MWAC's changing workload. The Rocky Mountain Region was created, and a new Rocky Mountain Regional Office was opened in Denver. The Midwest Region was drastically realigned, losing six states to the Rocky Mountain Region and gaining six states from the Northeast Region. As the realignment shook out, it was determined that MWAC would provide archeological services to both the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions.

The consolidation of the service centers and the realignment of regions were not unrelated to the rise and decline of the OAHP discussed earlier in the chapter. All these changes came about at the end of Hartzog's directorship (1964-1972) and during the short directorship of Ronald Walker (January 7, 1973 to January 3, 1975). In *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (1984), Ronald A. Foresta described the early to mid-1970s as a turning point for the NPS that cost it some of its former vitality. Hartzog was the last in a line of strong directors going back to Mather and Albright and the NPS's founding years. Starting with the Nixon administration, NPS directors changed with each new president and were generally weaker, with power shifting upward to the assistant secretary of the interior as well as downward to the regional directors. Furthermore, the NPS, like other agencies, lost much control over its budget to the new Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Foresta characterized the overall effect as "centrifugal forces" acting on the agency to push power and initiative out to its subunits in the field. As regional directors and the superintendents of the bigger national parks came to wield more power, the NPS became more susceptible to the influence of individual members of Congress and local interest groups.⁸⁴

In the same week that MWAC leadership met with representatives of the Denver Service Center's Historic Preservation Team to clarify their division of functions and responsibilities, MWAC hosted meetings with the professional service units of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions to hold a similar exchange with them. Five years after MWAC was created from the RBS, its park archeology mission was at last coming into clear focus. During the next month, MWAC initiated eight purchase orders and three contracts totaling \$91,300 for archeological survey and investigations in National Park System units. These included projects in Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Wisconsin; Sleeping Bear Sand Dunes National Lakeshore, Michigan; and Mound City Group National Monument, Ohio – areas in states recently added to the Midwest Region, as well as projects in Arches National Park, Utah; Black Canyon National Monument, Colorado; Canyonlands National Park, Utah; and Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument, Colorado – areas in the Rocky Mountain Region. By the year 1975, MWAC offered archeological services to a total of 67 units in 16 states.⁸⁵

⁸³ Manager, Denver Service Center to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, May 14, 1974, and Michael Sue Haram, Minutes of Meeting, June 3, 1974, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

⁸⁴ Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984), 74-91.

⁸⁵ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Directors, Midwest Region and Rocky

NPS Archeology Bifurcated

It remains to explain what happened to the NPS archeology program on the national level after the OAHF lost influence and gave up oversight of park archeology. The line between so-called “in-house” and “out-house” projects was more sharply drawn. While the four archeological centers were to focus on park archeology, an entirely different staff group was formed to administer the Interagency Archeological Salvage Program.⁸⁶

The new staff group was called the Interagency Archeological Services Division (IASD). Planning for it began in 1973 and accelerated through 1974. The division was formally established in June 1975. The effect of the new division on the existing archeological research centers was to cut off the centers’ external programs funding, making them almost wholly dependent on the regions and Operation of the National Park System (ONPS) base funding for their survival. Just as Moss-Bennett became law, the NPS stood up the IASD and assigned the new class of salvage archeology projects under Moss-Bennett to it. Moneys that would have started to flow to the centers for those projects went to the IASD instead.⁸⁷

The IASD was charged with oversight of four separate programs concerned with historic preservation and archeology (all previously within the purview of MWAC and the other centers). They were: 1) the interagency salvage archeology projects that were now authorized under Moss-Bennett, 2) the Antiquities Act Permit Program provided for by the 1906 act, 3) the Executive Order Consultant Program provided for by Executive Order 11593, and 4) the Environmental Impact Statement Review Program provided for by NEPA. The NPS’s salvage archeology program known up to this time as the Interagency Archeological Services Program was restyled the Interagency Management Program for Archeological Conservation. With Moss-Bennett authorizing an allocation of up to one percent of federal construction project dollars to archeology, the interagency program was by far the largest program. Of course, most of the interagency dollars were pass-through moneys that went to universities for contract archeology.⁸⁸

The new IASD consisted of around 50 full-time permanent positions, including all professional, administrative, and clerical positions. The positions were apportioned fairly evenly between the Washington Office and three field offices. The geographical area of the United States was divided into Atlantic, Central, and Pacific divisions, and a field office was set up for each division in Atlanta, Georgia; Denver, Colorado; and

Mountain Region, July 17, 1974, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁸⁶ Director to Regional Directors, December 18, 1973, File 8, Box 9, Ernest Connally Collection, HFC.

⁸⁷ Associate Director, Administration to Regional Directors, August 31, 1973, and Robert L. Giles, Acting Regional Director, to Associate Director, November 30, 1973, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Anonymous, “Interagency Archeological Salvage Program,” no date, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Nathaniel P. Reed, Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks to Loren Rivard, Assistant to the Secretary, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁸⁸ Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, “Implementation of the Realigned Programs of the Interagency Services Division,” June 20, 1974, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

San Francisco, California. The cities were selected to match up as much as possible with major field offices of client federal agencies such as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Bureau of Reclamation, and Bureau of Indian Affairs. The cities were also “federal cities,” designated as such by the Nixon administration with the aim of moving large numbers of federal employees out of the nation’s capital to regional centers of federal administration.

The organization of the IASD completed the realignment of the NPS historic preservation program. Each IASD field office operated with around a dozen staff, including a cadre of a half dozen or so archeologists, and was headed by a chief. So, in terms of staffing, the three IASD field offices closely resembled the four archeological research centers. However, the centers and the IASD were now on separate tracks. The centers were research facilities oriented to CRM in the parks. The IASD was structured to carry out contract administration and handle all external archeological service programs. The centers reported to the regional directors; the IASD field offices reported to the IASD program chief in Washington, who reported to the OAHP. The archeology, history, and architectural history disciplines were no longer in their own stovepipe as Connally had envisioned and Hartzog had promised. Instead, NPS archeology was split into two categories, 1) CRM in the parks and 2) external programs. The split was not total, as the centers would take on external projects for other federal agencies whenever the quantity of work overflowed the IASD’s ability to handle it all. By and large, however, the split divided NPS archeologists into two groups, one working for the National Park System and the other for the IASD on behalf of the rest of the federal government. That bifurcation of the archeology staff ended whatever hopes had existed for archeology to become one of the core disciplines in the NPS. In spite of the NHPA, Moss-Bennett, and the rise of CRM, archeology remained a second-tier discipline at best in the NPS organization.

The realignment had both long-term and short-term effects on MWAC. Over the long term, it transformed the Center into a National Park System support unit, an installation concerned primarily with fulfilling the archeological needs of the National Park System. Viewed against the backdrop of the nearly thirty-year history of salvage archeology in the Missouri River Basin, the mission-change constituted a sharp turn onto a new path. The nature of MWAC archeological investigations changed significantly. No longer featuring big excavations of American Indian village sites found along rivers and reservoirs, MWAC projects would henceforth cover a much wider array of archeological resources located in a variety of geographic settings. Perhaps a third of all projects would feature historical archeology such as remains of nineteenth-century trading posts and army forts. Compared to RBS projects, most of MWAC’s projects would be relatively small in scope, of brief duration, and logistically uncomplicated, involving shovel tests but little site excavation.

In the short term, the realignment led to a sharp reduction in force for MWAC. The staff at MWAC was heavily involved with salvage archeology projects, a legacy of its origins in the RBS. Creation of the IASD promised to interdict salvage archeology work that had been going to MWAC. As Falk later said, “It became obvious that things were going to change.” As salvage money dried up, MWAC had to find other work. As MWAC’s large salvage projects ended, archeologists would likely have to be cut from the

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payroll. Falk, as chief, had to devote a significant amount of his time to finding positions for people who would soon be apt to lose their jobs.⁸⁹

The realignment brought tough times for MWAC, but there was a silver lining. MWAC acquired its own base funding. Like a park unit in the National Park System, it was entered as a line item in the annual Operation of the National Park Service (ONPS) budget and received an “ONPS base” or allotment of funds, together with an allocation of employees or full-time equivalents (FTEs). The dollar figure and the number of FTEs were co-listed because they were correlated, with over 90 percent of a unit’s ONPS money generally going to pay for salary and benefits for its FTEs. All units in the National Park System competed for other funds in addition to their base funding to pay for such things as construction projects and research projects. Thus, when MWAC was included in the ONPS it attained a measure of financial security and stability, but it still had to tap other funding sources to thrive. It was entered in the ONPS for Fiscal Year 1975 with a modest budget of \$83,000 and an allocation of just five FTEs.⁹⁰

During Falk’s short tenure as MWAC’s chief, as it became clear to him that the salvage archeology program would be handed over to IASD, he scrambled to find other kinds of archeological assistance work and funding sources to keep MWAC in business. The *Bertrand* project, aggravating though it might have been, did provide good-paying work for the MWAC staff during the transition period when operating funds became scarce. While the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service bore some of the cost of the *Bertrand* excavation (as property owner of the *Bertrand* site), the NPS kicked in most of the money from the Preservation of Historic Properties fund. So-called PHP moneys were for assistance in interagency salvage archeology, and by 1973, so much PHP money was going to the *Bertrand* project that it was paying for most of the staff positions at MWAC. When the *Bertrand* project ended in October 1973, the PHP money promptly dried up and MWAC was on course to go off a financial cliff in the coming year. Apparently, the Midwest Region carried the Center through the transition with an allocation of “Midwest Region reserves” until the Center obtained its own base funding. The ONPS base funding finally materialized in time to avert a total shutdown of the office, but the allocation of five FTEs still left a lot of MWAC staff out in the cold.⁹¹

In the end, five archeologists left MWAC to take positions with the new IASD, scattering to the IASD’s offices in Washington, Atlanta, Denver, and San Francisco. One of those five, Tom Thiessen, went to Denver, then to Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, and rejoined the staff at MWAC a couple of years later. Another archeologist, Bruce Jones, left the NPS to take a position with the Kansas State Historical Society, and he, too, later found his way back to MWAC.⁹² Falk himself chose to leave the

⁸⁹Falk interview.

⁹⁰ Regional Director to Acting Associate Director, November 30, 1973, and Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Acting Regional Director, July 31, 1974, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Tom Thiessen, “Memorandum of Phone Call [from John Kawamoto] April 6, 1992, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁹¹ Carl R. Falk, Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Acting Regional Director, July 31, 1974, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Public Affairs Officer, Midwest Region, March 11, 1977, and Tom Thiessen, “Memorandum of Phone Call [from John Kawamoto] April 6, 1992, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁹² Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, “Implementation of the Realigned Programs

NPS and return to academia. He had come into the organization on the strength of his work on the Upper Oahe project and he was not altogether enthused about the Center's changing workload. He foresaw that if he stayed on as chief he would be doing more and more administration when he still felt committed to research and teaching. Falk resigned his position effective May 10, 1975, and Calabrese took his place as acting chief and then chief.⁹³

Those departures were not all. During the months of May and June 1975, Calabrese had the thankless task of terminating seven other staff members as their specific projects came to an end. Two more staff members who were formerly employed in the *Bertrand* project transferred to Yellowstone National Park. Reflecting back on all of that attrition two years later, Calabrese wrote: "It must be stressed that at the beginning of fiscal year 1976 (July 1975) the Midwest Archeological Center was left with [ONPS] funding for five positions. There was no overhead included in this operational base. With the removal of the Interagency Archeological Services base the Center had a deficit funding problem." It fell to Calabrese to figure out how to run the operation and rebuild the staff when the Center's ONPS base funding remained deficient to cover payroll. In the coming years, a generous flow of project funding over and above the Center's ONPS base funding would become the lifeblood of the institution. After the sharp reduction in force in 1975 Calabrese never had to terminate another employee for budgetary reasons.⁹⁴

MWAC completed its reorientation to park archeology in the summer of 1975, when it formally relinquished all of its "external programs" (interagency archeological services projects) to the IASD. All contract files and related records were shipped to the IASD offices in Atlanta, Denver, and San Francisco (mostly to Denver).⁹⁵

In July and August 1975, MWAC moved from its location at 2605 North 27th Street into the newly completed Federal Building near the University of Nebraska and Nebraska State Historical Society in downtown Lincoln at 100 Centennial Mall North, its present location. It took nearly three weeks to pack and prepare archeological collections for the move. After the place on North 27th Street was vacated, the staff spent another three weeks preparing the office and laboratory areas in the new space, unpacking and arranging collections, and making an inventory of equipment that was now surplus.⁹⁶

of the Interagency Services Division," no date, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Logan interview; Falk interview.

⁹³ Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, "Implementation of the Realigned Programs of the Interagency Services Division," June 20, 1974, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Falk interview; Calabrese interview; F. A. Calabrese, "Quarterly summary of activities," July 16, 1975, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁹⁴ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, to Public Affairs Officer, Midwest Region, March 11, 1977, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Calabrese interview.

⁹⁵ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, July 16, 1975 and October 2, 1975, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁹⁶ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Public Affairs Officer, Midwest Region, March 11, 1977, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC. Carl Falk discussed locating MWAC on the campus of the University of Nebraska with university administrators, but the university was unable to provide adequate space. (Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, July 17, 1974, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.)

CHAPTER THREE SERVING TWO REGIONS

MWAC had just five staff archeologists and a budget of less than \$100,000 in 1975. Twenty years later, it had nearly 50 full-time employees and a budget of over \$4 million. The Center began this period of two decades struggling to make itself known to all the parks in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions. At the end of the period its reputation and role in the NPS were firmly established. The period from 1975 to 1995 was by and large a time of steady growth for the Center. This chapter considers what lay behind MWAC's steady growth from 1975 through 1995, at which time the NPS underwent a major reorganization. The chapter highlights examples of MWAC's park archeology in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions as well as MWAC's pioneering work with geophysical survey techniques and its role in helping to shape the NPS reorganization.

Organizational Culture

When Calabrese was promoted to chief of MWAC in the summer of 1975, the Center was still searching for its identity. Even though the Center had completed its transition from doing salvage archeology to doing archeology for the National Park System, many questions about its future role were still unanswered. How independent would it be of the Midwest Regional Office? And how connected to the Rocky Mountain Region? How networked would MWAC be with the three other archeological research centers? Would the four centers follow the business model of the IASD, or would they shape their own course? Would MWAC staff perform their own archeological studies, or would they emphasize contract administration? To what extent would MWAC's services reach beyond the National Park System to serve professional archeology in the Plains region? What sort of relationship would MWAC have with academic institutions? Over the next several years, Calabrese would draft numerous "Role and Functions" statements for his superiors, attempting to define what MWAC was about. Meanwhile, he and his staff were taking concrete actions to form a new organizational culture.

MWAC had a challenging time establishing an identity because a lot of uncertainty about the NPS archeology program persisted at higher levels. The realignment of the NPS archeology program into external and internal wings was not well understood outside the agency or even in some units of the National Park System. New mandates for protecting archeological resources were still poorly observed in many quarters.

In the summer of 1975, a department solicitor created a stir with a legal opinion that the government's contracting for archeological services had to be price competitive. That is, federal contracts for archeology would usually be awarded to the low bidder. Many federal archeologists thought the requirement would lower the quality of work, and one man resigned in protest. Rex L. Wilson, who was head of the IASD as well as departmental consulting archeologist, tried to assure archeologists both in government and academia that the changes were for the better. He gave an address on "Changing Directions in the Federal Archeology Programs" at the annual conference of the American Anthropological Association in 1975. "There is much apprehension

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today within the archeological community as to what the federal government is up to in matters of public archeology,” he acknowledged. The following year, Wilson and four other archeologists with the IASD held a symposium at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology on the theme of “revolutionary change.” The speakers talked about the push for competitiveness in contract archeology and they tied it to a new emphasis on problem-oriented research design. They argued that federal archeology would not only engage with the New Archeology, it would help sustain it. “Our new program is going to revitalize the entire field of archeology simply because it is going to restore power to people who are qualified researchers in tune with the exciting new theoretical developments,” was their claim.¹

At MWAC, neither Calabrese nor his predecessors supported the push for competitive contracting coming out of the IASD. They had an alternative vision; they wanted to cultivate a close relationship with a select few universities while building up MWAC’s capacity to take on some archeological field work “in house” (with its own staff), thereby developing a strong, professional collaboration between the Center and the academic community. This vision had originated at a two-day symposium held at the University of Missouri in March 1970. The symposium was called by Ray Wood and drew together representatives of seven state universities, Dana College, the Kansas State Historical Society, the Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains, and the NPS. There were five NPS archeologists at the meeting: Wilfred Logan, Richard Johnston, John J. Hoffman, Wilfred M. Husted, and Chief Archeologist John Corbett. A central finding of the symposium was that archeological investigations needed to become more multi-institutional as they grew more complex and interdisciplinary. MWAC would function as a “regional coordinating center with high-level funding.” It would “set the tone for the investigations and would offer certain services beyond the fiscal reach of the other organizations.” Corbett supported the idea, and Logan tried to move the Center forward along those lines over the next two years. MWAC’s development of two laboratories, one in Lincoln and another at De Soto Bend National Wildlife Refuge, and Falk’s start on a faunal bone comparative collection for the Plains region, were two steps taken in that direction.²

After salvage archeology was removed from MWAC’s purview in 1975, the Center did not have the same pull with universities. Even so, Calabrese insisted that

¹ “Operations Evaluation Report, Midwest Archeological Center,” March 1977, Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Rex L. Wilson, “Changing Directions in the Federal Archeology Programs,” 1975, and Frank W. Eddy, Interagency Archeological Services – Denver, to Department Consulting Archeologist, October 21, 1975, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Thomas D. Thiessen communication with the author, September 25, 2017. Many of the IASD archeologists took formal training in negotiated procurement methods, as opposed to fixed-price methods that were the norm for most federal procurement. In negotiated procurement awards, technical aspects of proposals were evaluated along with proposed costs. Negotiated procurement was considered appropriate for archeological research contracts, since it was not possible for the government to draft exact specifications for such work. (Thomas D. Thiessen communication with the author, March 23, 2018.)

² Wilfred D. Logan, “Briefing Notes on the Midwest Archeological Center and Trends Affecting Service Archeology in this Region,” no date, HFC, Records of the National Park Service, Folder 1, Box 18, Subseries A, Series V Cultural Resource Management Records, Records of the National Park Service, HFC.

one of the Center's main objectives (after taking care of National Park System needs) was "establishing and maintaining an ongoing research program in the Great Plains prehistory."³ In other words, MWAC would build on the legacy of the RBS and keep federal archeology engaged with advances in the field. Federal archeology might not hold the prominent place in Plains archeology that it once had in the 1950s, but it would still be a player. Through that close collaboration with the universities, the quality of work would be raised to a higher standard and cultural resources in the National Park System would be better served.

In support of that collaborative vision, Calabrese placed enormous emphasis on the archeological investigations at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, North Dakota, which MWAC was doing "in house" in partnership with the University of North Dakota. The study not only represented a continuation of the groundbreaking work in Middle Missouri archeology accomplished by the Upper Oahe project in the early 1970s, it also showcased MWAC's in-house capabilities, which were so vital to the collaborative model. More than once, Calabrese brought the Center's support staff to Knife River to increase their understanding of the Center's mission. Earlier, Falk brought the support staff to the Helb site for the same purpose.⁴

Calabrese also promoted the Center's role in what he called "developmental archeology," by which he referred to the applied use of new technologies such as magnetic sensors and computer data processors. (More on that later.) And the Center still took a coordinating role for Plains archeologists in helping to host academic conferences. MWAC teamed with the University of Nebraska's Department of Anthropology in hosting the annual Plains Anthropological Conference in Lincoln in 1972, 1975, 1977, 1984, and 1992, continuing a tradition in which the Plains Anthropological Society met in Lincoln nearly every year during the life of the RBS.⁵

Calabrese strategically deployed MWAC's limited resources to forge strong ties between the NPS archeology program and the larger, university-based archeology community. MWAC's ties to academia began with the University of Nebraska's Department of Anthropology, with which MWAC had a memorandum of agreement.⁶ In the mid-1970s, Falk taught a course called Advanced Prehistory, Calabrese taught Introduction to Plains Archeology, and Adrienne Anderson taught Historical Archeology. MWAC developed a long collaboration with John Weymouth, professor of physics at the University of Nebraska. Working with MWAC's Robert Nickel primarily, Weymouth experimented with geophysical sensing techniques and field equipment to locate archeological resources without having to dig them out of the ground.⁷

³ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Public Affairs Officer, March 11, 1977, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁴ Thiessen communication, September 25, 2017.

⁵ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, July 23, 1976, and Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Directors, Midwest and Rocky Mountain Regions, December 29, 1978, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁶ Binkley, *Science, Politics, and the "Big Dig"*, 43-62; Fenner et al., "Hidden Heritage Resources of the Southwest: The Western Archeological and Conservation Center," 1; Ernest Allan Connally to Thomas D. Thiessen, August 31, 1992, and Carl R. Falk, "Midwest Archeological Center Summary of Activities – 1973," Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁷ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, April 17, 1975, and Chief, Midwest

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MWAC's relations with the academic community were personal as well as institutional. Falk and Calabrese invited their former professor Ray Wood of the University of Missouri to take a sabbatical in Lincoln. Falk, who was by then at the University of Nebraska, arranged for Wood to teach in the department, while Calabrese hired him as a "collaborator" to conduct research at MWAC. Meanwhile, Thiessen invited Wood to live in his home for the duration of his stay in Lincoln. Those arrangements presented an opportunity for Wood and Thiessen to produce a collaborative work of ethnohistory, *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders Among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738-1818*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press.⁸

Calabrese cultivated an important relationship with the University of North Dakota's Department of Anthropology. Archeologist Stanley Ahler was recruited to lead investigations of the three protohistoric and historic village sites of the Hidatsa tribe preserved in the newly designated Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, North Dakota. The NPS entered into a long-range research project with the university, which received about \$135,000 per year for five years. Under MWAC's direction, the Knife River archeological investigations preceded most park development and combined the expertise of several Middle Missouri archeologists including Ahler, Wood, Calabrese, and Thiessen.⁹

MWAC employed many university students. MWAC had graduate students from the University of Nebraska working part-time jobs in the lab. MWAC hired graduate and undergraduate students from all over the Great Plains and beyond to work in field crews each summer. Students acquired valuable experience doing field work and report write-up under close supervision by the professional staff. MWAC provided extensive mentoring to a number of graduate students who went on to have professional careers in archeology. MWAC teamed with university professors in offering field schools at various units, such as one held at Ozark National Scenic Riverways under the direction of James E. Price and coordinated with both the University of Nebraska and Southwest Missouri State University.¹⁰

Archeological Center to Public Affairs Officer, Midwest Region, March 11, 1977, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Robert Nickel interview by Theodore Catton, September 27, 2016.

⁸ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, July 23, 1976, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Wood, *A White-Bearded Plainsman*, 257-58.

⁹ F. A. Calabrese, "National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center Knife River Indian Villages Research Program – In Retrospect;" Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Directors, Midwest and Rocky Mountain Regions, January 16, 1978, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Thiessen interview. See also Anthony Godfrey, *Contact with Northern Plains Indian Villages and Communities: An Administrative History of Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, North Dakota*, report prepared for National Park Service, Midwest Region (Salt Lake City, Utah: U.S. West Research, Inc., 2009), and Thomas D. Thiessen, "The Integration of Cultural Resources, Research, and Management: An Example from the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, North Dakota," in *Partners in Stewardship: Proceedings of the 7th Conference on Research and Resource Management in Parks and on Public Lands*, edited by William E. Brown and Stephen D. Veirs, Jr. (Hancock, Mich.: George Wright Society, 1993), 58-61.

¹⁰ Calabrese interview; F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1983," MWAC.

Another aspect of forming an organizational culture at MWAC was deciding whether its archeologists were to be specialists or generalists. There were pressures pushing in both directions. On one hand, the increasing complexity of archeological studies called for specialization. NPS archeologists had to keep abreast of advances in knowledge on the prehistory of specific geographic areas if they were to be effective in overseeing the work of academic archeologists at places like Knife River Indian Villages. On the other hand, the growing number and diversity of units in the National Park System required that NPS archeologists should be competent generalists. NPS archeologists not only had to work in different geographic areas, they also had to range back and forth between prehistoric and historical archeology. Faced with those conflicting pressures to be specialists or generalists, MWAC archeologists inevitably became some of each. MWAC archeologists loosely divided into three geographic areas of specialization: Great Plains, Great Lakes, and Rocky Mountains (the latter lumped with the Colorado Plateau). Then they also developed more specialization in one or two units of the National Park System or a subfield of archeology. Mark Lynott, who started at MWAC in May 1978, became an expert on Hopewell Culture. Adrienne Anderson, who joined MWAC in 1973, specialized in historical archeology and performed pioneering work at Golden Spike National Historic Site, among other places. Robert Nickel became a specialist in the use of geophysical sensing techniques. Each staff archeologist had one or two specializations.¹¹

MWAC's staff was mostly male in the 1970s and like the whole archeology profession MWAC's workplace was a male-dominated environment. According to historian Polly Welts Kaufman, the entire NPS had only two women archeologists in 1970. Adrienne Anderson was among the first women archeologists with a Ph.D. when she joined MWAC in 1973. During her five years at MWAC she branched out into historical archeology "where she felt she had the most freedom," Kaufman reported, "because her male supervisor respected historic less than prehistoric archeology."¹² Anderson transferred to the Rocky Mountain Region in 1978, becoming the agency's first female regional archeologist. University archeology programs still trained far more male than female doctoral students in the 1970s, but the numbers began to even up in the next decade. In 1983, MWAC hired Melissa Connor, who had an M.A. from the University of Wisconsin and would eventually complete her Ph.D. at University of Nebraska. Meanwhile, Janis L. Dial began her long career at MWAC as a museum aid trainee in 1977. After completing her B.A. and M.A. degrees in anthropology at the University of Nebraska, Dial (later Dial-Jones) was hired into a full-time permanent archeologist position in the early 1980s. She was profiled in a 1990 publication on women at work in the Department of the Interior, her story signaling how MWAC – along with all of Interior – aimed to be a more hospitable workplace for women than it had been in the past. For example, Dial-Jones led an effort to establish child daycare within the Robert V. Denney Federal Building.¹³

¹¹ Calabrese interview; Nickel interview; Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 166.

¹² Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History*, 166.

¹³ F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1983," MWAC; U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Equal Opportunity, *Profile of Women at Work in the U.S. Department of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Equal Opportunity, 1990), iii, 13.

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Perhaps the most critical piece in MWAC's organizational culture was its mix of in-house field projects and outsourced projects. As noted above, the up and coming business model in federal archeology in the 1970s was to outsource or contract with universities and private archeology firms for all field work. Such was the basis of the IASD. Whereas MWAC's model stressed the virtues of collaboration, the IASD's model stressed the virtues of competition. Under the competitive model, the federal archeologist's role was to procure archeological services for the government from a competitive marketplace, referee the competition, and administer the contracts. Four years into the IASD's existence, some archeologists began to object to the model, saying that it was "necessary to have regular field experiences in order to effectively manage the IAS program." Calabrese heartily agreed with that statement. From the outset, he considered in-house field projects to be the preferred method for MWAC to deliver archeological services to the parks, while contracting was the backup method when NPS archeologists had more work than they could handle. He rejected the argument that outsourcing NPS archeology would lower costs and improve the quality of work through free-market competition.¹⁴

Calabrese insisted that MWAC was able to accomplish park archeology projects more effectively and more cheaply by doing the projects in-house. MWAC had the expertise and the equipment to do the job well, whereas each time a project was contracted out the NPS had to take a chance on whether it would be done right or completed on time. Even so, MWAC had to contract out a lot of work. Its ONPS base funding put a cap on the number of full-time permanent archeologists it could have, which indirectly forced it into the mold of doing a substantial share of its project work on a contract basis. Each year, the number of contracts and purchase orders grew. Calabrese referred to the revolving set of contracts and purchase orders as MWAC's "contract program." Contracted projects took a toll on the organization's energy and accounted for a significant amount of park archeology. Still, MWAC's commitment to performing much if not most of its archeological field projects internally did set it apart from the IASD.¹⁵

Another significant element of MWAC's organizational culture was its reliance on project-based funding to maintain a sizeable staff. As MWAC took on park archeology in the mid-1970s, Calabrese grew more and more confident that the Center's burgeoning workload justified growing the Center's staff. By 1977, MWAC had added ten subject-to-furlough or temporary archeologist positions as well as another ten museum aides, museum aide trainees, clerk-typists, and other support personnel. Those in the latter group were mostly students; those in the former group were mostly starting professionals who simply had to hope that their positions would continue to be funded by project moneys. With so many people on the payroll who were not covered by base funding, MWAC began each year with a "financial deficit" of somewhere between a

¹⁴Chairman, HCRS Task Force to Director, attaching IAS Task Force Report, July 30, 1979, Box 4, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Calabrese interview.

¹⁵Calabrese interview. See also Calabrese's quarterly and annual reports, which generally followed a standard outline that began with an overview, then listed new projects in the "Contract Program," then highlighted a few projects under "Internal Archeological Field Projects," and then discussed myriad other activities, and concluded with a section on "Personnel." For critical review of the IASD, see F. A. Calabrese and Mark Lynott to Chris Therral Delaporte, Director, Heritage and Conservation Service, September 14, 1978, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

half-million and a million dollars. Yet, the projects invariably stacked up over the course of the year to keep all those staff persons employed. In this respect, MWAC operated on a financial plan that looked less like other units in the National Park System than it did like a private-sector archeology firm. Its professional reputation and its confidence in the continuing demand for its services were its major assets.¹⁶

Like an entrepreneur at the head of an archeology company, Calabrese had to go out and sell the Center's unique capabilities and quality services to MWAC's "customers" in the rest of the agency. In his annual report for 1977, he listed the Center's growing expertise in certain specializations: "direct sensing capabilities using proton magnetometers; development of preservation techniques, specifically for preservation of rock art (pictographs and petroglyphs) and ultimately for stabilization of adobe; the Knife River archeological program which includes pre-developmental as well as general research investigations; and paleoenvironmental studies including analysis of floral and faunal materials from various archeological sites." Calabrese gave lectures at universities and met with various staffs in the National Park System to advertise MWAC and sell its services and reputation. Similar to a principal in a private firm, Calabrese functioned as a rainmaker for the Center. Often, he traveled to Denver (usually flying his own private airplane) to discuss the archeology program with people at the regional office or the Denver Service Center, returning to Lincoln with more projects lined up for MWAC.¹⁷

Under Calabrese's entrepreneurial style of management, MWAC experienced a prodigious rate of growth from the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s. Its annual budget (base and project funding combined) rose from under \$100,000 in 1975 to about \$750,000 in 1982, on its way to the \$2 million mark in 1988. MWAC's FTE base rose from 5 in 1975 to around 30 in the mid-1980s. MWAC received an FTE allotment of 48 in 1987, while its base funding in that year was just \$327,100, the balance being made up with project funding. MWAC remained on a growth trajectory until the NPS reorganization in 1995. In 1994, another banner year, it had base funding of \$506,275 and project funding of \$4,080,239. The FTE allotment hovered below 50, but with temporary and seasonal hires MWAC sometimes had more than 100 people on the payroll. One measure of how MWAC thrived was that it was able to operate on a business model in which three-quarters of its payroll was paid for with project funding, which, though contingent on the volume of park projects from year to year, never faltered.¹⁸

Calabrese did not have to ride herd on MWAC archeologists to make them produce reports as Logan had once threatened to do. No enormous backlog of reports ever developed. From 1978 to 1984, for example, MWAC archeologists undertook 150 projects and completed reports on time for more than 95 percent of them. The old bugbear that had so tarnished the reputation of the RBS was deftly set aside by MWAC. Calabrese claimed that MWAC stayed on top of report-writing thanks to the Center's

¹⁶ Calabrese interview.

¹⁷ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Public Affairs Officer, Midwest Region, March 11, 1977, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Calabrese interview; Thiessen communication, September 25, 2017.

¹⁸ The budget figures for 1975 and 1982 are from F. A. Calabrese, "Archeological Records: Preservation of a Neglected Resource," paper presented at 51st Annual Meeting, Society for American Archeology, New Orleans, 1986, Box 9, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC. All other figures are gleaned from MWAC annual reports.

efficient approach to report production. MWAC was an early adopter of computerized word processing, and it employed a scientific illustrator, a cartographer and technicians to produce consistent, timely, high-quality reports. He also credited the archeology staff with being conscientious on this matter. In a sense, cracking the whip to get reports written became obsolescent as the whole archeology profession grew more conscientious about reporting on the results of field work. Aiming for a responsible “sherd-to-word” ratio was part of the new conservation ethic in archeology. Put another way, digging without writing was not just a waste of fiscal resources, it was a menace to archeological resources. MWAC’s archeologists knew they were being watched. To underscore MWAC’s due diligence in completing all reports in a timely fashion, Calabrese listed MWAC’s reports by title in his quarterly reports, and he also listed all reports received from contractors. Calabrese knew that there were people somewhere in the government who were watching MWAC closely and waiting for the opportunity to criticize the archeology program if it did not produce reports. He never gave those critics an opening.¹⁹

Archeology in the Rocky Mountain Region

On January 6, 1974, the Midwest Region was drastically realigned, losing six states to a newly formed Rocky Mountain Region and picking up six states from the Northeast Region. The total number of National Park System units in the Midwest Region dropped from 49 to 25. The total National Park System acreage in the Midwest Region dropped even more sharply, since the region lost numerous big western parks like Yellowstone and Glacier and acquired oversight of a raft of smaller cultural-area units in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio instead. (Minnesota was transferred out of the region in 1971 and put back into the region in 1974.)

The new Rocky Mountain Region encompassed 40 units in the states of Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Colorado, and Utah, together with Pipe Springs National Monument in northern Arizona. The new regional office for the Rocky Mountain Region opened at 655 Parfet Street on the edge of the Denver Federal Center, a giant office park in the heart of the Denver suburb of Lakewood and a location fast gaining a reputation as “Washington, D.C. West” for its heavy concentration of regional offices of numerous federal agencies. The new NPS Denver Service Center was located three miles away at 12795 West Alameda Parkway.

On paper, the Midwest Archeological Center supported the two regions on equal terms. Lowell V. Sturgill, acting chief of the Office of Programming and Budget in the Washington Office, stated in a memo to the two regional directors that MWAC should be considered as “an independent unit from both regions, and priorities will be established on an equal basis with both Regions.”²⁰ In practice, MWAC’s relationships

¹⁹ Calabrese interview. MWAC’s annual reports occasionally referenced a backlog of reports; however, the backlog was being constantly addressed and kept to an acceptable level. See, for example, the annual report for 1986, p. 19. The better than 95 percent completion rate was reported in Regional Director, Midwest Region to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, May 15, 1984, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

²⁰ Acting Chief, Office of Programming and Budget to Regional Directors, Midwest and Rocky Mountain Regions, February 8, 1978, Box labeled “FY 82 Budget,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

with the two regions were dissimilar and unequal, and its relationship with the Rocky Mountain Region was troubled.

The unequal relationship was inherent in differences between the two regions. The typical unit in the Midwest Region was relatively small in acreage and administered by a small staff. The Midwest Region contained just two national parks in 1974: Isle Royale, embracing the remote island in Lake Superior near Michigan's border with Canada, and Voyageurs, spanning lake country on Minnesota's border with Canada. The Rocky Mountain Region contained numerous large national parks such as Yellowstone, Glacier, Grand Teton, and Zion. Large in land areas, those units also had enormous visitation, big operating budgets, and relatively big staffs. A few western parks, such as Mesa Verde and Canyonlands, had their own park archeologists. The regional offices differed accordingly: the Midwest Regional Office tended to provide units with more operational support, whereas the regional office in Denver focused more on policy, leaving operations to the big park staffs.

The units in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions were collectively different in another way. The Midwest Region had many more units that were young and still in a development stage. The National Park System was expanding to include more cultural sites and urban sites, with many new units being established in the Midwest. Obviously, parks under development required more archeological assistance than older, established parks did. In 1974, the Midwest Region had twelve units that were less than a decade old; the Rocky Mountain Region had half that number. The Midwest Region would continue to receive a much greater share of new additions to the National Park System over the next two decades: eleven new units would be added in the Midwest Region compared to just one in the Rocky Mountain Region. (See Appendices F and G for a listing of units by state, region, and year of establishment.)

One more difference between the two regions was that most of the Midwest units were closer to Lincoln. Many of them were within a day's drive and most of them, being small in area and more accessible to cities or towns, posed fewer logistical challenges when putting an archeological crew in the field. MWAC archeologists formed close relationships with many units in the Midwest, whereas their relationships with the big western parks tended to be more formal. As for the regional offices themselves, the regional office in Omaha was 62 miles from Lincoln by car, whereas a visit to the regional office in Denver required an all-day drive or a plane trip.²¹

MWAC's service to the Rocky Mountain Region began on a positive, even ambitious, note with an initiative to inventory previously recorded archeological sites in all the field areas as a preliminary step to comprehensive, long-range cultural resource management planning. Carla Van West, an archeologist with the Southwest Cultural Resource Center in Santa Fe, transferred to MWAC to head up a seven-person team for the inventory project. She was assisted by Calabrese and Anderson in developing new approaches to data collection, including use of standardized inventory forms and UTM coordinates and Mylar overlays of U.S. Geological Survey maps for showing the spatial patterns of archeological sites. Van West's team aimed at preparing a briefing statement for each park in the Rocky Mountain Region. The briefing statement summarized the

²¹Robert Bryson interview by Theodore Catton, September 21, 2016.

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data contained on the forms and maps and outlined the preservation and stabilization needs and interpretive potential of archeological resources. The initiative got started in the fall of 1977 and aimed toward being completed by the first quarter of 1979.²²

MWAC's problems with the Rocky Mountain Region began when Adrienne Anderson left MWAC to take a position as regional archeologist in Denver in 1978. Anderson's departure left a hole that, for the short run, made it hard for MWAC to provide services to the Rocky Mountain Region. To bridge the gap, Calabrese requested Anderson's help with several archeological evaluations that were programmed for the summer and fall of that year at Canyonlands National Park, Capital Reef National Park, Great Sand Dunes National Monument, and Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site. MWAC was still short-handed the following year, when the Midwest regional director asked the Rocky Mountain regional director to transfer two less-than-full-time subject-to-furlough positions from the Rocky Mountain Region to the Midwest Region for MWAC to use specifically for Rocky Mountain Region projects. In 1980, James W. Mueller joined MWAC as a supervisory archeologist and head of its Rocky Mountain Region division, finally plugging the hole left by Anderson. Mueller left MWAC in 1983 and Douglas D. Scott was hired in November 1983. Scott had a Ph.D. from the University of Colorado and several years of experience doing prehistoric archeology for the Bureau of Land Management on the Colorado Plateau and the Plains. He also brought an expertise and abiding interest in historical archeology. With Scott heading the Rocky Mountain Region division (and Mark Lynott and Jeff Richner heading up studies for the Midwest Region division – see below) MWAC at last achieved a solid claim of expertise to back up its big reach across two NPS regions and nineteen states.²³

Meanwhile, Anderson, in her new position as regional archeologist for the Rocky Mountain Region, became something of a rival to MWAC within the NPS organization. Anderson aimed at getting an archeologist appointed to the park staff for several of the larger parks in her region. She was disinclined to use MWAC when the work might be accomplished by a park archeologist or her own office. She and Calabrese might have worked out complementary roles, but they were inclined toward mutual antagonism. Nevertheless, they managed to maintain a mostly functional relationship between MWAC and the Rocky Mountain Region over the years (with the help of no fewer than three meetings with the regional director to reestablish a positive tone – in 1983, 1987, and 1992).²⁴

²² Carla Van West, "A New Identity for the List of Classified Structures," *CRM Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (June 1978), 2-3.

²³ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, July 28, 1978, Box labeled "Financial Plan – Operating Program 1978," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Rocky Mountain Region, May 18, 1979, and Regional Director, Midwest Region to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, March 27, 1979, Box 2, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, November 22, 1983, Box 1, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

²⁴ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, November 22, 1983, Box 1, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; "RMR – MWAC Meeting," June 16, 1987, File "Archeo Program FY 88, Box 2, History of the Archeology Program, WACC; Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Regional Office, July 9, 1992, Box 2, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

An early point of friction was Anderson's insistence that MWAC prepare a work plan prior to initiating any park project in her region. The work plan was not an in-depth research design; nevertheless, it gave Anderson the opportunity to review each project and play gatekeeper. Calabrese complained of the long time she took to review each plan, and the way she nitpicked over specific budget items. Their squabble over work plans went on for years. The larger issues that were brought out in their squabble were Anderson's sense that MWAC generally over-scoped its projects, and Calabrese's sense that Anderson was indifferent or downright opposed to working with MWAC despite MWAC's mandate to serve two regions. When Anderson talked disparagingly of MWAC to NPS personnel in the field, it prompted one of MWAC's supervisory archeologists to lodge a formal protest. That was in 1988. Six years later, another concerned MWAC archeologist wrote a memo to the files with the subject line, "Commonly Heard Complaints about MWAC from RMRO Archeologists." The writer cited an example in which Anderson complained that MWAC's costs for doing work at John D. Rockefeller National Parkway had run three times the costs of a contractor. At last presented with a specific allegation, MWAC was able to show that its costs were nearly the same as the contractor's costs on a per acre basis. Furthermore, MWAC pointed out that its overhead rate of 35 percent was lower than the Denver Service Center's rate of 40 percent, and MWAC's rate compared favorably with universities' overhead rates of 30 to 50 percent. It remained unclear whether MWAC suffered any real harm from Anderson's many disparaging remarks and allegations, but certainly her resentment of MWAC caused justified angst for MWAC employees, and it was that friction that lay at the base of MWAC's long-running difficulties with serving the Rocky Mountain Region.²⁵

Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site

MWAC's important Knife River archeological program was in the Rocky Mountain Region as the Dakotas were then included in that region. Congress authorized Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in October 1974, following eight years of feasibility study by the NPS. The legislation called for preservation, interpretation, *and study* of the archeological resources. At the Plains Anthropology Conference held that year in Laramie, Wyoming, Calabrese discussed NPS needs with Larry Loendorf, an archeologist in the Department of Anthropology at the University of North Dakota (UND). Neither MWAC nor UND had the resources to head up a program of archeological investigations at Knife River, so Calabrese proposed that they team up and jointly fund a position at UND under an agreement and contract. Calabrese presented the proposal at a regional superintendents' conference in Denver in March 1976. Within

²⁵ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Regional Director, May 2, 1980, File "Arch Work Plans/Scope of Work," Box 3, History of Archeology Program, WACC; Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, November 22, 1983, Box 1, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Supervisory Archeologist MWAC to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, RMR, May 4, 1988, Box 2, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; "Commonly Heard Complaints about MWAC from RMRO Archeologists," no date, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC. See also Regional Director, Midwest Region to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, May 15, 1984, responding to a communication from the Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region to the Director in which it was indicated that there were a number of problems with how MWAC served the Rocky Mountain Region. The memo is in Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

three months of its approval, MWAC and UND had a contract and Stanley Ahler was offered the position.²⁶

The project began with a tenuous commitment of funds by the NPS. Ahler moved to Grand Forks, North Dakota in 1977, but project funding was not officially secured until two years later. To get the project off the ground (and to honor his commitment to Ahler) Calabrese had to levy funds in ways that were irregular, or as he later joked, might have earned him time in federal prison. Be that as it may, Calabrese and other MWAC staff assisted Ahler in developing a detailed research plan for a twelve-year study. Dividing the project into three phases, the plan laid out a set of Phase 1 investigations to be completed in the first five years. When the project funding finally came through, it was enough to support a robust program of “state of the art” investigations.²⁷

To some in the Rocky Mountain Region, including Regional Archeologist Anderson, the relatively robust funding of an archeological program at Knife River seemed disproportionate when other archeological needs in the region were going unmet. Since the official project funding did not get going until two years into the five-year contract with UND, Anderson wanted to redirect the last two years of funding to other units at the expiration of the university’s contract. A meeting took place in Denver in December 1980 to decide the issue. Calabrese brought the chief archeologist from the Washington Office to the meeting, while Anderson and her boss, the chief of cultural resources, brought in the regional director. The chief archeologist persuaded the regional director that it would be bad practice to yank the project funding before reports were written. His argument carried the day and the NPS entered a second contract with UND for the completion of the Phase I investigations. In the final report on the project by Tom Thiessen, Anderson’s effort to kill the project was given a gloss. “This lack of enthusiasm for archeological research at Knife River was fostered in large part by a traditional bias toward Southwestern archeology in the National Park Service,” Thiessen wrote. “It was, and continues to be, difficult for some managers to understand the wisdom of expending extremely finite funds on nearly invisible Plains archeological sites while highly visible Southwestern prehistoric ruins are eroding away at a frightful rate. In short, there is always intense competition for the Service’s few archeological dollars.”²⁸

²⁶ Thomas D. Thiessen, editor, *The Phase I Archeological Research Program for the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, Part I: Objectives, Methods, and Summaries of Baseline Studies*, Midwest Archeological Center Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 27 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1993), 2-3; F. A. Calabrese, “National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center Knife River Indian Villages Research Program – In Retrospect.”

²⁷ F. A. Calabrese, “National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center Knife River Indian Villages Research Program – In Retrospect;” Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, February 24, 1978, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Stanley A. Ahler, Thomas D. Thiessen, and Michael K. Trimble, *People of the Willows: The Prehistory and Early History of the Hidatsa Indians*, (Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press, 1991), v.

²⁸ F. A. Calabrese, “National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center Knife River Indian Villages Research Program – In Retrospect;” Thiessen, *The Phase I Archeological Research Program for the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site*, 4-5.

The archeological investigations were of great importance to Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site. When the unit was established in 1974, only four archeological sites were known: Lower Hidatsa, Sakakawea, and Big Hidatsa village sites and the Buchfink site. Archeological survey resulted in the identification of 52 more archeological sites within the 1,300-acre unit. Moreover, archeological investigations disclosed that the main village sites had been occupied for much longer than previously thought. The place was found to contain an unbroken record of the development of the culture of the Hidatsa people from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, a period of about 500 years. As the Hidatsas along with their close neighbors the Mandans were viewed as quintessential representatives of the Plains Village culture, the archeological resources at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site held enormous interest to Plains anthropology.²⁹

The archeological investigations at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site assisted the NPS in making informed decisions about land acquisition and development of visitor facilities. Archeologists were able to gather baseline data in a systematic way before construction began. After waiting through a decade of archeological study, the North Dakota congressional delegation grew impatient for the NPS to ready the unit for public use, and in 1987 it applied pressure on the NPS to bring the visitor center forward on its construction projects priority list. So, at that point the Knife River archeological program had to be modified to assist with development planning; Section 106 compliance took precedence, and some mitigation was required where the construction site impinged on one of the village sites. Yet, all in all, the archeological investigations were well ahead of where they usually were in the development of a new unit in the National Park System, and the archeological resources were better protected as a result.³⁰

Over the course of investigations, the team used a wide variety of methods and techniques: aerial photography, magnetic survey, pedestrian survey, controlled within-site surface collections, problem-oriented test excavations, reconnaissance and testing in development areas, out-of-park reconnaissance, environmental and paleontological studies, chronometric studies, analysis of existing collections, rodent control and site preservations, and ethnohistorical analyses. Calabrese later summed up the range of simultaneous investigations this way:

MWAC was struggling with various ways to resolve both research and administrative problems with limited personnel and funds. We were also pursuing new approaches to archeology which fit a conservation model of cultural resource management then evolving. Our new NPS mission is to preserve and protect, not consume as we sometimes do in archeology. Our objective was to obtain data for both scientific and management needs. To this end we were exploring, at that time, new methods of data recovery.³¹

²⁹ Stanley A. Ahler to Judy Lang, January 22, 1985, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

³⁰ Byron L. Dorgan to Lorraine Mintzmeyer, Regional Director, October 18, 1985, Jack W. Neckels, Acting Regional Director, to Dorgan, November 4, 1985, Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, June 2, 1987, Area Manager, Knife River Indian Villages NHS to Michael Shene, Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, June 19, 1987, and James E. Sperry, State Historic Preservation Officer to Richard A. Strait, Associate Regional Director, July 25, 1987, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Thiessen interview.

³¹ F. A. Calabrese, "National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center Knife River Indian

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Those methods are described in several publications, notably Stanley A. Ahler, Thomas D. Thiessen, and Michael K. Trimble, *People of the Willows: The Prehistory and Early History of the Hidatsa Indians* (University of North Dakota Press, 1991) and Thomas D. Thiessen, editor, *The Phase I Archeological Research Program for the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, Part I: Objectives, Methods, and Summaries of Baseline Studies*, Midwest Archeological Center Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 27 (1993).

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site

Around the time that archeological investigations at Knife River began tapering off, MWAC became heavily involved with archeological investigations at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, also in North Dakota. Fort Union was built in 1828 and remained in use until 1867. Located near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, it was an important center of trade between fur companies and Northern Plains tribes for forty years.

The archeological project unfolded amidst a long-running struggle over the controversial reconstruction of the early nineteenth-century fur-trade installation. The reconstruction was controversial because it contradicted NPS policy, which stood opposed to all historic reconstructions on the grounds that they were inauthentic. The project was virtually forced upon the NPS by the North Dakota congressional delegation, though some believed the NPS yielded too easily under the allurements of construction dollars. MWAC was swept up in the controversy. Eventually MWAC's archeology crew drew fire for causing delay of the construction project and costing a lot of money. Through it all, MWAC acquired a massive collection of artifacts and a problem of backlog that was reminiscent of the RBS.³²

While the main excavation took place from 1986 to 1988, there was a history of archeological investigation there going back nearly twenty years. Fort Union National Historic Site was established in 1966, and the NPS sponsored preliminary archeological excavations from 1968 to 1970 under the direction of Jackson "Smokey" Moore and Wilfred Husted. Those early investigations mainly involved trenches and test pits to locate major features such as the fort's walls and bastions. Crews of eight or nine persons worked for a couple of weeks during each summer. They identified the locations of major buildings; however, the field notes, artifact descriptions, and final reports were later found to be inadequate by the changing standards of historical archeology. From 1972 to 1978, Adrienne Anderson directed her University of Nebraska students in cataloguing some of the Fort Union cultural materials that were housed at MWAC. In 1982, William J. Hunt, Jr., began working on the collection. Hunt, then a graduate student at the University of Nebraska, had a keen interest in historical archeology. Later he completed a Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania in that new field of study, and MWAC hired him as a historical archeologist in 1985. By then, MWAC's leadership knew there would likely be a major archeological investigation needed at Fort Union Trading

Villages Research Program – In Retrospect.”

³² Cynthia Grasby Baker, Chairman [sic], Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, May 14, 1986, File "Fort Union 1985-86," and Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Director, Cultural Resources, WASO, January 13, 1989, File "FOUS 89," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

Post National Historic Site, where Hunt's abiding interest in nineteenth-century forts would once again be used.³³

Pressure to develop a historic reconstruction at Fort Union Trading Post built relentlessly. It began with local community boosters, who envisioned a reconstructed fort becoming a significant tourist draw and a boon to the local economy. North Dakota's congressional delegation soon took up the cause. In 1978, Congress passed legislation directing the NPS "to study the possible reconstruction of the historic remains of Fort Union." The Rocky Mountain Region prepared the required study, *Fort Union Reconstruction Analysis*, and submitted it to Congress. At that time, the cost estimate for the project was placed at \$8,425,168, including \$584,663 for archeology (for two seasons of field work, curating of artifacts, and reporting.)³⁴

The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation later criticized the NPS for failing to consult with the Council when it prepared its report for Congress. In 1981, the NPS sent its general management plan for Fort Union Trading Post to the Advisory Council for review and approval, mindful that the plan included the historic reconstruction sought by Congress. The Advisory Council answered that it would not approve the plan without the insertion of a statement by the NPS as to why the historic reconstruction was not a violation of its cultural resource management policy guideline (NPS-28). The Advisory Council's request could not be granted because the historic reconstruction would in fact contradict NPS-28, and so the plan was withdrawn, and the project was nixed. But the local community continued to press for it, and four years later North Dakota's congressional delegation managed to slip the project into an appropriations bill. At that point, in the fall of 1985, the NPS initiated a Section 106 consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officers of both North Dakota and Montana and the Advisory Council through its Denver office. The SHPOs were mostly agreeable, but the Advisory Council was not. The NPS and the Advisory Council tried to resolve their impasse. The Advisory Council wanted the historic reconstruction to be built away from the original site of the fort to protect archeological resources; the NPS insisted it did not have that latitude. Senator Mark Andrews (Republican – North Dakota) stated in a letter to Deputy Regional Director Jack W. Neckels, "I wish to make it clear that congressional intent for the Fort Union funding is for on-site reconstruction." Citing that letter, Neckels claimed that Congress had given the NPS a mandate through the appropriation process to reconstruct the fort on site. The Advisory Council still refused to budge on its principle that the NPS should not violate its own cultural resource management policy guideline. "Because NPS is the prime conservator of historic properties in the Federal government, the Council is concerned about NPS undertaking reconstruction," wrote the Advisory Council's chairperson, Cynthia Grassby Baker. That left the NPS with but one way to proceed: the director had to sign an order authorizing the historic

³³ William J. Hunt, Jr., *Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (32WI17) Material Culture Reports, Part I: A Critical Review of the Archeological Investigations* (Lincoln, Neb.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1986), 10-11, 18-20, 40; William J. Hunt, Jr. interview by Theodore Catton, September 27, 2016.

³⁴ Jack W. Neckels, Acting Regional Director, to Robert Fink, Chief, Western Division of Project Review, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, March 7, 1986, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Director, Cultural Resources, WASO, January 13, 1989, File "FOUS 89," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC. See also John Matzko, *Reconstructing Fort Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

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reconstruction and making an exception to the NPS-28 policy guideline. Director William Penn Mott, Jr. signed.³⁵

MWAC was not silent through all of this but advised that “it would be economically and procedurally advantageous to place the reconstruction immediately off the original site.” Such a move would significantly lower the cost of archeological excavation while preserving the actual site with its irreplaceable archeological resources. The regional archeologist and the departmental consulting archeologist concurred.³⁶

MWAC was requested by the Rocky Mountain Region to prepare a cost estimate for archeology should the congressional appropriation make it necessary to proceed with the on-site historic reconstruction. The appropriation was for \$988,000, far less than the cost estimate provided by the NPS in 1979, so the regional office gave MWAC specifications for a scaled-down project (just a part of the fort) to use as the basis of its estimate. MWAC came back with an initial estimate of \$275,537 for excavation (one season), analysis, and report preparation. MWAC subsequently raised the estimate to \$370,532. The Rocky Mountain Region then scaled back the project further and arbitrarily decided on an allocation of \$175,000 for archeology. The rest of the \$988,000 was divided into \$105,000 for architectural and engineering services, \$700,000 for construction, and \$8,000 for regional office support for the archeology work.³⁷

Bill Hunt, assisted by Tom Thiessen and heading a crew of around a dozen, initiated field work in May 1986. They began with the Bourgeois House, or company officers’ quarters. They soon determined that the project was more complex than anticipated, chiefly because they came to realize that the earlier effort had only exposed the uppermost of three distinct layers of occupation. Many Missouri River forts had been excavated by the RBS in the 1950s and 60s, but none had the forty-year length of occupation that Fort Union did. As the earlier excavations at Fort Union had not gone to sufficient depth they had missed many features. With the aid of magnetometry, Hunt and Thiessen estimated that the 210 features excavated through the end of the 1986 field season represented just a tenth of what was yet to be encountered.³⁸

³⁵ Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region to Associate Director, Cultural Resources with enclosure, February 6, 1986, and Thomas F. King, Director, Office of Cultural Resources Preservation, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, to L. Lorraine Mintzmyer, Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, April 1, 1986, File “Fort Union 1988,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Mark Andrews, U.S. Senator to Jack W. Neckels, December 20, 1985, and Neckels to Robert Fink, Chief, Western Division of Project Review, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, March 7, 1986, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Cynthia Grasby Baker, Chairman [sic], Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, May 14, 1986, File “Fort Union 1985-86,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Hunt interview.

³⁶ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Director, Cultural Resources, WASO, January 13, 1989, File “FOUS 89,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

³⁷ Midwest Archeological Center, “Briefing Statement on the Fort Union Trading Post Archeological Project,” no date, File “Fort Union 87,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Jack W. Neckels, Acting Regional Director, to Robert Fink, Chief, Western Division of Project Review, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, March 7, 1986, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, Rocky Mountain Region to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, January 31, 1986, File “Fort Union 1988,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

³⁸ Midwest Archeological Center, “Briefing Statement on the Fort Union Trading Post

In the fall of 1986, MWAC was asked to provide new time and cost estimates. Hunt said it would take two more field seasons working all summer with a large crew of about fifty people. A briefing statement prepared by MWAC at the conclusion of 1986 states that MWAC discussed a figure of \$250,000 with the Rocky Mountain Region, which would cover excavation of the bastions and palisade walls but not the Indians' and artisans' houses. The figure was based on the amount of funding that the region expected to have available in Fiscal Year 1987. MWAC's estimate for completing the field work in the year after that was \$411,370, but that figure "was not offered because of its unfeasibility in light of expected total project funding."³⁹

Hunt oversaw the field work in the second season, 1987. Well-received by the local community in the previous season, now he had to face the locals' growing frustration as the project lengthened. The boosters who were closely involved were not only impatient to see the archeology completed so that the reconstruction could proceed, they were anxious about escalating costs. The initial \$988,000 appropriation, barely sufficient to get the project started, was based in large part on private donations raised in the local community, and it remained uncertain whether Congress would appropriate the additional millions to complete the project. So, the local community had a stake in hurrying the archeology along. A boosters' organization called Friends of Fort Union Trading Post invited the NPS director to visit the site, discuss the group's concerns, and check on the archeologists' progress. Mott visited in June 1987 together with two members of the North Dakota congressional delegation and the NPS chief historian, Edwin C. Bearss. Hundreds of local people came for a dedication of the newly reconstructed Bourgeois House. Unfortunately, when Mott met with the Friends group tensions spilled over and Mott unfairly berated Hunt for causing the archeology to become, in the view of local opinion, quite excessive. Hunt recalled:

When he came out [of his meeting with the Friends group] he was really angry... Superintendent Paul Hedron introduced him to me and, man, he just lit into me like nobody's business about how much time we were taking. We were standing by the foundation of a bastion, which was a really impressive structure. [Mott said:] "This looks like you've been digging it with spoons and brooms and wasting a lot of time digging this. Why are you digging this structure right here?" And I said, "Well, they're going to be building right on site. You agreed to that." And he said, "Well, you shouldn't be doing that..." A crowd was gathering around, and he was chewing me out... I thought it was really unfair.⁴⁰

Archeological Project," no date, File "Fort Union 87," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Hunt interview.

³⁹ Midwest Archeological Center, "Briefing Statement on the Fort Union Trading Post Archeological Project," no date, File "Fort Union 87," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Hunt interview; William J. Hunt, Jr., "Scope of Work and Budget for 1987 Archeological Excavations at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site," January 15, 1987, Box 3, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC.

⁴⁰Hunt interview.

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Afterwards, Hunt sent a letter to Calabrese about the incident. Calabrese wrote to Mott indicating that the director owed Hunt an apology. Mott responded to Calabrese that nothing inappropriate had occurred. However, Hunt was totally vindicated after the chief anthropologist and chief historian made a visit to the site in follow-up of Mott's visit. Prompted by the Friends' assertion that "the archeological portion of the project was out of control," Chief Anthropologist Douglas H. Scovill and Chief Historian Ed Bearss conducted an on-site review of the project in August 1987. They reported:

Archeological Supervisor Hunt clearly understands and articulates the archeological data recovery goals of the project and has a firm, comprehensive, and highly professional grasp of how archeological data relates to historical documentation and to the data needed by the historical architects to complete the designs of the reconstructed buildings and structures at the site. He is a highly competent supervisor and is accomplishing project goals on schedule.⁴¹

Scovill and Bearss found the local perception of a project "out of control" rooted in the Rocky Mountain Region's cost estimates for getting the project started under the \$988,000 appropriation, with its archeology budget of \$175,000, which had "grossly understated the actual archeological project cost." Scovill and Bearss reviewed the various cost estimates made by MWAC as called for by the regional office and found nothing to criticize. Likewise, they did not find anything out of proportion in the conduct of the archeological mitigation. "There is direct and effective line management control over the scope of the archeological work to be performed, the costs of that work and its actual execution." So, the project's problems lay in the failure to communicate the full cost of archeological mitigation for on-site historical reconstruction, a lapse of communication that had mostly occurred at higher levels between the NPS and Congress. Remedying the problem at this stage was largely a matter of finding and dedicating the necessary funds to complete the project.⁴²

The salvage archeology went forward through the summers of 1987 and 1988, while resolution of the funding issues was pushed off. In 1989, the funding shortfall was estimated at over \$1.5 million, mostly to cover the processing of artifacts, data collection and analysis, and report preparation, all of which would extend perhaps eight years beyond the completion of the excavations. NPS officials explored three possibilities for securing the money. The first option was to seek an "add-on" appropriation from Congress – always a heavy lift, since it put an onus on the sponsors of the earlier, inadequate appropriation. That possibility was foreclosed by Deputy Regional Director Neckels when he declared in March 1989 that he was unwilling to approach the North Dakota delegation on the matter. That refusal came after Calabrese wrote an offending memorandum in which he indelicately stated:

It appears the National Park Service has been willing to support and pay for the reconstruction of an historic fort and for the "bricks and mortar" aspects of the reconstruction project, but has only begrudgingly paid for the archeological excavations. We are now concerned that the Service appears unwilling to meet

⁴¹Chief Anthropologist and Chief Historian to Associate Director, May 18, 1988, File "Fort Union 1988," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

⁴²Chief Anthropologist and Chief Historian to Associate Director, May 18, 1988, File "Fort Union 1988," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

its obligations for the analysis, reporting, and curation of the resulting collection, in contradiction to its own policy and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Calabrese heard roundabout that his memo had “upset” senior officials in the Rocky Mountain Region.⁴³

The second option was to complete the archeological project from the NPS annual Construction appropriation. A project funded from that source was called Project Type 43 Archeological Data Recovery. Chief Anthropologist Scovill and Chief Historian Bearss favored that source, as did Calabrese, because it was consistent with the director's decision to authorize a historical reconstruction contrary to NPS-28. The reconstruction was creating a capital asset, and therefore the long-range commitment to archeological mitigation should fall under Project Type 43. However, more senior officials determined that the Construction appropriation faced too many other shortfalls to be called upon to cover this one.⁴⁴

That left the third option, completing the work using Cultural Resources Preservation Program funds. Those funds were known as Project Type 82 funds. They were not normally dedicated to archeological salvage projects, since construction moneys were supposed to cover that. Given the complex history of funding the archeology for Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, however, NPS leadership decided that that funding source was the last, best option. It was decided to program the roughly \$1.5 million needed for lab work and report preparation into the ONPS Appropriation, Cultural Resources Preservation Program, in eight yearly installments beginning in Fiscal Year 1990. The funds were forthcoming, and artifact processing and analysis were duly accomplished, and the backlog of data recovery was eventually eliminated as well, but sadly no monograph or synthesis on the historical archeology at Fort Union Trading Post was ever completed. Hunt found that after a decade and a half of involvement with the site, some of it contentious, he was burned out on it.⁴⁵

Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument

During the 1984 and 1985 field seasons, MWAC's Douglas D. Scott oversaw an immensely popular archeological investigation of the Little Bighorn Battlefield, Montana, a place long renowned by the American public as Custer's Last Stand. (The national monument, proclaimed in 1946, was known as Custer Battlefield National Monument until 1991 when the name was changed to Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in overdue recognition of American Indian sensibilities over the name

⁴³Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Director, Cultural Resources, WASO, January 13, 1989, Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Bill Schenk, Deputy Regional Director, March 6, 1989, and Regional Director to Associate Director, March 15, 1989, File “FOUS 89,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

⁴⁴Regional Director to Associate Director, March 15, 1989, and Chief Anthropologist and Chief Historian to Associate Director, May 18, 1988, File “Fort Union 1988,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

⁴⁵Regional Director to Associate Director, March 15, 1989, File “Fort Union 1988,” and Acting Regional Director to Director, July 25, 1989, File “FOUS 89,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Hunt interview.

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of Custer.) The area around the battlefield was scorched by wildfire in 1983, which removed scrub vegetation and presented an opportunity for archeologists to come in the following year and sweep the ground with metal detectors. The idea that archeology would shed new light on the epic battle of the western frontier, providing among other things a more definitive idea of troop movements by units that had been totally wiped out and had never made a written report, captured public attention and drew national media coverage.⁴⁶

The archeological investigation was conducted as a largely volunteer effort over two summers. In the first summer, 56 volunteers contributed over 3,000 hours of field and laboratory time. In the second summer, 75 people volunteered about 3500 hours of their time. Lead archeologist Scott laid down strict protocols to prevent follow-on hobbyists and looters from infiltrating the volunteer group. Project expenses were largely borne by the nonprofit association affiliated with the national monument. Media coverage was “incredible” wrote Calabrese, with Scott giving interviews to a host of British, Canadian, and American newspapers, magazines and radio and television stations. In the second summer, Scott was interviewed by *Newsweek* and *Life* magazines, Dan Rather of CBS “60 Minutes,” and Jane Pauley of the NBC “Today Show.”⁴⁷ The surprising media attention made Scott a celebrity within the esoteric field of battlefield archeology. Scott’s celebrity status meant that MWAC had a star archeologist on its staff, which was good for MWAC’s professional reputation and public relations. Many years later, people still associated Scott with the famous battlefield site as stories about the battlefield continued to appear in print and on cable television.⁴⁸

The use of metal detectors aided in the recovery of an extensive collection of bullets and cartridge cases, buttons, soldier’s equipment, and horse equipment. Yet, the archeological investigation gave some preservationists pause, as it appeared to contradict the Park Service’s own conservation ethic to leave archeological resources in the ground unless a construction project was going to destroy the archeological site anyway. Retired chief historian Robert M. Utley raised those concerns in a public forum, and Montana’s State Historic Preservation Officer and the Advisory Council of Historic Preservation staff in Denver joined him in questioning the project. The NPS halted the high-profile dig for several days in 1985 while it reviewed whether the project complied with the law.⁴⁹

MWAC’s research design for the archeological investigation was prepared on the basis of Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Section 110 requires federal agencies to locate, inventory, and nominate eligible properties to the National Register of Historic Places. Scott later wrote that “Section 110 advocates for

⁴⁶ Douglas D. Scott, *Uncovering History: The Legacy of Archeological Investigations at the Little Bighorn National Monument, Montana*, Technical Report No. 124 (Lincoln: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2010), 39; Robert M. Utley, “On Digging Up Custer Battlefield,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 36, no. 2 (Spring 1986), 80.

⁴⁷ F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1984,” and “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1985,” MWAC; Utley, “On Digging Up Custer Battlefield,” 82; Vergil Noble, comment on draft report.

⁴⁸ Douglas D. Scott, interview by Theodore Catton, April 30, 2018.

⁴⁹ Scott, *Uncovering History*, 40.

the full archeological and historic inventory of properties. The 1984 investigations were undertaken with this philosophy in mind.” A counter view was that the project was in violation of Section 106 of the NHPA. Section 106 requires that any federal undertaking be reviewed by the SHPO and perhaps the staff of the Advisory Council. Utley and others asserted that the project’s research design, specifically the use of metal detectors, called for Section 106 review. So, after a pause for deliberation, a Section 106 review was folded into the project and the archeological investigation was allowed to resume under its Section 110 rationale.⁵⁰

That did not stop Utley from blistering the NPS in a historical commentary published in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, published the following spring. The NPS had “managed to violate a deeply held ethic of the archaeological profession,” he wrote. “It managed to violate its own management policies.” He reminded readers of the tenets behind conservation archeology: “The very act of recovering buried data is final; it cannot be done again. Although new equipment and techniques make it much more fruitful than a generation ago, the rapid evolution of technology makes it almost certain to be even more fruitful in the future.”⁵¹

Scott respectfully disagreed with Utley, and in his book about Little Bighorn archeology published many years later he wrote:

With the passage of time and the extensive use and proven value of metal detectors as an inventory tool on battlefields as well as other sites, the technique is now routinely accepted as part of standard survey methods and the metal detector is now a recognized and standard tool of historical archeologists.⁵²

As MWAC archeologist Dawn Bringelson noted, “the ultimate spread of this technique in archeology is tied to the utility Scott demonstrated for archeological data to inform historical accounts/interpretations. If he had not been so successful at relaying the information he gathered, I doubt that metal detecting would be as widespread as an archeological technique.”⁵³

MWAC’s role in testing and legitimizing those techniques will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Curecanti National Recreation Area

In the mid- to late 1970s, the Rocky Mountain Region began to undertake park-wide archeological surveys. First called “E.O. 11593 surveys,” later described as “Section 110 surveys,” they were aimed at developing complete inventories of archeological sites in NPS areas pursuant to Nixon’s executive order on the protection and enhancement of the cultural environment, which was subsequently codified as Section 110 in the NHPA as amended in 1980. In the Southwest, where vegetative groundcover was relatively sparse, those early Section 110 surveys were usually accomplished by two persons

⁵⁰ Scott, *Uncovering History*, 39-40.

⁵¹ Utley, “On Digging Up Custer Battlefield,” 80-81.

⁵² Scott, *Uncovering History*, 40.

⁵³ Dawn Bringelson, comment on draft report.

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conducting a pedestrian survey, walking parallel transects and looking for surface scatter of lithic debitage. Due to constraints of time and funding and the nature of sampling those surveys missed many sites, but they recorded many others in areas that had scarcely received previous study. One such place was Curecanti National Recreation Area, Colorado.⁵⁴

Curecanti takes in bluffs and mesas surrounding three Bureau of Reclamation dams and reservoirs on the Gunnison River in west central Colorado. Established in 1965 as the dams were nearing completion, in the following decades Curecanti became a haven for trout fishers and campers as the NPS developed several marinas and campgrounds along the shores of the reservoirs. MWAC conducted archeological surveys of the area in 1976 and 1978, recording numerous archeological sites. Following the surveys, archeology at Curecanti entered a second phase oriented around construction-related archeological investigations as construction of visitor facilities went forward. Working ahead of bulldozers, MWAC archeologists excavated a number of sites and performed evaluative testing at others. MWAC's annual report for 1980 stated that "Curecanti National Recreation Area was the scene of the most active archeological program in the Rocky Mountain Region." Archeologist Bruce Jones supervised the crews in the field and directed lab processing and report writing by part-time archeologists in Lincoln. Archeologist Janis Dial provided additional field and lab support commencing in 1982. The spate of construction-related archeological investigations at Curecanti mainly took place from 1980 to 1984.⁵⁵

MWAC's archeology program at Curecanti revealed that the area along the Gunnison River supported a relatively large occupation in the Archaic period. Ten archeological sites that were featured in the 1980 investigations had radiocarbon dates ranging from approximately 7000 to 2000 B.P., with most radiocarbon dates falling between 6500 and 4000 B.P., or early Archaic. Several house sites with hearths were excavated, and evidence pointed to year-round habitation in some cases. These were an exciting find, as few Archaic houses had been excavated in North America at that time. Significant variation in the hearths and other charcoal-bearing features were another intriguing feature.⁵⁶

Recognizing the scientific importance of the archeological resources at Curecanti, Bruce Jones and Regional Archeologist Adrienne Anderson prepared a nomination for establishment of a Curecanti Archeological District and submitted it to the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places in 1982. A block of some 70 individual sites were included in the original nomination. By 1992, a total of 163 prehistoric and historic sites had been recorded within the 5000-acre Curecanti Archeological District.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Ralph Hartley interview by Theodore Catton, September 27, 2016.

⁵⁵Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, December 1, 1978, Box 4 of 4 of Curecanti Park Files, WACC; F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1980," and Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1983," MWAC.

⁵⁶Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, December 1, 1978, Box 4 of 4 of Curecanti Park Files, WACC; Bruce A. Jones, "The Curecanti Archeological Project: 1980 Investigations in Curecanti National Recreation Area, Colorado," typescript report, September 1982, Box 3 of 4 of Curecanti Park Files, WACC.

⁵⁷Bruce A. Jones, *The Curecanti Archeology Project: 1982 Excavations at Three Sites in Curecanti*

The archeological program at Curecanti was a noteworthy achievement by the Center, as it resulted in the identification and protection of a significant Archaic period occupation and preserved the cluster of known sites for future study. Jones and Dial produced five synthetic reports during the 1980s that Calabrese praised as “major, high quality studies.” In addition, the surveys and investigations generated some 31 in-house memoranda and Section 106 reports. MWAC staff worked closely with the superintendent and other staff at Curecanti National Recreation Area in providing consultation, assistance with interpretive displays and audio-visual materials, and interpretive services.⁵⁸

Grand Teton National Park

By the mid-1980s, MWAC was running more than a dozen sizable field projects in the Rocky Mountain Region simultaneously. One of the largest after Fort Union Trading Post was the Jackson Lake Archeological Project (JLAP) in Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming. Jackson Lake is situated in the upper Snake River drainage at the north end of Jackson Hole. Many years before the area became part of the National Park System, the Bureau of Reclamation built an earthen dam across the outlet of the lake, turning it into a reservoir with an annual fluctuation of around eight vertical feet. When the lake level was temporarily lowered in the mid-1980s while the Bureau of Reclamation made repairs to the dam, it exposed archeological sites along the natural lakeshore that had been inundated since the early twentieth century. From 1984 to 1988, the Bureau of the Reclamation and the NPS jointly funded archeological survey and mitigation around the lake’s 78-mile shoreline. During four field seasons a total of 109 sites were recorded and 23 sites were tested or excavated.⁵⁹

The size, scope, and location of the JLAP made it political from the start. Robert Rudd, director and curator of the Jackson Hole Museum in Jackson, Wyoming, enlisted the support of Wyoming’s entire congressional delegation of two senators and one congressman in putting pressure on the NPS to contract with in-state archeologists to perform the work. John F. Turner, a state senator, put his shoulder to the wheel as well. Dr. George C. Frison, chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming, indicated that it would make an excellent field project for his students at the University of Wyoming. As the state archeologist, as well as current president of the Society for American Archaeology, Frison wielded considerable influence. Those political pressures notwithstanding, the Department of the Interior stood by the decision of the NPS and the Bureau of Reclamation to use the NPS’s “in-house capability” – MWAC staff archeologists – to carry out the archeological investigation.⁶⁰

National Recreation Area, Colorado (Lincoln: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1986), 2; National Park Service, “Archeology at Curecanti,” at <https://www.nps.gov/cure/learn/historyculture/archeology.htm> <October 1, 2017>.

⁵⁸Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Deputy Regional Director, Rocky Mountain Region, May 30, 1990, Box 1 of 4 of Curecanti Park Files, WACC.

⁵⁹Melissa A. Connor, *Final Report on the Jackson Lake Archeological Project, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming*, Technical Report No. 46 (Lincoln, Neb.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1998), 1.

⁶⁰John F. Turner, State Senator to Malcolm Wallop, Richard Cheney, and Alan Simpson, May 14, 1984, Wallop to William P. Clark, Secretary of the Interior, June 29, 1984, and G. Ray Arnett,

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The threat of political interference continued through the life of the JLAP. After the first season of field work in 1985, it became evident that the project was underfunded for the completion of all data recovery. As the project grew more complex and costlier, pressure mounted on MWAC to contract with the University of Wyoming and appoint a “senior scientist” to the project team. Frison was the unnamed person of choice to fill that position. Calabrese defended the ability of MWAC’s staff archeologist, Melissa A. Connor, to run the project in the field and in the lab. One thing that Frison and the other Wyoming people found infuriating about the JLAP, Calabrese thought, was the fact that Connor and most of the crew members were University of Nebraska students. (Enrolled in the Ph.D. program, Connor took up direction of the JLAP while on a joint appointment as student research assistant and less-than-full-time GS-7 archeologist at MWAC; mid-way through the four-year project she became a full-time GS-11 staff archeologist.) Calabrese’s confidence in Connor was vindicated by an independent peer review of the JLAP in 1987, which found that the “project director in charge of the NPS field operations could not be more dedicated nor do a better job.”⁶¹

Although Frison came to admit that Connor was “entirely capable of leading the project,” Calabrese nevertheless had to accept Frison’s coming on board the project team as a consultant. Frison arranged to run a project parallel with and separate from the NPS line of test pits. Over the NPS archeologists’ objections, Frison employed a backhoe to dig a deeper and longer trench based on his hypothesis that the effort would expose a Paleoindian cultural deposit there. Although Frison’s parallel dig stretched for hundreds of feet and extended over two summers, no evidence of Paleoindian occupation was found.⁶²

With so many eyes on the JLAP, the project was inevitably criticized from two directions at once: on one hand, there were complaints that the NPS and the Bureau of Reclamation were not making the most of the opportunity to make new scientific discoveries while the lake level was down; on the other hand, they were faulted for spending too much money on it. In fact, Calabrese and officials in the Rocky Mountain Region went to great lengths to cut costs and work within a very lean budget as the Reagan administration demanded. The Bureau of Reclamation agreed to fund the archeology beyond the allowed 1 percent of total project costs, an action that required sending a formal request up through the departmental consulting archeologist to the secretary of the interior. In the end, the project cost around a million dollars. The upshot was that field work was kept to a high standard while the data recovery plan took

Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks to Wallop, July 24, 1984, File “GRTE FY 84-85,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

⁶¹ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, May 19, 1986, File “GRTE Admin 86,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Ruthann Knudson, Frank C. Leonhardy, John S. Sigstad, and Stephen Williams, “Peer Review Committee Report for the Jackson Lake Archeological Project,” November 4, 1987, Box 2, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Calabrese interview. Once, at a JLAP meeting in Denver, Calabrese lost patience with the Wyoming people, who continued to insist that the archeology would be done better for less money if it were contracted out to them. He said they could have it and started to stalk out of the meeting. He was talked out of leaving, and the Wyoming people had to walk back some of their statements. Calabrese reckoned he had called them on their bluff. (Calabrese interview.)

⁶² George C. Frison, *Rancher Archaeologist: A Career in Two Different Worlds* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014), 218-19.

a hit. Consequently, the extensive collection of artifacts took up extra space in the lab in Lincoln for years while data recovery and report preparation were postponed.⁶³

The JLAP did hold considerable interest to archeology, and Connor completed a report on its findings, which was published as *Final Report on the Jackson Lake Archeological Project, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming*, Technical Report No. 46 (1998). The research design focused on understanding 10,000 years of occupation within the context of hunter-gatherer adaptations to mountain environments. The chief attribute of mountain environments in this regard is the climatological variability across abrupt changes in elevation, which affects resource availability and engenders “periodicity” in plant gathering. To understand human adaptation in that context, it was necessary to build into the research design a significant effort toward paleoenvironment reconstruction around Jackson Lake. A further element of the research design was to understand how archeological sites along the lakeshore had been affected by eighty years of submergence under the raised lake level.⁶⁴

MWAC’s many construction-related archeological projects in other units of the Rocky Mountain Region are too numerous to discuss and have been summarized in Calabrese’s annual reports. In general, the big national parks such as Yellowstone and Glacier drew upon MWAC services more heavily than smaller units did. Other significant archeology projects included intermittent pre-construction surveys at Glen Canyon National Recreation Area from the late 1970s onward, survey and mitigation at Canyonlands National Park for the Island-in-the-Sky road project (1983-85), and a rock art documentation project at Dinosaur National Monument (1988-90).

Archeology in the Midwest Region

A dearth of national parks in the Midwest Region in no way implies that the region has a paucity of archeological resources. The region contains numerous natural-area units featuring lakeshores, islands, and river valleys – environments abounding with archeological resources – such as Apostle Islands National Lakeshore in Wisconsin, Ozark National Scenic Riverways in Missouri, and Cuyahoga Valley National Park in Ohio. It contains two parks that are spectacularly focused on archeology: Effigy Mounds National Monument in Iowa, and Hopewell Culture National Historical Park in Ohio. Being in the midcontinent at the confluence of many ecosystems and cultural traditions, the Midwest Region has an exceptionally rich American Indian history. It is home to many American Indian tribes with a strong interest in their archeological heritage. The Midwest Region also features numerous national historic sites where historic-period archeological resources are important to each park’s significance and interpretive theme. Examples include subsurface remains of structures at Homestead National Monument

⁶³ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, March 23, 1987, File “GRTE corr. 1987,” Box 1 of 9 of Grand Teton Park Files, WACC; John W. Keys III, Regional Director, Bureau of Reclamation to F. A. Calabrese, March 3, 1988, Senior Archeologist to Regional Director, Bureau of Reclamation, March 10, 1988, and Calabrese to Keys, March 17, 1988, File “Grand Teton 1988,” F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

⁶⁴ Connor, *Final Report on the Jackson Lake Archeological Project, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming*, 1-7, 139-44; Melissa Connor, “Jackson Lake Archeological Project, A Summary,” in Midwest Archeological Center, *Jackson Lake Archeological Project Research Design and Data Recovery Plan* (Denver: National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, 1987), 60-64.

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in Nebraska; the site of the fur-trade entrepôt at Grand Portage, Minnesota; the sites of Fort Scott and Fort Larned in Kansas; and the birthplace of George Washington Carver in Missouri. Other national historic sites where archeology has yielded important finds are Ulysses S. Grant in St. Louis County, Missouri; Herbert Hoover in West Branch, Iowa; and Lincoln Home in Springfield, Illinois.⁶⁵

Calabrese organized separate staff divisions for the Midwest Region and the Rocky Mountain Region in the spring of 1978. He hired Mark Lynott to head up the Midwest Region Research Management Division. Lynott formally entered upon duty on May 15, 1978. Lynott then hired Jeff Richner for his expertise in the Great Lakes region. Richner was MWAC's first archeologist with specialized knowledge about Great Lakes archeology. The Midwest division grew in the early 1980s to include one more supervisory archeologist position plus one additional lower-level permanent staff archeologist position for a total of four permanent archeologist positions. The staffing of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain divisions mirrored one another. As Jeff Richner later recalled, Calabrese wanted the two divisions to be separate and equal. "There was sharing of crew members, but there really wasn't any sharing of the permanent archeologists back and forth between those two programs," Richner said.⁶⁶

Following in the mold of Falk and Calabrese, Lynott and Richner brought a collegiality to their work at MWAC that sprang from their earlier association in graduate school. Lynott and Richner first met when they were students at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan. They both followed the recommendation of their academic advisors and enrolled in the Ph.D. program at Southern Methodist University to study under the renowned archeologist Fred Wendorf. And like Falk and Calabrese, they cultivated a relationship between the NPS and a university in the region after they joined MWAC. Southwest Missouri State University, located in Springfield, Missouri, teamed with MWAC on archeological studies at Ozark National Scenic Riverways and assisted in running a field school there.⁶⁷

Activities at Ozark National Scenic Riverways focused on gathering data that could be used by resource management and interpretive specialists at the unit to insure protection and wise use of the resources. Lynott headed a team of ten people in conducting preconstruction investigations at six locations initially. Two significant archeological sites, the Akers Ferry site and the Gooseneck site, underwent testing and excavation. The field school later focused attention on a third significant site, the Owl's Bend site. Both the Gooseneck site and the Owl's Bend site were early Mississippian village sites that yielded important information about the transition from the Woodland to the Mississippian stage in the culture history of the Ozark region.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Soon after MWAC came into existence, three units were added to the National Park System in the Midwest Region containing important archeological resources: Voyageurs National Park in Minnesota (authorized 1971, established 1975), Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area in Ohio (established 1974), and Fort Scott National Historic Site in Kansas (established 1978).

⁶⁶ Jeffrey J. Richner interview by Theodore Catton, September 28, 2016.

⁶⁷ Richner interview; F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeology Center for Fiscal Year 1980," MWAC.

⁶⁸ F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeology Center for Fiscal Year 1980," MWAC; Supervisory Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, July 20, 1982, June 14, 1983, and November 21, 1985, James E. Price to F. A. Calabrese,

Voyageurs National Park

Voyageurs National Park was established in 1971 to preserve a natural landscape of lakes and northern forest and muskeg associated with the fur trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The park is named for the historic voyager route through the U.S.-Canadian borderlands west of Lake Superior. Although the area is rugged and remote and has remained relatively untrammled since the fur trade era, it nevertheless bears the hand of subsequent exploitation by the logging industry and Euroamerican settlement in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Hydroelectric dams built at three locations in 1914 altered the natural hydrology of its network of large lakes. Lake levels are generally higher than they were before the dams existed. The regulated lake levels are more constant than they were under natural conditions of seasonal variability. Lakeshores have been affected by elevated lake levels and by the unrelenting wave action occurring year-round at or near the same elevation.⁶⁹

The NPS contracted with the Minnesota Historical Society and the University of Minnesota for an archeological reconnaissance of selected areas in the early and mid-1970s. MWAC initiated its own field investigation of archeological sites in June 1979. Lynott led an eight-person field party to conduct survey and testing, while Mona Thompson led a separate five-person team in a test excavation of sites threatened by wave action. The following year, abnormally low lake levels permitted an extensive archeological survey of normally-submerged lakeshores, and Lynott and Richner selected additional sites for recording and testing.⁷⁰

In March 1983, Lynott and Richner presented their findings from the 1979-80 archeological investigations to Superintendent Russell W. Berry, Jr. and the park staff. They stressed that prehistoric occupation sites were concentrated on lakeshores, and erosion of the lakeshores under the modern hydrologic regime constituted a serious threat to the archeological record at Voyageurs National Park. "The problem affects every known prehistoric site in the park, and the process is ongoing," Lynott wrote in a memorandum to the regional director. "Failure to take action will certainly result in the complete destruction of all remaining records of aboriginal history for this region." The action Lynott proposed to take was to mitigate the threat through a combination of salvage archeology and bank stabilization. Some archeological sites would be excavated and studied, while others would be protected in place for future study.⁷¹

Over the next five years, Lynott and Richner oversaw shoreline stabilization at three archeological sites. The technique featured placement of a filter fabric material

June 20, 1983, and Mark J. Lynott to Price, August 6, 1985, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁶⁹Mark J. Lynott, "Stabilization of Shoreline Archaeological Sites at Voyageurs National Park," *American Antiquity* 54, no. 4 (October 1989), 793.

⁷⁰Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, July 23, 1976, and Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Directors, Midwest and Rocky Mountain Regions, September 4, 1979, Box 5, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1980," MWAC; Lynott, et al., *Archeological Investigations at Voyageurs National Park: 1979 and 1980*, 7-11.

⁷¹Supervisory Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, March 21, 1983, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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on the lakeshore embankment to control erosion. Grass could grow up through the mat and anchor the mat to the slope, and native plants could colonize the newly stabilized slope. The shoreline stabilization technique was experimental and required monitoring to determine its success. When it appeared to be working, Lynott reported on the work in *American Antiquity*. Archeologists working to conserve archeological sites in similar environments followed the example set at Voyageurs National Park.⁷²

The first and most featured site in this program of shoreline stabilization was the Clyde Creek site, located on the north shore of Lake Kabetogama. From limited testing, it appeared to be a seasonal base camp representative of the Smith Phase of the Laurel Culture, dating from around A.D. 500 to 750, or the Initial Woodland period in northern Minnesota. If the shoreline stabilization held (only time would tell) then the NPS had preserved the archeological resource for future generations. The cost of stabilization for materials, field salaries, laboratory and office salaries, and travel expenses amounted to \$22,000, Lynott reported. The cost of data recovery, had the site been mitigated with salvage archeology instead, would have been twice that amount, he reckoned. More than the cost savings, however, the shoreline stabilization technique was valued as a best-practice technique in conservation archeology.⁷³

Hopewell Culture National Historical Park

The ancient mounds built by American Indians centuries before European contact have long been a source of fascination and scientific inquiry. Hopewell Culture National Historical Park in Ohio and Effigy Mounds National Monument in Iowa are two units in the Midwest Region that feature spectacular archeological resources in the form of enduring ancient earthworks. Both sites provide a window into the nineteenth - and early twentieth - century history of American archeology. Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in North Dakota completes a trio of sites under MWAC's purview that are totally focused on American Indian culture and archeology. Not surprisingly, those three sites feature in the history of MWAC as special places for MWAC's first chief and two long-serving managers, Wilfred Logan, F. A. Calabrese, and Mark Lynott. Logan had a special connection with Effigy Mounds having begun his NPS career there. Calabrese was intensely interested in Knife River Indian Villages. Mark Lynott, as MWAC's second long-serving manager after Calabrese, would develop a deep interest in Hopewell Culture.

Hopewell Culture National Historical Park was expanded by legislation in 1992 to encompass a total of six sites of ancient earthworks located in southern Ohio. Prior to 1992, the unit was called Mound City Group National Monument and consisted of a single tract located two miles north of the town of Chillicothe. The Mound City Group National Monument was proclaimed in 1923 by President Warren G. Harding. Featuring around 23 mounds surrounded by an earthen enclosure, this 13-acre cultural landscape from the remote past was originally preserved under the aegis of the War

⁷²Mark J. Lynott, *Stabilization of the Clyde Creek Site, 21SL35, Voyageurs National Park* (Lincoln: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1984), 1-13; Lynott, "Stabilization of Shoreline Archeological Sites at Voyageurs National Park," 792-801; Matthew A. Smith to Mark J. Lynott, July 23, 1987, and Lynott to Smith, July 30, 1987, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁷³Lynott, *Stabilization of the Clyde Creek Site*, 12-13.

Department because it occupied the site of a World War I-era army training camp. The property transferred to the NPS in 1933 along with all other national monuments, battlefields, and cemeteries administered by the War Department. Over the next half century, this little-known national monument attracted further archeological investigations; however, the collections and records from those studies were not well organized or maintained. As Lynott later stated to NPS historian Ron Cockrell when Cockrell interviewed him on the administrative history of the unit, the NPS did not treat Mound City Group National Monument with much respect through the years. The NPS showed an indifference even when it was called upon to consider an expansion of the unit to include other Hopewell Culture archeological sites in Ross County, Ohio. Although MWAC's archeologists and Mound City Group's superintendents were eager to extend preservation efforts to more archeological sites in the area, there were limits to what they could do, Lynott said, when the view of NPS leadership was that the unit did not really belong in the National Park System.⁷⁴

Lynott's strong interest in the unit began soon after he joined MWAC when he worked on a feasibility study for the Hopeton Earthworks site. The Hopeton site was located across the Scioto River from Mound City Group. The feasibility study built on a report by David S. Brose of the University of Michigan, which Brose completed under contract in 1976. The proposal to add the Hopeton site to the existing national monument was written into a bill but the legislative effort stalled until December 1980. Then the legislative authority was sidelined by Secretary of the Interior James Watt in the incoming Reagan administration.⁷⁵

Lynott's interest in Hopewell Culture deepened in 1983 when he and Melissa Connor went to Chicago to meet with Dr. James Brown of Northwestern University, who was conducting a study for the NPS of past archeological research at Mound City Group National Monument. Brown brought to light the serious state of neglect of the Mound City Group collections. With no professional curator or archeologist on staff, basic provenience information was getting lost and the integrity of the collections was degrading year after year. Lynott followed up on the meeting with Brown by recommending that either an archeologist should be appointed to the Mound City Group staff or the collections should be transferred to MWAC where they could be properly cared for. Neither option was acted upon.⁷⁶

In 1984, Ohioans revived the effort to expand the national monument, suggesting that it take in a cluster of Hopewell Culture archeological sites in Ross County. Congress requested the NPS to consider it. The NPS, still not keen about the unit or very interested in additions, decided the study should go to an academic specialist outside the agency. Not much money was made available for it. MWAC was told to get it done even if it had to shunt the work over to its contracting program.

⁷⁴ Ron Cockrell, *Amidst Ancient Monuments: The Administrative History of Mound City Group National Monument/Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, Ohio* (Omaha: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Support Office, Division of Cultural Resources, 1999); 309-40; Mark Lynott interview by Ron Cockrell, January 20, 1994, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁷⁵ Cockrell, *Amidst Ancient Monuments*, 318-26.

⁷⁶ Supervisory Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, November 23, 1983, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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Lynott developed the scope of work for the study. It called for an inventory of known sites in Ross County and a review of the literature on Hopewell Culture together with management recommendations. Lynott solicited bids from nine experts but partly because of the short duration of the project (six months) MWAC received just two bids. A contract was awarded to Dr. John E. Blank of Cleveland State University in the form of a purchase order for \$9,310. The amount of money (equivalent to \$22,000 in today's dollars) proved to be woefully inadequate for completing the study as MWAC had envisioned it. Blank developed a list of 101 pre-contact American Indian sites in Ross County, Ohio, but he provided no analysis to assess whether each site was a Hopewell Culture site or to evaluate the relative merits of the 101 sites for NPS purposes. At first MWAC tried to get Blank to do more work, but a peer review found the NPS was at fault for producing such an incomplete report because it had grossly underfunded the study. By then, the NPS had lost several more months without obtaining the information that it needed. At that stage, in 1986, Lynott had to take up the slack and complete a report that would respond to the congressional request.⁷⁷

Congressman John F. Seiberling (Democrat – Ohio) got a bill passed that year that provided for the addition of one nearby site, known as the Hopeton site, to the existing national monument. It also called for the NPS to produce a feasibility study on making further additions. Lynott informed Associate Regional Director John Kawamoto of the congressional directive, since it had somehow failed to get the regional office's attention. The regional director decided that the NPS would put off the study because the congressional directive did not carry an appropriation (and Seiberling was retiring from Congress). "After the deadline had passed," Lynott later recounted, congressional staff demanded a report from the Washington Office, and the Washington Office "told the Midwest Region to get it done. So, without any opportunity to do any basic research of any kind, we hastily threw together a series of meetings, which [Associate Regional Director] Dave Given took the lead on, and the Hopewell Sites Study was accomplished."⁷⁸

On the recommendation of the NPS in the Hopewell Sites Study, Congress passed Public Law 102-294 on May 27, 1992, which added four areas to the existing area of the national monument and renamed the unit "Hopewell Culture National Historical Park." The four areas, or separate tracts, were called Hopeton Earthworks, High Bank Works, Hopewell Mound Group, and Seip Earthworks. Hopeton Earthworks lay just across the Scioto River from the Mound City Group, while the other three sites were located southeast, northwest, and southwest of the town of Chillicothe, respectively. The law provided for archeological study of the areas to determine boundaries, as well as study of three other sites (Spruce Hill Works, Harness Group, and Cedar Banks) to consider their future inclusion in the park also.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Purchase Order PX-6115-4-0209, August 28, 1984, Mark J. Lynott to Dr. John E. Blank, December 27, 1984, Bob McEwen, Member of Congress, to Kenneth E. Apschnikat, Superintendent, September 26, 1985, F. A. Calabrese to Hugh E. Phillips, Cleveland State University, November 18, 1985, Don L. Klima, Chief, Eastern Division of Project Review, November 29, 1985, Calabrese to Blank, December 11, 1985, and Mark F. Seeman and N'omi Greber to Lynott, March 7, 1986, Box 3, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1986," MWAC.

⁷⁸Lynott interview.

⁷⁹U.S. House, *Hopewell Culture National Historical Park Act*, 102d Cong., 2d sess., 1992, House

Lynott welcomed the legislation with its mandate for greater protection of Hopewell Culture archeological resources. In his view it was long overdue, and the NPS bore responsibility for the unfortunate delay. “While the Park Service debated this issue about Hopeton, we lost an inch a year in cultivation on those earthworks,” he later said. “Over a foot of the earthworks was plowed down in the roughly twelve years that we debated.” It was a dismal record of missed opportunity that Lynott thought should be remembered.⁸⁰

MWAC’s Paraprofessional Training Course

MWAC’s Midwest Region staff group was nominally in charge of running a paraprofessional training course in Lincoln, though in fact all MWAC staff contributed to the effort.

The one-week training course, offered for the first time in 1981 and periodically thereafter for about 25 years, was aimed at turning select members of park staffs into CRM “paraprofessionals.” The idea was to increase the level of informed surveillance over archeological resources by people working in the field. A trained paraprofessional could discover and record unknown archeological sites or do small surveys (less than an acre) in advance of minor construction and day-labor projects. Calabrese stated in his annual report for 1981 that “the course is not intended to be a substitute for professional archeological involvement, but a training program to develop skills in site identification among park staff most likely to encounter these resources.” After one year of experience with the program, Calabrese added in 1982, “The most important aspect of this program is the generation of increased awareness about archeological resources. This has resulted in improved compliance within the parks and better communication between the parks and the Center.”⁸¹

The initiative to provide paraprofessional training in the NPS started with MWAC. Lynott had the idea and he put Richner in charge of creating the course. They based it on examples they had seen in the U.S. Forest Service. MWAC’s course was designed for NPS personnel working in field areas. It was mostly classroom teaching over four days with a fifth day given to travel for a field exercise. All MWAC staff archeologists took part in teaching it. The people who enrolled were not just cultural resource specialists but biologists, maintenance staff, superintendents, all sorts. In the first year, it drew seven participants from three units in the Midwest Region (Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, and St. Croix National Scenic Riverway). In the second year, people came from seven units in the Midwest and two in the Rocky Mountain Region as well as one individual each from the Midwest Regional Office and the Denver Service Center. The training continued to be offered on a semi-annual basis for more than twenty years.⁸²

Rept. 102-483, 1-4. The Spruce Hill Works site was eventually added to the park.

⁸⁰Lynott interview.

⁸¹F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1981,” and “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1982,” MWAC.

⁸²F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1981,” and “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center

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A few years into the program, questions arose over just how much paraprofessionals were authorized to do. When could a paraprofessional archeologist stand in for a professional archeologist, and when was that substitution inappropriate and potentially a violation of policy and law? If MWAC was motivated to train paraprofessionals to increase awareness of cultural resources, others who supported the program were motivated to create efficiencies and save costs, or as one superintendent delicately put it, “help relieve the overburdened staff at MWAC of some of their workload and speed up completion of projects in the parks.” Even the regional director in Omaha tended to view the program in terms of cost savings. Promoting MWAC’s new course to the Washington Office in 1982, Randall R. Pope wrote, “In this period of decreasing fiscal resources, the paraprofessional program in archeology seems to be one means of reducing costs while maintaining programs designed to protect archeological resources.”⁸³

Under a programmatic memorandum of agreement between the NPS and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the NPS started using a shorthand “Triple X” form in place of a full-blown Section 106 process when ground-disturbing activities were deemed to be minimal. That widespread adoption of the Triple X form in the 1980s led to the question, could paraprofessionals execute a Triple X form in lieu of a professional archeologist being involved in that process? It seems that some parks followed that practice for a while until the NPS found that it did not comply with legal requirements. In other words, it was found that the use of paraprofessional archeologists might be weakening rather than strengthening resource protection in some instances. In 1987, MWAC joined with the departmental consulting archeologist and other concerned federal archeologists in defining the role of the paraprofessional archeologist. By then, there was a sense that the genie was out of the bottle: “Whether or not we personally agree with the concept of paraprofessionals, they are a fact of life,” wrote one participant. In 1989, MWAC prepared “Draft Guidelines and Standards for Use of Paraprofessional Archeologists in Midwest Region, National Park Service.” The document included flowcharts showing roles and responsibilities for when a park initiated a project which included ground disturbance, and for when a visitor or park employee discovered artifacts.⁸⁴

The controversy around paraprofessional archeologists subsided, and MWAC went on offering the training course until the mid-2000s. Looking back, Richner saw the program as an unalloyed success. “Mark and I viewed it as not to create faux archeologists but as archeological sensitivity training,” he insisted. “Anybody that came through here would be able to go back to their park and advocate for what ought to be

for Fiscal Year 1982,” MWAC; Richner interview.

⁸³ Superintendent, Saint Croix to Regional Director, Midwest Region, October 3, 1989, Box 1, MWAC History Study Materials, MWAC; Acting Regional Director, Midwest Region, to Associate Director, Administration, January 7, 1982, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁸⁴ Regional Director to Superintendents, April 24, 1987 and April 27, 1987, Box 1, and Michele Aubrey to Frank McManamon, June 26, 1989, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Regional Archeologist, Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region to Departmental Consulting Archeologist, April 7, 1987, and Adrienne Anderson to Mark Lynott, July 10, 1989, enclosing “Draft Guidelines and Standards for Use of Paraprofessional Archeologists in Midwest Region, National Park Service,” File “Paraprofessional Training,” Box 1 National Register Tracking, History of Archeology Program, WACC.

done to manage and protect archeological resources. It also made them available so that when our crews went out into their park they could join us and be crew members.”⁸⁵

MWAC dropped the program in the mid-2000s. Part of the reason it went away was that MWAC staff were stretched too thin to provide the coordinated, intensive effort that the one-week course demanded, especially after some of the people who were most involved with it retired. Another reason was that there was ongoing concern that some parks depended too much on their paraprofessional archeologists, driving conversations inside when park managers ought to be reaching out for professional consultation. Nevertheless, paraprofessional training was still viewed as an asset and the training course was revived in 2017, addressing a stated goal in MWAC’s new strategic plan.⁸⁶

Ann Bauermeister charged MWAC Archeologist Erin Dempsey with bringing the para-training back. Dempsey worked systematically for at least six months with all MWAC archeologists to restructure the training, with the goal of streamlining it and addressing potential misuse of the program. The workshop was shortened from five to four days, with more time scheduled after the field training to focus on submission of artifacts, project records and reports. Part of the training was also offered as distance learning prior to a mandatory in-person workshop.⁸⁷

Developmental Archeology

Calabrese conceived of MWAC having a role in what he called “developmental archeology.” The term “developmental archeology” appears to have been Calabrese’s label, and it needs to be carefully defined so as not to be misleading. It was *not* meant to reference the development of national park infrastructure, as in “preconstruction archeology.” Nor did it refer to archeological theory about the development of culture, akin to “processual archeology.” Rather, Calabrese used the term to reflect MWAC’s deliberate experimentation with new technology; in other words, applications of technology aimed at *developing* the archeology profession. In that sense, developmental archeology included such things as use of computerized databases to improve how archeological sites were recorded and inventoried or how archeological collections were catalogued and managed, and later, the use of global positioning system software to improve how field mapping was done. Most importantly, developmental archeology included the experimentation with various types of geophysical survey techniques for detecting irregularities in the ground that would indicate the presence of subsurface archeological resources without digging them up. Calabrese argued that when MWAC became an early adopter of all such technologies and demonstrated their utility, it gave a valuable assist to the archeology profession while it fulfilled MWAC’s primary role to assist the national parks. MWAC’s role in experimenting with geophysical survey techniques was especially germane because it supported the NPS mission to preserve and protect archeological resources.

⁸⁵ Richner interview.

⁸⁶ Midwest Archeological Center, *Strategic Plan 2017-2022*; Dawn Bringelson, comment on draft report.

⁸⁷ Dawn Bringelson, comment on draft report.

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Calabrese established the Developmental Archeology Division Program in 1980 and it became a part of MWAC's regular structural organization as approved by the Midwest Region through the 1980s. Key personnel in the division included supervisory archeologist Robert Nickel, museum specialist Ed Sudderth, and archeologist Janis Dial. By the late 1980s, archeologist Steven De Vore was active in the program. In 1991, the Developmental Archeology Division was renamed the Scientific Information and Collections Research Division. The change of name denoted a subtle shift in emphasis from geophysical survey technology to information management systems as geophysical survey technology became more widely used and less developmental. MWAC's use of various forms of geophysical survey for mapping archeological resources continued after the term "developmental archeology" fell out of use.⁸⁸

Remote sensing is an umbrella term that includes both aerial photography and various forms of geophysical survey like magnetometry to detect sites of past human occupation ensconced in the landscape. Archeologists recognized the value of aerial perspective for detecting cultural features on the land practically from the early days of flight. The success of aerial photographic reconnaissance missions in the First World War led the British government to sponsor an aerial archeological inventory of prehistoric sites all over Britain after the war.⁸⁹ Aerial photos reveal human modifications to the land chiefly in the form of shadow marks, soil marks, and crop marks that are not readily visible up close at ground level. One dramatic example of where aerial photography has proven to be a powerful tool for archeology is at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, where individual house sites readily appear from above as shallow bowl-shaped depressions, and village sites appear as finely dimpled areas on the prairie landscape. The archeology program for Knife River Indian Villages in the 1970s included a component of aerial photography and mapping. The NPS initiated an extensive program of aerial photography and remote sensing under the direction of Thomas Lyons of the Chaco Center. Low altitude air photo coverage was obtained, and then detailed maps were drawn for each of the main village sites with contour lines drawn at half-foot intervals to show the individual house depressions. The maps gave a preliminary understanding of how each village was laid out and served as a starting point for subsurface archeological testing.⁹⁰

The Chaco Center organized a symposium on remote sensing in 1972 and published the collected papers five years later. The Chaco Center had a Remote Sensing Division analogous to MWAC's Developmental Archeology Division. Remote sensing, whether it was done through aerial photography or magnetometry, was touted as part of the New Archeology: it was experimental, searching for fresh perspective, and less concerned with amassing data than with seeing the larger pattern of culture and environment. The NPS embraced remote sensing technology because it dovetailed so

⁸⁸ F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeology Center for Fiscal Year 1980," and other annual reports through the decade, MWAC.

⁸⁹ Steven De Vore interview by Theodore Catton, November 2, 2017.

⁹⁰ Lynn B. Jorde and Jack B. Bertram, "Current and Future Applications of Aerospace Remote Sensing in Archeology: A Feasibility Study," in *Remote Sensing Experiments in Cultural Resource Studies: Non-destructive Methods of Archeological Exploration, Survey, and Analysis*, Reports of the Chaco Center No. 1 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico and U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Chaco Center, 1977), 13; Ahler, Thiessen, and Trimble, *People of the Willows*, 112.

well with conservation archeology. The Chaco Center, in concert with the NPS Cultural Resources Management Program, defined the experiments in remote sensing as preparing a methodology of “Non-destructive Archeology.”⁹¹

While the Chaco Center focused on aerial photography, MWAC pioneered the use of various other geophysical survey techniques, including resistance survey, magnetic survey, and ground penetrating radar. MWAC experimented with magnetometry – using various types of magnetometers to map spatial variations and contrast in the magnetic properties of subsurface soils. In the 1970s, use of magnetometry in archeology in the United States was still in its infancy. Magnetometry had been developed many years earlier by geophysicists for use in mapping subsurface geologic strata and for mineral prospecting. However, American archeologists only began experimenting with it in the 1970s. To look for small-scale, human-introduced features in the very shallow subsurface, magnetometry instruments had to be recalibrated and modified into portable devices that could be wheeled across the ground by hand. Although the technology showed great potential for archeological survey, it required much experimentation and painstaking effort to make it work.⁹²

The idea behind geophysical survey in archeology is to locate archeological sites by mapping small-scale variations in the soil that are invisible above ground but traceable in the electrical or magnetic field in the ground. Depending on the location and the technology employed, geophysical survey can reveal telltale churning of the soil that could only have been produced from some past human activity such as the digging of a house pit or a ditch or a grave. Some methods look for higher concentrations of iron content in the soil that might be evidence of a fire hearth or some other human influence.⁹³

Archeologist Robert Nickel’s first experience with magnetometry came in 1975 when he and Thiessen assisted Professor John Weymouth of the Department of Physics at the University of Nebraska to survey the Walth Bay site in North Dakota. The magnetic surveying was performed with a proton magnetometer using a method called differential proton magnetometry. The instrument measured the rate of “precession” or magnetic intensity of the ambient subsurface soil to a very fine degree – so fine that it could register the elevated magnetism in a patch of baked soil where people had repeatedly cooked over a fire many hundreds or even thousands of years in the past. (One early publication on the use of proton magnetometers called such small patches of disturbed earth “magnetization inhomogeneities or contrasts with the subsurface.”) As Nickel explained, the accuracy of the survey depended entirely on obtaining good data from the magnetometer. A grid was superimposed on the site and the magnetometer was run in two directions over each point in the grid, with a minimum of two readings being taken. Each readout was a five-digit number, which was entered on the spot into a computer. The surveyors not only had to take great care with the numbers, they also

⁹¹ Thomas R. Lyons and Douglas H. Scovill, “Non-Destructive Archeology and Remote Sensing: A Conceptual and Methodological Stance,” *CRM Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (June 1978), 1.

⁹² Nickel interview.

⁹³ Nickel interview; Ralph R. B. von Frese and Vergil E. Noble, “Magnetometry for Archaeological Exploration of Historical Sites,” *Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (1984), 38-40.

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had to be alert to possible sources of interference such as a buried sewer line or passing motor vehicles.⁹⁴

Nickel and Weymouth continued their experiment with the proton magnetometer the next year at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site. They focused on the Sakakawea village site, where they mapped out fifteen magnetic survey units, each measuring twenty meters on a side. Even more than the Walth Bay survey, MWAC deemed this survey to be a great success. Without turning one spade of earth, the magnetic survey located eleven houses that were visible on the surface, two to four more houses that were not visible, thirteen fire pits, two house entrances, a cemetery, and more.⁹⁵ In his writeup on the project, Nickel stated:

The recent development of lightweight highly portable proton magnetometers has made magnetic surveying applicable to many archeological sites. This technique depends upon the detection of very weak localized changes in the earth's magnetic field. These anomalies may be caused by chemical or physical differences between an archeological feature and the surrounding soil. . . . If a pit is excavated in a uniform soil and then loosely refilled, there should be a slight weakening of the local field due to the lower density of the material in the pit. If the same pit were converted to a latrine and the fill consisted of material considerably different in chemical and physical nature, it should be reflected as a local magnetic anomaly. . . . If this pit were filled with historic trash including iron it should stand out as a very strong positive anomaly. Fortuitously, most fired or baked soil products pose a relatively strong "remanent magnetism" which, in addition to that induced by the earth's present field, creates anomalies second in strength only to metal artifacts. Examples of such baked earth features include kilns, groups of bricks, aboriginal hearths or fire pits of various types. . . . In point of fact, there are very few structural features which cannot be detected.⁹⁶

By 1980, when Nickel headed up the Developmental Archeology Division, MWAC was seeking other opportunities to experiment with magnetic surveys. MWAC's first such project in that year was a magnetic survey of an area believed to be the archeological site of Old Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. Robert Nickel and Bruce Jones assisted ethnohistorian and retired professor Melburn D. Thurman, who was investigating the site under a grant from the state. The survey confirmed the location of the early townsite on the Mississippi floodplain. MWAC performed a second magnetic survey that year at Ozark National Scenic Riverway (the Isaac Kelly farmstead) and a third at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (completing the survey coverage at the Sakakawea village site as well as the Big Hidatsa and Lower Hidatsa sites). In that same year, Nickel and Thiessen assisted personnel of the Minnesota Historical Society in conducting yet

⁹⁴ Nickel interview. Von Frese and Noble, "Magnetometry for Archaeological Exploration of Historical Sites," 40.

⁹⁵ John W. Weymouth and Robert Nickel, "A Magnetometer Survey of the Knife River Indian Villages," in *Trends in Middle Missouri Prehistory: A Festschrift Honoring the Contributions of Donald J. Lehmer*, edited by W. Raymond Wood, *Plains Anthropologist* 22, no. 78, Memoir 13 (November 1977), 117-18.

⁹⁶ Staff Archeologist, Midwest Archeological Center to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, March 15, 1977, File "Proton Magnetometer Research," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC.

another magnetic survey at an early French fur-trade site near Little Falls, Minnesota, resulting in preliminary maps of the site.⁹⁷

In 1981, Nickel reached out to another expert in the field, Bruce W. Bevan of Weems, Virginia. Bevan had a private company, Geosight Inc., specializing in geophysical exploration for archeology. Bevan was an early adopter of geophysical survey technology for archeological survey in the United States. Archeologists in Great Britain and Europe were ahead of American archeologists in using the available geophysical survey technology. This was largely because the heavy stonework that characterized so many Old-World archeological sites was easier to detect with geophysical survey technology than the lighter archeological features characteristic of American Indian sites. Bevan learned a lot of what he knew about geophysical survey methods by consulting with British and European archeologists who worked on archeological sites in Great Britain, Europe, and the Middle East. British archeologists had proven the value of another type of geophysical survey equipment called the resistivity meter. The resistivity meter was a simpler device and had been used successfully in locating numerous Roman Britain sites. However, it did not have nearly the degree of sensitivity of a proton magnetometer, so it was generally useless in the North American context. Another type of magnetometer, called the fluxgate magnetometer, had an advantage over the proton magnetometer in being more directional in its magnetic readings. Still another type of geophysical survey equipment was ground-penetrating radar. The chief advantage of ground penetrating radar over magnetic survey was that it did not get thrown off by large metal objects in the nearby environment. Bevan helped educate MWAC staff on the various geophysical survey methods. The first time that Nickel teamed with Bevan in 1981, they experimented with ground penetrating radar at Effigy Mounds National Monument and Herbert Hoover National Historic Site, Iowa. Once, MWAC brought Bevan to Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming, to give a public lecture. The partnership between MWAC and Bevan continued through two decades, and eventually MWAC published Bevan's manual on geophysical survey as the first in its series of special reports.⁹⁸

Year by year through the 1980s and beyond, MWAC acquired more experience and expertise in geophysical survey. Over time, MWAC added fluxgate gradiometers and cesium gradiometers to its repertoire of geophysical survey methods, along with resistance meters, magnetic susceptibility meters, electromagnetic meters, metal detectors, and ground penetrating radar.

MWAC archeologist Steven De Vore directed a ground penetrating radar survey at Fort Laramie National Historic Site in 1988. A team of four geophysicists from Denver, Colorado performed the survey under De Vore's guidance and with the help of park staff. The park staff provided historical documentation and proposed where to conduct the survey. The survey's immediate goal was to locate archeological remains of a defensive

⁹⁷ F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1980," and "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1981," MWAC; Janis D. Emery to Robert K. Nickel and Mark J. Lynott, July 24, 1981, Box 7, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁹⁸ Nickel interview. The special report is Bruce W. Bevan, *Geophysical Exploration for Archaeology: An Introduction to Geophysical Exploration*, Midwest Archeological Center Special Report No. 1 (Lincoln, Neb.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1998).

trench system around Fort Laramie as well as an earlier fur-trade post known as Fort William. Besides locating those features, the survey located the remains of two cavalry stables and two graves not previously recorded. Meanwhile, the survey's broader aim was to draw together geophysicists and archeologists and further pioneer the application of geophysical survey in an archeological context. Unbeknownst to De Vore at the time, it was the first happening of what would become De Vore's annual workshop – which he held at a different location each year – called the Archeological Prospection Workshop.⁹⁹

Magnetic survey had perhaps even more potential for historical archeology due to the presence of metal artifacts. Vergil Noble, who joined MWAC in 1987, specialized in the historical archeology of colonial-era establishments of the fur trade. In an article that he co-authored with Ralph R. B. von Frese and published in *Historical Archaeology* in 1984, Noble described the results of a magnetic survey of the site of Fort Ouiatenon in Indiana, a French fur-trading post dating from the eighteenth century. The magnetic survey identified the location of hearths, wells, pits, and structural trenches. Based on inferences about the relative concentration of metal objects in the cultural debris associated with each feature, Noble and his co-author argued that it was possible to form a preliminary idea of what was what. As demonstrated both at the Fort Ouiatenon site and at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, a magnetic survey could be performed and analyzed in a couple of days, at a fraction of the cost of excavation, without any destruction of the resource. The information gained from a magnetic survey could not compare with the information gained from excavation, but it could serve as a feasibility study for subsequent archeological research as well as a tool for resource protection.¹⁰⁰

Magnetic surveys carried out at George Washington Carver National Monument, Missouri, in the mid-1970s were a case in point. The birthplace of the famous African American scientist who rose from slavery, the national monument features the homestead where Carver spent his early life. Archeological investigations by the NPS in the 1950s had already located the site of the Moses Carver house and slave cabin. In 1975, Nickel and Weymouth performed a magnetic survey along the north boundary of the national monument and discovered two additional house sites associated with relatives of Moses Carver who also lived on the homestead. Subsequently, MWAC contracted with archeologists Ervan Garrison and Robert Bray of the University of Missouri for follow-up investigation. Using magnetic contour maps generated by Nickel and Weymouth, Garrison and Bray focused on retrieval of artifacts using metal detectors, and soil testing to determine areas of most intensive human activity. The latter technique involved the mapping of phosphorous concentrations in anthrosols, a compound associated with human and animal wastes, which would indicate former living areas, refuse pits, and butchering areas. The collection of artifacts, meanwhile, augmented the dressed stone debris, brick fragments, and pieces of glass previously located by Nickel and Weymouth.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Steven LeRoy De Vore, "Ground-Penetrating Radar as a Survey Tool in Archaeological Investigations: An Example from Fort Laramie National Historic Site," *Wyoming Archaeologist* 33, nos. 1-2 (1990), 23-38; De Vore interview.

¹⁰⁰ Von Frese and Noble, "Magnetometry for Archaeological Exploration of Historical Sites," 50-52.

¹⁰¹ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, October 2, 1975; Ervan G. Garrison, "Archeogeophysical and Geochemical Studies at George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri," *Historical Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (1996), 27-33.

Developmental archeology, as Calabrese conceived it, included the early adoption of computers and other electronics both in the office and in the field, as well as innovation in archeological data management. MWAC's contributions to archeological data management will be discussed in the next chapter. MWAC's move toward computerization in the 1970s and 80s may seem from today's perspective so commonplace as to be of no historical interest, but it deserves notice because it reflects a significant element of MWAC's organizational culture. It formed part of MWAC's effort to innovate and lead by example in its professional practice.¹⁰²

Calabrese's second quarter report for 1978 included this quaint notice of what was then rather futuristic: "On March 31, permission was received from the Equipment Review Board for the Center to rent a Xerox 850 Full Page Display Electronic Typing System. However, because of production delays and marketing problems, delivery of the 850 is not expected until sometime during the last quarter of CY 1978. In the interim, an 800 Dual Tape Electronic Typing System has been rented."¹⁰³ The following year, MWAC received permission to rent a second system to deal with its heavy load of manuscript production. Two years later, it purchased the two Xerox word processors that it had been renting. In the meantime, MWAC acquired three Apple personal computers for MWAC using leftover project money. Those machines were shared among the staff and soon received heavy use.¹⁰⁴

As Calabrese pointed out in his quarterly reports, computerization not only sped up the archeologist's work of processing field notes and producing reports, it was an aid in surveying, mapping, artifact description, and cataloguing. Sometime in the early 1980s, MWAC had some money at the end of the fiscal year and Calabrese requested permission from the Washington Office to purchase three or four computers in addition to the inventory it already had. A letter came back saying the request was denied because the authorities in Washington could not understand how MWAC could possibly need that many computers. Flabbergasted but undeterred, Calabrese renewed the request and finally managed to get it approved. The short-sightedness expressed in that first reply memo struck him as in some way historic, and he held onto it into his retirement.¹⁰⁵

Early on, MWAC also acquired two "lunchbox" computers for data entry during magnetic survey. Lunchbox computers were designed for rugged use, but MWAC's pair sometimes took an extra hard beating in the field. One of them failed one time and MWAC put in a request for a new I/O board for it. When the Washington Office was informed that MWAC was taking a computer into the field contrary to policy, it triggered a formal inquiry into how MWAC was using – or abusing – its relative wealth of computers. As Calabrese sardonically remarked, the cost of sending two people to Lincoln to investigate how MWAC was treating its computers probably exceeded the cost of the computers in question. In any case, the officials exonerated MWAC of any

¹⁰² Calabrese interview.

¹⁰³ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Directors, Midwest and Rocky Mountain Regions, December 29, 1978, MWAC.

¹⁰⁴ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Directors, Midwest and Rocky Mountain Regions, January 30, 1979, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, "Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1981," MWAC; Calabrese interview.

¹⁰⁵ Calabrese interview.

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abuses and their visit resulted in the delivery to MWAC of one very large and clunky Hewlett Packard personal computer with floppy drive. Not long after the HP machine was deployed, the IBM 5150 personal computer came on the market and MWAC adopted that model instead, and in a few more years everyone in the office had one.¹⁰⁶

In 1983, the Developmental Archeology Division produced an Information Management Plan for MWAC for guidance in the acquisition and use of a new set of battery-powered notebook computers for field work. These devices were TRS-80 Tandy 100 computers, among the first of their kind. In his annual report, Calabrese once again stressed the importance of computerization in an archeological context. “Extensive field use confirmed that it is possible to make direct entries in an isolated field environment and to subsequently use a serial data link to move the data to a more powerful system,” he reported. “Additionally, the test demonstrated that these low-cost units can tolerate the dust, sand, and heat which are common aspects of archeological field work.” It was calculated that each notebook computer paid for itself in labor savings in just eight weeks.¹⁰⁷

MWAC was an early adopter of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software for use in digitizing archeological site maps. MWAC archeologist Anne Vawser proposed its use in 1990, and MWAC wholeheartedly supported it, immediately investing in a Unix operating system (necessary because the standard Windows operating system of that time did not support it). GIS replaced the old method of converting paper topographical maps to Mylar and hand-drawing on the Mylar. Concurrently (in 1989), the NPS’s Historic American Buildings Survey staff in Washington, D.C. adopted GIS and established the Cultural Resource GIS Facility for converting various historical maps to GIS, but MWAC moved into GIS independently and demonstrated its utility for other NPS offices, including the Pacific West Region. The software’s ability to stack layers of data proved to be a great asset for both historic architecture and archeological resource management.¹⁰⁸

MWAC looked to computerization to achieve labor-saving efficiencies in report production, too. It was telling of MWAC’s emphasis on innovation that the Developmental Archeology Division was given oversight of all MWAC’s report production through the 1980s even though most reports were authored by staff archeologists working in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain divisions. The Developmental Archeology Division included a scientific illustrator who worked with authors on their reports until new technology such as scanning and digital photography eventually made the scientific illustrator position obsolete.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Calabrese interview.

¹⁰⁷ F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1983,” MWAC. MWAC’s information management plan was in response to a request by the Washington Office for all units to prepare an analysis of their use of automatic data processing equipment (ADP equipment) to assist with a systemwide three-year ADP acquisition and management plan. (F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1984,” MWAC.)

¹⁰⁸ Anne Vawser interview by Theodore Catton, September 30, 2016; Deidre McCarthy, “Innovative Methods for Documenting Cultural Resources: Integrating GIS and GPS Technologies,” *CRM Journal* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2004), 86-87.

¹⁰⁹ F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for

Realignment Proposals in the 1980s

Various realignment proposals in the 1980s considered terminating the archeological centers. Others considered eliminating the Midwest Region and closing the regional office in Omaha. Staffs would have been transferred to other offices. None of the proposals came to fruition, but they foreshadowed the reorganization in 1995, which was very consequential for MWAC.

In March 1980, President Carter submitted a Fiscal Year 1981 budget to Congress that called for a \$1 million cut to the Midwest Region budget with the aim of closing the regional office, relocating all regional office personnel to other duty stations, and effecting a realignment of regional boundaries to eliminate the Midwest Region. The NPS targeted the Midwest Region for elimination because it had the fewest staff of the nine NPS regions (the Alaska Region did not yet exist) and the Omaha office was distant from major parks. MWAC was not to be affected by the closure other than being subsumed under another NPS office. A major objection to the proposal was that it would eliminate the only regional office located between the Atlantic states and Denver. Nebraska's congressional delegation blocked the Carter administration initiative.¹¹⁰

In 1983, the NPS appointed a task force to review the organization and mission of the archeological centers, the Denver Service Center, and the Harpers Ferry Center. Western Regional Director Howard H. Chapman headed the effort. Center managers worked closely with the task force in helping it craft its recommendations. The task force reaffirmed that the archeological centers were extensions of the regional directors' staffs. But at the same time, the task force believed it would be too much to establish one center for every region. The existing geographic alignment of centers, with two in the Southwest and none in some other regions, clearly had no rationale other than having developed out of past need and management's response. Center managers argued for maintaining the status quo despite the centers' uneven geographic distribution because in their present locations they were already aligned with regions and closely affiliated with universities. Chapman tended to go along with them. If there was to be any realignment of the centers based on the regions, he found, then the two in the Southwest would have to be consolidated, MWAC would continue to serve both the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions, SEAC would continue to serve the Southeast, and two new

Fiscal Year 1988," MWAC. Mark Lynott later commented indirectly on MWAC's computerization in his book about Hopewell Culture, stating: "The development of digital technology did not introduce large numbers of new methods and techniques into archaeology's arsenal of tools. For the most part, digital technology permitted archaeologists to do many of the things they had already been doing faster and more accurately. Personal computers have become an element of daily life for most researchers and there is no question that they have increased productivity in writing and data analysis. However, the real advances have come in the form of digital photography, Geographic Positioning Systems (GPS), Geographic Information Systems (GIS), digital/laser mapping, digital geophysical instruments and computer processing, LiDAR and other aerial photographic applications." Mark J. Lynott, *Hopewell Ceremonial Landscapes of Ohio: More than Mounds and Geometric Earthworks* (Havertown, Penn.: Oxbow Books, 2014), 29.

¹¹⁰ Deputy Director to Regional Director, April 1, 1980, Acting Regional Director to All areas and offices, Midwest Region, April 3, 1980, NPS, "Questions and Answers about the Closing of Mid-West Regional Office," April 1980, and John Cavanaugh and Douglas Bereuter to Cecil B. Andrus, April 21, 1980, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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archeological centers would be formed for the proposed Northeast regions and the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, respectively. That would be a lot of reorganization when, in his view, a single, consolidated professional center (and more contracting out of park archeology projects) might be the better solution in the long run. Since the task force did not agree with him on that, he supported no realignment for the archeological centers at the present time.¹¹¹

Thus, when the task force made its final report on the centers in 1984, it basically supported the status quo for MWAC. It found that the unit was able to serve two regions effectively. It recommended that MWAC continue to serve two regions, and it further recommended that the Rocky Mountain Region “limit the project execution activities of the Rocky Mountain Region to those that can be handled by the Regional Archeologist without the use of any additional FTE.”¹¹²

There was another task force report completed in June 1987 under the title “Organizational Structure of the National Park Service.” The task force recommended minor changes to the regional boundaries (such as transferring Montana from the Rocky Mountain to the Pacific Northwest Region and transferring Kentucky from the Southeast to the Midwest Region). The report also included recommendations concerning the various technical service centers, including the archeological centers. However, its only recommendation for MWAC was that it be put under the supervision of the associate regional director to parallel the organizational structure of the other archeological centers. Otherwise, it recommended that the NPS “retain the center with no change.” Calabrese and Lynott argued that the MWAC manager should continue to report to the regional director – at the same level of reporting relationship as superintendents – because it allowed “for direct and rapid communication considered necessary to resolve management problems of a unit serving two regions.”¹¹³ Officially, no change was made and the MWAC chief did continue to report to the regional director. However, in practice all MWAC’s chief administrators communicated closely with the associate regional director. The title of chief was changed to manager in 1993.

The NPS Reorganization of 1995

During the NPS reorganization in the mid-1990s, the Midwest Region called upon MWAC for analysis of regional boundary alternatives. Alternatives developed by MWAC were presented through the Midwest Region to the NPS leadership and helped shape the result of the reorganization. The existing ten NPS regions were reduced to seven. Regional boundaries were reconfigured so that each region covered, and roughly conformed to, a set of smaller physiographic provinces. The physiographic provinces or sub-regions, which were administratively defined as park clusters, were a key innovation of the reorganization plan. The intention was that each park cluster

¹¹¹ Chairman, Regional Office Organization Task Force to Director, National Park Service, July 20, 1983, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹² Marshall Gingery, Chair, Realignment Committee, “National Park Service Report on Realignment Phase II,” January 6, 1984, and Director to Regional Directors, February 7, 1984, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹³ National Park Service, “Organizational Structure of the National Park Service, Task Force Report,” June 1987, and “Briefing, pg. 53 - #2 Midwest Archeological Center,” no date, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

would be served by a system support office, where many of the functions and personnel previously located in the regional offices would be relocated to bring them closer to the field units. There were to be sixteen such system support offices. Although the reorganization plan was never fully implemented, the change of regional boundaries was made, and the concept of park clusters was partially realized, with changes for MWAC embedded in those outcomes.¹¹⁴

The NPS reorganization began as a top-down initiative. On March 3, 1993, President Clinton announced the National Performance Review. He appointed Vice President Al Gore to head a six-month study on “reinventing government,” which would produce reform proposals aimed at making the federal bureaucracy perform better and cost less. The philosophical underpinnings of “reinvention” directed the reforms toward improving customer service and making bureaucracy function more like the private sector where market competition encouraged innovation, teamwork, and efficiency. Eleven twentieth-century U.S. presidents before Clinton had made rather similar efforts to reform the federal bureaucracy. Like all those earlier tries, this one mostly devolved into an exercise in cutting personnel as the initiative was pushed down through the federal hierarchy. NPS Director Roger Kennedy later said that he acted on orders from the secretary who acted on orders from the president with the gist of the orders being, “we were told we would lose a bunch of bodies.” The end goal was basically stripped down to a percentage – a reduction in force of around 10 to 15 percent for each agency across the whole civil service. The National Performance Review named an overall target of cutting 252,000 positions from the federal payroll.¹¹⁵

Kennedy found more support for NPS reorganization among senior officials than he expected. Some saw an opportunity for real constructive change, while others argued that the agency should just muddle through and aim to avoid serious attrition. Both points of view came to influence how the effort unfolded. Consistent with those dueling impulses, MWAC’s role in shaping the NPS regions sprang from both a desire to bring NPS regions into better harmony with regional interagency ecosystem management initiatives, and a parochial interest to prevent elimination of the Midwest Region.¹¹⁶

The major thrust of reorganization was to push functions and positions from the Washington Office, the regional offices, and the service centers out to the field units, or as Calabrese described it, to “flatten out” an organization that had grown top-heavy. Early in the reorganization process, in March 1994, Rocky Mountain Regional Director Bob Baker called a meeting of archeological center managers to discuss “streamlining” of archeological services. Mark Lynott represented MWAC at the meeting, which also included managers from the Southeast Archeological Center, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, and Southwest Cultural Resource Center, as well as the newly

¹¹⁴ Midwest Regional Office, “An Analysis of Regional Boundary Alternatives,” May 1994, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; William Schenk and F. A. Calabrese interview by Theodore Catton, September 26, 2016.

¹¹⁵ David Lowery, “The Presidency, the Bureaucracy, and Reinvention: A Gentle Plea for Chaos,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (March 2004), 91; Janet A. McDonnell, *Oral History with Roger G. Kennedy* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2005), 32; “A Brief History of the National Performance Review,” at <https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/npr/library/papers/bkgrd/brief.html> <October 13, 2017>.

¹¹⁶ McDonnell, *Oral History with Roger G. Kennedy*, 32; Schenk and Calabrese interview.

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formed North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center. Baker challenged the participants to consider alternative organizational structures for optimizing delivery of archeological services, such as placing archeologists with park clusters or combining the archeological program with other related functions in “cultural resource centers.” Lynott and the other center managers argued that the existing archeological centers provided the most opportunity for pooling archeological expertise, developing new research techniques, and conducting long-term research programs. They saw “streamlining” as merely a smokescreen for FTE reductions.¹¹⁷

The longstanding tension between MWAC and the Rocky Mountain Region surfaced again at this meeting. Regional Archeologist Adrienne Anderson asked Lynott how MWAC would deal with a 25 percent reduction in force. Lynott responded facetiously that a 25 percent cut in personnel would compute to a little more than 12 FTEs for MWAC, which was “precisely the allocation given to the Rocky Mountain Division of our office.” Archeologist Ann Johnson, who worked in the Rocky Mountain Regional Office with Anderson, took offense at this remark and said it was indicative of the kind of “decision-making” that made it hard for the Rocky Mountain Region to work with MWAC.¹¹⁸

About a month after the meeting in Denver, Director Kennedy telephoned Midwest Regional Director William Schenk to inform him that the NPS leadership was weighing alternatives for reducing the number of NPS regions down to five or six (from the current ten). Most of the scenarios called for elimination of the Midwest Region. The logic behind eliminating the Midwest Region was straightforward: with fewer big parks and less overall visitation than other regions in the United States, it was the second smallest regional office in terms of FTEs, topping only the Alaska Region. Having fewer FTEs equated to inflicting less pain as the NPS considered how to cut positions, close offices, and relocate personnel. (It echoed the plan in 1980.) Calabrese recalled that he was in the regional office when Schenk received this disheartening news. “We can deal with this scientifically,” Calabrese advised Schenk. Viewed from an anthropological, ecological, or geophysical perspective, Calabrese argued, the Midwest Region clearly ought to be preserved. Calabrese suggested that MWAC could develop a database that would help the reorganization team design and justify regional boundaries to correlate with ecoregions. Schenk agreed, and gave Calabrese a new title: special assistant to the regional director, reorganization team. Calabrese held that position for the next year and a half.¹¹⁹

The MWAC study for the reorganization team aimed to bring cultural and ecological considerations into the analysis in a way that would facilitate weighing those important factors along with numerous other variables. Each unit in the National Park Service was entered in a database, designed by MWAC Archeologist Anne Vawser, with

¹¹⁷ Midwest Archeological Center, “Notes for Meeting on Archeological Center, Denver, Colorado, March 7-8, 1994,” and “Agenda NPS Streamlining – Archeological Centers,” March 7-8, 1994, and Acting Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Acting Regional Director, March 11, 1994, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹⁸ Acting Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Acting Regional Director, March 11, 1994, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹⁹ Schenk and Calabrese interview.

a series of attributes that affected administration and management such as park acreage, visitation, annual budget, number of FTEs, superintendent's pay grade, what state it was in, the state's population, and what NPS region it was currently in. Then, importantly, each unit was also assigned geophysical, climatological, archeological, ethnographic, and historical attributes according to its geographic location. Those attributes were assigned according to a map of United States regions for each category. For example, for the archeological attribute, each unit was given a prehistoric cultural assignment based on twelve classes of recognized cultural traditions mapped in Gordon R. Willey's classic work, *An Introduction to American Archaeology: North and Middle America* (1966). The study by MWAC was titled "An Analysis of Regional Boundary Alternatives," and it was distributed in May 1994.¹²⁰

MWAC staff continued to assist with analysis following circulation of the report. With the help of a computerized database, the reorganization team could evaluate various regional boundary alternatives with the ecoregions criteria included. It was able to put forward alternatives with sounder justification than the working alternatives developed previously. Still, much was left to trial and error as other criteria were brought into play, such as the need to orient new NPS regions sensibly around existing regional office locations and the desire to have an even distribution of units among regions. It was also imperative to make regional boundaries conform to state lines even though boundaries between states and physiographic provinces rarely matched up. In the final analysis, the Midwest Region recommended to NPS leadership that there be six regions, with the Midwest Region to include no fewer than fifteen states and the largest block of territory in the Lower 48. The fifteen states were: the eight Central Plains states (North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri) the five Great Lakes states (Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio), plus Kentucky and Arkansas. The recommendation was tweaked only a little in the final outcome, with Oklahoma being folded into the Intermountain Region and Kentucky folded into the Southeast Region. The number of regions was raised from six to seven by the addition of the National Capital Parks Region with units in Washington, D.C., and nearby points in Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia.¹²¹

The study by MWAC on behalf of the Midwest Region reorganization team influenced the final blueprint for the reorganization of the NPS. The final blueprint was prepared by the Reorganization Work Group for Director Kennedy in July 1994 and was titled "Recommendation for Restructuring the National Park Service." This document began by stating that the recommendations came in response to the findings by the National Performance Review as well as earlier efforts by the NPS – the 21st Century Task Force, the Vail Agenda, and the Strategic Plan – to make substantive improvements in the organization. The work group's statement did not reference the MWAC study specifically, but the work group clearly relied on it.¹²²

¹²⁰ Midwest Regional Office, "An Analysis of Regional Boundary Alternatives," May 1994, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, "Midwest Archeological Center Program and Activities for Fiscal Year 1994," MWAC.

¹²¹ Midwest Regional Office, "An Analysis of Regional Boundary Alternatives," May 1994, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Vawser interview.

¹²² Reorganization Work Group, "Recommendation for Restructuring the National Park Service," July 1994, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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The NPS reorganization plan, with its emphasis on ecoregions, harmonized with other strategic initiatives being advanced by the Clinton administration at that very time. Three months before Kennedy made the NPS reorganization plan public, President Clinton adopted the Northwest Forest Plan, which upheld ecosystem management as the new model of federal land stewardship across large geographic areas. Similar ambitious ecosystem management plans were afoot in that year to address ecological problems in South Florida's everglades and the Chesapeake Bay area. And Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt was pushing his new National Biological Survey, an initiative that would have further underpinned the broad-scale shift to ecosystem management had it not been shot down by a skeptical Congress soon after it was launched.¹²³

The NPS reorganization plan was driven by three main concepts. First, it offered economizing measures. The authors stated: "This plan reduces management overhead and places more adequate levels of personnel and funding closer to the resources and customers being served." This was the "flattening out" of the top-heavy bureaucracy that Calabrese described. Second, it changed regional boundaries and introduced park clusters and system support offices as a means of bringing forward principles of ecosystem management and partnership programs with cultural groups. The desire was to improve customer service while leveraging greater assistance from the private sector – two hallmarks of the National Performance Review's drive to "reinvent government" – while incorporating the ecoregion boundaries developed by MWAC. And third, the plan was designed "to ensure the retention of a strong force of professionals and technical experts" in parks and system support offices. In the system support offices, the professionals and technical experts would benefit from ongoing affiliation with their peers and retain an important degree of objectivity and independence from the line authority of park superintendents. This was a feature of the reorganization that Director Kennedy stressed.¹²⁴

The reorganization plan was made available to the NPS rank and file in August 1994 and was formalized in November 1994. Regional Director Schenk initiated efforts to implement the reorganization in the Midwest Region (renamed the Central Region) in September 1994. Basically, the regional office staff had to redistribute itself between three new entities: a Central Region Field Director's Office (the new designation for the regional office after it was drastically pared-down), a Great Plains Cluster Support Office (the designation "cluster support office" soon changed to "system support office," or SSO), and a Great Lakes Cluster Support Office. The first two entities were to be co-located in Omaha, the third located in Chicago. Meanwhile, the Midwest Archeological Center staff would remain in Lincoln. When the reorganization plan became finalized in November, the Central Region was allocated a total of 190 FTEs to be distributed as follows: 18 to the Field Director's Office, 75 to the Great Plains SSO, 60 to the Great Lakes SSO, and 37 to MWAC.¹²⁵

¹²³ Diane L. Krahe, "The Ill-fated NBS: A Historical Analysis of Bruce Babbitt's Vision to Overhaul Interior Science," in *Rethinking Protected Areas in a Changing World: Proceedings of the 2011 George Wright Society Biennial Conference on Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites*, edited by Samantha Weber (Hancock, Mich.: George Wright Society, 2012).

¹²⁴ Reorganization Work Group, "Recommendation for Restructuring the National Park Service," July 1994, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; McDonnell, *Oral History with Roger G. Kennedy*, 32.

¹²⁵ William Schenk, Dave Given, and F. A. Calabrese "Central Region Reorganization Staffing

With the reorganization plan in place, the earlier discussion about the future of the archeological centers was resumed. Some still wanted to combine archeology with other disciplines in a systemwide network of cultural resource centers. Cultural resource centers would integrate professional archeologists with other specialists working in CRM. They would interface with the new park clusters, or SSOs. The park cluster idea was supposed to create a new interdisciplinary synergy among professionals working in the same ecoregion. The cultural resource centers would tap into that synergy; they would be consistent with the overall drive to foster teamwork and resource sharing.¹²⁶

As the center managers and other professional archeologists hashed this out further, an urgent matter was to define the centers' relationship to the new SSOs. As an interim measure, each archeological center was to serve the park cluster or sub-region where it was located, and the center manager was to report to the superintendent of that park cluster or SSO. However, the centers would continue to serve more units beyond the immediate park cluster where it was located. One option for institutionalizing those broader relationships was presented at a meeting in Cortez, Colorado, in March 1995, and involved the creation of "Cultural Resources Advisory Groups," that would work across boundaries to serve several park clusters. The aim was to preserve that critical mass of professional archeologists working together in one office that was so valued by the archeological centers, while embracing the trend toward interdisciplinary teams that was so important to the concept of ecosystem management. Despite that worthy aim, the advisory group concept ran the risk of simply adding another layer of management between the Washington Office and park superintendents. Such a development could hardly qualify as "streamlining" the bureaucracy.¹²⁷

All the creative thinking notwithstanding, the forces of inertia basically stalled the NPS reorganization after it was only partially implemented. Much the same thing happened across the whole federal bureaucracy. The Clinton administration initiative to "reinvent government" needed action by Congress to be fully implemented. After Congress passed the initial measure, the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (GPRA), the Clinton administration sent a stream of legislative requests to Congress addressing one aspect or another of the government reform effort. Congress passed a few bills in support of the endeavor, but it deep-sixed most of them. For the NPS, much of its own reorganization plan depended on the willingness of Congress to appropriate funds to cover the cost of closing offices and relocating personnel. When the requested appropriations did not materialize, NPS leadership had no choice but to recast the reorganization plan in a way that largely preserved offices and programs in place. How could the NPS relocate hundreds of employees to different cities when there was no money to pay for it? As a result, the NPS regional boundaries changed but many of the sub-regions and new SSOs never got off the ground. The reorganization officially

Recommendations for the Field Director's Office and the System Support Offices," February 1995, Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹²⁶ Deputy Assistant Director, Denver Service Center Operations to Associate Director, Cultural Resources, April 21, 1995, enclosing "Draft Task Directive, Task Force on Cultural Resource Centers," Box 8, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹²⁷ "Summary Comments: Proposed Structure of Cultural Resources Advisory Group Intermountain Field Area," Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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took effect on October 1, 1995 with most of the office relocations still pending and the reshuffling of roles and functions still a work in progress.¹²⁸

In 1996, the NPS appointed John Cook, who was then field director for the Intermountain Region, to head a task force on recasting the reorganization plan in the face of Congress's inaction. The Cook Task Force recommended that the NPS take steps to consolidate the reorganization around changes accomplished to date. Instead of creating a network of sixteen SSOs, one per park cluster, the NPS would have just ten SSOs, one per city where the old regional offices were located. In some cases, two SSOs in the same city would be combined. Such was the situation in Omaha, where the Great Plains SSO and the Great Lakes SSO existed on paper, but the latter had not yet been relocated to Chicago. SSOs would be renamed either for the city where they were located or the field area office they were under, rather than the park cluster they served. For example, the Columbia-Cascade SSO became the Seattle Support Office, while the Great Plains and Great Lakes SSOs were combined and renamed the Midwest Support Office. Soon thereafter, the Midwest Support Office was combined with the Field Director's Office and the whole reconstituted entity reverted to its earlier designation, the Midwest Regional Office.¹²⁹

During the NPS reorganization, the NPS archeology program went through another reorganization. Having been split into two wings in 1975, one wing focused on archeology in the parks and the other wing responsible for assisting other federal agencies to carry out archeological projects, now the two wings were recombined into one program. For some time, already, the Interagency Archeological Services Division (IASD) had gone by a new name, the Archeological Assistance Division (AAD). As other federal agencies developed their own internal archeology programs during the 1980s, the AAD became a rather arcane entity. With the general downsizing of the agency, the time came to recombine the "internal" and "external" programs into one. Departmental Consulting Archeologist Francis P. McManamon, who was also head of the AAD, became the new chief of the NPS Archeology and Ethnography Program. The AAD regional offices in Atlanta, Denver, and San Francisco remained in operation for several more years, but after the reorganization MWAC began to take on more work from other federal agencies. That work, once referred to as "out-house" projects, now went under the label of "archeological assistance."¹³⁰

Both the change in regional boundaries and the change in the NPS archeology program tended to add to MWAC's workload. Some National Register program responsibilities were transferred from the Washington Office to the regions, and in the Midwest Region some of those responsibilities were shared between the Omaha office

¹²⁸ "Report of the Cook Task Force on Restructuring," January 1997, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Schenk and Calabrese interview.

¹²⁹ "Report of the Cook Task Force on Restructuring," January 1997, Box 11, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Schenk and Calabrese interview; Acting Regional Director, Midwest Region to Associate Director, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partners, WASO, October 9, 1997, (email), Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹³⁰ Francis P. McManamon, "The Road Ahead," *Federal Archeology* 8, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1996), 2. Other responsibilities that had transferred from the archeological research centers to the IASD in 1974 came back to the centers as well; for example, the responsibility for reviewing and administering scientific research permits under the Antiquities Act.

and the Center in Lincoln.¹³¹ Since the Midwest Region had the most states of any region, many of them quite populous, the National Register program was huge in the region and out of proportion with its relatively small staff and budget. The Midwest Region received an increase in funding, but not the level that was promised. Likewise, MWAC was led to expect it would receive an increase in funding commensurate with the greater workload, but the increase never came.¹³²

The addition of Arkansas to the Midwest Region had significant implications for MWAC. It brought MWAC into close contact with the Arkansas Archeological Survey, which was one of the strongest state archeology programs in the nation. Archeologists with the Arkansas Archeological Survey were already deeply involved with archeology at Arkansas Post National Memorial and Buffalo National River. Although state archeologists would remain involved at those places, MWAC archeologists were called upon to assist with the usual suite of activities involving Section 106 projects and review of park planning documents. Four other NPS units in Arkansas – Pea Ridge National Military Park, Fort Smith National Historic Site, Hot Springs National Park, and Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site – added further to MWAC’s workload. The state’s southern location was a benefit to MWAC because the field season there lasted into November. MWAC archeologists generally approached the end of the field season by moving from project to project in a southward progression as winter came on. The mild winters in Arkansas extended MWAC’s field season by another month.¹³³

¹³¹The National Register program includes an array of external programs including the National Historic Landmarks program, the HABS/HAER/HALS program (mitigation documentation), and providing general assistance for National Register inquiries and other historic preservation inquiries.

¹³² Acting Regional Director, Midwest Region to Associate Director, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partners, WASO, October 9, 1997, (email), Box 6, and Mark Lynott to Cal Calabrese, July 7, 1998 (email), Box 8, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹³³Dawn Bringelson interview by Theodore Catton, November 17, 2017.

CHAPTER FOUR

SERVING THE MIDWEST REGION AND BEYOND

During the period of the NPS reorganization, MWAC underwent a change of leadership. When Calabrese went to Omaha to serve as special assistant to the regional director for the reorganization team, he remained nominally at the head of MWAC, but increasingly he turned over the center's administration to others. Mark Lynott and Doug Scott, as chiefs of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain Research Divisions, took turns serving as the temporary center manager, each for a six-month term. Calabrese was asked by the regional director which one, Lynott or Scott, he would recommend for promotion to the center manager position. Calabrese refused to be involved in the selection, for he believed they both had merit. The position was opened up for others to apply as well, though for technical reasons it was classified as a two-year acting position (to avoid it getting filled by an unqualified applicant as the NPS struggled to move a requisite number of senior officials from the Washington Office out to the field). Lynott was selected as acting center manager commencing on March 31, 1996, and had to wait patiently until March 31, 1998, for the "acting" to be dropped from his job title. The attenuated process and selection from within caused no little amount of jealousy, suspicion, and sore feelings. With a little passage of time the strain went away.¹

Lynott's appointment as center manager ensured that MWAC would experience a high degree of continuity with the previous twenty years of leadership by Calabrese, since Lynott had worked closely with Calabrese over most of that time span. Lynott brought his own style of management to the job, however. Whereas Calabrese was boisterous and tempestuous yet very protective toward staff members, Lynott had a cooler, calmer, and more reserved approach. Lynott was less inclined to call staff meetings than his predecessor, and he was more guarded with Center information, such as information about the Center's budget, than Calabrese had been. Lynott carried on Calabrese's emphasis on staff engagement with the profession and writing for publication. Lynott, more than Calabrese, was prone to overload staff with too many projects at once, and as a result the old problem of dereliction in producing project reports crept back. Of course, Lynott was center manager in a different period, when the pressure of work and budget cutting was arguably more intense, so the comparison is not direct.²

Reorganization of MWAC

The major reorganization of the NPS in 1995 led to a reorganization of MWAC in the following year. In the spring and summer of 1996, Lynott asked staff members for suggestions in writing and held several all-staff meetings to talk about how the Center ought to be reorganized to create a better fit with the changing organizational culture of the NPS and the ecoregion framework of park clusters. Early in the fall, Lynott submitted a new plan for MWAC to the field area office. The new organizational structure became final in the following month, October 1996.

¹Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1995," and Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1996," MWAC; Calabrese interview; Hartley interview; Scott interview.

²Scott interview; Hartley interview.

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MWAC's six divisions (Administration, Rocky Mountain Research, Midwest Region Research, Cooperative Assistance for Archeology, Scientific Information and Collections Research, and Ethnohistory, Ethnography and Report Production) were collapsed into three programs (Archeological Assistance and Partnerships, Archeological Information and Operations, and Park Archeology). Whereas the old divisions constituted groupings of staff and functions, the new lines of organization were meant to be more porous. They were a mere latticework for the support of teams, and teams were to form the basis for all kinds of activity from a limited-duration park archeology project to a standing function such as collections management. The change from functional divisions to programs and teams reflected the drive to reduce the number of supervisors and build an emphasis on teamwork and resource sharing. Lynott wrote that the primary purpose of the *programs* was to provide support to *teams* "through supervision and performance appraisal, budget and fiscal management, and scheduling of human resources."³

So, the organization placed a great deal of weight on teams even though the teams were too numerous and too flexible in composition to be shown on the organization chart. At the end of 1997, there were no fewer than eleven standing teams. There was one team for each park cluster, plus teams for collections management, archeological information, administration, report production, public outreach, interagency coordination and research, property management, and finally, a National Register and National Historic Landmarks Team. Responsibilities for specific team activities were assigned to a team leader. Team leaders worked with the program managers to identify long-term and short-term goals and to schedule personnel for projects and activities. Together, they developed and managed project budgets. Teams could be composed of individuals from more than one program. The flexibility for making up teams was necessary to allow MWAC to respond to shifting levels of demand across its service area, and it lent itself to making the most qualified staff available for any project.⁴

In the new organization, Thiessen was program manager for Park Archeology, Ralph Hartley was program manager for Archeological Assistance and Partnerships, and Vergil Noble was program manager for Archeological Information and Operations. Lynott wrote appreciatively of these three in his annual report for 1997:

The changes made in Fiscal Year 1997 at the Center were successful largely because the three new Program Managers willingly accepted their new roles as full-time managers and supervisors. This consolidation of managerial and supervisory responsibilities permitted other senior archeological staff to focus their efforts on archeological duties. Ralph Hartley, Vergil Noble, and Thomas Thiessen accepted substantially new duties. They skillfully worked with the Center Manager to build a growing interest in the value of teamwork. The coordination of the Program Managers is essential to the success of the new system, and any accomplishments that were achieved in Fiscal Year 1997 are due in large part to their willingness to work together for the common good of the Center.⁵

³ Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1997," MWAC.

⁴ Mark Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1997," MWAC.

⁵ Mark Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1997," MWAC.

Another important innovation in MWAC's new organization was the assignment of an MWAC archeologist to each park in the Midwest Region. Every park was assigned one named individual at MWAC as its "Section 106 advisor" and one named individual as its "primary contact." In most cases, one individual filled both roles. However, there was one crucial distinction between the two roles: while the primary contact was assigned by MWAC, the Section 106 advisor was selected by the park. The Section 106 advisor position was developed in response to a July 1995 programmatic agreement between the NPS, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers. The agreement delegated Section 106 responsibilities to park superintendents, stipulating that each park would have one qualified staff member designated as its "106 coordinator" with duties specified in the employee's position description. Lynott decided to go one step further by setting up the "primary contact" position as well. As primary contact, the MWAC archeologist was to serve as an archeological "consultant" for park staffs. He or she was to be available to assist parks in planning the study and management of archeological resources, and if requested, to provide a technical review of CRM compliance documents.⁶

This approach of assigning an MWAC archeologist to each Midwest Region park worked well and was appreciated by park staff. It was an innovation that spawned a significant difference with SEAC, MWAC's sister center, where the staff was organized into two divisions, one oriented to Section 110-type surveys and investigations, and the other oriented to Section 106 compliance. Where SEAC's organization focused on process, MWAC's was place-centered. It allowed MWAC archeologists to develop greater familiarity with individual parks and their cultural resources as well as the staffs and partners unique to each park. The one-to-one relationship with parks had some obvious advantages, but it was demanding on staff time. MWAC archeologists might have seven or eight parks in their portfolio, and they could be in almost daily contact with some of those park staffs. MWAC archeologists provided those consulting services as part of their job duties at no charge to each park's budget.⁷

MWAC's new organization in 1996 also reflected a 25 percent downsizing of the staff. With the reorganization of the NPS, the Center's FTE ceiling was reduced from 52 to 37. On the new organization chart, there were six supervisory archeologists and six other permanent archeologists along with nine other permanent staff positions: administrative officer, procurement agent, editor, scientific illustrator, computer specialist, two museum specialists, and two office automation clerks. The remaining positions were temporary or term positions. Some of the downsizing was met through attrition as permanent employees left and were not replaced. A couple of positions (anthropologist and curator) were administratively relocated to the Great Plains SSO even though the person was duty-stationed at MWAC. The Great Plains SSO made one new hire, cultural anthropologist Dr. Michael Evans, who was duty-stationed in Minnesota, which led MWAC to drop the ethnohistorical program it had nurtured since the late 1980s. MWAC archeologist Tom Thiessen gave up his duties as acting

⁶ Mark Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1996," MWAC.

⁷ Jay Sturdevant interview by Theodore Catton, November 6, 2017.

regional ethnographer, which he had held since July 1993, and resumed his earlier title of supervisory archeologist.⁸

With the reorganization, MWAC no longer served the Rocky Mountain Region on the same basis that it served the Midwest Region. Henceforth its park archeology program was geared toward providing “archeological research, planning, compliance documentation, resource management, and collections management services to Midwest Region parks.” A role and functions statement in 1998 noted that the park archeology program was currently composed of three teams: Great Lakes Team, Great Plains Team, and the Collections Management Team. However, MWAC did serve NPS units outside the Midwest Region upon request. MWAC archeologists served other NPS units as far away as California, Washington, and Alaska on that basis. Because of its previous work in the Rocky Mountain Region, MWAC received the most requests for archeological assistance from NPS units in the new Intermountain Region (Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma). It had a functional relationship with parks of the Rocky Mountain Cluster of the Intermountain Region through a formal Standard Operating Procedures agreement, which was signed on December 19, 1996 by the chair of the Rocky Mountain Cluster Leadership Committee. MWAC archeologist Doug Scott was appointed to serve as liaison with the Rocky Mountain Cluster parks and the Intermountain Support Office.⁹

Changes in Archeology in the 1990s

The change of leadership at MWAC and the reorganization of the NPS notwithstanding, there was more continuity than change at MWAC through the 1990s. The Center continued to maintain a highly professional staff that provided innovative and effective services to parks and other partners. MWAC staff continued to engage with the archeology profession by teaching courses at the University of Nebraska, giving papers at professional conferences, editing professional journals, and serving on committees in professional organizations. Like their colleagues in academia, MWAC archeologists were dedicated to archeological knowledge production in accordance with the methodologies and ethics of the discipline. Unlike academic archeologists who worked in a system that promoted individual scholarly achievement, MWAC archeologists worked for common goals in service to the NPS mission.¹⁰

Mark Lynott made a notable contribution to the profession through his work on developing a new ethics policy for American archeology on behalf of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA). His engagement with ethics policy stemmed from his earlier service as president of the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) and it continued over many years. Major milestones in that long engagement included his appointment to an Ethics in Archaeology Committee (with Alison Wylie) in 1991, a workshop on “Ethical Issues in Archaeology” held in Reno, Nevada, in November 1993, a

⁸ Mark J. Lynott, “Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1996,” and “Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1997,” MWAC.

⁹ Manager, Midwest Archeological Center to Regional Director, Midwest Region, August 20, 1998, enclosing Role and Function Statement, Box 8, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Scott interview.

¹⁰ Mark J. Lynott, “Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1997,” MWAC; Hartley interview.

presentation of a set of draft principles to the SAA membership at a meeting in Anaheim, California in April 1994, a meeting with representatives of the SOPA in Washington, D.C. in August 1994 looking to a merger of SOPA with SAA, publication of the first edition of *Ethics in American Archaeology* in 1995, and publication of the second edition of *Ethics in American Archaeology* in 2000. As Center manager of MWAC, Lynott was well-placed to play such a leading role in the development of a new policy of professional ethics for American archeology. Through his close involvement in park archeology and collections management, he was in a unique position to evaluate such hot-button ethical issues as the treatment of American Indian human remains that turned up in archeological digs, the handling of looted artifacts by researchers, and the line between preservation and investigation of the archeological record.¹¹

Explaining the context for the ethics initiative, Lynott observed that archeology experienced two great changes during the last quarter of the twentieth century. One change was “the explosive growth in the number of people who are paid to work at archaeology.” Most of the job growth occurred outside of the traditional academic setting in federal, state, and local government and in the private sector. Much of it was tied to CRM. The expanding universe of jobs in archeology led to the founding of the Society of Professional Archeologists (SOPA) in 1976, whose purpose was to identify standards of professional conduct and establish a registry of professional archeologists. SOPA was only partly successful in getting the many practicing archeologists to register and become certified as professionals. Though SOPA advised the profession on ethical issues, its limited membership compromised its effectiveness. As people working in archeology became more numerous and diverse, it became more difficult to distinguish professional practitioners from those doing archeology as an avocation. The distinction was important for purposes of issuing permits for the conduct of archeological work on public lands and for suppressing the trade in looted artifacts.¹²

The second great change, Lynott pointed out, was the rise of American Indian interest in archeology, and most particularly, the movement for repatriation of American Indian funerary objects, which culminated in passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA). While acknowledging that the change had been challenging for the archeology profession, Lynott stressed that it was a welcome development. Although NAGPRA had “sent tremors through the discipline,” he wrote, “there are abundant examples of cooperation between archaeologists and American Indians. Additionally, the interest of American Indians in the archaeological record is documented by the development of tribal archaeology programs. This increased interest in archaeology on the part of native peoples serves as an incentive for archaeologists to seek new partnerships in the study and protection of the archaeological record and requires substantial changes in the practice of archaeology.”¹³

¹¹ Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie, “Principles of Archaeological Ethics: A Report on the Ethics in Archaeology Workshop, University of Nevada-Reno, November 5-7, 1993,” Box 3, and Lynott to Executive Board, SAA, August 2, 1994, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie, “Foreword,” in *Ethics in American Archaeology*, 2nd rev. ed., edited by Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie (Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, 2000), 8-10.

¹² Mark J. Lynott, “Ethical Principles and Archaeological Practice: Development of an Ethics Policy,” in *Ethics in American Archaeology*, 2nd rev. ed., edited by Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie (Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, 2000), 26-27.

¹³ Lynott, “Ethical Principles and Archaeological Practice: Development of an Ethics Policy,” 27.

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The rise of American Indian interest in archeology occurred on many parallel tracks. At base, it was fueled by the revitalization of American Indian cultures and the rebirth of tribal governments in the last third of the twentieth century. Tribal revitalization began to gain traction in the context of the Civil Rights movement and other social movements of the 1960s and 70s. Tribes sought to reassert tribal sovereignty, and as a vital component of that effort, tribes strove to reclaim ownership of their past. For the nation's First Peoples, reclaiming ownership of their past often underpinned efforts to reclaim tribal power. Tribes fought for recognition of their historic treaty rights, litigating not only present-day resource allocations, but also the nineteenth-century historical context in which they had entered treaties. Tribes pressed for protection of their sacred sites, sometimes calling upon anthropologists to interpret to the dominant society their religious feeling about natural landmarks. Indian peoples won a substantial victory in the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA). Non-federally recognized tribes delved into their tribal histories to prove their lineage and gain federal recognition, which is a vital asset for tribes since it ties them to the federal-Indian trust doctrine at the core of federal-Indian relations. As tribal governments emerged in the 1970s and 80s from the long shadow of federal control under the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they established their own departments of natural resources, their own colleges, and their own cultural heritage programs. All these developments provided new opportunities for American Indians to work with archeologists in pursuit of tribal interests or to become archeologists themselves. The Navajo Nation established the first tribal archeology program in the United States in 1986.¹⁴

The repatriation movement was a part of the larger awakening of interest in advancing the rights of indigenous peoples. The repatriation movement acquired momentum in the late 1980s as tribes brought to the public's attention a sordid history of racist treatment of Indian dead in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, repatriation activists publicized the lurid historical fact that the infamous Colonel Chivington, U.S. commander at the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864, ordered his soldiers to decapitate the bodies of their Cheyenne and Arapaho victims so that the skulls could be sent back east for scientific study of the crania. Historical research also brought to light a notorious order issued by a U.S. surgeon general that specifically encouraged more of the same practice by the army, which resulted in an estimated 4,500 heads being snatched from battlefields and burial grounds in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Indian graves were still pillaged in the name of science as late as the 1930s. An estimated 18,500 human bones still lay in wooden boxes in the Smithsonian Institution where they had been unceremoniously accessioned and stored for decades. According to the belief systems of many American Indian peoples, bones had to be given proper respect or the bones' spirits would suffer indefinitely. So, it was not just the historical record of atrocities that aggrieved many American Indians; for them, the desecration of their ancestors' remains still went on in the storerooms of museums across the country.¹⁵

¹⁴ Anthony L. Klesert and Alan S. Downer, editors, *Preservation on the Reservation: Native American Lands and Archaeology*, Navajo Nation Papers in Anthropology No. 26 (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Nation Archaeology Department and Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, 1990), passim.

¹⁵ Jack F. Trope and Walter R. Echo-Hawk, "The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act Background and Legislative History," in *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 136.

The repatriation movement condemned the Antiquities Act of 1906 as being a piece with the “deplorable federal policy” that allowed Indian battlefield corpses and burial remains to be exploited for science. The Antiquities Act’s four short sections do not make explicit mention of American Indian artifacts, much less human remains. Yet, in practical terms, the Antiquities Act did make human remains associated with any archeological site on federal lands into “archaeological resources,” and thereby defined those human remains as “federal property.” As David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History has pointed out, the Antiquities Act effectively privileged Western science over American Indian religion and deprived native groups of the basic sovereign right to protect their burial grounds. The act “legally transferred the Indian past to the American public domain. . .without Indian involvement and with no suggestion that Indian people might have legitimate affiliations with the past.” Eighty years later, the repatriation movement sought legislative relief from those pernicious consequences of the Antiquities Act.¹⁶

The attack on the Antiquities Act was jarring to many archeologists, and especially NPS archeologists, since the 1906 law was justly revered as a cornerstone for both the American archeology profession and the National Park System.¹⁷ The repatriation movement’s broader attack on archeology struck some archeologists as “anti-science” and potentially disruptive to the profession, not to mention hurtful to practitioners who had dedicated their professional lives to the study of North America’s First Peoples. However, archeologists were not blind or insensitive to cultural currents in Indian Country, and after a bruising fight with the repatriation movement they had to concede that the political landscape of Indian Country was changing and that their profession had to give ground to have a productive relationship with tribes in the future.¹⁸

After Congress enacted the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, other openings for American Indian involvement in archeology followed in quick succession. The National Historic Preservation Act was amended in 1992 to provide for a tier of tribal historic preservation offices (THPOs) on a level with state historic preservation offices. While more and more tribal governments appointed

¹⁶ David Hurst Thomas, “American Archaeology in the 21st Century: Back to the Future?” in *Opening Archaeology: Repatriation’s Impact on Contemporary Research and Practice*, edited by Thomas W. Killion (Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008), 58; Joe E. Watkins, “The Antiquities Act at One Hundred Years: A Native American Perspective,” in *The Antiquities Act: A Century of Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*, edited by David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 192.

¹⁷ David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, “The Antiquities Act: Cornerstone of Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Conservation,” in *The Antiquities Act: A Century of Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*, edited by David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 280-81.

¹⁸ Lynne Goldstein and Keith Kintigh, “Ethics and Reburial Controversy,” *American Antiquity* 55, no. 3 (1990), 585-91; Lynne Goldstein, “The Potential for Future Relationships between Archaeologists and Native Americans,” in *Ethics in American Archaeology*, 2nd rev. ed., edited by Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie (Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, 2000), 118-25.

THPOs and hired their own cultural resource specialists, a series of executive orders slowly ratcheted up the federal government's commitment to tribal consultation. The NPS established an American Indian Liaison Office, and it began placing tribal liaisons (cultural anthropologists) in each region. The National Register of Historic Places introduced a new type of site, the Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). The TCP embraced cultural relativism. Recognition of a TCP was predicated on the idea that ethnic groups might invest a site with cultural significance that was obscure to the dominant society. Identification and evaluation of a TCP required the skills not of an archeologist or an architectural historian but an ethnographer. Taken altogether, these developments changed the face of CRM. Tribes entered into the Section 106 process. Tribal consultation gradually got embedded into cultural resource management protocols. Ethnography took a seat next to archeology. American Indian sites were elevated in the overall array of sites that were of interest to historic preservation.¹⁹

Given the fact that the repatriation of funerary objects and the protection of American Indian cultural sites were at the heart of the archeology profession's grapple with American Indians in the 1990s, it was no wonder that Lynott, as one of MWAC's principals, should get involved with those issues. As co-chair of the Ethics in Archeology Committee, Lynott framed the problem of ethics more broadly than those issues raised by American Indians, yet one of the principal aims of the statement on ethics was to improve relations between the archeology profession and American Indians.²⁰ Indeed, among the eight principles of archeological ethics that the task force eventually propounded, the first two on stewardship and accountability went to the core of the conflict between the profession and the American Indian community.²¹ What was striking in this endeavor was the degree to which ethics intertwined with ideology. The repatriation movement's attack on archeology was basically ideological, as it characterized Western science (and archeology in particular) as a product of colonialism and a tool of oppression. Archeologists responded to the attack by examining both the ethical and ideological underpinnings of their discipline.

As Lynott pointed out, the bitter controversy over burial remains rattled the archeology profession. One of the central conflicts around repatriation was a difference of perspective over whether a tribe could legitimately claim patrimony over human remains that were hundreds or even thousands of years old. To do so was to assert that the tribe had knowledge about where its ancestors lived during the remote past in a way that archeologists found unbelievable or impossible to accept. In most cases, tribes based their claims of patrimony on oral traditions, which archeologists presumed to be too imprecise to compare with archeology's science-based reckoning of chronological sequence and location. The repatriation movement accused American archeology of

¹⁹ Sally Thompson Greiser and T. Weber Greiser, "Two Views of the World," in *Traditional Cultural Properties: What You Do and How We Think*, edited by Pat Parker, *CRM* 16 (special issue, 1993), 9-11; Muriel Crespi, "Saving Sacred Places," *National Parks* 66 (July/August 1991), 18-19; Theodore Catton, *American Indians and National Forests* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 145, 149-50.

²⁰ See Lynott and Wylie, *Ethics in American Archaeology*, 2nd rev. ed. Most of the papers in this anthology speak to American Indian concerns either directly or tangentially.

²¹ Larry Zimmerman, "Regaining our Nerve: Ethics, Values, and the Transformation of Archaeology," in *Ethics in American Archaeology*, 2nd rev. ed., edited by Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie (Washington, D.C.: Society for American Archaeology, 2000), 71-74.

being imperialistic, even racist, when it cloaked itself in Western science and took a dismissive stance toward native peoples' knowledge of their own origins as reflected in oral tradition and myth. When Congress weighed in with the passage of NAGPRA, it backed up the repatriation movement's call for validation of indigenous knowledge. Faced with the law, the archeology profession had to accommodate itself to the fact that when archeology and oral tradition came in conflict, archeology no longer received deferential treatment from the dominant society as the superior form of knowledge for understanding the past. Rather, archeology and oral tradition were viewed as alternative modes of thought, each with their own merits.

To a degree another paradigm shift in American archeology, from processual to postprocessual archeology, helped prepare the ground for archeologists' grapple with NAGPRA. As the name suggests, postprocessual archeology is infused with a postmodern skepticism toward positivist thought. It backs off the universalist claims of processual archeology. The anthropologist Alice B. Kehoe has observed that postprocessual archeology "asserts the singular value of the societies we study rather than typologizing them or premising an evolutionary trajectory in a manner suspiciously like the Enlightenment glorification of its own European culture." This was a more comfortable fit with American Indian sensibilities. Indeed, at MWAC, the archeologists who received their academic training in the 1980s and 90s were more favorably disposed toward NAGPRA in the first place; they did not have to adjust their own thinking in the way their elders in the profession did. They were apt to dismiss the antagonism between archeology and NAGPRA as the older generation's cross to bear.

As David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History explains, American archeology has always swung back and forth like a pendulum between a scientific and humanistic orientation. A quarter century before NAGPRA, the discipline had swung toward science with its embrace of the New Archeology, or processual archeology. Processual archeology laid stress on the material culture, emphasizing factors such as environment, population density, subsistence, and technology. With the move to postprocessual archeology in the 1990s, the discipline swung back toward the humanities. The postprocessual paradigm, Thomas writes, "rejects grand historical schemes in favor of humanistic perspectives attuned to the multiple voices of history. Rejecting scientific objectivity, the postmodern paradigm is more concerned with interpreting the past in human terms. Postmodern perspectives view change as arising largely from interactions among individuals operating within a symbolic and /or competitive system."²² Postprocessual archeology was a better match with the cultural relativism embedded in NAGPRA; it brought the discipline into better tune with the times. And so, ethics and ideology combined to produce a paradigm shift for American archeology in the 1990s.²³

Three instances of park archeology in which MWAC had a part may be cited as examples of the changes in archeology in the 1990s.

²²Thomas, "American Archaeology in the 21st Century: Back to the Future?" 59.

²³Kehoe, "Processual and Postprocessual Archaeology," 25-26.

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Arkansas Post National Memorial

Arkansas Post National Memorial in Arkansas consists of two nearby units on the lower Arkansas River: a 389-acre Memorial Unit commemorating the site of one of the oldest European settlements west of the Mississippi River, and a 360-acre Osotouy Unit featuring a number of important archeological sites. One site (which is actually located just outside the unit boundary on U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service land) has been identified as the site of the seventeenth-century Quapaw village of Osotouy where, in 1686, Henri de Tonti established a trading house, the original Arkansas Post. While the Memorial Unit began as a state park in the 1920s and has long featured the story of the European presence in colonial-era Arkansas, the Osotouy Unit, was only established in 1998 and broadens the focus of Arkansas Post National Memorial to include American Indian history and archeology. Besides being proximate to the probable site of Osotouy, the latter unit includes the Menard-Hodges Mounds, an important site for Mississippian archeology.

What makes the recent archeological investigations at Arkansas Post National Memorial so emblematic of the changes in archeology in the 1990s is that the Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma is now an integral partner with the NPS (and the Arkansas Archeological Survey) in developing a better archeological understanding of that place. For many years, archeologists posited that the Quapaw nation described by the French in the late seventeenth century were descended from the Mississippians who occupied Arkansas around the time of European contact. Archeologists maintained it was so despite Quapaw tribal historians' insistence, citing oral tradition, that the tribe migrated from the Ohio Valley and established a new homeland in Arkansas after the Mississippian world collapsed. As archeology opened up to new perspectives in the 1990s, archeologists reinterpreted the question of Quapaw ethnogenesis and moved closer to agreement with the Quapaw sources. The Quapaw Tribe, for its part, put aside old resentments toward archeologists and embraced the new findings that archeology offered. The discovery in 1998 of the probable site of the historic village of Osotouy generated mutual excitement, and over the next decade NPS, state, and Quapaw archeologists forged a strong working relationship as they investigated the site.²⁴

Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site

The second example involves the site of the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado. Starting in the mid-1980s, the Northern and Southern Cheyenne Tribes and the Northern and Southern Arapaho Tribes pushed for preservation of the site. Their campaign finally came to fruition when Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Republican – Colorado) introduced a bill to make a national historic site. The legislation was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Clinton as the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act of 1998. The law directed the NPS, in consultation with

²⁴Theodore Catton, *A Many-Storied Place: Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas* (Omaha, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Region, 2017), 2, 47-48, 61-71; John H. House, "Wallace Bottom: A Colonial-Era Archaeological Site in the Menard Locality, Eastern Arkansas," *Southeastern Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (Winter 2002), 257-68; John H. House, "Native American Material Culture from the Wallace Bottom Site, Southeastern Arkansas," *Southeastern Archaeology* 32, no. 1 (2013), 54-69.

the tribes and the Colorado SHPO, to conduct a study and “identify the location and extent of the massacre area and the suitability and feasibility of designating the site as a unit of the National Park Service system.” Doug Scott assisted a team of Intermountain Region historians, archeologists, and volunteers to locate the massacre site.²⁵

Scott and his team believed they found the site of the Sand Creek village attacked by Chivington’s force in 1864. Artifacts recovered at the site matched the types of metal wares in use by the Cheyenne and Arapaho at that time. Bullets and musket balls found at the site matched up with the weaponry in use, further indicating that they had found the site of the village attacked by Chivington and his men. However, the tribes mostly disagreed with the NPS finding and held to their belief, based on oral tradition, that the village stood at a different location nearby where the creek made a sharp bend. A critical point for the Cheyenne was that the latter spot was blessed as “Cheyenne Earth” in 1978 by the Cheyenne Arrow Keeper, the tribe’s highest spiritual leader.²⁶

The tribes and the NPS agreed on exterior boundaries for the national historic site though they did not agree on the site of the village. Land acquisition went forward, and the unit was authorized by Congress in 2000 and officially designated by President Bush in 2007. Interpretation of the location of the village remained problematic. As Scott described the results of the archeology project, “The Sand Creek case provides us with a jarring example of another reality, that not everyone shares the same cultural values nor ascribes the same weight to disparate lines of evidence.” After reviewing the strong lines of archeological and historical evidence that the village was located not at the creek bend but south of it, Scott acknowledged that most of the tribes found the archeologists’ work unsatisfying. “In the Sand Creek case,” he wrote, “we have failed to consider the deep-seated cultural values and meanings placed on the traditional site by traditional Native American religious and cultural practitioners.”²⁷ The situation brought into play the ethical principle of accountability and called for circumspection in pushing findings that were not beneficial to all parties. The new approach to archeology required an attitude of humility about archeology’s claim on truth.

Effigy Mounds National Monument

The third example stands as a significant case in considering how NAGPRA affected NPS archeology in the Midwest Region.

Effigy Mounds National Monument, located on the Mississippi River in northeast Iowa, preserves the site of some 206 mounds, of which 31 are effigies. In the park’s collections – some dating from archeological investigations in the early twentieth century – were the partial remains of 41 humans. During the runup to passage of NAGPRA in 1990, the park superintendent, Thomas Munson, came to believe that the NPS unit, and the park collections, were under threat from the repatriation movement. Acting on his own initiative, Munson illegally removed the human remains

²⁵Douglas D. Scott, “Oral Tradition and Archaeology: Conflict and Concordance Examples from Two Indian War Sites,” *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 3 (2003), 60; Mark J. Lynott, “Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1999,” MWAC.

²⁶Scott, “Oral Tradition and Archaeology,” 61-63.

²⁷Scott, “Oral Tradition and Archaeology,” 64.

from the park's collections and placed them in his private home, which was across the Mississippi River in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Munson retired in 1994 after serving as superintendent of Effigy Mounds for 23 years.²⁸

MWAC archeologists Jan Dial-Jones and Jeff Richner, while performing a review of a park planning document, discovered a discrepancy between the document under review and an older report. The discrepancy pointed to the possibility that human remains were missing from the park collections. Richner wrote a memo to the new superintendent, Karen Gustin, inquiring about the potentially missing human remains. Gustin asked the retired superintendent what he knew about them. Munson told her that they had been sent to MWAC. MWAC, however, had no record of receiving such a shipment. Gustin wrote a memo about the missing items before moving on to another assignment in 1997. The next superintendent, Kathleen Miller, inquired with Munson as well. He told her a different story, vaguely expressing that the items had been lost. Acting on the park's behalf, MWAC contracted with Luther College archeology professor Dale Henning to examine the collections and determine which ones were pertinent for NAGPRA. MWAC contracted with Henning a second time to determine what artifacts, if any, were pertinent for NAGPRA. Both studies pointed to problems with the collections. Henning made known his findings in 1998. Miller transferred out shortly afterward, and the next superintendent, Phyllis Ewing, did not pursue the issue during her eleven-year tenure from 1999 to 2010.²⁹

Early in 2011, a culturally affiliated tribe inquired about the status of repatriation of items from the park collections. The inquiry came from Pat Murphy, NAGPRA coordinator for the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and it was addressed to the new park superintendent, Jim Nepstad. The superintendent promised to examine the files and respond. Superintendent Nepstad then came upon the memo from Jeff Richner and the two Henning reports, all dating to the late 1990s, and the suspicion raised in those reports that human remains were missing. As Nepstad and his law enforcement ranger investigated it, their own suspicions fell on the retired superintendent, Munson. After calling Richner and discussing the matter with him, Nepstad called the NPS Investigative Services Branch to initiate a criminal investigation.³⁰

Initially confronted by the park ranger, Munson brought in one box containing human remains. Careful analysis of the contents revealed that not all the missing items were accounted for. Confronted again by law enforcement in his own home, Munson gave up a second box that he had in his garage. The two boxes together contained more

²⁸ Jason Daley, "2,000 Sacred Bones Went Missing 21 Years Ago. This Detective Found Them." *Outside* at <https://outsideonline.com/2191011/case-of-the-missing-bones> <November 14, 2017>.

²⁹ Jason Daley, "2,000 Sacred Bones Went Missing 21 Years Ago. This Detective Found Them." *Outside* at <https://outsideonline.com/2191011/case-of-the-missing-bones> <November 14, 2017>. Superintendent Ewing's tenure was marred by a separate scandal after it came to light that the NPS allowed dozens of construction projects to go forward illegally without environmental compliance. The NPS investigative report was suppressed until a whistleblower shared a copy with a member of the national monument's friends group, who made it public. See Ryan J. Foley, "National Park Service buries report on effigy mounds scandal," *Des Moines Register*, August 3, 2015.

³⁰ Jason Daley, "2,000 Sacred Bones Went Missing 21 Years Ago. This Detective Found Them." *Outside* at <https://outsideonline.com/2191011/case-of-the-missing-bones> <November 14, 2017>.

than 2,000 bones. Later, Munson confessed to stealing them from the park collections more than twenty years earlier and keeping them in his garage. He was arraigned in December 2015 and sentenced in July 2016 to ten consecutive weekends in jail, one year of home confinement, 100 hours of community service, a \$3,000 fine, and ordered to pay \$108,905 in restitution. The damages were based primarily on costs incurred by the NPS in analyzing the original accession records and matching human remains with associated funerary objects to determine if the human remains were all accounted for. That work was performed by retired MWAC archeologist Jeff Richner, who returned to MWAC under a temporary part-time appointment.

Superintendent Nepstad strove to repair the park's relationships with its twenty culturally affiliated tribes. New appointments to the park's cultural resource staff included a former Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe THPO.³¹

That a former park superintendent had broken the law and attempted to thwart NAGPRA by concealing human remains in his garage came as a shock and embarrassment to the NPS. Munson's case was aberrant and bizarre, his intentions hard to understand. Nonetheless, coming more than twenty years after NAGPRA, the case was a reminder of the cultural chasm that the law was intended to bridge – and how much had changed in American archeology.

The A-76 Study

During the early 2000s, MWAC faced its most grave threat of termination – or dismemberment through privatization – since the unit was created from the RBS in 1969. Ultimately, MWAC withstood the test and went on as before. The episode deserves to be remembered for the disruption it entailed for MWAC operations, for the anxiety it caused to staff, and perhaps most of all, for the way it brought into stark relief a long-running debate over whether federal archeology and collections management constituted “inherently governmental functions” or “commercial activities” that could just as well be outsourced and performed in a competitive marketplace.

The basic premise underlying this critical examination of MWAC operations was that government involvement in “commercial activity” is generally inefficient because government jobs are shielded from market competition, and further, it is an Executive Branch responsibility to be vigilant in flushing out those government jobs that are not inherently governmental but rather “commercial” in nature. The Eisenhower administration was the first administration to undertake a critical review of federal jobs under the premise that the government's so-called commercial activities ought to be privatized. “Competitive sourcing” was another term used to describe this drive to cut down the size of the federal bureaucracy. In 1983, the Office of Management and the Budget released Circular A-76, which set out guidelines for conducting public-private cost comparisons (the so-called “A-76 study”) to lay the groundwork for privatizing a certain set of federal jobs. The George W. Bush administration embraced privatization on a scale that many found frightening, as it threatened to cross the line into outsourcing inherently governmental functions. In federal land management, opponents worried

³¹ Jason Daley, “2,000 Sacred Bones Went Missing 21 Years Ago. This Detective Found Them.” *Outside* at <https://outsideonline.com/2191011/case-of-the-missing-bones> <November 14, 2017>.

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that excessive privatization of government activities by the Bush administration would undermine resource protection. Secretary of the Interior Gale A. Norton announced that 70 percent or more of full-time jobs in the NPS – perhaps 11,800 jobs – could be performed by private-sector workers potentially, a statement that sent shock waves rippling through the agency and out to the NPS’s allies. (Later, the number of NPS jobs slated for A-76 study was scaled way back to about 1,700 jobs nationwide.)³²

Although the A-76 study of MWAC came to be strongly identified with the Bush administration, MWAC was caught in the net of the A-76 process prior to the advent of the Bush administration. In the waning years of the Clinton administration, the Republican-led Congress passed the Federal Activities Inventory Reform (FAIR) Act of 1998, which directed the administration to identify all federal jobs that were not inherently governmental. The Clinton administration conducted a preliminary inventory and categorized some 850,000 positions as potentially outside the “inherently governmental” umbrella. As part of that exercise, the NPS appointed NPS employee Donna Kalvels to serve as “the FAIR Act and A-76 coordinator” and compile the FAIR Act inventory for the agency. With her assistant Alex Young, Kalvels analyzed payroll records, organizing them by job series and organizational codes. MWAC was highlighted in their analysis because of the concentration of cultural resource specialists in one NPS unit. The Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) came to their attention as well. The Southwest Cultural Resource Center escaped their notice even though it had more archeologists than MWAC did – probably for the simple reason that it had a separate organizational code for each division within the organization, so it did not reveal the same critical mass. Later, after the Bush administration picked up the FAIR Act inventory and pressed forward with what became known as its Competitive Sourcing Initiative, Lynott asked Tom Thiessen to investigate why MWAC had been fingered for potential A-76 study in the first place. Thiessen’s investigation soon led him to Kalvels, who explained the rather arbitrary process by which MWAC had been targeted, but by then it was too late to challenge MWAC’s listing; the train had already left the station.³³

Through 2001 and 2002, the Department of the Interior and the NPS maneuvered to begin launching A-76 studies under the Bush administration’s Competitive Sourcing Initiative. Somewhat belatedly, Lynott dove into a grueling correspondence with other NPS officials over the inappropriateness of including MWAC in the initiative. Meanwhile, news media and members of Congress criticized the Bush administration for taking far too aggressive an approach to shrinking the federal bureaucracy through privatization, and some critics came to the defense of the NPS. Representative Nick J. Rahall II (Democrat – West Virginia) complained to Secretary Norton that privatization was “an affront to many NPS employees who dedicate their careers to serving and protecting our

³²Elizabeth Wolf, “The Potential Threat of A-76,” *American Archaeology* 7, no. 4 (Winter 2003-04), 27-31; Nick J. Rahall II, Congressman, to Gale A. Norton, Secretary, January 28, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC; National Park Service, “National Park Service Archeological Center Employees Determined to be More Cost Effective than Private Contractors,” August 8, 2003 (news release), Box 1, and Fran Mainella, “Competitive Sourcing at National Park Service Benefits Citizens,” *Federal Times*, July 28, 2003, copy in Box 1, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

³³Senator Craig Thomas, “Let’s Compete,” July 28, 2003, attached to Tim McKeown to Terry Childs, July 28, 2003 (email), Box 1, A-76 Working Files, MWAC; Thomas Thiessen, “The Competitive Sourcing Initiative at the Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE,” December 18, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

national parks.” He argued that the National Park System was a poor place to look for competitive sourcing because each unit was unique both in the resources it offered and the challenges it faced and “such richness and diversity defy a ‘one-cheapest-size-fits-all’ approach, particularly in the area of scientific research.”³⁴ Perhaps in response to the public outcry, Norton scaled back her proposed cuts for the NPS. During 2002, Director Fran Mainella approved a selection of five pilot studies, which included A-76 studies of both MWAC and SEAC. The pilot studies covered only about 15 percent of the 1,700 jobs that were slated for evaluation and potential privatization. The pilot studies were supposed to be completed during Fiscal Year 2003. After the pilot studies were done, the NPS expected to examine another subset amounting to about 25 percent of the total. The second lot would be done during Fiscal Year 2004.³⁵

The A-76 study typically unfolded according to a standard four-stage process. (The process was not cheap; it cost an estimated \$3,000 per position to privatize federal jobs by this method – and in MWAC’s case the cost would be much higher.) In the first stage, the unit prepared a Performance Work Statement (PWS) explaining in detail what the unit did. In the next stage, a private contractor would perform market research to assess the cost of accomplishing the work in the private sector. In the third stage, another private contractor would assist the unit in reshaping the existing unit organization into a more cost-competitive organization called a Most Efficient Organization (MEO). As a final step, the work performed by the unit might be put out for bid, in which case the agency could compete with private bidders using its MEO. If the MEO won the competition with private bidders, then the government retained the work and the associated positions.³⁶

The A-76 study of MWAC only went as far as starting to prepare an MEO, and then the study was aborted. The reason that the study never went to completion was two-fold. First, the A-76 study of SEAC proceeded some months ahead of the same study for MWAC. Based on the outcome of the A-76 study of SEAC, which went as far as the MEO only to find that the private sector could not underbid the existing organization, the similar study for MWAC became dubious and not worth the further expense and disruption it would take to complete it. Second, Representative Doug Bereuter (Republican – Nebraska) and Representative Jim Boyd (Republican – Florida) came to the defense of MWAC and SEAC and attempted to cut off funding for the two A-76 studies. Their amendment to the House Interior Appropriations bill was passed by a vote of 362 to 57. The vote generated media coverage and it came after 111 House Democrats issued a statement protesting any further efforts by the Bush administration to privatize functions of the NPS. All this revealed stiffening political opposition to the

³⁴Nick J. Rahall II, Congressman, to Gale A. Norton, Secretary, January 28, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

³⁵Associate Director for Administration to Regional Directors, February 20, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC; Fran Mainella, “Competitive Sourcing at National Park Service Benefits Citizens,” *Federal Times*, July 28, 2003, copy in Box 1, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

³⁶Goodfellow Air Force Base, “A-76 Frequently Asked Questions,” at www.goodfellow.af.mil/Contact-Us/A-76-Frequently-Asked-Questions/ <November 1, 2017>. The Maintenance Division at Great Smoky Mountains National Park was among the second round of units subjected to A-76 studies in Fiscal Year 2003 and it went through the entire process as described in the Superintendent’s Annual Reports for 2004 and 2005, Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

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president's Competitive Sourcing Initiative.³⁷ Director Mainella continued to champion the initiative for other NPS units and service sectors, but she finally conceded that the effort to privatize SEAC's and MWAC's archeological services was leading nowhere. In the fall, the NPS terminated its contract with CH2MHill for help in preparing an MEO for MWAC. An MEO for SEAC was already completed by this time.³⁸

MWAC staff were highly critical of NPS leadership for having let the ill-advised study go as far as it did. The study was a major drag on staff time. Lynott, Tom Thiessen, and Jan Dial-Jones were substantially involved in the effort from early 2001 through the fall of 2003 and heavily involved from February through September 2003. Many other staff were tasked from time to time to work directly on the A-76 study. Altogether, staff costs associated with these activities were conservatively estimated at \$155,549 for Fiscal Year 2003 alone. Even though the NPS contracted with Delta Solutions and Strategies, Inc. to perform the market research (for an additional cost of around \$200,000) MWAC staff spent considerable time explaining to the contractor various nuances in the PWS and the rationale behind classifying some work as "inherently governmental" and other work as not.³⁹

MWAC staff believed they were poorly served by higher-ups in the Midwest Region and Washington offices through the entire ordeal. The inattention and downright ignorance shown by NPS leadership was disappointing. Thiessen explained in his post-mortem analysis and narrative summary of the A-76 study:

NPS leadership failed to understand that when [an A-76 study] is conducted for a given work unit, that work unit must divide itself into a Remnant Efficient Organization (REO) comprised of workers performing duties that are inherently governmental, and a Most Efficient Organization (MEO) comprised of workers whose duties are potentially commercial. NPS leadership failed to recognize that even if the NPS offices were to win the competitions, those offices are obligated to form two sets of staff representing the MEO and REO to perform the work that had been done by a single work unit. This involves rewriting and classifying position descriptions, calculating separation and retirement costs for all workers, and possibly even implementing a Reduction-in-Force for the office under study. The emotional and fiscal cost of this process was never anticipated or acknowledged by NPS leadership. The consultants also told us that A-76 required that the MEO must receive funding priority over the REO, so if the Center

³⁷ Jason Peckenpaugh, "Dems ask for review of Park Service job competition plan," June 16, 2003, attached to Michele C. Aubry to NPS Archeologists, June 17, 2003, Box 1, A-76 Working Files, MWAC; "Bereuter addition passes muster," *Journal Star* (Lincoln, Neb.), July 18, 2003; "Archaeologists on the Block?" *Washington Post*, July 15, 2003; "House Votes to Save Jobs of Park Service Archaeologists," *Washington Post*, July 19, 2003.

³⁸ Thomas Thiessen, "The Competitive Sourcing Initiative at the Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE," December 18, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

³⁹ After the A-76 study was ditched, Lynott tasked Thiessen with preparing a "chronological summary" or postmortem on the Competitive Sourcing Initiative at MWAC. This document is much more detailed than the discussion here. It provides an overall critique, abstracts the major correspondence, and includes financial data. See Thomas Thiessen, "The Competitive Sourcing Initiative at the Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE," December 18, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC. The contractor cost of \$200,000 is cited in Scott J. Cameron to Doug Bereuter, May 30, 2003, Box 3, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

was ever short of funds, the government workers would be terminated, and contract employees retained.

Further evidence of the NPS leadership's failure to understand the cost is visible in the overall approach to the "Pilot Studies." Firm-fixed agreements for each study were issued, and in an effort to reduce consulting costs, the Service proposed to provide a full-time NPS staff person to assist with each study. Originally, these were to be provided by the regions or WASO, but eventually, each office that was studied had to provide staff to assist the consultants in all phases of the study. So although we were promised at the start of the study that we would see little impact to our day-to-day operations, it turned out that [A-76] impacted every aspect of the Center's operation for all of 2003.⁴⁰

The Bush administration and Director Mainella made repeated, misleading claims that the A-76 studies streamlined the government and saved taxpayer dollars even when the government "won the competition" and stayed in business. After the completion of the SEAC study, Assistant Secretary of the Interior P. Lynn Scarlett wrote that the A-76 study "resulted in dramatic savings as the employees reengineered their work, won the competition, and will save NPS \$850,000 a year for a total of \$4.25 million over five years." An indignant Lynott called those claims "smoke and mirrors," pointing out that the supposed cost savings were based on the elimination of fourteen positions that were currently vacant. How could there be savings of \$850,000 per year when SEAC's base funding was only around \$800,000 per year?⁴¹

The fallacy in those figures pointed to a major reason why federal archeology jobs were best retained within the federal government. Most of the federal archeologists at the two centers were paid through project funding; often the centers dipped into their base funding to pay salaries before project funding was completely secured, because experience showed that the project funding would come. CRM firms, by contrast, had to proceed in lock step, securing each contract before committing staff. As remarked by SEAC's director, John Ehrenhard, "We work on the promise that we'll get funded; a contractor works on the guarantee that the money is there now." With the centers' comparatively secure workload and cashflow, the centers had greater flexibility, continuity, and even the wherewithal for greater efficiency compared to what government contractors might have.⁴²

The move to privatize NPS archeology also overlooked the unique professionalism of NPS archeologists. The centers provided their staff with all kinds of cross training in field work, artifact analysis, curation, database management, and resource preservation and interpretation, all of which was tailored to serve the NPS mission. For example, NPS archeologists received on-the-job training in enforcement of the Archeological

⁴⁰Thomas Thiessen, "The Competitive Sourcing Initiative at the Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE," December 18, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

⁴¹Fran Mainella, "Competitive Sourcing at National Park Service Benefits Citizens," *Federal Times*, July 28, 2003; P. Lynn Scarlet, Assistant Secretary, to Douglas K. Bereuter, U.S. House of Representatives, October 27, 2003, and Director to All Employees, January 6, 2004 (email), Box 3, A-76 Working Files, MWAC; Thomas Thiessen, "The Competitive Sourcing Initiative at the Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, NE," December 18, 2003, Box 5, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

⁴²Wolf, "The Potential Threat of A-76," 29.

Resources Protection Act, making them better stewards of archeological resources in ways that private-sector archeologists could seldom match. Many NPS archeologists had years of experience caring for the archeological resources of particular sites or parks. Indeed, MWAC's archeologists sometimes had institutional knowledge of a park unit that went deeper than the institutional knowledge of the park staff and would be called upon precisely because they had that institutional memory. Ironically, while MWAC was under the gun in the A-76 process, Tom Thiessen and Doug Scott each received achievement awards from the Department of the Interior. The dedication shown by NPS career archeologists was irreplaceable. Said Ehrenhard, "Public archaeology is from the heart, not the profit margin."⁴³

Collections Management

MWAC came into being with a large inventory of archeological collections inherited from the RBS, and it acquired many more collections after its mission changed to doing archeology in the parks. However, MWAC's collections management program remained rudimentary before the 1990s. NAGPRA had a huge impact on collections management including MWAC's collections management program. This section describes the evolution of MWAC collections management through the whole half-century sweep of MWAC's existence.

Before NAGPRA

Both the Antiquities Act and the NPS Organic Act gave the NPS a responsibility to establish and manage park museum collections, yet collections management was a little-seen function that was long neglected. Standards for archeological collections and records management were set out in two NPS publications, the *Museum Handbook* and *Manual for Museums*, both of which were updated in 1976, as well as Directive NPS-28 on Cultural Resources Management. In 1980, the NPS appointed a new chief curator, Ann Hitchcock, whose job was to professionalize museum services and improve collections management across the agency.⁴⁴ Hitchcock called a national meeting of regional curators in November 1980 at which seventeen proposals were adopted. The fourth and fifth proposals addressed the role of the archeological centers. The centers would be "allowed to act as repositories for cultural and natural park collections," and those collections would "continue to be owned in name by the park." The centers might also "acquire their own collections for comparative and study purposes."⁴⁵ Chief of MWAC Carl Falk's faunal bone collection assembled in the 1970s was an example of the latter.⁴⁶

⁴³ Wolf, "The Potential Threat of A-76," 28; Scott interview.

⁴⁴ Ann Hitchcock, "The Museum Role of the Park Service," *CRM Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (March 1981), 16; Ann Hitchcock, "Collection Management Planning in Parks," *Trends* 20, no. 2 (1983), 11; David Grayson Allen, *The Olmsted National Historic Site and the Growth of Historic Landscape Preservation* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007), 145.

⁴⁵ Chief Curator to Participants, Regional Curators Meeting, January 21, 1981, attaching record of November meeting, Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁴⁶ Two other MWAC collections include its fire study collection of fire-tested artifacts (discussed later in the chapter) and the River Basin Surveys materials.

MWAC's first important step in collections management was to secure better storage space for the hundreds of boxes of specimens and paper records from past archeological collections. A primary concern was that collections must be stored in a climate-controlled space where temperature and humidity level were kept within an acceptable range. At the same time, collections must be preserved from damage resulting from pollutants, pests, dust, fire, flood, and other environmental hazards. When MWAC moved into the new federal building at 100 Centennial Mall North it was expected that the climate-controlled space would be duly provided; however, energy conservation measures in the late 1970s took precedence. The Government Services Administration (GSA) insisted on turning off the heat or air conditioning throughout the building on weekends, refusing MWAC's plea for climate control where it stored its collections. Finally, in 1982, after "seven years of letter writing and phone calls," MWAC obtained a separate storage room in the basement when another building tenet moved out. With the move, MWAC also acquired new shelving in place of old, which had gone through a couple of moves already and sagged under the weight of so many groaning container boxes.⁴⁷

Another early challenge in managing MWAC's collections was to remove the backlog of unprocessed collections left by the RBS. The NPS had an agreement with the Smithsonian Institution that those collections would remain under NPS custody until MWAC completed analysis of what each collection contained, whereupon the collection would be transferred to the Smithsonian. MWAC received funds through the IAS program to tackle the backlog, and it chipped away at it through the late 1970s and 1980s. A memo in 1983 indicated that the backlog of RBS collections amounted to approximately 500,000 objects from 65 sites and took up about 30 percent of MWAC's laboratory floor space. The cost of curating those materials was over \$10,000 per year. As each collection was analyzed and written up in a report, it was then turned over to the Smithsonian and removed from MWAC's inventory. The last of the RBS collections was processed in 1993. Besides the RBS backlog, MWAC had its own backlog of collections from the years 1969 to 1975 when it was still primarily involved with salvage archeology. That backlog was finally eliminated and the last of the collections was conveyed to state repositories in Fiscal Year 1994.⁴⁸

To address the backlog, MWAC archeologist Ed Sudderth became the Center's museum specialist in 1983. The annual report for MWAC that year appended a detailed discussion on "Archeological Collections Management and Curation," together with an "Outline Records and Collections Management Plan," presumably both written by Sudderth. The former laid out the challenges as set out by the chief curator and proposed how the Center would respond. The latter listed tasks, target dates for task completion, and an estimated cost for each. The emphasis was on stabilizing collections and implementing a system of records management. Faced with the probability of limited

⁴⁷ F. A. Calabrese, "Archeological Records: Preservation of a Neglected Resource," paper given at 51st Annual Meeting, Society for American Archeology, New Orleans, 1986, Box 9, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁴⁸ Regional Director, Midwest Region to Assistant Director, Park Operations, November 11, 1977, Regional Director, Midwest Region to Director, undated, and Departmental Consulting Archeologist to Deputy Director, August 26, 1983, Box labeled "SI Collections, Status," F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, "Report of Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1993," MWAC.

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funding for collections management into the foreseeable future, the Center would make do with “temporary personnel and Cultural Cyclic maintenance funds.”⁴⁹ Sudderth’s reassignment as museum specialist provided more consistency with accessioning and with the help of museum technicians Sudderth made progress with preventive conservation efforts through the rest of the decade and the early 1990s.

MWAC obtained a Scope of Collections Statement in 1985. Among the proposals for upgrading collections management put forward in 1980 was the preparation of a Scope of Collections Statement for each park. It was programmed into a park’s planning process through the Statement for Management, the Outline of Planning Requirements, the General Management Plan, and the Resource Management Plan. Since MWAC was not a park, the chief curator worked with Calabrese and the Midwest Region to get this document produced for MWAC. The Scope of Collections Statement for MWAC once again stipulated that the “Center’s collections are all loan collections owned by the parks from which they were recovered.” The document contained the following statement of purpose:

The purpose of the Center’s collections is to provide data for the interpretation of park resources and to serve as a permanent scientific data bank for archeological sites threatened by development or natural forces. The Center does not have an interpretive program of its own. Consequently there is no unified interpretive thrust that either prescribes or proscribes the scope of the collections. Rather, the scope of the collections at the Center reflects the diverse resources and interpretive programs of the parks that it serves.⁵⁰

This was about as far as improvements in MWAC’s collections management went in the 1980s. Despite the appointment of a chief curator and the establishment of a Curatorial Services Division in the Washington Office, collections management across the agency still suffered from shortage of funds and lack of commitment. A 1986 report by the General Accounting Office, *Cultural Resources – Problems Protecting and Preserving Federal Archeological Resources*, found that the NPS was woefully behind in cataloguing its museum objects. The backlog for the whole agency was estimated at 15.5 million objects, requiring \$19.7 million to rectify. The NPS estimated that it needed another \$28.5 million for upgrades to storage facilities.⁵¹

In response to the GAO report, the NPS added a museum collections plan to its 1988 budget request, and Congress responded by granting the NPS an extra slug of money for collections management for the next six years. MWAC saw an uptick in its base funding for collections management. In Fiscal Year 1990, 53 percent of MWAC’s base funding, or a total of \$71,295, was dedicated to collections management.⁵²

⁴⁹Appendix 3 in F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1983,” MWAC.

⁵⁰ Regional Director, Midwest Region to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, December 9, 1985, attaching “Midwest Archeological Center Scope of Collections Statement,” Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁵¹ Ann Hitchcock, “Curatorial Services Division Takes on New Functions,” *CRM Bulletin* 4, nos. 2-4 (December 1981), 1; S. Terry Childs, “The Curation Crisis,” *Federal Archeology* 7, no. 4 (Winter/Spring 1995), 12-13.

⁵²Childs, “The Curation Crisis,” 13; F. A. Calabrese, “Report on Archeological Programs of the

Toward the end of the decade, the NPS took another step to get its house in order by emphasizing that archeologists had a responsibility not only to complete scientific reports on what they dug up, but also to catalog, preserve, and store the artifact collection so as not to add to a backlog.⁵³ In other words, costs for curation had to be built into project budgets. The fact that costs of curation were often slighted or omitted was a longstanding problem in archeology that was by no means limited to the NPS. As one writer put it, “Too often, excavation is seen as a more worthy aspect of the profession than what must inevitably come afterward. True, excavating a pot can be an exciting process of discovery. Cleaning, analyzing, inventorying, and boxing that pot, however, is frequently viewed as drudge work,” and so it was conveniently dismissed as a separate sphere of activity.⁵⁴ That attitude or approach ran counter to a conservation ethic and had to be overcome by wrapping curation costs into each and every archeology project that might result in an archeological collection, no matter how small the project or collection. It was a difficult thing to enforce, especially since there were short-term costs for processing items and then long-term costs for maintaining them, the latter potentially reaching into perpetuity. A 1989 memo from the regional director to the Center chief advised MWAC to work with park staffs to ensure it was done.⁵⁵

NAGPRA-Related Studies

After Congress passed NAGPRA on November 16, 1990, the NPS received two deadlines for the repatriation of human remains or funerary objects contained in all park museum collections. The NPS was to provide a summary of such items by November 16, 1993, and an inventory of those items by November 16, 1995. Since numerous park collections were either permanently or temporarily housed at MWAC, the assistance of MWAC was requested in completing the summary and inventory reports for those park collections. Both the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions called on MWAC to prepare NAGPRA summary and inventory reports for their respective parks. For the Rocky Mountain Region, the NAGPRA studies followed a two-step process, starting with a review of technical reports and other literature, and then proceeding to an examination of the artifacts themselves. The work was completed in 1991 and 1992. For the Midwest Region, the MWAC staff began by assisting parks in formulating a NAGPRA summary report for each park by the November 16, 1993, deadline. After that was completed, MWAC drafted a plan for the Midwest Region for inventorying human remains and funerary objects in all Midwest Region parks. The inventory included a

Midwest Archeological Center for Fiscal Year 1990,” MWAC.

⁵³ Acting Director to Directorate and Field Directorate, WASO Division Chiefs and Park Superintendents, July 16, 1987, File Archeological Curation, Box 1 National Register Tracking, History of Archeology Program, WACC.

⁵⁴ Childs, “The Curation Crisis,” 12.

⁵⁵ Regional Director to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, February 16, 1990, Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC. There was disagreement on the matter of short-term versus long-term curation costs. Denis P. Galvin wrote in the above cited July 16, 1987 memo: “In carrying out your cultural resources management programs, you should insure that the initial costs to catalog, stabilize and store a collection are included in the costs of the project that generates the collections. ... Subsequent costs of curation should come from the operating base funds of the accountable organization.” Don H. Castleberry wrote in the above cited February 16, 1990 memo: “You should remind park staffs of the need for them to include short-term and long-term curation requirements in their requests for funding.”

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review of records in the Automated National Catalog System, as well as interviews with staff archeologists and review of project records to discover possible human remains in collections at MWAC that were not yet entered in the national database.⁵⁶

MWAC's role in repatriating human remains was mostly one of supporting the parks. The parks had the functional relationships with the tribes who claimed cultural patrimony over the objects, and the parks owned the collections; therefore, it was left to each park to arrange for repatriation and in some cases, assist with reburial. On rare occasions, MWAC had more direct involvement. On October 12, 1995, MWAC hosted a NAGPRA consultation with David Lee Smith, historian and NAGPRA coordinator for the Winnebago Indian Tribe of Nebraska, and Karen Gustin, superintendent at Effigy Mounds National Monument. At issue was the disposition of human remains that could not be culturally affiliated with any tribe. Participating MWAC staff included Michelle Watson and Tom Thiessen. In preparation for the meeting, two sets of human remains that were recovered from Effigy Mounds were taken from MWAC's vault and placed in the conference room for viewing. On arrival, Smith expressed that viewing them could bring bad happenings upon his tribe and upon the spirit of those human remains, so the consultation was delayed until the remains were put back in the vault. After that awkward introduction, the consultation resulted in a very friendly and helpful exchange of information.⁵⁷

NAGPRA introduced new protocols in the event human remains were inadvertently unearthed during an archeological dig. Within a year of NAGPRA's passage, MWAC archeologists uncovered a partial human skeleton at Big Hole National Battlefield, Montana, while conducting a metal detector survey. In accordance with a memorandum of agreement between the NPS, the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation, the Montana SHPO, and the Nez Perce Tribe, supervisory archeologist Doug Scott immediately informed the Nez Perce Tribe. At the tribe's request, the remains were thoroughly excavated, placed in a wooden box, and held in the park's vault for a short time until they could be reburied on site at a prudent distance from Big Hole Creek. Two Nez Perce representatives were present for the reburial a few days later. Only a superficial field analysis of the skeletal remains was permitted under the circumstances, which nonetheless pointed fairly conclusively to the individual having been a young female probably in her late teens who was killed during the battle and buried in haste with other victims on top of camas ovens in the cut bank beside the creek. MWAC archeologist Melissa A. Connor prepared a technical report on the findings.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Midwest Archeological Center, "Status and Evaluation of Analytical Needs for Human Remains and Associated Materials in Park Collections, Rocky Mountain Region," July 1991, File "Human Burial Tracking," Box 1 National Register Tracking, and Chief, Division of Cultural Resources to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, August 5, 1991, Box 3, History of Archeology Program, WACC; Manager, Midwest Archeological Center to Superintendent, Rocky Mountain System Support Office, June 28, 1995, Reading Files for June-July 1995, F. A. Calabrese Papers, MWAC; Midwest Archeological Center, "NAGPRA Activities," January 23, 1996 (briefing paper), Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; F. A. Calabrese, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1994," MWAC.

⁵⁷Michelle Watson to Tom Thiessen, October 13, 1995 (email), Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁵⁸Melissa A. Connor, *What Price Victory: Human Remains Uncovered at Big Hole National Battlefield, 1991*, Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report No. 19 (Lincoln: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1992), 1, 5-6.

On June 17, 1990, a child burial was discovered in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area. Once sheltered in a crevice high on a slope, it now happened to rest nearly on a level with the surface of Lake Powell where, if left alone, it would be subjected to wave erosion, vandalism, or both. As the discovery was made a few months before passage of NAGPRA, Glen Canyon Superintendent John Lancaster acted within the law and existing protocol when he had the burial removed immediately and only afterwards initiated consultation with the Hopi and Navajo tribes to decide its final disposition. As the burial contained ancestral Pueblo pottery, it was soon determined that the burial's cultural affiliation was with the former tribe. Park archeologist Chris Kinkaid, in consultation with F. A. Calabrese, advocated for recognition of the burial's archeological significance and its study prior to reburial. Through negotiation with the Hopi THPO and tribal elders, it was agreed that the burial remains would be studied and then reburied at a suitable location. The prehistoric burial was described in a report and published by MWAC as Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 26. The report not only presented scientific findings, it also documented how the NPS and the Hopi dealt with the inadvertent discovery "at a time when the philosophy, ethics, and legislation concerning scientific excavation and study of human remains [were] in a state of flux."⁵⁹

MWAC conducted a variety of other NAGPRA-related studies in the early and mid-1990s. Though small in terms of cost and effort, they were politically sensitive. Some studies were directed at museum collections in other field units. MWAC helped arrange a study by Dr. Paul Sciulli of Ohio State University of human remains in the museum collection at Hopewell Culture National Historical Park. In another instance, MWAC issued a purchase order to Loendorf and Associates for research on a rare collection of ceremonial pipes curated at Pipestone National Monument. The study was aimed at identifying lineal descendants of the pipes' original American Indian owners, some of whom were chiefs of considerable historical renown, so that the park would be prepared should a claim of cultural patrimony arise. The study was performed by the anthropologist and scholar Peter Nabokov, who had earlier worked with Loendorf and Associates and the NPS on a study of Indian use and occupancy in Yellowstone National Park. The report by Nabokov was added to the park's library while the pipes quietly remained in the park's collection.⁶⁰

In 1992, MWAC oversaw two other studies aimed at identifying cultural affiliation of human remains. One study called for a forensic and physical anthropological analysis of four sets of burial remains at Pipe Spring National Monument, Arizona. Dr. Mark Taylor of Northern Arizona University performed the study and concluded that the very incomplete remains were American Indians who lived in the area 600 to 700 years ago, but he could not determine their cultural affiliation. MWAC oversaw another NAGPRA-related study on behalf of the Rocky Mountain Region and the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument. Seven graves at the cemetery site were exhumed to confirm that the graves all belonged to unidentified U.S. soldiers killed in the battle,

⁵⁹ Steve Dominguez, Karl J. Reinhard, Kari L. Sandness, Cherie A. Edwards, and Dennis Danielson, *The Dan Canyon Burial, 42SA21339, a PIII Burial in Glen Canyon National Recreation Area*, Midwest Archeological Center Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 26 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1992), 1. The quote is from the Introduction authored by F. A. Calabrese and Chris Kinkaid.

⁶⁰ Midwest Archeological Center, "NAGPRA Activities," January 23, 1996 (briefing paper), Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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only to find that one of the seven appeared to be female. MWAC issued a purchase order to California State University, Chico, for a forensic and physical anthropological analysis of the skeleton by Dr. P. Willey. Willey identified the remains as those of an American Indian female, perhaps 50 years of age, but his attempt to identify her tribe based on the shape of her skull was unavailing. Given the inconclusive results, Calabrese advised the Rocky Mountain Region, “We suggest that one option to consider is the retention of the remains, sensitively stored in an appropriate repository, until such time as analytical techniques are sufficiently advanced to accurately assess the individual’s tribal affiliation.” Calabrese referred to the anticipated advances in DNA analysis, which were indeed soon to come about.⁶¹

In each of these cases, MWAC archeologists demonstrated how the NPS was balancing its commitment to science with its respect for American Indian tradition and cultural patrimony.

Post-NAGPRA Improvements

NAGPRA was a stimulus to improve archeological collections management everywhere in the federal government and in other institutions, too. In 1993, Regional Museum Specialist Abby Sue Fisher carried out an inspection of MWAC’s collection management and curatorial functions. She found that the collection storage area did not meet current standards (as defined in Special Directive 80-1, revised in 1990). She stated that MWAC’s artifact collections were in a basement room. The room was equipped with a sprinkler system and dry-chemical fire extinguishers, but it did not have its own heating, ventilation and air conditioning (HVAC) system separate from the central system for the whole federal building. Double doors into the room were secured by a combination lock. Pest activity did not seem to be a problem for the Center. MWAC’s archival collections were stored on the fourth floor where MWAC’s offices were located.⁶²

Fisher reviewed MWAC’s unsuccessful efforts over the past seven years to obtain funding for upgrading its collections management. In her view, MWAC’s lack of success was traceable to its lack of critical planning documents that were used in the funding process as tools for identifying eligible projects. She wrote:

Because the Center functions differently from individual parks, MWAC does not have a Resource Management Plan (RMP), or an Outline of Park Requirements (OPR). Since they do not have these primary park documents, their funding process has fallen outside of the pipeline used by parks. Apparently, many of the Development/Study Package Proposals (10-238’s) the Center submitted in 1986 have not been addressed. This has caused much frustration at the Center.⁶³

⁶¹ Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, January 26, 1993, and Dr. P. Willey to Dr. Francis A. Calabrese, October 27, 1992, and Chief, Midwest Archeological Center to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, Rocky Mountain Region, November 3, 1992, Box 3, History of Archeology Program, WACC.

⁶² Regional Museum Specialist, Midwest Region to Associate Regional Director, Operations, Midwest Region, April 28, 1993, Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁶³ Regional Museum Specialist, Midwest Region to Associate Regional Director, Operations, Midwest Region, April 28, 1993, Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

Regional Curator Carol E. Kohan agreed with Fisher's recommendation that MWAC prepare an RMP. (MWAC responded to this recommendation, completing an RMP in 1998.) Kohan noted that a museum curator position for MWAC was included in the Midwest Region's budget request for Fiscal Year 1994, but she predicted that the request would be denied since "to date, there has not been adequate FTE and funding for permanent dedicated curatorial positions for 22 out of 30 parks in the Midwest Region, as well as for MWAC and the Regional Office."⁶⁴ (She was right; the curator position was not funded for another five years. However, the request was a start.)

Goaded by the regional curator and influenced by NAGPRA, Lynott made collections management a priority when he became center manager in 1995. Lynott's first move was to put Janis Dial-Jones in charge of an expanded collections management team, with the goal of professionalizing how the collections were managed. Though Dial-Jones was not a curator but an archeologist, she had curatorial training in the early 1990s and was prepared to take on that challenge. Lynott rewrote her job description, putting her in charge of a collections management team.⁶⁵

Since the NPS was in the middle of its reorganization at that time, and MWAC faced as much uncertainty as the regional offices, Lynott tried to leverage a financial commitment from the Rocky Mountain Region for support of MWAC's ongoing care and management of the Rocky Mountain Region's park collections. His argument was that MWAC needed to commit a minimum of three employees to collections management, and while MWAC base funding would cover the salary of the team leader, it was only proper that the Rocky Mountain and Midwest regions cover the cost of the other two employees' salaries. Historically, parks in the Rocky Mountain Region accounted for slightly more than 50 percent of MWAC's repository holdings. With the realignment of North and South Dakota to the Midwest Region, the figure dropped to 36 percent. After calculating the total annual cost of collections management at MWAC at \$134,000 (excluding facility overhead and base-funded oversight), Lynott proposed to assess the Rocky Mountain Region 36 percent of that cost, or \$48,000 per year.⁶⁶

Lynott's proposal, while not unreasonable, was framed in a way that generated some consternation in the Rocky Mountain Regional Office. The correspondence back and forth became sharp, with the superintendents of the newly formed Rocky Mountain SSO and Colorado Plateau SSO upbraiding Lynott for suggesting, in effect, that if they refused to comply with his request then the park collections would be "placed on the loading dock for pickup." The stress of the reorganization and the scramble to hold onto FTEs were clearly a factor in causing this strain. After the Rocky Mountain Region was sundered into two system support offices in the summer of 1995, the two offices issued a split decision over how to respond to MWAC's demand. The Colorado Plateau SSO

⁶⁴ Regional Curator, Midwest Region to Associate Regional Director, Operations, Midwest Region, April 29, 1993, Box 12, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁶⁵ Karin Roberts interview by Theodore Catton, November 2, 2017.

⁶⁶ Manager, Midwest Archeological Center to Associate Regional Director, Operations and Resource Management, Rocky Mountain Region, June 1, 1995, Box 6, and Manager, Midwest Archeological Center to Superintendent, Rocky Mountain SSO and Superintendent, Colorado Plateau SSO, September 1, 1995, Box 8, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

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sent a loading truck and transferred several hundred cubic feet of material to WACC and a few individual parks, while the Rocky Mountain SSO finally agreed to make an annual payment of \$30,000 to MWAC to maintain its park collections in Lincoln. The remaining Rocky Mountain material included large archeological collections for Grand Teton National Park and Yellowstone National Park together with about a dozen other relatively small park collections.⁶⁷

As the new team leader, Dial-Jones's priority was to tighten access to the collections. The way things stood, everyone on staff had free access to the archival collections on the fourth floor, and there was no formal check-out system for retrieving field notes or other paper records from old project files, and the archives had become disorganized. Dial-Jones initially had the vault locked, then moved the archival collections to the basement. The cyber-locks security system used electronic cylinders and a key pad instead of mechanical cylinders and a key so that custodial workers could not get in, and a passcode was only issued to select people, with all requests to retrieve items routed through the collections management team. Establishing those controls over access to the collections was fundamental to achieving a more professional approach to collections management.⁶⁸

Another need was to get the entire holdings catalogued. Over the previous decade and a half, the NPS had made a push to catalog all items in the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS), which was a digitized version of the older National Catalog of Museum Objects. It was a mostly thankless job. Even with occasional bursts of funding and chest-beating to get it done, the cataloguing effort was chronically shunted to the back of other priorities. Virtually every unit of the National Park System had a backlog of uncatalogued items. Starting in the mid-1990s, MWAC recommitted itself to this central task of collections management and began to make significant headway. The collections management team finally had sufficient personnel and direction to tackle it. In 1997, the team had eight members: Team Leader Archeologist Dial-Jones, Museum Specialist (Registrar) René Botts, five archeological technicians, and one archeological aid. MWAC was selected as a test site for the next generation of software for the National Catalog. In the 1997 annual report, Lynott reported:

A total of 4,676 catalog records were produced for 54,437 archeological and archival objects from 12 Midwest and Rocky Mountain parks. Both pre-1987 (backlog) and later collections were catalogued. Most of the cataloguing was accomplished using a test installation of Re:discovery, the anticipated replacement for the Service's Automated National Catalog System (ANCS). The Center served as a test site for the Re:discovery software and provided input to a restructuring of the NPS cataloging process. A new Center-specific manual for the cataloging of archeological collections was also developed in conjunction with the test of Re:discovery.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Manager, Midwest Archeological Center to Superintendent, Zion National Park, September 15, 1995, and Superintendent, Colorado Plateau SSO and Superintendent, Rocky Mountain SSO to Manager, Midwest Archeological Center, September 26, 1995, File H20 Collection Management and Preservation, Administrative Records, MWAC; Roberts interview.

⁶⁸Roberts interview.

⁶⁹Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1997," MWAC.

MWAC's experimentation with the Re:discovery software helped to advance the national catalog system. Ten years later, a customized version of the software came to form the basis for a new Department-wide catalog system known as the Interior Collection Management System (ICMS). The ICMS replaced the ANCS in 2008 and remains in use as of this writing. Not limited to accessioning and cataloging, the ICMS also covers deaccessioning, loans, housekeeping, annual reporting, and other elements of collections management.⁷⁰

There were other improvements in MWAC's collections management in the late 1990s. The facility was equipped with a compact mobile storage unit. Archival collections were put in long-lasting containers, consistent with modern museum and NPS standards. In 1999, Museum Technician Karin Roberts completed a major revision and update of the Center's laboratory manual, which had been written several years before.

Reporting standards were upgraded. Each year, MWAC produced a Collections Management Report (CMR) for every park with collections at the Center, submitting digital copies to the Museum Management Program in Washington, D.C. and paper copies to the park and regional curator. The CMR indicated the total quantity of museum property curated at the Center, and the number of artifacts and archives that were cataloged, added into the collections, or returned to the park. CMRs became important for ongoing funding of the collection management program, because the Washington Office used the CMRs to allocate funds.⁷¹

Dial-Jones argued that to complete the process of professionalization, MWAC needed to have a curator on staff. Dial-Jones's lead assistant on the collections management team was Karin Roberts and the two worked well together. Roberts had a master's degree in anthropology and had taken a few courses in museum studies. With encouragement from Dial-Jones and Lynott, Roberts went back to school to get a second master's degree in museum studies. While enrolled at the University of Nebraska she remained on the staff at MWAC under the Student Career Experience Program (SCEP Program). She completed her degree and returned to full time status at MWAC in 1999, now in the position of curator. Dial-Jones remained in charge of the collections management team, and in 2000, when collections management was elevated to the level of a program in MWAC's organization scheme, she was promoted to supervisory archeologist and became head of the Archeological Collections Program. Dial-Jones retired in 2010, whereupon Roberts served as acting head of the program for the next two years. In 2012, Roberts was hired into the position after a competitive search.⁷²

Further improvements were made to the collections facility. In 2008, additional compact storage units were installed for artifact collections, and preparations were

⁷⁰National Park Service, *ICMS User Manual (2015)* at <https://www.nps.gov/museum/publications/ICMSmanual/04-Introduction.pdf> <November 8, 2017>.

⁷¹Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1999," MWAC; Mark Lynott to Bill Schenk and David Given, September 28, 2000 (email), Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

⁷²Roberts interview.

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underway in 2017 to add more compact storage units for archives. In 2013, a new HVAC system was put in.⁷³

The secure space of the collections facility served one other useful purpose: it was a place to keep MWAC's growing inventory of expensive geophysical survey equipment safe from theft. In 2017, MWAC had four fluxgate magnetometers and one towed array – a unit mounted on a cart that was towed behind an all-terrain vehicle. The towed array was the only one of its kind in the United States. It was manufactured in Germany and carried a price tag of around \$100,000.⁷⁴

In 2017, staff prepared to roll out a digital management plan for MWAC's burgeoning collections of digital information. Doing archeology with geophysical survey techniques and hardware produced vast quantities of digital records. The towed array itself presented a quantum leap in the production of digital records, as did the development of remote sensing data from the air. MWAC accessioned a growing amount of digital information from a remote sensing method called Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR), which was so data-rich that the records had to be quantified in terabytes. (One terabyte is equal to a thousand gigabytes; one gigabyte is equal to a thousand megabytes; one megabyte is equal to a thousand kilobytes.) Management of digital records loomed as a major challenge in the future. Just like physical objects and paper records, digital information had to be protected from deteriorating over time as well as preserved in such a way as to allow access and use. MWAC had to maintain a master copy of the data from each archeological survey for researchers to use, and it had to store the data in such a way that it would not degrade.⁷⁵

The Park Archeology Program

By 2003, the Park Archeology Program served 55 Midwest Region parks. It served additional parks outside the Midwest Region as requested. Park archeology was the Center's central program, and most of the MWAC staff were now grouped within it. Thiessen headed the program, while Doug Scott was Team Leader for the Great Plains Team and Jeff Richner was Team Leader for the Great Lakes Team. The staff engaged in myriad activities under this program. A memo prepared in January 2003 listed eighteen separate activities, all of them consistent with what MWAC had been doing since the early 1970s, though a few were tied to newer, specific funding initiatives or data systems:

Identifies archeological resource management needs and recommends appropriate investigations.

Coordinates the MWR SAIP plan [Systemwide Archeological Inventory] and advises Regional Director on SAIP funding priorities by participating in the annual review of SAIP PMIS [Project Management Inventory System] proposals.

Advises parks and MWRO staff on priorities for upcoming programs and projects.

⁷³Roberts interview.

⁷⁴De Vore interview.

⁷⁵Roberts interview.

Participate in MWR document review process by offering comments, recommendations, and cost estimates.

Conduct identification and evaluation investigations in support of National Register of Historic Places recommendations.

Conduct mitigative data recovery investigations and monitoring of development activities.

Provide information to support NRHP determinations of eligibility and nominations.

Staff serve as Section 106 advisors to parks.

Coordinate review of ARPA permit applications, process permits and related correspondence, and distribute reports.

Conduct ARPA damage assessments.

Conduct site condition assessments.

Draft PMIS project statements and advise parks on PMIS statements.

Assist parks, MWRO and WASO by participating in team planning efforts, such as Special Resource Studies, General Management Plan studies, etc.

Advise park and MWRO staff, as well as A&E firms and other consultants on a wide range of issues regarding archeological resource management on NPS lands.

Conduct training in paraprofessional archeology for park and MWRO staff, and coordinate the MWR paraprofessional archeology program by directing paraprofessional activities in parks.

Interpret results of investigations to the public and advise parks on interpretive matters.

Utilize volunteers and interns in field and lab work.

Prepare required reports, including information for the Secretary of the Interior's annual report to Congress and inventory project accomplishment reports.⁷⁶

In the two decades after the NPS reorganization, park archeology projects changed in some important ways. For one thing, geophysical survey became an increasingly effective and critical tool, forming the basis for more and more projects. The major development in MWAC's geophysical survey capabilities came with the switch from proton to fluxgate magnetometry in the mid- to late 1990s. The new technology yielded higher resolution data and sped up surveying considerably. A set of gridlines that might have taken an hour to cover with the proton magnetometer could be covered in a quarter of that time with the fluxgate magnetometer. The second leap forward in magnetic survey came in 2016 when MWAC acquired a towed array, a

⁷⁶ "MWAC in a Nutshell (1/29/03)," Box 1, A-76 Working Files, MWAC.

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fluxgate gradiometer mounted in a cart that is towed behind an all-terrain vehicle. Once again, the newer technology gave better results while it sped up the survey work. If a survey could cover one acre per day with a proton magnetometer, the pace increased to about five acres per day with the fluxgate magnetometer, and to about twenty-five acres per day with the towed array. Of course, the actual pace varied a lot depending on the topography, but the gain in efficiency from use of the newer technology was consistent. With its four fluxgate magnetometers and single towed array, MWAC was (and remains) one of the best-equipped archeological centers in the nation for doing geophysical survey.

Geophysical survey enabled the NPS to do more archeological survey than it could accomplish through the older methods involving shovels and screens. As the technology was refined, archeologists could interpret the data from geophysical survey with more and more precision and confidence – especially when performed as a complement to traditional methods of testing as it normally was. Its great advantage over physical excavation alone was that it could give a more complete view of archeological resources across a landscape. Whereas shovel testing and pit excavations allowed only spotty coverage of an area, geophysical survey could provide a fine-grained picture of where archeological resources lay buried in the ground. When coupled with excavation at selected points, geophysical survey data could be analyzed and interpreted almost to the degree that recovered artifacts were interpreted, yet the resulting data required much less care and management than did physical artifacts, and the archeological record remained intact in the ground.⁷⁷

Another change in park archeology was the amount of interest shown in historical archeology. NPS archeology had long given relatively more attention to historical archeology than the rest of the archeology profession gave to it, because the NPS preserved historic sites with historical archeological resources. Two prominent early NPS archeologists, J. C. Harrington and John L. Cotter, were founding members of the Society for Historical Archaeology and Cotter served as its first president. In its early days, historical archeology in the United States focused almost exclusively on colonial-era sites in the East such as Jamestown and Williamsburg, Virginia. By the time MWAC came into existence in 1969, historical archeology was expanding beyond its Eastern roots to consider archeological resources in historic sites across the nation.⁷⁸

The NPS Midwest Region is rich in national historic sites and other units associated with the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century fur trade. In 1998, those units included Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Grand Portage National Monument, Voyageurs National Park, Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, and Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, together with Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore and St. Croix National Scenic Riverway. The Midwest Region also had several units featuring forts and other landmarks associated with the nation's mid-nineteenth century westward expansion. They included Fort Larned, Fort Scott, Fort Smith, and Scotts Bluff (a landmark on the Oregon Trail) as well as Homestead National Monument and George Rogers Clark

⁷⁷De Vore interview.

⁷⁸Vergil E. Noble interview by Theodore Catton, November 2, 2017.

National Historic Site. In addition, the Midwest Region had no fewer than seven historic sites associated with U.S. presidents as well as two Civil War battlefields.⁷⁹

Reflecting that wealth of historical archeology in the Midwest, MWAC had three archeologists, Vergil Noble, Doug Scott, and Bill Hunt, who all got graduate-level training in historical archeology at a time when very few anthropology departments offered that specialization. Doug Scott earned a national reputation as a historical archeologist for his pioneering work in battlefield archeology. He served as president of the Society for Historical Archeology in 2006-07. In 2015, he was awarded the J.C. Harrington Medal by the Society for Historical Archeology for lifetime contributions centered on scholarship. By then he had authored, co-authored, or edited ten books, including *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from Imperial Rome to Korea* (2006). Vergil Noble served as president of the Society for Historical Archeology for a one-year term in the early 2000s and served the society in other capacities, too. Bill Hunt made a significant contribution to historical archeology in his multi-year investigation at Fort Union Trading Post in the late 1980s (see the previous chapter), and more recently in his archeological investigations at Sitka National Historical Park, Alaska. Located far from the Midwest, Sitka looked to Hunt and others at MWAC for the expertise they brought in fur-trade and battlefield archeology. Hunt's work at Sitka spanned from 2005 to 2008 and resulted in the discovery of the battlefield site where Tlingits and Russians fought in 1804, and the nearby site of the Russian fort and trading post, as well as evidence of prehistoric occupation.⁸⁰

Insofar as park archeology was tied to construction projects and Section 106 compliance, people noted a trend toward smaller archeology projects (Tables 7 and 8). The typical small size of Section 106 projects in the 1990s and beyond reflected the fact that the Midwest Region parks were by and large fully developed by that time. The NPS no longer did as many big construction projects such as campgrounds or visitor centers – the kinds of projects that prompted and paid for big archeological surveys and excavations in the 1970s and 1980s. The typical construction-related Section 106 project in later years came to revolve around minor new construction or repairs to existing infrastructure. As the Section 106 projects shrank in scope, the nature of the work got more mundane. The projects were so small in area as to be unlikely to land on top of a significant archeological site. And as the Section 106 projects got smaller, they also got

⁷⁹Midwest Archeological Center, "Resources Management Plan, Midwest Archeological Center," typescript dated 1998 in MWAC library. Besides Wilson's Creek National Battlefield and Pea Ridge National Military Park, less renowned Civil War battlefields are contained within other Midwest Region parks, such as Arkansas Post National Memorial and Buffalo National River, both in Arkansas.

⁸⁰Noble interview; William B. Lees and Vergil E. Noble, "J. C. Harrington Medal in Historical Archaeology: Douglas D. Scott," *Historical Archaeology* 49, no. 2 (2015), 1-9; Charles E. Osner, Jr., editor, *Encyclopedia of Historical Archeology* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 227; William J. Hunt, Jr., *Sitka National Historical Park: The Archeology of the Fort Unit. Volume I: Results of the 2005-2008 Inventory*. Midwest Archeological Center Occasional Studies No. 35, Vol. 1 (Lincoln: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2010), i. Ed Sudderth developed particular research interests in historical archeology while with MWAC. Archeologist Jay Sturdevant, who joined the MWAC staff in 1999, had graduate-level training in historical archeology.

Table 7. MWAC projects history: approximate number of projects by year*

Year	No. of Projects	Year	No. of Projects	Year	No. of Projects
1969	1	1985	17	2001	33
1970	1	1986	26	2002	32
1971	1	1987	25	2003	30
1972	1	1988	32	2004	29
1973	3	1989	33	2005	38
1974	4	1990	27	2006	42
1975	1	1991	31	2007	35
1976	5	1992	30	2008	32
1977	9	1993	34	2009	32
1978	7	1994	26	2010	33
1979	16	1995	21	2011	35
1980	19	1996	17	2012	25
1981	23	1997	21	2013	33
1982	21	1998	26	2014	43
1983	20	1999	26	2015	58
1984	20	2000	24	2016	36

*These numbers were developed from the MWAC accessions database. Each accession record was identified with a project, project location, and fiscal year. Where multiple fiscal years were listed the project was counted for each year. Non-park projects were included. Non-MWAC projects (projects accessioned by MWAC but performed by another entity) were not included.

more numerous. MWAC archeologists went out on a total of 46 projects during the 2015 field season. Most were small-scale Section 106 projects of a mundane nature.⁸¹

Not all Section 106 park archeology projects were construction related, and over the past two decades a growing number of Section 106 projects stemmed from other management actions besides construction such as prescribed burns, vegetation treatments, grazing use, or cultural landscape rehabilitation. In contrast with the linear or compact archeological surveys that typically preceded a construction project, the latter type of Section 106 archeology project could span a broad area and it usually called for a more nuanced integration of resource disciplines, landscape level analysis, and evaluation of short- and long-term impacts. For some archeologists, these were not mundane projects at all but raised “incredibly interesting and complex management questions” that went beyond mere investigation of whether archeological resources were present.⁸²

An example of a small-scale construction-related Section 106 project was Bill Hunt’s visit to Arkansas Post National Memorial in 2003 to monitor trench excavations that were being dug for new underground electrical lines. The trench lines mostly avoided areas known or expected to contain archeological resources; however, one trench line intersected the line of Confederate rifle pits in the Civil War battlefield. Near

⁸¹ Robert Bryson interview, September 21, 2016; Sturdevant interview.

⁸² Jay Sturdevant, comment on draft report.

Table 8. MWAC projects history: number of large archeology projects by year*

Year	No. of Projects	Year	No. of Projects	Year	No. of Projects
1969	-	1985	2	2001	2
1970	-	1986	4	2002	-
1971	1	1987	3	2003	2
1972	-	1988	3	2004	2
1973	-	1989	4	2005	1
1974	-	1990	3	2006	2
1975	-	1991	4	2007	1
1976	-	1992	5	2008	1
1977	-	1993	6	2009	1
1978	-	1994	3	2010	1
1979	3	1995	-	2011	1
1980	5	1996	1	2012	1
1981	3	1997	3	2013	-
1982	4	1998	2	2014	-
1983	4	1999	-	2015	-
1984	1	2000	1	2016	-

*These numbers were developed from the same MWAC accessions database as above. "Large archeology projects" were defined as any project where the number of crew was five or more and the number of person-days was 100 or more. Person-days were estimated based on the number of days indicated for the field visit, deducting two days for each seven. When only a month was listed, the number of person-days was estimated at 20. When the crew included VIPs, the VIPs were not counted toward the number of crew.

the point of intersection, Hunt recorded a site containing a fragment of a six-pound round shot case as well as various ceramics, stoneware, glass, brick, and cut nails. Hunt interpreted the site to be a house site occupied circa 1830 to 1920. Hunt recorded the objects recovered during his limited testing on an archeological site form and wrote a brief trip report.⁸³

Despite the frustrating hit-or-miss nature of small-scale, construction-related Section 106 projects, the possibility always existed of making a significant discovery. In 1992, Mark Lynott conducted a Section 106 survey in Ozark National Scenic Riverways that did happen to land on an important archeological find: a base camp dating from perhaps 10,000 BP. The recovered artifacts indicated it belonged to the Dalton Tradition, a rarely encountered hunter-gatherer tradition that was on the cusp between Paleoindian and Archaic Periods. Investigation of the site added valuable information to MWAC's foregoing study of the prehistory of the area with Dr. James E. Price of Southwest Missouri State University.⁸⁴

⁸³ Archeologist to Manager, April 11, 2003, File ARPO Archeology 2003, Box 2, Park Files Midwest, MWAC-15-01, MWAC.

⁸⁴ Donald L. Stevens, Jr., *A Homeland and a Hinterland: The Current and Jacks Fork Riverways*, Historic Resource Study, Ozark National Scenic Riverways (Omaha, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Region, 1991), 3; Mark Lynott to Peter Topping, April 29, 1996, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Noble interview.

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The trend toward small-scale Section 106 projects was offset by larger-scale archeological survey projects made under other funding initiatives or pursuant to the NHPA's Section 110. The Cultural Resources Preservation Program (CRPP) provided moneys for locating and inventorying archeological resources on park lands. An internal review of the NPS archeology program made in 1991 identified a critical high-risk material weakness in the basic inventory accountability of archeological resources on park lands. That warning led to the appointment of a task force and the adoption of the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) one year later. The goal of the SAIP was to step up efforts heretofore accomplished under the CRPP to conduct archeological surveys in those places where archeologists determined that they were most likely to locate archeological resources. It was the complement to Section 106 compliance: the proactive inverse of reactive surveying in the path of the bulldozer. Under the SAIP's direction, MWAC prepared a SAIP plan for the Midwest Region. Completed in 1999 and revised in 2003, the plan aimed at providing "an overall framework for the study and wise management of the archeological resources of the Midwest Region." It created a wish-list of archeological research projects for each unit in the Midwest Region and assembled the background material to prioritize one project or another.⁸⁵

Even before the SAIP plan was completed, SAIP provided an infusion of funds for park archeology. An example of a SAIP-funded project in the 1990s was the work performed by MWAC archeologists Doug Scott, Tom Thiessen, Jeff Richner, and Scott Stadler at Pipestone National Monument over four field seasons in 1993-94 and 1997-98. Pipestone National Monument, which covers approximately 300 acres of prairieland in southwest Minnesota, features a line of quarry pits where American Indians obtained the soft pipestone that they carved into pipe bowls. Known to archeologists since the nineteenth century and established as a national monument in 1937, the archeological resources were previously inventoried by NPS archeologists Paul L. Beaubien and John S. Sigstad among others. The MWAC archeologists discovered one new site, which yielded important data on the relationship of the pipestone quarries to the Oneota tradition, a regional variant of the Mississippian tradition, and they performed new testing at the 43 previously recorded sites. The authors reviewed the extensive anthropological and ethnographic literature and updated the park's information on the park's key resource, the mineral catlinite that is found in the quarries. The project culminated in a comprehensive report, *An Archeological Inventory and Overview of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (2006).⁸⁶

Many other SAIP projects emerged over the years. The SAIP plan listed an archeological survey of the site of Fort Charlotte in Grand Portage National Monument. Located in northeast Minnesota on the north shore of Lake Superior, the national monument includes a reconstructed trading post and the historic portage trail across the Height of Land to the Pigeon River in the Hudson's Bay watershed. The site of the former Fort Charlotte is in a remote location at the far end of the portage trail and was

⁸⁵ Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Region Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program Plan* (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2003), I-1-3.

⁸⁶ Douglas D. Scott, Thomas D. Thiessen, Jeffrey J. Richner, and Scott Stadler, *An Archeological Inventory and Overview of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota*, Midwest Archeological Center Occasional Studies in Anthropology No. 34 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2006), 153-204.

Table 9. MWAC projects history: most frequently served parks, 1969-2016

Park	No. of Projects	Park	No. of Projects
Cuyahoga Valley NP	62	Theodore Roosevelt NP	19
Ozark NSR	56	Wind Cave NP	19
Indiana Dunes NL	47	Lincoln Home NHS	18
Voyageurs NP	44	Buffalo National River	17
Saint Croix NSR	37	Ulysses S. Grant NHS	17
Sleeping Bear Dunes NL	33	Pipestone NM	15
Hopewell Culture NHP	32	Wilson's Creek NB	14
Isle Royale NP	29	Agate Fossil Beds NM	13
Yellowstone NP	28	Fort Scott NHS	13
Fort Union Trading Post NHS	27	Homestead NM of America	11
Apostle Islands NL	26	Harry S. Truman NHS	11
Curecanti NRA	24	Pea Ridge NMP	11
Herbert Hoover NHS	23	Scotts Bluff NM	11
Badlands NP	22	Arkansas Post NMem	10
Knife River Indian Villages NHS	22	Fort Smith NHS	10
Pictured Rocks NL	22	Glacier NP	10
Grand Portage National Monument	21	Grand Teton NP	10
Jefferson National Expansion Mem	21	George Washington Carver NM	10
Tallgrass Prairie NPres	21	James Garfield NHS	10
Effigy Mounds NM	20	Lewis and Clark NHT	10
Fort Larned NHS	20	Fort Laramie NHS	9

known through earlier archeological surveys in 1922, 1970, and 1979. The park secured the funding in 2009 and MWAC archeologist Jay Sturdevant conducted mapping and metal detector survey of the site in 2009 and 2010. The investigation identified additional fort features as well as more archeological resources beyond the fort's footprint. The study pointed to there being a rich collection of archeological resources at this unusually pristine fur-trade site.⁸⁷

MWAC availed itself of other funding initiatives besides SAIP to undertake significant research studies of park archeology. One example was the Joint Fire Science Project, which ran from 2006 to 2009, and was grant-funded by the Joint Fire Science Program administered out of the National Interagency Fire Center in Boise. The study aimed at providing managers with better information on the interface between wildland fire and archeological resources in the Midwest. MWAC teamed with the Midwest

⁸⁷ Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Region Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program Plan*, V-7; Noble interview.

Region Fire Program in Omaha and the Fire Management Officer at Theodore Roosevelt National Park in obtaining the grant and running the four-year study.⁸⁸

Developments at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site formed the background and inspiration for the study. An archeological survey conducted by the University of North Dakota in the late 1980s classified all archeological resources in the park as high- medium- or low-density and recommended that areas with high- or medium-density archeological resources should be tested and investigated prior to prescribed burning. Doing Section 106 compliance in advance of a prescribed burn was not unusual, but in the context of Knife River Indian Villages it was an expensive proposition, virtually cost-prohibitive, causing the prescribed fire program to stall. Natural and cultural resource managers met over this issue and wondered if the precaution was sensible. By effectively taking away prescribed fire as a management tool, the precaution would lead to a fuel buildup right on top of the archeological resource, posing the threat of a hotter, uncontrolled wildfire occurring later. There is a growing literature about how to balance archeological preservation and ecosystem restoration and maintenance, but when managers confronted this issue at Knife River Indian Villages they found the literature focused on environmental conditions and fire regimes in the Rocky Mountain West and Desert Southwest. It did not address how prairie fire would affect archeological resources.⁸⁹

To study the effects of wildfire on archeological resources in Midwest Region parks, the study team selected six parks, two each in three distinct environmental zones. Two sample locations were selected in each park to represent variations in burn conditions, and a set of three experimental plots was established in each location. An assemblage of 32 replica artifacts was then prepared for each experimental plot. The replica artifacts were culled from deaccessioned collections or were made replicas, and they ranged from prehistoric stone tools, pottery sherds, and pieces of bone and shell to historic materials such as bottle glass, metal cans, lead projectiles, and pieces of wood. The replica artifacts were placed on the ground below leaf litter in the experimental plots to simulate archeological sites. An advantage of using replica artifacts was that they could be analyzed in the lab both before and after the fire. (At the conclusion of the project, the collection of replica artifacts was accessioned as the Center's first own artifact collection, being listed as MWAC-1.)⁹⁰

Principal findings of the study were that most artifacts did not experience any significant impacts from prescribed burns. Combustive residue on the artifacts was easily removed from hard objects such as glass and stone and could be removed from other objects by washing. Serious impacts to artifacts such as scorching, fracturing, or melting affected just 5 to 10 percent of the assemblages. Historical archeological resources tended to be more vulnerable to prescribed burning than prehistoric

⁸⁸ Sturdevant interview.

⁸⁹ Sturdevant interview; Jay Sturdevant, "Exploring the Fire and Archeology Interface," at <https://www.nps.gov/archeology/SITES/npSites/fire.htm>

⁹⁰ Sturdevant interview; Jay Sturdevant, "Exploring the Fire and Archeology Interface," at <https://www.nps.gov/archeology/SITES/npSites/fire.htm> <November 12, 2017>.

archeological resources, since they tended to be nearer or on the surface and they were composed of more perishable materials such as leather, glass, and metal.⁹¹

MWAC archeologists sometimes completed a major study on park archeology without any specific funding source, using their limited discretionary time to synthesize information drawn from cumulative project experience into a single report. Such was the case with Jeff Richner's detailed archeological and ethnographic report on the Bois Forte Band of Chippewa who lived in the area that became Voyageurs National Park. Richner's study, published in 2002 as the Center's Special Report No. 3, drew upon historical and archeological data collected over a sixteen-year period, plus a trove of other research and fieldwork in MWAC's or the park's files dating back to the park's beginnings in the 1970s. Through his many years of involvement with Voyageurs National Park, Richner enjoyed a close collaboration with its cultural resource specialist, Mary Graves. The archeological fieldwork at the base of the study, Richner noted, "ranged from multi-week intensive field efforts by small archeological teams from the Midwest Archeological Center to brief, single-day reconnaissance efforts." The report closely profiled the native people's relationship to the environment and cultural adaptations from the waning years of the fur trade through the rise of industrial logging.⁹²

Pea Ridge National Military Park

MWAC had a strong involvement with Pea Ridge National Military Park, Arkansas, a Civil War battlefield where the North won an important victory, dashing Southern hopes of detaching the border state of Missouri from the Union. The Battle of Pea Ridge took place on March 7 and 8, 1862, with the troop movements and fighting occurring over gently rolling, settled farmland. The 4,300-acre park takes in the site of a former crossroads village named Leetown, the still extant Elkhorn Tavern, and the crescent ridge known as Elkhorn Mountain. The park is developed with a one-way loop road and trail system. Established as a park in 1956, it received a modest amount of archeological investigation by Rex L. Wilson in 1965 that was focused on historic components, and some further investigation by NPS archeologist Roger E. Coleman in 1988 that was focused on prehistoric occupation. MWAC's involvement began in 2000 with a parkwide inventory initiated under the SAIP plan. The project was funded over five consecutive field seasons, with the first year being primarily taken up with development of a research design made in concert with park management needs.⁹³

The inventory was divided into two components, historic and prehistoric, with Doug Scott heading the former and Dr. Marvin Kay of the University of Arkansas

⁹¹ Sturdevant interview; Jay Sturdevant, "Exploring the Fire and Archeology Interface," at <https://www.nps.gov/archeology/SITES/npSites/fire.htm> <November 12, 2017>.

⁹² Jeffrey J. Richner, *People of the Thick Fur Woods: Two Hundred Years of Bois Forte Chippewa Occupation in the Voyageurs National Park Area*, Midwest Archeological Center Special Report No. 3 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2002), i-ii. 1.

⁹³ Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Region Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program Plan*, PERI-1; Carl G. Carlson-Drexler, Douglas D. Scott, and Harold Roecker, "*The Battle Raged with Terrible Fury*": *Battlefield Archeology of Pea Ridge National Military Park*, Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report No. 112 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2008), 4.

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heading the latter. Scott's portion aimed at developing a comprehensive understanding of the battle's events and movements. He surveyed the open fields with metal detectors, and in coordination with the University of Arkansas he made a magnetometer survey of the Leetown area and Oberson's Field. The archeological data provided valuable new information about artillery positions and the fighting around Elkhorn Tavern. One of the concerns was to learn how much the archeological resources had been disturbed by relic collectors. The investigators had an upbeat assessment. "It is abundantly clear that relic collectors have not taken everything," they wrote. "There is a true plethora of buried evidence of the Battle of Pea Ridge remaining in the field today and in patterns of deposition that can be interpreted in light of historic records."⁹⁴

Around the time of the parkwide inventory, MWAC staff responded to three reports of looting of artifacts. In the first case, Vergil Noble went to Pea Ridge and documented a dozen small holes dug by a looter. In the next case, a park ranger requested Scott's help in investigating an incident of looting in the Clemons Field area. Scott aided in identifying 99 artifacts taken from 104 holes, which helped lead to the conviction of the looter on June 1, 2001 for violation of the Archeological Resources Protection Act. The looter was sentenced to four months in federal prison and a year of supervised probation, 400 hours of community service, and a \$16,508 fine. Six months later, Scott responded to a third incident. Six looter holes were identified and a value of \$10,227.25 was placed on the damage done to the archeological record.⁹⁵

During the 2000-2004 inventory, the metal detector survey was obstructed in areas of the battlefield where cedar forest had grown in since the park's establishment. The park was in the process of restoring those areas to open ground by prescribed burning. In 2013, MWAC staff returned to Pea Ridge to conduct more archeological survey for mitigation of Highway 62 realignment along the south edge of the park and some modification of the park road. This was a Section 106 project funded by the Federal Highway Administration and the Arkansas Department of Transportation. Additional Section 106 survey was conducted in connection with some trail development in the wooded areas. MWAC undertook further investigation following the removal of cedar thickets that had hindered the 2000-04 inventory. That work was carried out under a 2016 cooperative agreement with the Arkansas Archeological Survey, and it included magnetometer survey of the Leetown area. Archeologists identified the site of the Lee House, as well as several shallow depressions and deposits of masonry associated with other buildings. Among the artifacts turning up in the latest investigations were farm implements that shed light on pre-Civil War agriculture in that locale.⁹⁶

Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore

MWAC conducted numerous archeological investigations at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana. Two major reports were completed in the mid-2000s, while a third was pending in 2017. MWAC archeologists and co-authors Dawn Bringelson

⁹⁴ Carlson-Drexler et al., *"The Battle Raged with Terrible Fury": Battlefield Archeology of Pea Ridge National Military Park*, 131; De Vore interview.

⁹⁵ Carlson-Drexler et al. *"The Battle Raged with Terrible Fury": Battlefield Archeology of Pea Ridge National Military Park*, 11.

⁹⁶ De Vore interview.

and Jay Sturdevant pointed to those investigations as examples of how cumulative small CRM projects could add up to a significant advance in our knowledge of human prehistory when the CRM projects were appropriately marshaled and supported by further archeological testing and synthesized.

Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore was established in 1966 on the south shoreline of Lake Michigan between Chicago and Michigan City, Indiana. The unit contains about 12,800 acres in five non-contiguous parcels. Landforms within the park include one glacial moraine formation and three prehistoric beach ridges related to glacial Lake Chicago. The dunes resulted from the piling up of debris by ice-age glaciers and the deposition of windblown sediments from the exposed lakebed at times of low lake level. The three beach ridges are called the Tolleston, Glenwood, and Calumet dunes, while the older Valparaiso Moraine lies south of them, farther from the lakeshore. Lowlands in between the dunes are filled with marshes and small lakes. The dune environment long ago attracted study as an outdoor laboratory for the examination of ecological succession of plants. Since its establishment as a national lakeshore, the NPS has managed the area for restoration of natural conditions.⁹⁷

As part of the process of ecological restoration, the NPS removed more than a hundred private residences that were grandfathered into the park in 1966 and subsequently passed into NPS ownership after the expiration of a term of years (usually 20) or the death of an in-holder. The building removal program got started in 1992 and continued thereafter. Each removal action entailed a Section 106 study to determine if there were archeological resources present before the building was demolished and the basement or foundation was obliterated. As upwards of one hundred Section 106 studies resulted from this program, they came to form a significant cache of archeological data. Around the same time, MWAC conducted a four-year investigation of the area's archeological resources under the SAIP program. About five percent of the park's land area was sampled. Still another significant amount of archeological data came from archeological testing in connection with park construction, especially around the East Unit Campground.⁹⁸

As the private residences were removed, one area received special attention. The Dunes Creek drainage was known to have been an area of prehistoric occupation. From 2002 to 2005, MWAC conducted several inventory and testing projects at known sites along this drainage. The investigations found evidence that sites along Dune Creek were occupied and abandoned and reoccupied repeatedly over a vast stretch of time starting as long ago as Early Archaic and extending up to the Late Woodland. As soon as the four seasons of field work on the Dunes Creek project were completed, MWAC received funding to undertake further investigations leading to the preparation of an archeological overview and assessment of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.

⁹⁷ Dawn Bringelson and Jay T. Sturdevant, *An Archeological Overview and Assessment of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana*, Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report No. 97 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2007), 5-10; Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Region Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program Plan*, INDU-2; Dawn Bringelson interview by Theodore Catton, November 17, 2017.

⁹⁸ Bringelson and Sturdevant, *An Archeological Overview and Assessment of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana*, 64-77; Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Region Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program Plan*, INDU-3; Sturdevant interview.

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Sturdevant was the lead archeologist in the Dunes Creek study and Bringelson was the lead archeologist in the overview and assessment, and both co-authored the project reports, which were published in 2007 as MWAC Technical Reports Nos. 97 and 101. Bringelson was assigned a third multi-year study in 2012 focused on the Tolleston Ridge.⁹⁹

In the overview and assessment, the authors described the history of archeological investigations around the edge of Lake Michigan and in the dune landscape in particular. Archeological studies dated back more than one hundred years, but in the area of the national lakeshore itself they started with NPS archeology in the 1960s and 70s. Bringelson and Sturdevant described seven types of archeological study, explaining the purposes and methodologies of each type and assessing the overall contribution of each data set. The seven types were: incidental discovery, monitoring, reconnaissance, inventory, Section 106 studies under the above-mentioned building removal program, the SAIP investigations, testing, and mitigation of impacts. Despite the disparate types of archeological study made over a span of nearly a half century, they added up to a surprisingly rich amount of data. Reinterpreted in the light of the Dunes Creek investigations, MWAC was able to present a comprehensive view of the culture history of the dunes. The early Archaic component was particularly interesting and surprising, as it suggested a deeper time horizon and more intense utilization of the dune environment than was previously supposed. Previous studies by Lynott, Richner, and others had focused mainly on Late Woodland occupation.¹⁰⁰

In MWAC's latest round of archeological investigation at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Bringelson raised questions about whether windblown sand deposition on the dunes might have buried those older archeological sites so deep in some places that they escaped archeological investigation. Did the near absence of archeological sites on the more westerly ridges in the park reflect non-use and occupation, or did the archeological record lie too deep to be recovered? Could all of the one-meter-deep shovel pits dug in the dunes over the past forty years have been made to an insufficient depth? To answer these questions, she had help from Gosia Mahoney, MWAC's lab manager and one of her four-person crew at Indiana Dunes. Inspired by the questions that arose at Tolleston Ridge, Mahoney decided to enroll at the University of Nebraska to earn a second master's degree in geology. Eventually, Bringelson and Mahoney (who remained at MWAC as a student employee) were able to add a geologic component to the Indiana Dunes study and learn the answer to their questions. Geologic processes on the dunes were not so rapid as to bury the Archaic period archeological record at an inordinate depth. The full archeological record on the Tolleston Ridge was, in fact, recoverable by the standard method of the shovel test.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹Jay T. Sturdevant and Dawn Bringelson, *Archeological Inventory and Testing at Sites Along the Dunes Creek Corridor 2002-2005, Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Porter County, Indiana*, Midwest Archeological Center Technical Report No. 101 (Lincoln, Neb.: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2007), 1; Bringelson interview.

¹⁰⁰Bringelson and Sturdevant, *An Archeological Overview and Assessment of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana*, 64-77; Sturdevant interview.

¹⁰¹Bringelson interview.

Nicodemus National Historic Site

Nicodemus National Historic Site, Kansas, preserves the only remaining western town established by African Americans during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. The 1996 enabling legislation directed the NPS to cooperate with the people of Nicodemus in preserving its five remaining historic structures: the first Baptist Church, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the St. Francis Hotel, the School, and Nicodemus Township Hall.

Prior to the establishment of the national historic site, in 1983, the entire townsite was listed as a historic district on the National Register. At that time, a Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) team recorded changes to the 160-acre platted town and made a preliminary survey of remains of sod houses.¹⁰²

MWAC archeology at Nicodemus was illustrative of how MWAC sometimes played a catalytic role in conducting archeology projects with state and university partners. In 2006, MWAC archeologist Bill Hunt initiated a pedestrian survey of a known African American homestead site located just north of the townsite. Following the pedestrian survey, archeologists Steven De Vore and Jay Sturdevant conducted a geophysical survey. They used magnetic, resistance, and ground-penetrating radar techniques to identify subsurface features. Their study guided subsequent testing by Margaret Wood, a professor at Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, and a crew of ten students, who excavated several meter-wide trenches where a sod house and root cellar dugout once were. In the following summer, the Kansas State Historical Society and Kansas Anthropological Association held their joint Kansas Archeology Training Program at the dugout site and drew more than 140 volunteers. Flordeliz T. Bugarin, a professor at Howard University, Washington, D.C., joined Wood as co-principal investigator. Howard University students worked on the collection of artifacts through the next few years. The investigation yielded valuable information about the homesteading experience of one African American family who moved from Kentucky to the Nicodemus area in September 1877 with more than 300 African American settlers.¹⁰³

The archeology at Nicodemus also reflected a burgeoning interest in African American archeology sites. It followed upon archeological work at Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site. More recently, MWAC archeologist Vergil Noble reviewed the national historic landmark nomination of another African American site, New Philadelphia, Illinois. The town of New Philadelphia was founded in 1836 by Frank McWhorter, a freedman. McWhorter had managed while enslaved to develop a saltpeter mine and purchase his own freedom. McWhorter used proceeds from the sale of New Philadelphia town lots to purchase other African Americans out of slavery. The town thrived through the era of the Civil War, but eventually withered in the 1880s when it was bypassed by railroads. All vestiges of the town vanished above-grade, leaving only

¹⁰² Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Region Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program Plan*, NICO-1; Sherda Williams, "Excavation of an Early Dugout Homestead at Nicodemus, Kansas," *CRM Journal* 5, no. 1 (Winter 2008), 84.

¹⁰³ Williams, "Excavation of an Early Dugout Homestead at Nicodemus, Kansas," 85; Flordeliz T. Bugarin and Eleanor King, "Through the Challenges, Archaeology Blossoms at Howard University," *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 14, no. 3 (September 2011), 1-5.

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the archeological record. The site was designated a national historic landmark based solely on the archeological resources – a first for historical archeology. In 2016, by direction of Congress, the NPS initiated a special resource study of the townsite of New Philadelphia, Illinois, to consider making the site a unit in the National Park System. The Denver Service Center’s Planning Division headed up the study, while Vergil Noble and other MWAC staff contributed to it. The project manager expected it would be transmitted to Congress in 2018.¹⁰⁴

National Historic Landmarks Program

Initiated in 1935 under the Historic Sites Act, the National Historic Landmarks Program was formalized in 1960 and linked to the National Register of Historic Places by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. When a possible national historic landmark (NHL) was recommended to the NPS and was deemed by the NPS to be potentially eligible for listing, a formal nomination package would be prepared with the help of the NPS. The process of helping prepare a nomination, and then shepherding the nomination through three stages of evaluation by a Landmarks Committee, then the NPS Advisory Board, and finally the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, normally took from two to five years. The program essentially provided the structure for NPS personnel to lend professional guidance and oversight to grassroots efforts to preserve historic sites and structures. Most national historic landmarks were privately owned. They came under federal administration through the nomination and registration process, and even if they remained in private ownership they were monitored by the federal government in perpetuity.¹⁰⁵

The NHL program was headed up by NPS staff in the Washington Office, and it drew on the assistance of cultural resource specialists distributed among the NPS regions. Before the NPS reorganization of 1995, NHLs in the Midwest Region were handled by regional offices in Philadelphia and Denver. After the NPS reorganization, the Midwest Region was responsible for its own NHL program. Based on how many national historic landmarks were already listed in the Midwest Region (380 in 1997), the Midwest Region had the second largest NHL workload among the NPS regions, but it had the second smallest budget and cultural resource staff (only the Alaska Region was smaller). Acting Regional Director David N. Given declared that the Midwest Region’s four allocated FTEs were “inadequate” for meeting needs, and he described the resulting shortfalls in performance as follows:

Our disappointing allocation prevented us from developing a healthy, proactive outreach program. At the FY 97 level of funding, we were strictly operating in a reactive mode, addressing only matters that required immediate attention. We do not believe this arrangement is sufficient to permit us to develop the type of technical assistance

¹⁰⁴ Paul A. Shackel, Terrance J. Martin, Joy D. Beasley, and Tom Gwaltney, “Rediscovering New Philadelphia: Race and Racism on the Illinois Frontier,” *Illinois Antiquity* 39, no. 1 (March 2004), 3-7; National Park Service, “New Philadelphia Special Resource Study,” at <https://parkplanning.nps.gov/projectHome.cfm?projectID=64435> <November 19, 2017>; Noble interview; Tara Pettit to the author, November 27, 2017 (email).

¹⁰⁵ National Park Service, “National Historic Landmarks Program: Six-Year Progress Report, 2011-2016,” (2016) at <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/news/docs/NHLSixYearProgressReport.pdf> <April 23, 2018>.

program our partners and the public expects from the National Park Service.... Insufficient program funds at the end of the fiscal year forced us not to award a contract to produce a boundary study and revised nomination for the Ste. Genevieve National Historic Landmark District, Missouri. Similarly, we canceled plans to work on 4 boundary studies, 9 condition assessments, 16 documentation improvement projects, as well as providing input to identify gaps in NHL theme studies. We deferred holding a regional conference of State Historic Preservation Officers until FY 98. Our goal of developing a network of cooperators in all 13 States was also shelved because of lack of funds as were plans to hold a NHL owners' handbooks because of lack of staff time to gather material to fill them or clerical assistance to mail them out.¹⁰⁶

The Omaha office hired four architectural historians to work in a new History and National Register program (a composite of National Register, HABS/HAER/HALS, and NHL programs) and it considered bringing an archeologist on board to team with its historians and architectural historians particularly to help with NHL sites with an archeological focus or major archeological component. Meanwhile, in the MWAC reorganization that flowed out of the servicewide reorganization, Lynott made Vergil Noble program manager for Archeological Information and Operations but his position was eliminated after a desk audit in 2000. Lynott recommended that the Midwest Region appoint Noble to the archeologist position under consideration for the NHL program, with Noble remaining duty-stationed in Lincoln. The arrangement was made – at first on a half-time basis, and later full-time. By this point the NHL sites and nominations were shared between the four historians based on a division of the Midwest Region's thirteen states. With the addition of Noble to the team, all NHL properties with an archeological focus were handed over to Noble.¹⁰⁷

As the archeologist on the Midwest team of the NHL program, Noble assisted with guiding nominations through the rigorous nomination process and assisting with oversight of existing national historic landmarks. Each national historic landmark had its group of supporters, local experts, interested scholars, and other stakeholders.¹⁰⁸

Generally, SHPOs were closely involved with NPS personnel in helping with the preparation of nominations. A completed nomination was sent to the Landmarks Committee of the National Park System Advisory Board for review, and often the preparer went to Washington, D.C. to make a live presentation to the committee. If recommended by the Landmarks Committee and the whole Advisory Board, it went to the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, where it might take another six months to be approved. Noble's role was mainly limited to advising the preparers and reviewing the nomination in its various stages of preparation, though he prepared a few nominations himself.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Acting Regional Director, Midwest Region, to Associate Director, Cultural Resource Stewardship Partnerships, October 9, 1997, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹⁰⁷ Mark Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1996," MWAC; "Midwest Archeological Center National Park Service Organization 6115 Fiscal Year 2003," Box 4, A-76 Working Files, MWAC; "Midwest Archeological Center Organizational Chart, 2016," copy provided to author by Dawn Bringelson; Noble interview.

¹⁰⁸ "National Historic Landmarks Program," at <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/find/statelists.htm> <November 19, 2017>; Noble interview.

¹⁰⁹ Noble interview.

Archeological Information Management

In 1986, Anne Wolley was a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Nebraska and a part-time archeologist at MWAC whose primary assignment was to enter the Rocky Mountain Region's archeological site information into a database that had originally been designed by MWAC using PC file software. Wolley converted the database to a dBASE III format and modernized it. This database was one part of the Cultural Sites Inventory (CSI) which was developed for each park and included project histories, bibliographies, and a summary of the park's archeology. Wolley (later Vawser) soon completed her master's degree and moved into a full-time permanent position as the Center's lead archeologist for information management. In 1993, she chaired a steering committee of other NPS archeologists from around the nation as they developed a servicewide archeological database originally called the Archeological Resources Inventory (ARI). After changes were made to it the database was renamed the Archeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS). Vawser's role would later expand to include management of the MWRs archeological sites data as well as the Rocky Mountain Region. In more recent years, Vawser oversaw development of a consistent and user-friendly set of digital base maps in GIS, which displayed all recorded archeological sites within each park in the Midwest Region and also linked to the attribute data about each site which was stored in the ASMIS database. Her twenty-five-plus years at MWAC basically spanned the whole length of time that the NPS archeology program developed various approaches for managing archeological sites on park lands through a single, system-wide database.¹¹⁰

Digitizing such a mass of information was a complicated, trial-and-error process. As the steering committee chair, Vawser recorded some of the NPS's stumbles with the first database, ARI. According to a 1986 task directive, \$330,000 was approved for ARI development and the database was supposed to be ready for rollout in three years. The NPS worked with a private contractor on the database, several products were delivered, but each one was rife with errors. Finally, in 1992, the contract was cancelled, and no acceptable final product was completed. Instead, SEAC worked in-house on a prototype and presented it six weeks later. The total spent on the contractor was \$60,000; the total spent on the prototype effort was about \$7,000. Another \$850,000 was spent on the project for staff time, mainly by staff in the Washington Office.¹¹¹

In January 1993, Chief Anthropologist Doug Scovill introduced a new task directive for program development, which proposed a product rollout in the fall of 1994. The funds allocated for this second effort came to \$400,000. By this point, the Washington Office had a technical committee that was at odds with the steering committee; Vawser's group wanted to launch the database developed by SEAC, whereas the technical committee, with the support of the chief anthropologist, insisted on starting over with another database. Frustrated by what they saw as lack of communication and

¹¹⁰ Vawser interview.

¹¹¹ Anne Vawser, "Briefing Statement: Status of ARI (Archeological Resources Inventory) Computerization Project," June 25, 1993, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

unconscionable waste of resources on the part of the technical committee, six of the nine steering committee members, including Vawser, resigned.¹¹²

ASMIS was established in 1993, replacing ARI. The database was not without its own problems, and a Version 2.00 was brought into use in 1999. The design of ASMIS was linked to the Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) initiative, which had been launched the previous year. ASMIS contained information fields on the location, nature, condition, threats to, and treatment history of each site.¹¹³

With the publication of the ASMIS manual, the instructions for recording a site's condition in ASMIS drew attention, and that single data field in ASMIS soon took on a life of its own, giving rise to an entity known as a Site Condition Assessment. What began as a simple rating system of "good," "fair," "poor," and "destroyed," in the original ASMIS data field was turned into a much more elaborate data set in ASMIS Version 2.00. Over 100 Threat and Disturbance values were identified, and multiple values could be entered for one site. "Condition" could also be evaluated based on site integrity, which created no little amount of confusion. NPS managers picked up on the Site Condition Assessment as a tool for monitoring the overall condition of archeological resources in a given park, or region, or systemwide. The data could even reveal trends: were site conditions, in the aggregate, being improved? Site Condition Assessments came into use in the late 1990s, and a few years later they were identified as a unit of measure for the NPS annual reporting requirements under the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) of 1993. Goal Ia8 established a goal of year-by-year improvement in the condition of recorded archeological sites. So, for the five-year period from Fiscal Year 2004 through Fiscal Year 2008, the goal was to raise the number of recorded sites listed in "good" condition to 53 percent. This new use of the Site Condition Assessment created problems because all the sites that had been logged in ASMIS prior to Version 2.00 had to be revisited to make the site records consistent with the later records. Furthermore, as more site records were entered in ASMIS, the logging of sites in "poor" and "fair" condition undercut the effort to demonstrate a positive trend for site conditions in the aggregate.¹¹⁴

Ironically, when the Site Condition Assessment was picked up by the GPRA standards, it touched off a wave of activity to log more site records into ASMIS and, as a crucial spinoff of that effort, to complete more Site Condition Assessments. The cultural resources directorate in the Washington Office called upon each region to prepare a "Corrective Action Plan" for completing enough numbers of Site Condition Assessments to meet the GPRA goal.¹¹⁵ NPS archeologists were wary that the Site

¹¹² Anne Vawser, "Briefing Statement: Status of ARI (Archeological Resources Inventory) Computerization Project," June 25, 1993, and Chair, Archeological Resources Inventory (ARI) Steering Committee to Chief Anthropologist, June 15, 1993, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹³ Midwest Archeological Center, "A Plan for the Completion of Archeological Site Condition Assessments in National Park System Units of the Midwest Region, FY 2005-FY 2008," August 2005 (draft report), Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹⁴ Midwest Archeological Center, "A Plan for the Completion of Archeological Site Condition Assessments in National Park System Units of the Midwest Region, FY 2005-FY 2008," August 2005 (draft report), Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹⁵ The Corrective Action Plan was in response to a 2004 audit of the NPS archeology program which noted that of some 65,000 archeological sites listed in the ASMIS database at the time only

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Condition Assessments were being misused. Yet they did have intrinsic value so most NPS archeologists, including the whole contingent in the Midwest Region, forged ahead with them. As MWAC stated in its draft Corrective Action Plan for the Midwest Region,

Site condition assessments (SCAs) document the condition of archeological sites at given points in time, and identify whether sites are undergoing degradation by natural processes and/or human activities. They constitute the basis for planning, programming, and implementing physical treatments designed to maintain present condition or improve sites to the desired status of “good” condition.¹¹⁶

Still, the issue with completing Site Condition Assessments was that it took resources away from other valuable archeological investigations. In MWAC’s plan, it was stated that NPS archeologists in the Midwest Region would complete 1,820 Site Condition Assessments in 35 parks over the next four years. MWAC archeologists would perform most of the assessments, with park archeologists assisting in a handful of units, and some completed under contract. The effort would unfold in two phases: first, an updating of existing ASMIS records; and second, site visits to all 1,820 sites. The total estimated cost was \$252,981. A big share of the cost would come from Midwest Region supplemental funds. Most of the rest would come through MWAC’s project funding by reducing the scope of objectives of projects funded under SAIP and diverting a portion of those funds to the site assessment work. MWAC’s work plan promised that its efforts could be redirected “without endangering the success of projects selected through past competitive Regional Project Management Information System reviews.”¹¹⁷

Systemwide, archeologists completed about 7,000 site assessments between 2005 and 2008. Over that four-year span, many archeologists came to regard the effort as misplaced. A review of the NPS cultural resource programs by the National Academy of Public Administration, made in the final year of the effort, agreed with that common view. “Most NPS staff interviewed consider the pressure to complete site assessments as increasingly disrupting their program, distorting priorities, and wasting scarce funds to the detriment of the resource,” the review panel stated in its report. A table on page three of the report indicated that the percent of recorded archeological sites in good condition in 2007 stood at 40.2 percent (short of the 53 percent target that was cited by MWAC in 2005) and that the target in 2008 was to get to 42.5 percent by 2012.¹¹⁸

Although the cultural resource directorate in the Washington Office requested every region to commit itself to the effort, the results varied widely from region to region. There was a tendency in all regions to meet or exceed targets in the early going

a portion had a known condition. The audit reinforced the response to the GPRA goal.

¹¹⁶ Midwest Archeological Center, “A Plan for the Completion of Archeological Site Condition Assessments in National Park System Units of the Midwest Region, FY 2005-FY 2008,” August 2005 (draft report), Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹⁷ Midwest Archeological Center, “A Plan for the Completion of Archeological Site Condition Assessments in National Park System Units of the Midwest Region, FY 2005-FY 2008,” August 2005 (draft report), Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC.

¹¹⁸ Frank Hodsoll, James Kunde, and Denis P. Galvin, *Saving Our History: A Review of the National Park Cultural Resource Programs*, report prepared for the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service by a panel of the National Academy of Public Administration (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Public Administration, 2008), xiii, 3, 18-22.

by assessing the most accessible sites first. Site condition assessments in the backcountry were put off. Regions in the western United States with many large parks with wilderness areas faced a much greater challenge and expense than regions in the eastern United States where there was a preponderance of cultural or urban parks with small land areas. So, another problem with the GPRA goal emerged as regions such as the Midwest Region were basically on track and supportive while regions out west were falling behind or not even giving it a serious try.¹¹⁹

The push to assess site conditions from 2005 to 2008 did advance the NPS goal of getting its mass of archeological sites into a national database. Systemwide, the number of sites recorded in ASMIS grew from 60,855 in 2005 to 68,327 in 2007. For the Midwest Region, 3,823 sites were recorded in ASMIS in 2005, but almost half of those were lacking the site condition information. Those records were made complete and many more were added over the next three years.¹²⁰

Around 2008, ASMIS was converted from a stand-alone desktop database to an on-line system that could be accessed by more NPS staff. Access was controlled through regional coordinators and MWR coordinator Vawser established accounts for all MWAC archeologists and many park cultural resource staff. MWAC and park staff found it to be a useful planning tool. For any proposed management action that might affect archeological resources, ASMIS could be consulted to determine the locations of known archeological sites, and the proposed action could be modified accordingly. Essentially, just as most users were given access to the database on a “read-only” basis to protect the data, only qualified archeologists were able to view sensitive site location information.¹²¹

As ASMIS came to serve its intended purpose as a global database for NPS archeological resources, MWAC put it to work in various applications, mostly through links to GIS mapping tools. GIS archeological base maps and ASMIS were used to assist with the determination of suitable boundaries for a new area, Niobrara National Scenic River, Nebraska, as the NPS sought to enter conservation easements in lieu of acquiring a land base for the unit. ASMIS and GIS were also combined to create a test map to evaluate park NAGPRA sensitivity by creating heat maps of the relative density of human burials that might be located and inadvertently encountered on various park lands. And with reference to climate change threats to cultural resources, ASMIS and GIS were used to show the relative density of archeological resources in and along flood zones.¹²²

MWAC developed an archeological site monitoring program for the Midwest Region that went into effect in 2009. This innovative program pulled together ASMIS,

¹¹⁹ Hodson, et al., *Saving Our History*, 20-21.

¹²⁰ Midwest Archeological Center, “A Plan for the Completion of Archeological Site Condition Assessments in National Park System Units of the Midwest Region, FY 2005-FY 2008,” August 2005 (draft report), Box 10, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Hodson, et al., *Saving Our History*, 3. As of this writing, there are more than 80,000 sites recorded in ASMIS, and the Midwest Region has a total of 4,970 sites recorded in ASMIS. (Anne Vawser email to author, November 14, 2017.)

¹²¹ Vawser interview.

¹²² Vawser interview.

GIS, and the Midwest Region's forward-leaning site assessment effort. Essentially, the monitoring program directed park rangers to visit selected archeological sites and provide cultural resource managers with more information to assist them in protecting the resource. The way the program worked was that each year MWAC provided each park in the Midwest Region with a list of sites to be visited by a ranger who had gone through MWAC's Ranger Monitor Program training. The ranger visited each site equipped with a site monitoring packet and documented threats to the site on a form and with photographs. The data were then collected by MWAC and logged in ASMIS, and when the resource threat warranted it an MWAC archeologist scheduled a follow-up visit to the site to mitigate the resource threat.¹²³

The archeological site monitoring program worked smoothly and yielded a fuller picture of resource threats to archeological sites in the Midwest Region. On average, more than 500 sites were monitored each year. Erosion was the most common threat and it was observed not only in arid environments in places such as Badlands National Park, South Dakota, but also along shorelines in places like Voyageurs National Park, Minnesota. The second most common threat was from wildlife activity: buffalo wallows, rooting by wild hogs, and burrowing by rodents. Inadvertent human activity such as the making of social trails followed closely behind as the third most common threat. Fortunately, outright vandalism and looting of archeological sites came in a distant fourth behind those other threats.¹²⁴

The Cooperative Assistance Program

MWAC continued to provide archeological assistance to other federal land managing agencies with archeological resources. Major clients included the U.S. Army, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Forest Service, and Natural Resource Conservation Service. But the archeological assistance work shrank to a very small part of what MWAC did. The need for it largely went away as those other federal agencies hired their own archeologists. The Department of Defense, being a major federal land owner with a mission focused on other things besides land stewardship, was slower than other federal land managing agencies to hire its own archeologists. So, as MWAC's work for agencies like the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service tapered off, it still conducted a substantial amount of archeology for the Department of Defense on DoD lands in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The DoD work was not limited to the Midwest but took MWAC archeologists as far afield as California. Eventually, the Department of Defense developed its own in-house archeology capabilities, too.¹²⁵

Unrelated to the archeological assistance for the Department of Defense on DoD lands, several MWAC archeologists became intermittently involved in overseas work in

¹²³ Midwest Archeological Center, "Guidance Document Midwest Region Park Ranger Archeological Site Monitoring Program," January 28, 2009, MWAC Files; Ann Bauermeister interview by Theodore Catton, December 15, 2017. In recent years rangers who performed this work did not all have paraprofessional training.

¹²⁴ Anne M. Wolley Vawser, "Does Archeological Site Monitoring Work? The National Park Service's Midwest Region's Ranger Monitoring Program," 2014, at file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/SAA2014.pdf <April 30, 2018>.

¹²⁵ Hartley interview. For an overview of archeological assistance projects undertaken by MWAC through 1999, see the pertinent sections in MWAC's annual reports.

former war zones where there was a need for forensic archeology in the excavation of mass graves and the investigation of war crimes. In 1987, Clyde Snow, a retired forensic archeologist with the Federal Aviation Administration and a consultant on the Little Big Horn National Battlefield survey, suggested to Doug Scott that he go to El Salvador and assist U.S. and El Salvadoran officials in their investigation of human rights violations in a crime laboratory there. The conversation led to a trip to El Salvador by Doug Scott and Melissa Connor. They went on a volunteer basis using accrued vacation time. The point of the trip was to apply their expertise in physical anthropology and their experience of digging up bones to help authorities identify human remains, assist authorities in the prosecution of human rights violations and bring some closure for families of the victims. This was the seed that led to much more activity along these same lines in the mid-1990s.¹²⁶

In 1993, F. A. Calabrese, Doug Scott, Melissa Connor, and Ralph Hartley went to Croatia to work on behalf of the Physicians for Human Rights under the auspices of the United Nations War Crimes Commission. This time, Regional Director William Schenk put his support behind the effort and the work was performed on salaried time. For two months, the four MWAC archeologists participated in the exhumation and examination of bodies at two mass grave sites in the former Yugoslavia. The evidence was provided to the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia. That same year, MWAC archeologist Bruce Jones traveled with a military team to Vietnam to assist with excavations seeking remains and associated artifacts of U.S. servicemen killed in the Vietnam War.¹²⁷

Over the winter of 1995-96, Scott, Connor, and Hartley made a follow-up trip to Europe with the Physicians for Human Rights, this time to the Netherlands to catalog photographs from their 1993 fieldwork in Croatia. From there, they went to Rwanda to assist in the exhumation of a mass grave at Kibuye for the United Nations International Tribunal for Rwanda. This grave contained the remains of more than 500 people and was the largest mass grave excavated for international medicolegal purposes. Connor returned to Rwanda in June 1997 for further fieldwork, and she, Hartley, and Scott returned to Croatia in September to investigate yet another mass grave in Ovcara, which held the remains of about 200 people executed by Serbian soldiers in 1991.¹²⁸

Meanwhile, in January and February 1996, Bruce Jones was once again detailed to the Department of Defense for an assignment in Vietnam. He supervised the excavation of an F-100D fighter aircraft crash site. Jones filed a report on the excavation with U.S. Army Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii. Also in that year, MWAC archeologist Forest Frost joined a Defense Department team in going to Laos to excavate another U.S. military aircraft crash site where nine American servicemen were lost. A thirty-day excavation resulted in the recovery and tentative identification of one person's remains.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Scott interview.

¹²⁷ F. A. Calabrese, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1994," MWAC.

¹²⁸ Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1996," MWAC. Connor's interest in this area continues; she now teaches at Colorado Mesa University where she is also director of the Forensic Investigation Research Station. After leaving MWAC, she investigated other mass grave sites in Cyprus, Sri Lanka, and Nigeria.

¹²⁹ Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1996,"

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Table 10. Archeologists on the staff of MWAC who served as project directors, 1969-2016

Name	Directing Projects	Name	Directing Projects
Anderson, Adrienne	1974-1980	Liestmann, Terri	1982-1984
Baier, Missy	2010	Lincoln, Tom	1978
Barnett, Ashley	2012-2016	Lynott, Mark	1978-1989, 2005
Bauermeister, Ann	2001-2015	Mahoney, Gosia	2014-2015
Bender, Laura	2014-2015	Meade, Tim	1985
Bennett, Connie	1977-1978	Monk, Susan	1983-1987
Breternitz, David	1973-1974	Moore, Jackson	1969-1972
Bringelson, Dawn	2004-2016	Mueller, James	1982-1983
Burgett, Galen	1987	Mundell, Ray	1975
Calabrese, F. A.	1977	Nickel, Robert	1974-1978
Cannon, Ken	1989-2008	Noble, Vergil E.	1987-2007
Cannon, Molly	2007-2008	Nycz, Chris	2013-2015
Cellar, Craig	1977-1978	Olinger, Danny E.	1976-1977
Chevance, Nick	1982	Osborn, Alan	1989
Chidley, Michael	2002	Pennington, Rose	1993-1994
Clark, Caven	1989-1994	Perry, Leslie	1981-1982
Connor, Melissa	1984-1995, 2001	Raish, Carol	1978-1979
Danielson, Dennis	1993	Renner, Amanda Davey	2012-2016
Daron, Steve	1993-1994	Richner, Jeffrey	1979-2012
Dempsey, Erin	2009-2016	Roberts, Karin	1998-2002, 2015
DeVore, Steve	1984-2016	Rossillon, Mitzi	1982-1984
Dial-Jones, Jan	1981-88, 2005-06	Schilling, Tim	2013-2016
Dominguez, Steve	1988-1992	Schoen, Chris	1984-1986
Douglass, Matt	2014	Scott, Douglas	1984-2015
Ehrenhard, John	1972-1973	Smith, Alan	1987
Falk, Carl	1971-1972, 1976	Stadler, Scott	1998-2002
Fox, Greg	1985	Staggs, Holly	2015-2016
Frost, Forest	1987-1999	Stiger, Mark	1976-1979
Galindo, Jennifer	1998-2003	Sturdevant, Jay	2003-2016
Griffin, D.	1976, 1985	Sudderth, W. E.	1979-1985, 1990
Guthrie, Mark	1978	Thiessen, Thomas	1978-2002
Hartley, Ralph	1980-2009	Thompson, Mona	1979-1980
Hoffman, J. J.	1969-1971	Tipps, Betsy	1979-1980
Holen, Steve	1976	Van West, Carla	1979
Hsu, Dick	1980	Vawser, Anne	1988-2016
Hunt, William J.	1983-2011	Vetter, Sue	1985, 1989
Husted, Wil	1969-1973	Volf, William	2001-2005
Griffin, Kristin	1988-1990	Wiley, Cynthia	2011
Jones, Bruce	1979-2007	Winfrey, James	1990-1991
Kay, Marvin	1973-1974	Young, Allison	2013-2014
Kramer, Karen	1988	Zalesky, James	1984
LaBounty, Andrew	2011	Zalucha, L. Anthony	1977
LeBeau, Albert	2010-2012		

Scott, Connor, Calabrese, Jones, and Hartley participated in these activities in the belief that their work helped sustain the principles of human rights and international law. Schenk supported it for the same reason. A collateral benefit was that the work brought attention to MWAC and forensic archeology. They gave talks at professional conferences and contributed articles to publications. Newspapers reported it.¹³⁰

When Hartley returned from his first overseas assignment in 1993, Calabrese put him in charge of a new Cooperative Assistance Division. Lynott kept Hartley at that post and changed the name of the division to Archeological Assistance and Partnerships in MWAC's reorganization of 1996. After Hartley retired in July 2011, Lynott dissolved the division, and the cooperative assistance function was absorbed into the park archeology program.¹³¹

Hartley recalled in an interview that cooperative assistance generally ran smoothly. As it mostly involved work for agencies in the federal government, funding mechanisms for transferring funds from the outside agency to the NPS were straightforward. Hartley recalled that a lot of the cooperative assistance work that came to MWAC was based on personal connections. A project might be initiated by a phone call from someone in the U.S. Forest Service who knew someone else in the Forest Service who had once worked at MWAC. "We were all working for the same company – the federal government – so working for another agency was relatively easy, not contractual, and so much was based on trust," Hartley said. "We would not attempt to do something if they did not have enough money. Sometimes we would go the extra mile just to help them out."¹³²

Hartley remembered the work for outside agencies dropping off significantly in the mid-2000s. Work for parks located outside the Midwest Region was also handled through Hartley's division. So, when the cooperative assistance work diminished to the point that it was primarily work for parks in other regions, it was easy to roll it into the park archeology program.¹³³

Outreach and Public Education

On July 1, 1994, MWAC marked its 25th anniversary. As the anniversary date approached, Calabrese noted there was a growing need for a brochure to publicize the Center's activities and capabilities. That spring, Bruce Jones took charge of producing the Center's first brochure. Smetter Design of Lincoln assisted with the layout and developed an MWAC logo. The brochure was printed and distributed that summer.¹³⁴

MWAC. According to MWAC's webpages, MWAC archeologists investigated a total of six U.S. military aircraft crash sites in Vietnam over a five-year period.

¹³⁰ Scott interview.

¹³¹ Hartley interview; De Vore interview.

¹³² Hartley interview.

¹³³ Hartley interview; De Vore interview.

¹³⁴ F. A. Calabrese, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1994," MWAC.

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When Lynott reorganized the Center in 1996, he appointed Jones to head an Outreach and Public Education Team. The team's goals were "to expand visitor contact and public involvement and develop partnerships in archeological projects." Heretofore, the Center's outreach was mainly limited to occasional public speaking engagements. MWAC archeologists gave public lectures in Lincoln or elsewhere in connection with their work in the parks. Jones, for example, gave multiple campfire talks at Curecanti National Recreation Area when he was supervising archeological investigations there in the 1980s. The level of commitment varied according to each archeologist's personal inclination and aptitude. After the reorganization, MWAC's outreach program grew a little more systematic. Efforts toward outreach were spread over providing public workshops, demonstrations, tours, programs, and talks. In 1999, the Center tallied 39 events, which were presented to a combined audience of 2,282 people, with ten out of the sixteen staff archeologists contributing to the collective effort. Fuller utilization of the NPS Volunteers-in-Parks program was another outreach objective. In Fiscal Year 1999, MWAC volunteers logged 2,621 hours, up 38 percent from the previous year.¹³⁵

The turmoil of the A-76 study in 2003 gave a further boost to MWAC's outreach efforts. After coming to MWAC's defense at such a critical time, Congressman Bereuter advised MWAC staff to redouble their efforts to make their presence known to the local community so that if the Center should ever face a similar crisis again it would find more local support. As a federal entity, MWAC had a fundamental challenge in making its presence known to the people of Lincoln. Unlike a state government entity like the Nebraska State Historical Society, which the public could appreciate for its championship of local and state history, MWAC provided services to parks far and wide. After the A-76 scare, Bereuter's point was well taken. After that hard year, MWAC stepped up its outreach efforts another notch.¹³⁶

In 2004, Lynott tasked Dawn Bringelson with expanding the MWAC website to include examples of archeology accomplished by MWAC staff. Bringelson worked closely with Center staff in producing a series of webpages to highlight examples of MWAC's work and communicate its value to the public. Describing the work of archeologists was the easy part, Bringelson noted, while explaining how it benefited the public was much harder. She began by creating a webpage about Doug Scott's work in battlefield archeology at Little Big Horn National Monument. The webpage explained how the archeological investigations led to a fuller understanding of how the battle unfolded. Historical records inform us about who was there and how the combatants were armed, but the historical records are practically silent on how the two sides engaged on the field of battle. From where bullets and musket balls and other artifacts were distributed over the battlefield, archeologists were able to deduce what occurred. Other webpages showcased MWAC's work at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site, Voyageurs National Park, and Cuyahoga Valley National Park. Content for these pages was mostly written by the lead archeologists, some without bylines, while Allan Weber was the visual information specialist and webmaster.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1999," MWAC.

¹³⁶ Bringelson interview.

¹³⁷ Bringelson interview.

MWAC's website also became a portal through which other archeologists could access MWAC publications. The publications webpages offered scores of reports for downloading in pdf format in five series: archeological reports, technical reports, special reports, occasional reports, and MWAC papers. The focus of each series differed. The work on the website marked a significant step forward in MWAC's outreach, as the staff recognized more firmly than ever that its audience was two-fold: the general public as well as the professional community.¹³⁸

Bringelson took over direction of the Outreach and Public Education Team when Jones retired in 2006. Her duties included managing the volunteers program. In 2010, Bringelson hired Christine Nycz as an intern through the National Council for Preservation Education, using Interpretation and Education funds, to develop a Junior Rangers program for MWAC. Nycz embraced the project. Though she was pursuing a graduate degree in archeology, Nycz showed an aptitude for a task more commonly performed by a park guide or someone with a background in education. She reached out to grade-school teachers and developed a curriculum using individual Midwest parks as case studies. For example, she created a module on landmarks featuring Scotts Bluff National Monument. After completing development of the Junior Rangers program, Nycz was promoted to a term employee. MWAC's Junior Ranger program was released in 2010. Nycz left MWAC for an archeologist position at Lake Mead National Recreation Area, and student interns have come in behind her and managed the Junior Rangers program since then. More recently, Bringelson has directed student interns in helping MWAC reach out to the public through social media. MWAC now has a presence on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.¹³⁹

Another component of MWAC outreach was its longstanding partnership with Lincoln's Pathfinder Education Program. Located in the Lancaster County Youth Services Center, Pathfinders provided educational services for teenage students who were in limbo while they awaited a court decision. The Pathfinder's connection to MWAC came through Randall Farmer, an archeological technician at MWAC for six years who subsequently became a teacher and then head administrator at Pathfinder. Under a standing arrangement, archeologists from MWAC made two visits to Pathfinder each year to provide students with an introduction to archeology.¹⁴⁰

MWAC held an occasional open house. One took place on September 1, 1999, in celebration of MWAC's 30th anniversary. More than 180 guests attended, including Nebraska Governor Mike Johanns and several of the original 1969 Center staff. Several project posters were produced for the event under the overall direction of Karin Roberts. Since then, open houses have occurred at irregular intervals. Another one was attended by former Congressman Bereuter. The more usual attendees include faculty members from the University of Nebraska, staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society, and other historians and archeologists in the community.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Bringelson interview; MWAC website at <https://nps.gov/mwac> <November 20, 2017>.

¹³⁹ Bringelson interview.

¹⁴⁰ Bringelson interview.

¹⁴¹ Mark J. Lynott, "Midwest Archeological Center Programs and Activities for Fiscal Year 1999," MWAC; Bringelson interview.

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One important element of MWAC's outreach that predated everything else was the Archeological Prospection Workshop run by Steven De Vore. In 1988, De Vore brought four geophysicists from Denver to Fort Laramie for a demonstration of geophysical survey equipment. The next year, De Vore transferred from MWAC to the IASD in Denver. The workshop idea gradually gestated over the next two years with another training event held in Denver in 1990, and then one held in the field at a historic stage stop in Colorado in 1991 with the help of a grant from the NPS's Cultural Resources Training Initiative. De Vore credits Denver geophysicist Clark Davenport with encouraging him to get the annual workshop going.¹⁴²

As De Vore crafted the Archeological Prospection Workshop into a regular event, it came to feature a mix of guest speakers and hands-on experience with the unusual tools of the trade. Generally, it was held over a five-day stretch at a well-known archeological site such as Cahokia or Hopewell Culture, and it would draw around 25 to 50 participants. There were lectures in the morning, field work in the afternoon, and opportunities to practice with the data or workshop problems in the evening.¹⁴³

In 2016, MWAC boldly experimented with another form of outreach. It held the first-ever NPS-sponsored "ArcheoBlitz." Inspired by the movement toward "citizen science" and the popular new event known as a "bioblitz," (a mobilization of a mass of volunteers to perform a biological survey in a limited area in a concentrated amount of time), the ArcheoBlitz was both similar and different from a bioblitz. It was similar in that it aimed to engage the public in a two-day event that would produce some tangible new information for the profession. It was different in the fact that an archeological survey, unlike a biological survey, must make a precise record of the exact provenience of each find. The ArcheoBlitz had to be designed in such a way that the recovery of artifacts by untrained people would not do harm to the archeological resource.¹⁴⁴

The idea for the ArcheoBlitz sprang from a conversation between archeologist Jay Sturdevant and Superintendent Craig Hansen at Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site. Sturdevant presented the idea to MWAC staff in a planning meeting for the 2016 NPS Centennial and it was decided to make the ArcheoBlitz the Center's main centennial event. Sturdevant was responsible for coordinating with the park and helping line up partners. Knife River Indian Village's Superintendent Hansen and Chief of Interpretation Alisha Deegan were key partners in planning the event. Deegan, who is a member of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation, brought in another key partner, the Nueta, Hidatsa, Sahnish Tribal College. The engagement of the tribal community was an exciting and enriching component of the event, and it would not have been possible without the park's long-term commitment to that partnership and its development of relationships built on trust.¹⁴⁵

MWAC archeologists devised a strategy for presenting a field study that would give kids hands-on experience unearthing and examining artifacts without causing unchecked harm to the resource. Putting kids together with archeologists to work with

¹⁴² De Vore interview.

¹⁴³ De Vore interview.

¹⁴⁴ Bringelson interview.

¹⁴⁵ Bringelson interview.

geophysical survey equipment offered one approach, but there would be far too many kids in the ArcheoBlitz for that approach alone to suffice. They hit upon the idea of putting most of the kids on assignment to recover archeological resources that were already redeposited by bioturbation. The kids would map the shapes and locations of rodent burrows within a two-by-two-meter area within an established grid system at two village sites, the Big Hidatsa and Lower Hidatsa Village sites. Then the kids would sift the back dirt from each rodent burrow through screens and sort the screened cultural material into categories: lithics, animal bone, ceramics, plant material, and so on.¹⁴⁶

After an extraordinary amount of planning for the event, the ArcheoBlitz took place on May 6 and 7, 2016. It drew 250 middle school students from the surrounding area, including some from the nearby Mandan Hidatsa and Arikara Nation. College students from Nueta Hidatsa Sahnish College participated as interns through a partnership with that institution under a grant obtained by Amber Finley and Dr. Twyla Demaray-Baker, president of the college. Five other individuals from Zuni Pueblo, who were enrolled in the Southwest Conservation Corps through the Ancestral Lands program, assisted the NPS in preparing and putting on the event. Twelve MWAC staff participated. Other helpers, including many archeologists, came from thirty different offices and institutions. Considering the amount of time and expense that went into it, the ArcheoBlitz was probably not duplicable without some modification of project design. Yet, MWAC, Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, and the tribal community deemed the event a big success. Participants found the event enjoyable and inspiring. Sturdevant for one hoped that it might inspire other citizen-science type events for cultural resources. The ArcheoBlitz team received the Mark E. Mack Community Engagement Award from the Society for Historical Archaeology in recognition of its effort.¹⁴⁷

Retirement and Passing of Mark J. Lynott

Mark Lynott retired at the beginning of 2013 after 34 years with the NPS. As he explained to colleagues when he was nearing retirement, he was weary of managing the Center, especially the budgetary aspects, and he wanted to devote more time to research and writing. Toward the end of his NPS career he got involved with a new book series on American landscapes to be published by Oxbow Books. He then agreed to write the first book for the series about the Hopewell Culture and the ceremonial mounds landscapes in Ohio.¹⁴⁸

Lynott's retirement came toward the end of a wave of other retirements at MWAC. Nickel retired in 2000. Thiessen, Scott, and Jones retired in 2006. Dial-Jones retired in 2010, and Hartley and Hunt retired in 2011. Richner was about to retire in 2013 but agreed to serve as acting center manager for a few months after Lynott stepped down.

¹⁴⁶ Jay Sturdevant, Dawn Bringelson, Ashley Barnett, Rinita Dalan, and Kacy Hollenback, "Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (KNRI) Research Design," May 2016, copy provided to author by Jay Sturdevant; Bringelson interview.

¹⁴⁷ Sturdevant interview; Bringelson interview.

¹⁴⁸ Julie Gardiner and Peter Topping, "Preface," in Mark J. Lynott, *Hopewell Ceremonial Landscapes of Ohio: More than Mounds and Geometric Earthworks* (Havertown, Penn.: Oxbow Books, 2014), vii-viii; Vawser interview; Bryson interview.

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Richner retired in April of that year. After all those retirements, Vawser, De Vore and Noble were the only staff archeologists remaining whose careers at MWAC dated back to the 1980s. Lynott's departure together with the other retirements cut into MWAC's many years of combined staff experience. On the other hand, as the wave of retirements neared an end, MWAC was left with a rather favorable mix of senior, mid-career, and beginning archeologists with which to face the future.¹⁴⁹

In searching for a replacement for Lynott, the leadership in the Midwest Region decided to look outside of MWAC and not promote from within, as had occurred the last two times there was a change of managers. Lynott suggested that the search should be wider still, with the potential of bringing on board a manager from outside the NPS. However, the higher-ups involved in the hiring decided it was better to appoint someone who knew the NPS from the inside.¹⁵⁰

Robert Bryson was selected to be the next center manager. With a Ph.D. in anthropology and experience working in CRM in the private sector, Bryson became a federal employee and NPS archeologist in 2001, first on the staff at Mojave National Preserve, California, where he was park archeologist and then chief of resource management, and later in the Pacific West Region Office, where he managed the Vanishing Treasures Program and later some multi-million-dollar projects under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. He was looking for a fresh challenge in a new setting when he saw the announcement for the position of MWAC center manager.¹⁵¹

The transition was a challenging time for MWAC as the staff had to make do with a temporary, rotating leadership team that they fielded from their own ranks. When Lynott left, Richner served in an unofficial capacity as acting center manager for the first quarter of 2013, and then retired. After that, Karin Roberts and Jill Lewis, who was head of administration, were each tapped for a 120-day detail as acting center manager until the new center manager was hired. In the meantime, Anne Vawser and Ann Bauermeister each took a turn as the park archeology program manager. The hiring process for a new center manager dragged on through the spring and summer. Bryson started as center manager on September 8, 2013. By that point, as MWAC had gone for nearly three-quarters of a year without a chief, some personnel conflicts had arisen. Bryson found tensions rising among the staff, with things "about to start getting unpleasant" in his estimation, though several reviewers of this document questioned that. On the positive side, Bauermeister had an opportunity during the leadership transition to demonstrate managerial skills that would shortly be utilized again when Bryson, just two and a half years later, moved into a higher position in the Midwest Region, once again creating a vacancy in the center manager position.¹⁵²

On top of the difficult leadership transition, MWAC staff were stunned by the sudden death of Mark Lynott in May 2014 just over a year after his retirement. He was 63.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Vawser interview; Bryson interview.

¹⁵⁰ Bryson interview.

¹⁵¹ Bryson interview.

¹⁵² Vawser interview; Bryson interview.

¹⁵³ "Champion of Hopewell Archaeology Passes at 63," The Archaeological Conservancy at

In the short period after he retired, Lynott completed the manuscript of his book about Hopewell Culture. During his 34 years of service with the NPS, he had developed a deep and abiding interest in Hopewell archeology. From 1995 to 2010, he had served as the editor of *Hopewell Archeology*. Fortunately, his manuscript was near enough to publication when he died that the decision was made to go forward with publication of the book posthumously. The book was the inaugural volume in a new series. One of the series editors who was key in this effort was Lynott's longtime friend, Peter Topping of Cambridge, England, a member of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. The two had maintained a correspondence and professional cultural exchange through many years. Also instrumental in bringing the book to publication was MWAC archeologist Tim Schilling. He prepared several text box "asides" that Lynott had begun but not yet completed. Schilling also provided an essay under his own name in Appendix 1, "A model of the construction chronology of the Hopeton earthworks."¹⁵⁴

The book was released in 2015 and received many positive reviews. The reviews also contained some fond remembrances. One reviewer remembered Lynott as a "gifted archaeologist and a warm, nurturing person" and noted that the book added to Lynott's "broad legacy for his many friends, colleagues, and the public." Another reviewer described Lynott as "one of the foremost students of Hopewell archaeology in the modern era," and said the book "provides a rigorous documentation of the history of the archaeological study and the current state of our scientific understanding of Hopewell ceremonial landscapes." These plaudits reflected well on MWAC and for MWAC staff they were a minor consolation for the loss of a longtime leader and friend.¹⁵⁵

Bryson's Short Tenure

When Bob Bryson took up duties in September 2013, a government shutdown loomed at the end of the month.¹⁵⁶ The anticipated government shutdown began on October 1 and continued through October 16, making it the third longest shutdown of the federal government in history. (The first and second longest occurred in 1995-96 and 1978, respectively.) All MWAC staff were furloughed, joining 800,000 other federal workers who were told to stay home rather than report to work without pay. The government shutdown underscored the fact that the nation's politics were growing more contentious and confrontational, with a large swath of the American public growing more mistrustful of the federal bureaucracy – conditions that could someday place the archeological center at risk again.

<https://www.archaeologicalconservancy.org/news-article/champion-hopewell-archaeology-passes-63/> <November 29, 2017>.

¹⁵⁴ Mark Lynott to Peter Topping, April 29, 1996, May 30, 1997, and December 4, 1997, Box 6, Mark Lynott Papers, MWAC; Lynott, *Hopewell Ceremonial Landscapes of Ohio*, vii-viii; 261-65. Since the book was published four more volumes have appeared in this series.

¹⁵⁵ John Koepke, "Hopewell Ceremonial Landscapes of Ohio: More than Mounds and Geometric Earthworks by Mark J. Lynott (review), at <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/633791> <November 29, 2017>; Mark F. Seaman, "Hopewell Ceremonial Landscapes of Ohio: More than Mounds and Geometric Earthworks by Mark J. Lynott, at www.midwestarchaeology.org/storage/2015-BRO5-Lynott.pdf <November 29, 2017>.

¹⁵⁶ Bryson interview.

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Once the government shutdown ended and MWAC was back to work, Bryson took a longer view. Having worked as an archeologist in the private sector, on park staffs, and in a regional office, but never in one of the NPS archeological centers before, Bryson brought a helpful outside perspective to his leadership position at MWAC. His goal was to get a better handle on MWAC's revenue stream. The number of staff archeologists on the payroll whose positions hinged on project-based funding was a concern to him. In 2016, for example, MWAC had twenty full-time permanent employees and only fourteen of those positions were covered by base funding. The other six positions were covered by project funds, equivalent to soft money in the private sector. The circumstance had developed over a long time, and MWAC had thus far succeeded in securing enough project funding year after year to avoid making major layoffs. Still, Bryson was troubled by the fact that MWAC ran on a business model laid down by Calabrese some forty years earlier. MWAC's sources of project funding had narrowed since then: in the first place, as its work in the large western parks fell away, and in the second place, when the cooperative assistance program faded. Even though project funding had been ample in the years immediately preceding Bryson's hire, he had no way to predict how much project funding MWAC would secure in the future, or if it would always have the funding to pay all its staff. "We are operating on a system that is inherently unstable," he said.¹⁵⁷

MWAC's system of assigning a "Section 106 advisor" to each unit in the Midwest Region also deserved a relook. The position of Section 106 advisor had come about in MWAC's reorganization in 1996. As noted earlier in this chapter, the full-time permanent archeologists at MWAC were assigned several Midwest units each and designated as the unit's Section 106 advisor. In some cases, another archeologist was designated as the unit's contact for archeological assistance other than Section 106 compliance. (In most cases, one person served both functions.) Superintendents liked the system and the MWAC archeologists were glad to cultivate those one-to-one relationships with the parks. However, it grew more and more difficult to reconcile this system with MWAC's heavy reliance on project funding because those ad hoc requests from the parks for assistance basically took up staff time that was otherwise given to projects. As more and more parks lost their staff archeologists, those parks came to rely on MWAC archeologists for help with day-to-day park management issues. Some superintendents came to treat the Section 106 advisor almost as an off-site member of the park staff, phoning several times per week or even multiple times per day. MWAC archeologists wanted to be as responsive to parks' day-to-day needs as they could, but they had to balance that desire with getting their projects done.

Bryson's second major concern, related to the first, was to foster closer ties between MWAC and the rest of the NPS. He sought closer ties between MWAC staff and the cultural resources staff in the Midwest Regional Office, to ensure that MWAC was properly involved in planning studies. He sought closer ties with park facility maintenance supervisors, because the latter oversaw construction projects and therefore had foreknowledge of a park's Section 106 compliance needs. Bryson wanted to get MWAC better integrated into the whole stream of archeological work – and archeological project funding – as projects were approved and project funds flowed from the Washington Office out to the regions and the parks. To that end, he secured an appointment to the Cultural Resource Advisory Group, a systemwide body headed

¹⁵⁷ Bryson interview.

by Stephanie Toothman, associate director for cultural resources, partnerships, and science. Bryson's overriding concern was to find a way to legitimize the use of project funding to support permanent positions. It was vital for MWAC to gain more control over its funding outlook, he argued, if the center was to continue to attract and retain talented people in permanent positions.¹⁵⁸

Bryson summoned the MWAC staff to help him develop a strategic plan for the unit. Staff members readily responded, carving out time to come together as a group and talk about what the unit's goals truly were. What was the mission? Staff members agreed that the answer to this question was worth re-examining and putting into words. Working on a new mission statement proved to be a good team-building exercise and starting point for producing the *Strategic Plan, 2017-2022*. Collectively, the staff decided to look ahead five years. There was a consensus that the NPS was changing, and that it was important to rethink MWAC's goals to stay in step with the new times.¹⁵⁹ The *Strategic Plan* gave voice to the following Mission Statement:

MWAC provides leadership in archeological resource management. MWAC uses archeological expertise and innovative research methods to support the NPS and partners in documenting, investigating, and preserving cultural resources, data, and collections, with the goal of sharing this information with the public to advance our understanding of history and human behavior.¹⁶⁰

The *Strategic Plan* listed eight overarching goals (with no stated priority) as follows: (1) Develop comprehensive work plans to allocate annual workloads and backlogs, (2) Enhance digital capacity and functionality, (3) Improve internal and external communication and collaboration, (4) Improve employee career development opportunities, (5) Diversify and stabilize funding and establish priorities, (6) Develop long-term regional archeological program plan, (7) Increase collaboration with traditionally associated peoples and tribes, and (8) Improve education and outreach opportunities.¹⁶¹

The plan contained a lot of discussion about how to manage workflow. One idea, adapted from the Intermountain Region, was to send an annual "Request for Technical Assistance" memorandum to each park in the Midwest Region and use the responses to leverage regional year-end money and to assist MWAC in developing a work plan for the coming year. The aim was to encourage park staffs to think about their archeological needs more proactively and programmatically. It was noted that MWAC's existing system of embedding an archeologist in each park as its "Section 106 advisor" already served that goal but the Technical Assistance Request (TAR) would reinforce it and specifically target year-end moneys.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Bryson interview.

¹⁵⁹ Bauermeister interview.

¹⁶⁰ Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Archeological Center Strategic Plan 2017-2022* (Lincoln, Neb.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 2017), 1.

¹⁶¹ Midwest Archeological Center, *Midwest Archeological Center Strategic Plan 2017-2022*, 1.

¹⁶² Bauermeister interview; Sturdevant interview.

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MWAC staff felt strongly about Goal 7 in the *Strategic Plan*, as they imagined a future in which NPS archeologists reached out more reflexively to partner with indigenous groups. They perceived a cultural shift happening among archeologists, as nearly a generation had now passed since the profession took a bruising over NAGPRA. The partnering they envisioned was collaboration, not tribal consultation in the legal sense. Tribal consultation invoked a government-to-government relationship, which was ordinarily between the tribal government and the park superintendent; MWAC archeologists stood outside of that formal relationship. In all collaboration with tribes on park archeology projects, MWAC would develop the collaboration through the park's existing communication channels to tribes. Those formalities notwithstanding, MWAC archeologists were enthused to work with tribes in framing research questions and pursuing objects of mutual interest.¹⁶³

One and a half years after becoming head of MWAC, Bryson recommended to Regional Director Cameron Sholly that the Midwest Region should have an associate regional director for cultural resource preservation. It was too much for one person to oversee both natural and cultural resources, Bryson argued. Sholly agreed, and invited Bryson to take that on in addition to his duties overseeing MWAC. Bryson moved into that dual role on February 22, 2016, commuting back and forth between his two offices in Lincoln and Omaha. Early in 2017, he gave up the center manager position and began working full-time in his capacity as associate regional director, starting the clock on another period of leadership transition for the Center. Ann Bauermeister accepted a one-year detail as center manager while continuing to serve as park archeology program manager.¹⁶⁴

With Bryson's departure, MWAC looked to the selection of a new chief for the sixth time in its history. Three times in a row the NPS had hired from within: first in promoting Carl Falk, then F. A. Calabrese, and lastly Mark Lynott. It remained to be seen whether the NPS would repeat that pattern or appoint someone from outside of MWAC.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Bauermeister interview; Bringelson interview.

¹⁶⁴ Bryson interview; Bauermeister interview.

¹⁶⁵ Bauermeister interview.

CONCLUSION

In 2019, the Midwest Archeological Center will mark its fiftieth anniversary of establishment on July 1, 1969. The administrative history of this National Park System unit illustrates how a service unit can adapt its mission and reshape its organization and outputs to fit changing conditions. MWAC answers to a different set of archeological needs today than those that existed in 1969. It functions within the context of an archeological profession that has changed markedly over the decades. MWAC's nearly half-century of service also rests atop the legacy of the Missouri Basin Project (MBP), which operated out of a Lincoln office from 1946 to 1969. This conclusion begins with a summary of continuity and change from the MBP to its successor entity, MWAC. It then highlights three major developments that formed the context for MWAC's evolution since 1969.

Change and Continuity from the MBP to MWAC

Established in 1946, the Missouri Basin Project was an archeology staff group of the River Basin Survey (RBS). The MBP field unit was by far the largest of the river basin surveys, so it served as field headquarters for the whole newly formed RBS. Administratively, the RBS was a unit of the Bureau of American Ethnology within the Smithsonian Institution. Under a cooperative agreement between the Smithsonian and the NPS, the latter took responsibility for managing the RBS annual budget. Thus, RBS archeologists were employees of the Smithsonian Institution though they coordinated closely with NPS archeologists in the Washington Office. The successive field directors of the MBP in Lincoln were Waldo R. Wedel, Paul L. Cooper, Ralph Brown, R. L. Stephenson, and Warren Caldwell. Richard B. Johnston was acting director when the MBP was turned into MWAC. Frank H. H. Roberts was RBS director from its inception until he retired in 1964. Stephenson served as acting director of the RBS from then until its termination in 1969.¹

The RBS was part of a lineage of federally-sponsored archeological surveys that began with the Mounds Survey in the late-nineteenth century. It was also an outgrowth of federally-sponsored salvage archeology programs that had their start in the New Deal era of the 1930s. American archeologists have long noted the importance of federal legislation and government support in the development of American archeology, from the late-nineteenth-century Mounds Survey down through the archeological salvage acts of the mid-twentieth century to the historic preservation and environmental protection laws of the modern era. One historian of the RBS has stated that the inception of the RBS "was an event of transcendent importance to American archaeologists." It was the single biggest initiative in the whole program of salvage archeology in the United States. Also known as "emergency archeology," the work of the RBS focused on investigating the archeological record in river valleys that were about to be drowned by dam and reservoir projects. Given that the prehistoric archeological record is and was concentrated along river valleys, and that river valleys were rapidly disappearing under water impoundments, the salvage archeology program of the mid-twentieth century was crucial to the advancement of archeological knowledge.²

¹Jennings, "River Basin Surveys: Origins, Operations, and Results, 1945-1969," 283-84.

²Jennings, "River Basin Surveys: Origins, Operations, and Results, 1945-1969," 281.

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The Missouri River Project dominated the RBS because of the many dam projects developed on the Missouri River and its tributaries in the decades following World War II. The MBP's extensive archeological investigations came to form an impressive body of work that underpinned Middle Missouri archeology by the 1960s. The many RBS studies yielded a fuller understanding of the prehistoric origins of the Plains Village cultures that occupied the midcontinent around the time of European contact. Together with Mississippian archeology in the Southeast and ancestral Pueblo archeology in the Southwest, Middle Missouri archeology came to constitute one of the early focal points of American archeology.³

The NPS made a vital contribution to the MBP through its development of a contract archeology program, which facilitated a partnership between the MBP and state institutions. Eight institutions were initially involved in conducting investigations under the direction of the MBP's limited staff. Those eight institutions were the University of Nebraska, Nebraska State Museum, Nebraska State Historical Society, University of Kansas, University of South Dakota, University of Wyoming, University of Montana, and North Dakota Historical Society. The partnership between federal archeologists and state and university-based archeologists and their students became an essential feature of salvage archeology. Pioneered by the RBS during the 1950s and 60s, the partnership was carried forward by MWAC as salvage archeology gave way to cultural resource management in the 1970s. The partnership between federal archeology and academic institutions remains an essential feature of CRM to this day.

There was also continuity in the work of the MBP and MWAC insofar as the salvage archeology projects performed by the MBP in the 1950s and 60s anticipated some of the goals and techniques of CRM projects performed by MWAC in the 1970s and later. Like salvage archeology, CRM was in most cases directly tied to construction projects. Both salvage archeology and CRM aimed to mitigate the loss of archeological resources from development. CRM projects tended to be relatively small in area, and the project areas were often linear (in anticipation of road or utility line construction), but as with salvage archeology the aim was to mitigate the loss of archeological resources threatened or doomed by development. In both contexts, archeologists worked under time pressure to retrieve archeological materials and record archeological data before the archeological sites were obliterated by construction. Similar constraints of funding and scheduling pertained for both salvage archeology and most CRM archeology projects. Since these archeological investigations required haste, they ran the risk of being substandard. As a result, both the MBP archeologists and the MWAC archeologists who came after them operated within a context of doing the best they could with limited resources. Project design and methodology were important to get right, and project archeologists had to defend the merits of their work alongside other archeological investigations that did not face those same constraints.

For all the continuity from the MBP to MWAC, there was significant discontinuity, too. There was a precipitous turnover of staff after the transfer in 1969. All the Smithsonian archeologists either retired or quit within a short time, and they were replaced by a new roster of NPS archeologists. When the unit was brought solely within the NPS, there was a brief period of competition between the Office of Archeology and

³Lehmer, *Introduction to Middle Missouri Archeology*, 25-45.

Historic Preservation (OAHP) and the Midwest Region over who would control the unit. For reasons that went beyond MWAC itself, the Midwest Region soon wrested control of MWAC from the OAHP. Thereafter, MWAC served the National Park System according to the NPS organization of administrative regions.

The transfer of control over MWAC from the OAHP to the Midwest Region was accompanied by a change of mission. Instead of conducting salvage archeology for a variety of federal agencies, MWAC mainly conducted CRM archeology for parks in the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions. Later, the mission was narrowed to serving parks in the Midwest Region primarily. The change of mission entailed a sharp reduction of staff in the mid-1970s, followed by a gradual rebuilding of staff over the next two decades. The growth of staff and operations leveled off in the mid-1990s. Since then, MWAC has enjoyed a fair degree of stability. As parks' needs for archeology remained strong, MWAC went through the NPS reorganization in 1995 and an A-76 study in 2003 without experiencing a serious reduction in force either time.

Perhaps the most important difference between the MBP and MWAC was with respect to conservation. The MBP's salvage archeology mission was conservation archeology by the standards of the day. Prior to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, archeologists regarded the recording of archeological sites, recovery of artifacts, and reporting of findings as tantamount to preserving the archeological record. After the NHPA, archeologists came to define conservation archeology as something else: preserving the archeological record in place. The New Archeology helped drive the change of thinking, as the New Archeology's more fine-grained excavations stirred awareness of how much potential information was lost when artifacts were dug up and put in a collection. NPS archeologists promoted the new conservation archeology as part and parcel of the NPS preservation ethic. In a short time, MWAC turned away from salvage archeology – except in special cases such as at Fort Union Trading Post – and began to promote cutting-edge field methods involving geophysical survey and other techniques aimed at leaving archeological sites undisturbed for future generations.

Three Major Developments that Shaped MWAC's First Half-Century

Of all the factors that shaped MWAC's first half-century of development, three factors were outstanding. Those were (1) the rise of CRM, (2) the development of conservation archeology, and (3) the repatriation movement and its impact on archeological ethics and practice.

The Rise of CRM

The most significant development for MWAC was the growing federal commitment to archeology through legislation and other national policy initiatives. Starting with the NHPA in 1966, Congress assigned the NPS a lead role among other federal land managing agencies in recording and protecting archeological sites. NPS archeologists advanced the term cultural resource management (CRM) to describe all federally-mandated and sponsored activity directed at preserving historic and archeological resources. Section 106 of the NHPA required archeological survey, and potentially archeological testing and mitigation, prior to any federal undertaking on

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land. Section 110 of the NHPA as amended called for survey of federal lands to determine where archeological resources were located. Compliance with those two mandates came to form the basis for most archeology in the parks. The Archeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974, also known as the Moss-Bennett Act, reinforced the mandate for archeological survey and stipulated that up to 1 percent of a project's construction costs could be assigned to archeological work. The law resulted in much more money flowing to federal archeology projects. CRM took off, becoming an object of interest not only within the NPS but in other federal land managing agencies and in anthropology departments at universities across the nation.

MWAC rode the wave of CRM through the late 1970s and onward. MWAC's manager, F. A. Calabrese, grew the center's staff and operations based on the strong demand for Section 106 compliance work and Section 110 surveys. MWAC also performed a considerable amount of archeological work for other federal agencies – a holdover from its early days when it inherited the salvage archeology work of its predecessor, the MBP. At first MWAC differentiated the two streams of work as “in-house” and “out-house” projects. Later, it referred to the two streams of work as “park archeology” and “cooperative assistance.”

The rise of CRM led to a major reorganization of the NPS archeology program in the years 1973-75. Interagency archeological services were placed under the purview of a new Interagency Archeological Services Division (IASD), while park archeology was assigned to the existing archeological centers. The IASD was administered by the OAHP, while the centers reported to the regional director for the region where they were located. The work that MWAC did for other agencies was contrary to this general arrangement, but no one ever accused MWAC of subverting the IASD's role. Over time, other federal agencies hired their own archeologists and ceased coming to the NPS for assistance, and the IASD faded out of existence in the mid-1990s. MWAC continued to offer cooperative assistance to other federal agencies through the mid-2000s.

MWAC and the IASD pursued two different business models. The IASD contracted out all its work to universities or private CRM firms, while MWAC accomplished as much work as it could with its own staff, often in cooperation with university faculty and students. MWAC successfully defended its business model against successive challenges: first from the IASD chiefs and the head of OAHP, then during the NPS reorganization in the mid-1990s, and once again during the A-76 study in 2003. In their preparation of a strategic plan for MWAC in 2016, the staff essentially stuck with the existing business model while searching for ways to improve it.

The Development of Conservation Archeology

The second major factor in MWAC's evolution was the development of conservation archeology. NPS archeologists recognized that the NPS had a special obligation to promote conservation archeology, since it aligned with the NPS mission to preserve the nation's cultural heritage for future generations. In some circles, conservation archeology was defined simply as “non-destructive archeology.”⁴ It

⁴ Lyons and Scovill, “Non-Destructive Archeology and Remote Sensing: A Conceptual and Methodological Stance,” 1; Midwest Archeological Center, *Strategic Plan 2017-2022*, 5.

referred to archeological survey techniques that were performed without excavation. Those techniques fell into two general categories: remote sensing techniques practiced from the air, such as aerial photography and Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR), and geophysical survey techniques practiced on the ground, such as magnetometry and ground penetrating radar. An informal arrangement developed between the Chaco Center and MWAC in which the Chaco Center experimented with remote sensing techniques and MWAC experimented with geophysical survey techniques.

Starting in 1975 at the Walth Bay site in North Dakota, MWAC archeologists pioneered geophysical survey techniques in the field. They demonstrated the practical use of techniques such as proton magnetometry and fluxgate magnetometry when those applications were still in their infancy in American archeology. MWAC archeologists forged professional relationships with two key experts. The first individual was John Weymouth, professor of physics at the University of Nebraska, who worked with MWAC on numerous projects from 1975 through the 1990s. The second individual was Bruce W. Bevan, whose company, Geosight, Inc., specialized in geophysical exploration for archeology. Both those individuals were first exposed to geophysical survey techniques in Great Britain, and MWAC cultivated their expertise to bring those techniques into use in American archeology. MWAC archeologists helped refine the use of magnetometry surveys to fit the North American context, where prehistoric archeological sites lacked the massive stonework characteristic of archeological sites in Britain, Europe, and the Middle East.

MWAC publicized the application of geophysical survey techniques in archeology through its reports and publications. It also promoted conservation archeology through public outreach. MWAC archeologist Steven De Vore put on an annual Archeological Prospection Workshop, which brought together speakers and practitioners and featured hands-on demonstration of geophysical survey equipment. Over the years, MWAC acquired an array of sophisticated geophysical survey tools, some of which were purchased in Europe and remain exceedingly rare in the United States.

The Repatriation Movement and its Effect on Archeological Ethics and Practice

Passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was a watershed moment in the development of American archeology, and it had a significant ripple effect on MWAC staff and park archeology in the Midwest Region. The repatriation movement successfully argued that American law, especially the Antiquities Act, privileged Western science over American Indian religion and denied American Indian tribes basic rights over their cultural patrimony. NAGPRA aimed to set things right. In determining the cultural patrimony of burial remains, the law placed tribal oral traditions on par with archeology. Faced with the law, archeologists had to rethink their position on what archeology and oral traditions each tell us about the remote past.

The fight over NAGPRA was upsetting to many archeologists, and it put NPS archeologists in a bind. On one hand, NPS archeologists were offended by the repatriation movement's broadside attack on the Antiquities Act and its condemnation of early-twentieth-century archeological investigations, many of which were preserved

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in places like Effigy Mounds National Monument. On the other hand, they were invested in parks' present-day functional relations with culturally associated peoples and tribes.

Center manager Mark Lynott took a proactive stand in response to NAGPRA. His work for the Society for American Archaeology on developing a new set of principles to define archeological ethics went a long way toward restoring positive relations between the American archeology profession and American Indians.

MWAC participated in the sweeping change in NPS tribal relations that took place during the 1980s and 90s. While park superintendents forged government-to-government relations with tribes, and the NPS staffed the regional office and some parks with tribal liaisons, MWAC archeologists developed collaborative relationships with tribal archeology programs.

In the twenty-first century, a new generation of MWAC archeologists came to the fore with more positive feelings about those collaborative relationships. The bruising fight over NAGPRA had occurred before they were in the profession or when they were just starting, so they felt unencumbered by it. They were enthused by the prospect of increased collaboration with traditionally associated peoples and tribes. Building on the foundation that was laid down in the 1980s and 90s, they saw an opportunity to do much more with traditionally associated peoples and tribes in coming years.⁵

⁵ Bauermeister interview; Sturdevant interview; Bringelson interview; Midwest Archeological Center, *Strategic Plan 2017-2022*, 10.

PHOTO ESSAY



Figure 1. The River Basin Surveys (RBS) conducted salvage archeology at federal dam and reservoir sites. Here excavations are in progress in the early 1950s at the Cheyenne River site in the Oahe Reservoir area, Stanley County, South Dakota. Note the field camp on the distant horizon. (RBS photograph 39ST1-110.)



Figure 2. The Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) inherited the salvage archeology mission of its predecessor office, the Missouri Basin Project (MBP) of the RBS. Many archeological sites beside reservoirs were threatened by wave action and erosion. Here excavators are working at the Helb site, a prehistoric village in the Oahe Reservoir area, Campbell County, South Dakota. (NPS photograph.)

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Figure 3. Robert L. Stephenson served as Chief of the MBP from 1952 through 1963. (RBS photograph 00-L643.)



Figure 4. Warren W. Caldwell served as Chief of the MBP from 1963 through 1969 and as Director of the RBS from 1966 through 1969. (RBS photograph 00-L1012.)



Figure 5. River Basin Surveys excavators working at 39FA83, a prehistoric occupation site in the Angostura Reservoir area, a Bureau of Reclamation project in Fall River County, southwestern South Dakota. The site was excavated in 1949 and 1950. The size, speed, and scope of the federal salvage archeology projects created a mixed legacy for Middle Missouri archeology (RBS photograph 39FA83-35.)



Figure 6. Larry Tomsyck (Administrative Officer, MBP, left), with John Corbett (Chief Archeologist, National Park Service, center) and Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. (Director, RBS, right) outside the MBP office at 1517 O Street, Lincoln, Nebraska, which housed MBP operations from 1951 to 1964. Roberts directed the RBS program from its inception in 1945 to 1964. (RBS photograph 00-L526.)

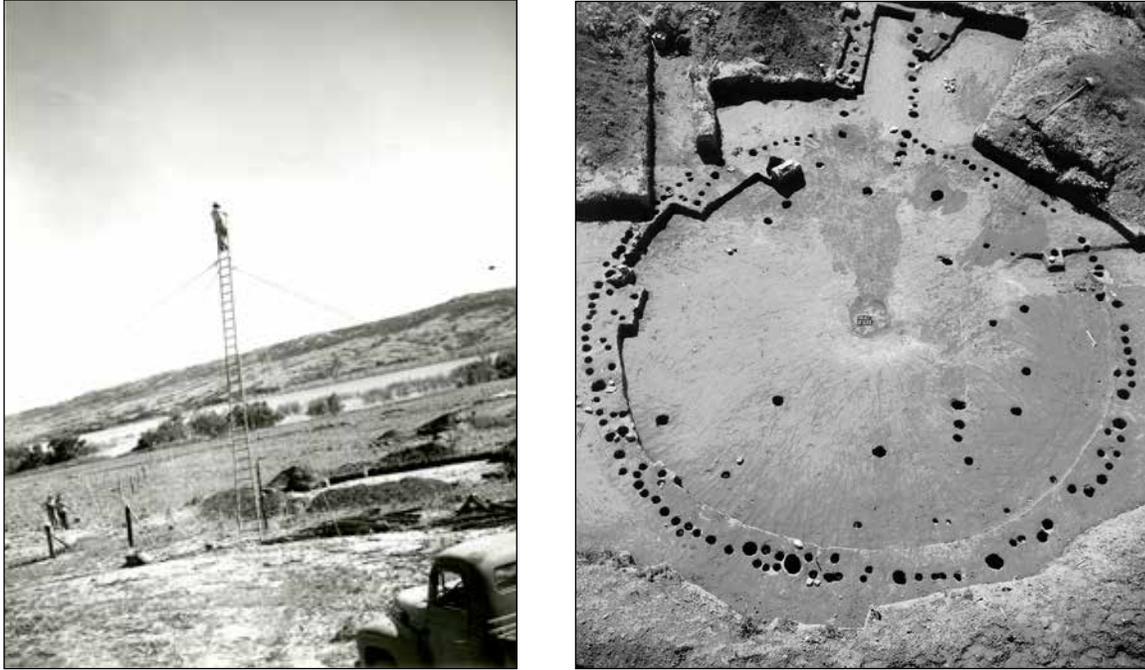


Figure 7. An improvised ladder (left) for taking elevated photographs (right) over excavations at the Oldham site in Charles Mix County, South Dakota. Such contrivances, once commonly employed at Plains excavations, are seldom used today because of the obvious risk of falling. (RBS photographs 39CH7-405 and 39CH7-398.)



Figure 8. The steamboat Bertrand excavation, 1969. The boat sank in 1865 on the Missouri River north of Omaha with a cargo bound for the Montana gold fields. This unusual historical archeology project consumed MWAC staff time through the first couple years of MWAC's existence. (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service photograph.)



Figure 9. MWAC employee Nancy Osborn processing textiles from the steamboat Bertrand in the lab of the MWAC office on 27th Street, Lincoln, Nebraska. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 10. MWAC lab technician Greg McClure analyzing artifacts from the steamboat Bertrand, 1972. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 11. MWAC employee Larry Meston processing artifacts in the 27th Street MWAC lab in 1972. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 12. Archeologist Wilfred M. Husted's 1969 crew at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, North Dakota and Montana. This was the first MWAC field project and the last fieldwork undertaken by a River Basin Surveys crew. These excavators started work at Fort Union as RBS employees in June and transferred to the National Park Service (NPS) when the Center was established on July 1, 1969. Standing, left to right: Husted, Ellet Hoke, Martin Nickels, John Mortenson. Seated on fallen flag pole: Donna Slatin. In front, on ground, left to right: Mary Szymkowiak, Cynthia Vann, Kevin Anderson (courtesy of Wilfred M. Husted).



Figure 13. Wilfred Logan (third from left), NPS Regional Archeologist and Chief of Archeological Research of the Midwest Region (1962-1969) and first Chief of the Midwest Archeological Center (1969-1972), conferring with U.S. Fish and Wildlife officials about the steamboat Bertrand, which was excavated on De Soto National Wildlife Refuge land. (NPS photograph).



Figure 14. MWAC Chief Wil Logan (seated) conferring with Larry Tomsyck shortly after MWAC's establishment on July 1, 1969. Note the NPS arrowhead on the shelf for mounting on the wall. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 15. MWAC Chief Carl Falk led MWAC through the end of its transition period when its primary mission changed from salvage archeology to serving the archeological needs of the NPS Midwest Region. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 16. MWAC Chief F. A. "Cal" Calabrese. The dynamic administrator grew MWAC's staff and operations (MWAC photo.) through the first two decades of burgeoning public archeology from 1973 to 1996. (MWAC photo.)

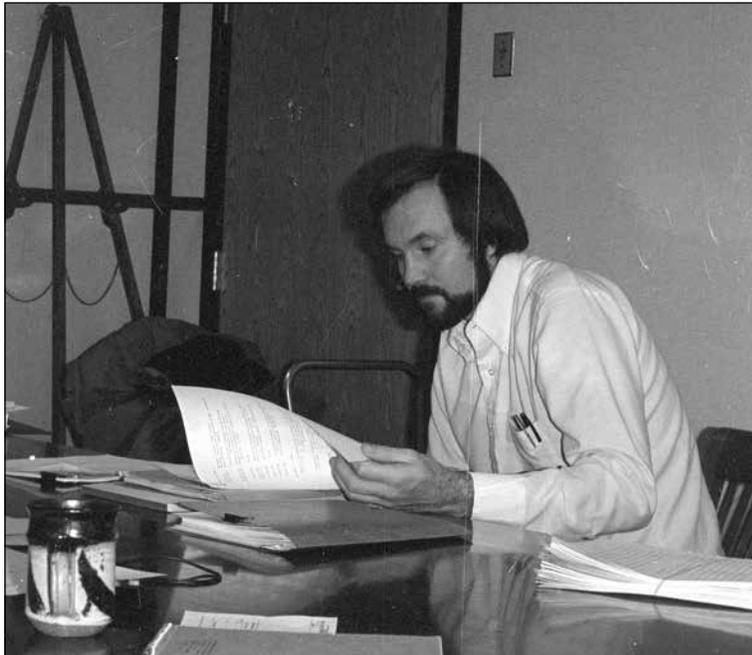


Figure 17. MWAC archeologist Mark Lynott in 1981. Hired in 1978, he headed the Midwest Division of MWAC project staff operations through 1995 and served as MWAC Manager from 1996 to 2013. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 18. MWAC museum specialist Ed Sudderth in the mid-1980s using the faunal collection initiated by Chief Carl Falk. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 19. MWAC's lab in the Robert V. Denney Federal Building at 100 Centennial Mall North, 1977. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 20. MWAC archeologist Adrienne Anderson. She was among the first woman archeologists with a Ph.D. when she joined MWAC in 1973. She became regional archeologist for the Rocky Mountain Region, continuing to work with MWAC in that capacity for many years. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 21. MWAC archeological site inventory team, 1978. The team conducted surveys in several big parks in the Rocky Mountain Region. Seated, left to right: Carol Raish, Lynn Frankowski, Ralph Hartley. Standing, left to right: Peg Johnson, Claudia Shaffer, Carla Van West, Melody Tune. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 22. Archeological technician Tim Eclow mapping features at Fort Charlotte, Grand Portage National Monument, Minnesota, 1980. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 23. Front Row (L to R): Melody Tune, Jan Dial, Susan Vetter, Jeff Richner, Tom Thiessen, Cal Calabrese, Friday Wiles, Lynelle Peterson, Debbie McBride Middle Row (L to R): Steve De Vore, Susan Monk, Marie Johnson, Ed Sudderth, Mitzi Rossillon, Ted Krieg, Rod Brandenburg, Bruce Jones Back Row (L to R): Ralph Hartley, Doug Scott, Ellen Dubas, Robert Nickel, Terri Leistman, Sharon Rezak, Mark Lynott, Steve Baumann, Randy Farmer (MWAC 15th Group Photo 8.)



Figure 24. MWAC crew and volunteers on Jackson Lake survey, Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming, 1987. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 25. MWAC crew excavating at Wilson's Creek National Battlefield, Missouri, 1983. Herb Beaver at left, Ted Krieg at right. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 26. MWAC staff, winter 1997-98. Front row (left to right): Karen Archey, Megan Cochrane, Andrew Amiotte, Marge McDonald, Ann Bauermeister, Carrol Moxham, Jan Dial-Jones, Becca Amen, Karin Roberts; second row (left to right): Bob Nickel, Rochelle Canby, Kent Weber, Linda Zumpfe, Linda Hulvershorn, Anne Vawser, Bonnie Farkas, Vergil Noble, Joyce Hawthorne; third row (left to right): Bill Volf, Tom Thiessen, Linda Plock, Rene Botts, Lisa Stanley, Jeff Richner, Holly Hampton, Melissa Connor, Al Smith; back row (left to right): Harold Roeker, Doug Scott, Ken Gobber, John Andresen, Dave Burchell, Ralph Hartley, Scott Stadler, Bill Hunt. (MWAC photo: staff photo.tif.)



Figure 27. MWAC archeologist Doug Scott using a microscope to identify cartridges from Little Bighorn National Battlefield. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 28. Country western singer Hank Williams, Jr. visiting MWAC to view the Big Hole battlefield collection with Doug Scott (standing behind), 1992. Williams sponsored archeological investigations at Big Hole National Battlefield, Montana. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 29. MWAC archeologist Bruce Jones (right) made two trips to Vietnam in the 1990s to assist in the recovery of POW/MIA remains. Altogether five MWAC archeologists provided forensic archeology for humanitarian and war crimes investigations in Vietnam, Rwanda, Latin America and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 30. MWAC crew at Cuyahoga Valley National Park, Ohio, 2006. Left to right: John Gapp, Mike Hammons, Arlo McKee, Erin Dempsey, Ann Bauermeister (project director), Jennifer Lahowetz. Bauermeister, who became MWAC Manager in 2018, directed numerous projects in Cuyahoga Valley over the years. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 31. MWAC archeologist Dawn Bringelson photographing unit floor from a ladder, Arkansas Post National Memorial, Arkansas. MWAC cartographic technician Austin Butterfield is in the chair. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 32. MWAC archeologist Bill Volf (left) and MWAC archeological technician Ricci Soto performing a cave survey in Buffalo National River, Arkansas, 2003. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 33. Front Row (lt to rt): David Amrine, Linda Plock, Linda Clarke, Ann Bauermeister, Bryttie Duren, Courtney Cope, Jessica Cerny, Anthony Bates; Second Row (lt to rt): Lisa Stanley, Drew LaBounty, Karin Roberts, Kris Swenson, Jan Dial-Jones, Cynthia Wiley, Erin Dempsey, Melissa Baier, Amanda Davey; Third Row (lt to rt): Dawn Bringelson, Bill Altizer, Anne Vawser, Allan Weber, Jeff Richner, Gosia Mahoney, Sylvia Cox; Back Row (lt to rt): Jill Lewis, Tom Thiessen, Harold Roeker, Jeff Larson, Darin Schlake, Bruce Jones, Bill Hunt, Ralph Hartley, Jay Sturdevant.



Figure 34. MWAC staff engage in various forms of public education and outreach. MWAC archeologists Karin Roberts, Jeff Richner, Molly Boeka Cannon, and Andrew McFeathers visit Lancaster County Youth Services Center in Lincoln to make a presentation to high school students enrolled in the Pathfinder Education Program (2007). The ongoing partnership with Pathfinder was initiated by former MWAC archeological technician Randall Farmer, a Pathfinder teacher and now its head administrator.



Figure 35. MWAC crews frequently include volunteers. Right, volunteer Phil Cox and archeological technician Jessica Cerny work on an investigation at Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, North Dakota and Montana, 2009. Below, Catherin (Cathy) Peterson working on excavation at the southwest bastion, same site, 1986. (MWAC photo FOUS 2009_1.)



Figure 36. From its inception MWAC has pioneered the use of geo sensing equipment in archeological settings. Here MWAC archeological technician Morgan Beyer (left) and MWAC archeologist Adam Wiewel (right) hook up the towed array for rapid survey of the Lynch site, Nebraska, 2018. (MWAC photo Lynch Site_1 and 2.)



Figure 37. Serving parks across the Midwest, MWAC archeologists work in woodland, prairie, and plains environments, with many archeological sites being located on islands or along lakeshores. Here, archeological technician Gosia Mahoney and volunteer Judy Judge conduct a shovel test inventory at Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Indiana, in 2013. (MWAC photo)



Figure 38. Excavation at Minuteman Missile National Historic Site, South Dakota, 2010. Left to right: Courtney Cope Ziska, Stephen Damm, Ashley Barnett. (MWAC photo.)



Figure 39. Archeological testing near the edge of Lake Superior, Grand Portage National Monument, Minnesota, 2014. (MWAC photo)

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Figure40. Project in Badlands National Park by MWAC cooperator Augustana College, 2000. (MWAC photos.)

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APPENDIX A

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AND THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR [1945]

The National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior has been requested by the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department and by the Corps of Engineers of the War Department to make investigations to appraise the recreational opportunities that may result from the multi- purpose reservoirs resulting from the construction of flood-control, irrigation, and power dams in river basins located throughout the United States, and, when requested to do so, to develop plans for recreational purposes.

In many of the river basins, the proposed reservoirs will inundate known and now unknown archeological and paleontological sites, including evidence of ancient man in America in association with bones of extinct animals. The destruction of these sites will result in the loss of invaluable cultural and scientific knowledge to the nation.

Accordingly, the National Park Service, in the course of its recreational studies of the proposed reservoir areas will call to the attention of the Smithsonian Institution the locations of all of the proposed dams and reservoirs; and the Smithsonian Institution will advise the National Park Service as to the number and importance of the known archeological or paleontological sites located within such reservoir areas, and recommend such surveys in the field as seem indicated.

The National Park Service will inform the respective agency responsible for the creation of the proposed reservoirs as to the cultural and paleontological remains that would be lost if thorough investigation and excavation of the sites are not undertaken sufficiently in advance of the flooding of the reservoirs.

The National Park Service, in its plans or recommendations relating to recreational areas in river basins in which important archeological or paleontological sites are located, shall provide for an exhibition room and a museum laboratory where excavated materials may be cleaned, classified, studies [sic], photographed, and prepared for preservation and exhibition. The Smithsonian Institution will recommend to the National Park Service locations for, and sizes of, these laboratories and exhibition buildings.

It is understood that materials considered to be important by the Smithsonian Institution for future research are to be sent to the U.S. National Museum. A duplicate collection, when collections permit, will be retained at a local exhibition building. Any surplus material may be sent to other museums or institutions when recommended by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service.

It is understood that this memorandum of understanding is to remain in effect until the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service mutually agree that it is

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no longer needed, and that the extent to which its provisions can be carried out depends upon the availability of the necessary funds and personnel.

Smithsonian Institution

By

September 8, 1945

(date)

(Snd) Alexander Wetmore

Secretary

National Park Service

By

August 7, 1945

(date)

(Snd) Newton B. Drury

Director

Approved: October 9, 1945

(Snd) Harold L. Ickes

Secretary of the Interior

APPENDIX B

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING OF APRIL 27, 1961 BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION RELATING TO ARCHEOLOGICAL AND PALEONTOLOGICAL SUYEYS WITHIN RESERVOIR AREAS

The National Park Service has, for many years, sought the advice and assistance of the Smithsonian Institution in the scientific aspects of its operations, and the Smithsonian Institution has served most cooperatively and effectively in this advisory capacity. It is the wish of both agencies that this beneficial relationship be continued with respect to all scientific matters and particularly with relation to the river basin salvage programs.

The National Park Service will call to the attention of the Smithsonian Institution any and all reservoirs, planned or authorized, of which it has information. In turn, the Smithsonian Institution will inform the National Park Service of any reservoir areas of which it has knowledge.

Pursuant to the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666) (Historic Sites Act), and the Act of June 27, 1960 (74 Stat. 220) (Public Law 86-523), the National Park Service will seek from Congress the necessary funds to carry on both the survey and excavation work involved in recovering the archeological and paleontological remains in these reservoir areas. The Smithsonian Institution will furnish the National Park Service with any salvage cost estimate data it has available on reservoir areas.

The Smithsonian Institution will act in an advisory capacity to the National Park Service for evaluation and coordination of the scientific aspects of the salvage program. The National Park Service will administer the funds and accomplish the objectives of the program through its own staff services, through research contracts with qualified educational and scientific institutions, and through transfer of working funds to the Smithsonian Institution.

The Smithsonian Institution, as a major cooperating agency in the coordinated salvage program, will, within the limits of the funds transferred to it, carry out its designated part of the program of archeological survey, excavation, laboratory analysis, and reporting.

The Smithsonian Institution will furnish to the National Park Service copies of all reservoir survey and excavation reports resulting from work undertaken with transferred funds. In turn, the National Park Service will furnish to the Smithsonian Institution copies of reports by its own staff members or by contracting institutions which are pertinent to the research undertaken by the Smithsonian Institution under terms of this Memorandum of Understanding.

Upon completion of the study of the archeological and paleontological remains recovered by it from reservoir areas, the Smithsonian Institution will deposit

APPENDIX C

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING OF APRIL 30, 1965 BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION RELATING TO ARCHEOLOGICAL AND PALEONTOLOGICAL SUYEYS WITHIN RESERVOIR AREAS

The National Park Service has, for many years, sought the advice and assistance of the Smithsonian Institution in the scientific aspects of its operations, and the Smithsonian Institution has served most cooperatively and effectively in this advisory capacity. It is the wish of both agencies that this beneficial relationship be continued with respect to all scientific matters and particularly with relation to the river basin salvage programs.

The National Park Service will call to the attention of the Smithsonian Institution any and all reservoirs, planned or authorized, of which it has information. In turn, the Smithsonian Institution will inform the National Park Service of any reservoir areas of which it has knowledge.

Pursuant to the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666) (Historic Sites Act), and the Act of June 27, 1960 (74 Stat. 220) (Public Law 86-523), the National Park Service will seek from Congress the necessary funds to carry on both the survey and excavation work involved in recovering the archeological and paleontological remains in these reservoir areas. The Smithsonian Institution will furnish the National Park Service with any salvage cost estimate data it has available on reservoir areas.

The Smithsonian Institution will act in an advisory capacity to the National Park Service for evaluation and coordination of the scientific aspects of the salvage program. The National Park Service will administer the funds and accomplish the objectives of the program through its own staff services, through research contracts with qualified educational and scientific institutions, and through transfer of working funds to the Smithsonian Institution.

The Smithsonian Institution, as a major cooperating agency in the coordinated salvage program, will, within the limits of the funds transferred to it, carry out its designated part of the program of archeological survey, excavation, laboratory analysis, and reporting.

The Smithsonian Institution will furnish to the National Park Service copies of all reservoir survey and excavation reports resulting from work undertaken with transferred funds. In turn, the National Park Service will furnish to the Smithsonian Institution copies of reports by its own staff members or by contracting institutions which are pertinent to the research undertaken by the Smithsonian Institution under terms of this Memorandum of Understanding.

Upon completion of the study of the archeological and paleontological remains recovered by its parties from reservoir areas, the Smithsonian Institution will deposit

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in the U.S. National Museum a representative series of artifacts, all unique specimens, and all specimens which have been illustrated in published reports. Should the National Park Service need any of these materials for display or other appropriate purpose, the Smithsonian Institution will lend that agency the items or a representative collection, as and when requested, except for those materials that are on exhibition, that are unique, or that are illustrated in published reports.

To further a close cooperation and understanding with exchange of all possible information between the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution, each agency shall furnish a liaison officer whose function it will be to keep both agencies informed of all phases of River Basin salvage archeology and paleontology.

This Memorandum of Understanding shall be brought up for review every three years so that it can either be revised to fit new conditions or be terminated if it is no longer desirable. It may be terminated at any time by mutual agreement.

National Park Service
By

[signed] George B. Hartzog, Jr.

Smithsonian Institution
By

[the copy obtained from the NAA carries no signature on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution]

APPENDIX D

[Report of the 1968 “Ad Hoc” Committee to Evaluate the River Basin Surveys Program]

RIVER BASIN SURVEYS

In 1965, at the request of the Smithsonian Institution, an ad hoc review committee carried out an evaluation of the Smithsonian’s River Basin Surveys program. In 1968, the undersigned committee was requested to again review the objectives, administrative organization, and procedures of the RBS program. The review, in part, was necessitated by 1) the changing needs of salvage archeology in the Missouri Basin, and 2) the increased availability of archeological personnel capable of doing salvage work in the area. The present committee was provided with A Review of the River Basin Surveys, which presented the background of RBS and included a series of propositions suggesting a future direction for this unit. These propositions essentially involve two aspects:

1. the scientific or research goals of the program, including the strategy by which the goals might be attained; and
2. the structural or organizational measures facilitating these goals.

The present ad hoc committee addressed itself to major problems and possibilities of both a scientific and organizational nature. This report summarizes the results and conclusions of these deliberations; focusing first on what the committee saw as the major research problem — publication. The bulk of the report, however, deals with administrative organization, which the committee saw as the most far-reaching problem.

Publication

The primary concern of the 1965 ad hoc committee was the problem of “lagging publication,” the surprisingly large backlog of unpublished results of RBS field work. In an attempt to alleviate this situation, that committee made six recommendations designed to expedite the publication program of the Survey. The present committee was most interested in the effect of these recommendations. It learned that the RBS staff did initiate some of the changes recommended. They added editorial help to speed manuscript processing. They established new outlets in the form of Publications in Salvage Archaeology but more in response to the demise of the old River Basin Survey series in the Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin rather than as an addition to existing outlets. They also made a general attempt to reduce the backlog of unpublished manuscripts. However, no concerted effort was made to obtain outside evaluation of the manuscripts in a genuine attempt to improve quality, as had been suggested in the 1965 ad hoc review. The recommendation that the Smithsonian provide additional funds specifically for publication was not acted upon, implying that the Smithsonian had, at that time, no interest in directly aiding the RBS program in the area where it needed the greatest help.

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Currently, the publication backlog would appear to be less critical than it was during the time of the first committee review. However, it is still the major scientific problem, and there seems little doubt that the RBS has a noticeably poorer record of publication than the other collaborators in the same general region who also do salvage archeology under funds from the National Park Service.

It is clear that the RBS must in the near future consider several facets of its publication problem: 1) the nature of its manuscript review and quality control procedures; 2) the adequacy of its current publication outlets and whether it might make a concerted effort to place more of its reports in publications other than its own; 3) the wisdom of making each report broadly comparative as well as descriptive, instead of designing special comparative and synthesizing reports on larger regions of its concern; and finally, 4) in the immediate future it must weigh carefully the benefits to be derived from expenditures on further field work, as compared with contributions possible if the same funds are spent on the publication of previously excavated sites.

Organizational Directions

The 1965 ad hoc committee took as a premise for most of its discussions that “the Smithsonian Institution should not withdraw from salvage archaeology.” Since that report was written, all of the major reservoirs in the Missouri Basin have been completed and are filling, and many more university-based archeologists are now working in the area. While there will undoubtedly always be a need for archeological salvage activity, the present committee feels that the need for an organization such as the River Basin Surveys is no longer so crucial as it was at the time of its inception. For these and other reasons the present committee felt it more important not to assume that the Smithsonian should continue doing salvage archeology, but rather to carefully examine the total RBS program and structure.

From the beginning the RBS program has been administratively ambiguous. While it is part of the Smithsonian Institution, currently reporting to the Director of the Museum of Natural History, and possesses a yet-to-be clearly defined pattern of liaison with a Smithsonian Advisory Committee, it is at the same time not an integral part of the Smithsonian Institution. It would seem to be much more of an autonomous unit, entirely funded from another governmental agency, the National Park Service. Despite this autonomous status, scientific responsibility for RBS work still should reside within the Smithsonian Institution because of the present formal organization. Funds for the program, exclusively appropriated for salvage archeology, are made available to the National Park Service from federal sources, and transferred by the National Park Service to RBS to completely support its operation. The Park Service, however, has assumed no responsibility for the proper use of such funds, assuming this to be the function of the Smithsonian. Thus, the River Basin Surveys has, in effect, two masters but without clear lines of authority to either. One can see that this must potentially be a source of conflict, yet such conflict has been kept to a minimum because each agency has assumed that responsibility for the operation and its quality control resides with some other agency.

Reorganization Possibilities

With this understanding as a background, the present committee discussed four possible directions the RBS program might take:

Direction One. The RBS could continue substantially under the present organization; administratively affiliated with the Smithsonian Institution while financially tied to the National Park Service, adding to its salvage operation some new problem-oriented directions, such as those suggested in the Blue Book.

Direction Two. The RBS could phase-out its program after completing its original objectives of major salvage archeology; i.e., when all salvage archeology that cannot be handled by other collaborators in the area has been completed and reports on all its past excavations have been published, RBS could be dissolved.

Direction Three. The RBS could be taken over completely by the Smithsonian Institution with an emphasis on “problem-directed research” of the type suggested in the Blue Book, with the Smithsonian arranging for and providing funds for these new operations.

Direction Four. The RBS activities, as now carried on, could be incorporated organizationally into the National Park Service system and developed into a regional research center such as those which already exist in the Southwest and the Southeast, carrying out salvage archeology in areas where other collaborators are not available as well as additional Service- directed projects.

Evaluation of Reorganization Possibilities

In considering the four possible directions RBS might take, the committee found the first two least desirable. The factors involved in our consideration of the advisability of each are noted below:

Direction One - continuation along present organization lines, adding research and training directions as outlined in the Blue Book review.

1. A continuation of the serious problems generated by an unclarified dual administrative organization.
2. The suggested new research directions were not presented in sufficient detail for the committee to evaluate them adequately, but generally they seemed diffuse and inadequately formulated.
3. The program of education and training presented in the review would inevitably detract from a primary research mission, and there is a major question in the minds of the committee as to whether the RBS should compete with university-based archeological training programs which have the advantage of both students and professional faculty continuously available.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Direction Two. Gradual phase-out of the program.

1. The need for salvage work will continue. Although the large Missouri Basin projects are completed, smaller flood control or irrigation dams, land leveling operations, and constant erosion in the larger reservoirs will continue to require emergency archeological study.
2. Although local university staffs able to carry on much of this work have increased far beyond the level of archeological personnel resources at the inception of the River Basin Surveys program, not all states yet have the necessary staff to carry out the needed work.

While the committee did not feel that either of the first two directions was reasonable in light of the factors outlined, a definite conclusion on the second set of alternatives, described below, was not reached. The committee felt that the ultimate decision depended heavily upon internal policies, mainly of the Smithsonian, regarding funding, objectives, and other related matters. The factors the committee felt important in reaching a choice between directives [sic] three and four are listed below.

Direction Three. Complete absorption of RBS by the Smithsonian Institution.

1. If the River Basin Surveys were to become a truly integral part of the Smithsonian Institution, with salaries and other support provided from the Smithsonian budget, all of the scientific proposals in the Review could be accomplished with no difficulty, disregarding at this point the quality of those proposals.
2. With this kind of organization change, the Smithsonian Institution would have to develop mechanisms for closer quality control over the program.
3. If one of the reasons for a change of this kind would be to allow the RBS to move in the direction of a more "problem-directed" archeology, the Smithsonian administration would have to face the issue of the relationship between the archeology done by RBS and that currently being carried out in the Office of Anthropology.

Direction Four. Absorption of the RBS into the National Park Service.

1. The most important advantage of this alternative is that the distinction between the funding agency and the supervisory agency would finally be clear and could result in greater quality control by the National Park Service.
2. Salvage archeology could continue under the federal agency directly responsible for that activity.
3. Such a change would result in the loss of research flexibility inherent in the affiliation of the RBS with the Smithsonian.
4. Under this arrangement RBS would be in a position to mount a mobile task force

not tied to academic schedules and move into areas where emergency excavation needs develop and where no collaborators are available to carry out the necessary salvage work.

While the committee was divided as to the propriety of recommending a specific choice among the several options outlined above, it was the general feeling that the fourth direction would be the more desirable. This would mean that the River Basin Surveys could be completely absorbed by the National Park Service, to be developed as a regional research center, but retaining the responsibility for archeological salvage. Implied in this decision was also the feeling that if the Smithsonian was interested in investing additional funds in “problem-directed” archeology these might more profitably be spent within the framework of the on-going archeological activities of the Office of Anthropology.

[signed]

Douglas W. Schwartz
for the Committee

David Baerreis

Jesse Jennings

W. Raymond Wood

APPENDIX E

Outline of Agreement Reached by Representatives of [the]Smithsonian Institution and National Park Servicefor the Transfer of the River Basin Surveys Project by June 30, 1969

In accordance with an agreement reached at a meeting held on February 17 attended by Drs. Galler and Cowan of the Smithsonian and Drs. Connally, Corbett and Mr. Bradley of National Park Service, a meeting was held in the offices of NPS on February 26 to develop in greater detail the plans for the transfer of this unit. Dr. Connally opened the meeting by reviewing briefly the understanding reached at the February 17 meeting and emphasizing that it was the hope of the NPS that the close cooperation which had existed between the two agencies in the past on this project would be continued. Responding for SI, Mr. Knierim said that this expressed the view of the Smithsonian also and that it was the desire of the Institution to assist in any way it could in the continuation of the River Basin Surveys project.

In setting the framework for the discussion, Dr. Corbett indicated the NPS would wish to continue to avail itself of the services of SI as a consultant and advisor not only for the River Basin Surveys but for all of its archeological work. Further, it was the hope of NPS that there could be joint participation by the two agencies from time to time on projects of a salvage nature.

The agreements reached with respect to specific matters are:

Transfer of the Lease for the Property at Lincoln, Nebraska

Mr. Tomsyck who is familiar with the terms of this lease in association with the NPS staff will initiate action as specified in the lease to terminate it for SI and will undertake to develop a new lease under which NPS will be the lessee.

Archival Materials

The originals of field records, negatives, photographs, inactive correspondence files, and other archival material will be shipped in one of the Project's trucks to SI prior to June 30.

Collections, Current Records, and Other Working Materials

These will remain the property of SI but will continue to be maintained at Lincoln, on loan to NPS for a two year period, renewable for two years at the end of each such period. Duplicates of the field records now at Lincoln will become the property of the NPS.

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Loan of Specimens to Other Institutions

If the NPS believes it appropriate to make loans of specimens to another institution, it will so recommend to SI. Upon agreement by the latter a loan agreement between SI and that institution covering this material will be executed and the loan of the material to NPS terminated. The duration of such loans will be for a two year period, renewable at the end of each successive period, if desired.

Library Materials

The project office at Lincoln will prepare and send to SI a list of the books on hand. SI will review and determine which, if any, of the materials should be added to the SI library. Those items not incorporated into the SI records will be transferred to and become the property of NPS.

Personnel

The transfer of project personnel will be made effective June 26, 1969, and will include all persons on the rolls of the project as of that date. A ceiling position for each employee transferred will also be transferred from SI to NPS. In the event the staff of the project is so depleted by June 26 that it would be impractical to continue the work at that level, the Museum of Natural History will bring the matter to the attention of Secretary Ripley in the hope that sufficient additional ceiling vacancies could be provided so that this project, in which the Smithsonian has a great interest, can be continued in an acceptable fashion. Mr. Falbo of the Office of Personnel will work with the personnel people of NPS to assure an orderly transfer of the project employees, their personnel records and other related necessary matters.

Non Expendable Property

It was indicated by the NPS Representatives that the River Basin Surveys Project will be continued for the foreseeable [sic] future at its present level and, hopefully, be expanded. On this basis it was agreed that all non-expendable property required to continue the project as at present will be transferred from the SI to NPS. If the needs of the project as of June 30 or at a later date are such that some of the property is no longer required, such property will be first offered to the Smithsonian before being declared surplus.

Press Release

Dr. Corbett, NPS, will draft a proposed joint press release to be signed by Messrs. Hartzog and Ripley. Dr. Woodbury, SI, will review the draft. Mr. Knierim will initiate whatever action isrequired to clear the release in SI. This press release will not be issued,

in any event, until Dr. Corbett has had an opportunity to meet with the RBS staff at Lincoln office some day next week.

Publications

Any publications in process as of June 30 will be issued by the Smithsonian in the RBS series. The NPS intends to continue these publications, having its own series and perhaps a somewhat different format.

Memorandum of Agreement

Dr. Corbett and Dr. Woodbury will work together in preparing a proposed memorandum of agreement to cover future cooperative efforts on this project.

Continuing Interest of SI in Archeological Research Projects

The continuing interest of SI in archeological research in the Missouri River Basin is recognized. This interest may be expressed by SI's participation in RBS contracts; by joint projects developed by scientists of both agencies; or by projects of SI scientists conducted with the cooperation of the River Basin Surveys Project and utilizing such of the project's facilities as may be needed and can be made available.

The following individuals participated in the discussion on February 26 summarized above: for the Smithsonian, Dr. Riesenberg, Dr. Woodbury, Dr. Johnson [sic], Mr. Tomsyck, Mr. Falbo, and Mr. Knierim; for the NPS: Dr. Connally, Dr. Corbett, Mr. Bradley, Mr. [sic] Logan, together with representatives of the Personnel, Fiscal, and Property Management units.

Prepared by MNH:SI 2/28/69

APPENDIX F

National Park System areas served by Midwest Archeological Center¹

Areas Served from 1969 to 1974

National Park System Units in Midwest Region, 1969-1974 (AZ, CO, IA, KA, MO, MN, MT, NE, ND, SD, UT, WY)

Note that just one unit in the state of Arizona was assigned to the Midwest Region and the Midwest Region boundaries were redrawn to exclude the state of Minnesota in 1971.

Total in 1974 = 49

Arizona

Pipe Spring National Monument (1923)

Colorado

Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site (1960)
Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument (1933)
Colorado National Monument (1911)
Curecanti National Recreation Area (1965)
Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (1969)
Great Sand Dunes National Monument (1932)
Mesa Verde National Park (1906)
Rocky Mountain National Park (1915)
Yucca House National Monument (1922)

Iowa

Effigy Mounds National Monument (1949)
Herbert Hoover National Historic Site (1965)

Kansas

Fort Larned NHS (1964)

Minnesota (transferred out of Midwest Region in 1971)

Grand Portage National Monument (national historic site established in 1951, redesignated a national monument in 1958)
Pipestone National Monument (1937)
Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway (shared with Wisconsin, 1968)
Voyageurs National Park (1971)

Missouri

George Washington Carver National Monument (1943)

¹ List does not include areas in other NPS regions served under the Cooperative Assistance Program.

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Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (national landmark established in 1935, Gateway Arch authorized in 1954 and dedicated in 1968, unit redesignated Gateway National Park in 2018)

Ozark National Scenic Riverways (1964)

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (national battlefield park established in 1960, redesignated a national battlefield in 1970)

Montana

Big Hole National Battlefield (national monument established in 1910, transferred to NPS in 1933, redesignated a national battlefield in 1963)

Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area (1964)

Glacier National Park (1910)

Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (1972)

Little Bighorn National Battlefield (national cemetery reservation established in 1886, transferred to NPS in 1940, renamed Custer National Battlefield in 1946, renamed Little Bighorn National Battlefield in 1991)

Nebraska

Agate Fossil Beds National Monument (1965)

Homestead National Monument of America (1936)

Scotts Bluff National Monument (1919)

North Dakota

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (1966)

Theodore Roosevelt National Park (national memorial park established in 1947, redesignated a national park in 1978)

South Dakota

Badlands National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national park in 1978)

Jewel Cave National Monument (1908, transferred to NPS in 1933)

Mount Rushmore National Memorial (1925)

Wind Cave National Park (1903)

Utah

Arches National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national park in 1971)

Bryce Canyon National Park (1928)

Canyonlands National Park (1964)

Capital Reef National Park (national monument established in 1957, redesignated a national park in 1971)

Cedar Breaks National Monument (1933)

Dinosaur National Monument (1915)

Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (1958)

Golden Spike National Historic Site (1957, established 1965)

Hovenweep National Monument (1923)

Timpanogos Cave National Monument (established in 1922, transferred to NPS in 1933)

Natural Bridges National Monument (1908)

Zion National Park (1919)

Wyoming

Devils Tower National Monument (1906)

Fort Laramie National Historic Site (national monument established in 1938,
redesignated in 1960)

Fossil Butte National Monument (1972)

Grand Teton National Park (1929, Jackson Hole National Monument established in 1943
and incorporated into the park in 1950)

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway (1972)

Yellowstone National Park (1872)

Areas Served from 1974 to 1995

National Park System units in the Rocky Mountain Region (AZ, CO, MT, ND, SD, UT,
WY)

Total in 1995 = 74 (40 in Rocky Mountain Region + 34 in Midwest Region)

Arizona

Pipe Spring National Monument (1923)

Colorado

Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site (1960)

Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument (1933)

Colorado National Monument (1911)

Curecanti National Recreation Area (1965)

Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (1969)

Great Sand Dunes National Monument (1932)

Mesa Verde National Park (1906)

Rocky Mountain National Park (1915)

Yucca House National Monument (1922)

Montana

Big Hole National Battlefield (national monument established in 1910, transferred to NPS
in 1933, redesignated a national battlefield in 1963)

Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area (1964)

Glacier National Park (1910)

Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (1972)

Little Bighorn National Battlefield (national cemetery reservation established in 1886,
transferred to NPS in 1940, renamed Custer National Battlefield in 1946, renamed
Little Bighorn National Battlefield in 1991)

North Dakota

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (June 20, 1966)

Theodore Roosevelt National Park (national memorial park established in 1947,
redesignated a national park in 1978)

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South Dakota

Badlands National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national park in 1978)
Jewel Cave National Monument (1908, transferred to NPS in 1933)
Missouri National Recreational River (shared with Nebraska, 1978)
Mount Rushmore National Memorial (1925)
Wind Cave National Park (1903)

Utah

Arches National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national park in 1971)
Bryce Canyon National Park (1928)
Canyonlands National Park (1964)
Capital Reef National Park (national monument established in 1957, redesignated a national park in 1971)
Cedar Breaks National Monument (1933)
Dinosaur National Monument (1915)
Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (1958)
Golden Spike National Historic Site (1957, established 1965)
Hovenweep National Monument (1923)
Timpanogos Cave National Monument (established in 1922, transferred to NPS in 1933)
Natural Bridges National Monument (1908)
Zion National Park (1919)

Wyoming

Devils Tower National Monument (1906)
Fort Laramie National Historic Site (national monument established in 1938, redesignated in 1960)
Fossil Butte National Monument (1972)
Grand Teton National Park (1929, Jackson Hole National Monument established in 1943 and incorporated into the park in 1950)
John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway (1972)
Yellowstone National Park (1872)

National Park System units in Midwest Region from 1974 to 1995 (IA, IL, IN, KA, MI, MN, MO, NE, OH, WI)

Iowa

Effigy Mounds National Monument (1949)
Herbert Hoover National Historic Site (1965)

Illinois

Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor (1984)
Lincoln Home National Historic Site (1971)

Indiana

George Rogers Clark National Historic Park (1966)

Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (1966)
Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial (1962)

Kansas

Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site (1992)
Fort Scott National Historic Site (1978)

Michigan

Isle Royale National Park (1931)
Keweenaw National Historical Park (1992)
Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore (1966)
Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (1970)

Minnesota

Grand Portage National Monument (national historic site established in 1951,
redesignated a national monument in 1958)
Mississippi National River and Recreation Area (1988)
Pipestone National Monument (1937)
Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway (shared with Wisconsin, 1968)
Voyageurs National Park (1971)

Missouri

George Washington Carver National Monument (1943)
Harry S Truman National Historic Site (1982)
Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (national landmark established in 1935, Gateway
Arch authorized in 1954 and dedicated in 1968, unit redesignated Gateway
National Park in 2018)
Ozark National Scenic Riverways (1964)
Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (1989)
Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (national battlefield park established in 1960,
redesignated a national battlefield in 1970)

Nebraska

Agate Fossil Beds National Monument (1965)
Homestead National Monument of America (1936)
Niobrara National Scenic River (1991)
Scotts Bluff National Monument (1919)

Ohio

Cuyahoga Valley National Park (national recreation area established 1974, redesignated a
national park in 2000)
Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park (1992)
Hopewell Culture National Historical Park (Mound City Group National Monument
established in 1923, redesignated Hopewell Culture National Historical Park in
1991)
James A. Garfield National Historic Site (1980)
Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial (national monument established in
1936, redesignated memorial in 1972)

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

William Howard Taft National Historic Site (1969)

Wisconsin

Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (1970)

Areas served from 1995 to 2016

National Park System units in Midwest Region from 1995 to 2016 (AR, IA, IL, IN, KA, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, SD, OH, WI)

Total in 1995 = 47

Total in 2016 = 55

Arkansas

Arkansas Post National Memorial (1960)

Buffalo National River (1972)

Fort Smith National Historic Site (1961)

Hot Springs National Park (1921)

Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site (listed as national landmark in 1982, redesignated a national historic site in 1998)

Pea Ridge National Military Park (1956)

President William Jefferson Clinton Birthplace Home National Historic Site (2011)

Iowa

Effigy Mounds National Monument (1949)

Herbert Hoover National Historic Site (1965)

Illinois

Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor (1984)

Lincoln Home National Historic Site (1971)

Pullman National Monument (2015)

Indiana

George Rogers Clark National Historic Park (1966)

Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (1966)

Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial (1962)

Kansas

Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site (1992)

Fort Scott National Historic Site (1978)

Nicodemus National Historic Site (1996)

Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve (1996)

Michigan

Isle Royale National Park (1931)

Keweenaw National Historical Park (1992)

Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore (1966)

River Raisin National Battlefield Park (2009)

Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (1970)

Minnesota

Grand Portage National Monument (national historic site established in 1951, redesignated a national monument in 1958)

Mississippi National River and Recreation Area (1988)

Pipestone National Monument (1937)

Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway (shared with Wisconsin, 1968)

Voyageurs National Park (1971)

Missouri

George Washington Carver National Monument (1943)

Harry S Truman National Historic Site (1982)

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (national landmark established in 1935, Gateway Arch authorized in 1954 and dedicated in 1968, unit redesignated Gateway National Park in 2018)

Ozark National Scenic Riverways (1964)

Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (1989)

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (national battlefield park established in 1960, redesignated a national battlefield in 1970)

Nebraska

Agate Fossil Beds National Monument (1965)

Homestead National Monument of America (1936)

Niobrara National Scenic River (1991)

Scotts Bluff National Monument (1919)

North Dakota

Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (June 20, 1966)

Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (1978)

Theodore Roosevelt National Park (national memorial park established in 1947, redesignated a national park in 1978)

Ohio

Charles Young Buffalo Soldiers National Monument (2013)

Cuyahoga Valley National Park (national recreation area established 1974, redesignated a national park in 2000)

Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park (1992)

First Ladies National Historic Site (2000)

Hopewell Culture National Historical Park (Mound City Group National Monument established in 1923, redesignated Hopewell Culture National Historical Park in 1991)

James A. Garfield National Historic Site (1980)

Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial (national monument established in 1936, redesignated memorial in 1972)

William Howard Taft National Historic Site (1969)

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

South Dakota

Badlands National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national park in 1978)

Jewel Cave National Monument (1908, transferred to NPS in 1933)

Minuteman Missile National Historic Site (1999)

Missouri National Recreational River (shared with Nebraska, 1978)

Mount Rushmore National Memorial (1925)

Wind Cave National Park (1903)

Wisconsin

Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (1970)

APPENDIX G

National Park System areas in both the Midwest Region and the Rocky Mountain Region historically served by Midwest Archeological Center by year of establishment

Areas *currently* within the Midwest Region and served by Midwest Archeological Center are in **bold**.

Pre 1900

Yellowstone National Park (1872)

Little Bighorn National Battlefield (national cemetery reservation established in 1886, transferred to NPS in 1940, renamed Custer National Battlefield in 1946, renamed Little Bighorn National Battlefield in 1991)

1900-1910

Wind Cave National Park (1903)

Devils Tower National Monument (1906)

Mesa Verde National Park (1906)

Jewel Cave National Monument (1908, transferred to NPS in 1933)

Natural Bridges National Monument (1908)

Big Hole National Battlefield (national monument established in 1910, transferred to NPS in 1933, redesignated a national battlefield in 1963)

Glacier National Park (1910)

1911-1920

Colorado National Monument (1911)

Dinosaur National Monument (1915)

Rocky Mountain National Park (1915)

Scotts Bluff National Monument (1919)

Zion National Park (1919)

1921-1930

Hot Springs National Park (1921)

Timpanogos Cave National Monument (established in 1922, transferred to NPS in 1933)

Yucca House National Monument (1922)

Hopewell Culture National Historical Park (Mound City Group National Monument established in 1923, redesignated Hopewell Culture National Historical Park in 1991)

Hovenweep National Monument (1923)

Pipe Spring National Monument (1923)

Mount Rushmore National Memorial (1925)

Bryce Canyon National Park (1928)

Arches National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

park in 1971)

Badlands National Park (national monument established in 1929, redesignated a national park in 1978)

Grand Teton National Park (1929, Jackson Hole National Monument established in 1943 and incorporated into the park in 1950)

1931-1940

Isle Royale National Park (1931)

Great Sand Dunes National Monument (1932)

Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Monument (1933)

Cedar Breaks National Monument (1933)

Homestead National Monument of America (1936)

Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial (national monument established in 1936, redesignated memorial in 1972)

Pipestone National Monument (1937)

Fort Laramie National Historic Site (national monument established in 1938, redesignated in 1960)

1941-1950

George Washington Carver National Monument (1943)

Theodore Roosevelt National Park (national memorial park established in 1947, redesignated a national park in 1978)

Effigy Mounds National Monument (1949)

1951-1960

Pea Ridge National Military Park (1956)

Grand Portage National Monument (national historic site established in 1951, redesignated a national monument in 1958)

Capital Reef National Park (national monument established in 1957, redesignated a national park in 1971)

Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (1958)

Arkansas Post National Memorial (1960)

Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site (1960)

Wilson's Creek National Battlefield (national battlefield park established in 1960, redesignated a national battlefield in 1970)

1961-1970

Fort Smith National Historic Site (1961)

Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial (1962)

Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area (1964)

Canyonlands National Park (1964)

Fort Larned NHS (1964)

Ozark National Scenic Riverways (1964)

Agate Fossil Beds National Monument (1965)

Curecanti National Recreation Area (1965)
 Golden Spike National Historic Site (authorized 1957, established 1965)
 Herbert Hoover National Historic Site (1965)
 Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (1966)
 George Rogers Clark National Historic Park (1966)
 Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (1966)
 Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore (1966)
 Saint Croix National Scenic Riverway (1968)
 Florissant Fossil Beds National Monument (1969)
 William Howard Taft National Historic Site (1969)
 Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (1970)
 Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore (1970)

1971-1980

Lincoln Home National Historic Site (1971)
 Voyageurs National Park (1971)
 Buffalo National River (1972)
 Fossil Butte National Monument (1972)
 Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (1972)
 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Memorial Parkway (1972)
 Cuyahoga Valley National Park (national recreation area established 1974,
 redesignated a national park in 2000)
 Fort Scott National Historic Site (1978)
 Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (1978)
 Missouri National Recreational River (shared with Nebraska, 1978)
 James A. Garfield National Historic Site (1980)

1981-1990

Harry S Truman National Historic Site (1982)
 Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site (listed as national landmark
 in 1982, redesignated a national historic site in 1998)
 Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor (1984)
 Mississippi National River and Recreation Area (1988)
 Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (1989)

1991-2000

Niobrara National Scenic River (1991)
 Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site (1992)
 Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park (1992)
 Keweenaw National Historical Park (1992)
 Nicodemus National Historic Site (1996)
 Tallgrass Prairie National Preserve (1996)
 Minuteman Missile National Historic Site (1999)
 First Ladies National Historic Site (2000)

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

2001-2010

River Raisin National Battlefield Park (2009)

2011-

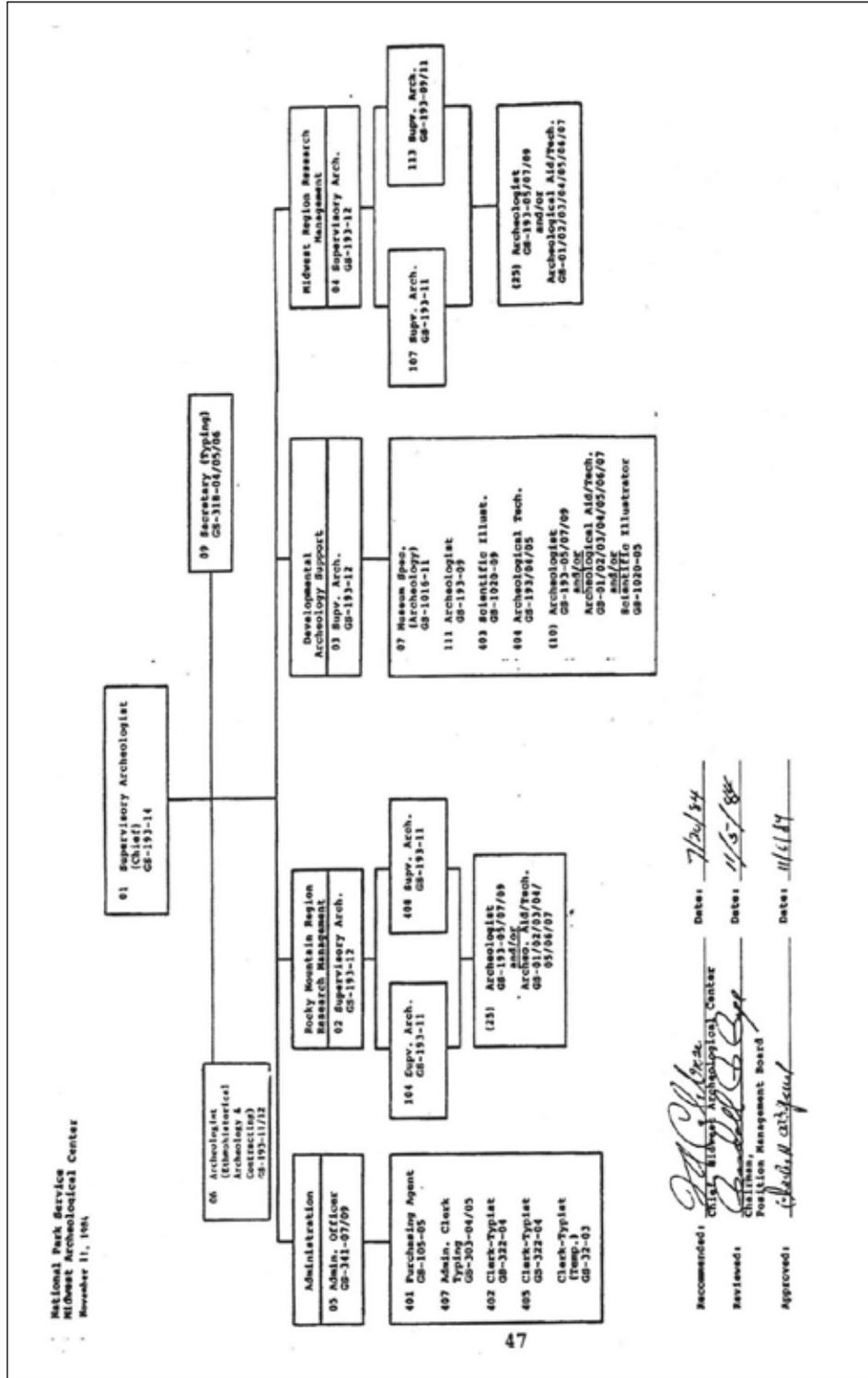
President William Jefferson Clinton Birthplace Home National Historic Site (2011)

Charles Young Buffalo Soldiers National Monument (2013)

Pullman National Monument (2015)

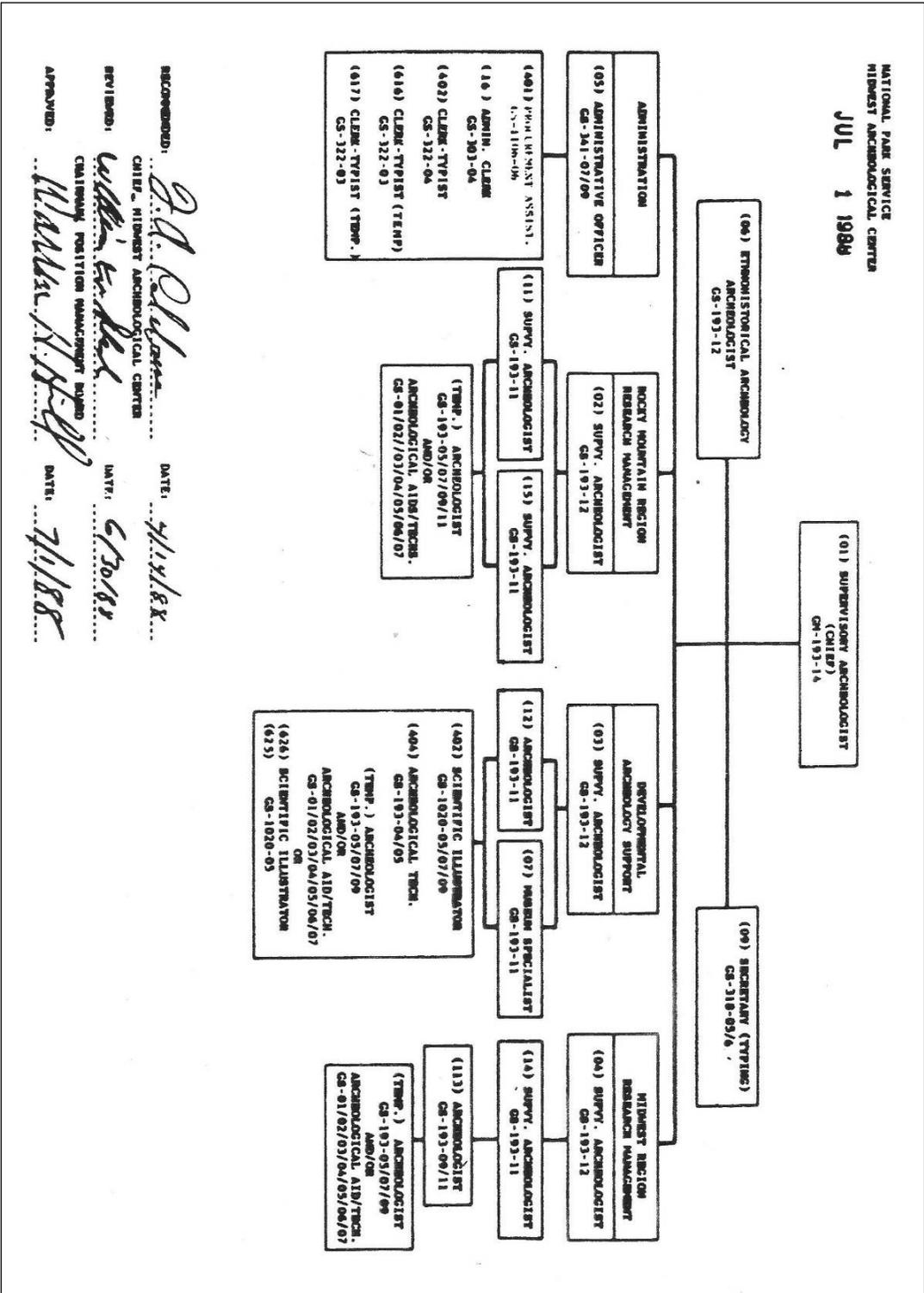
APPENDIX H

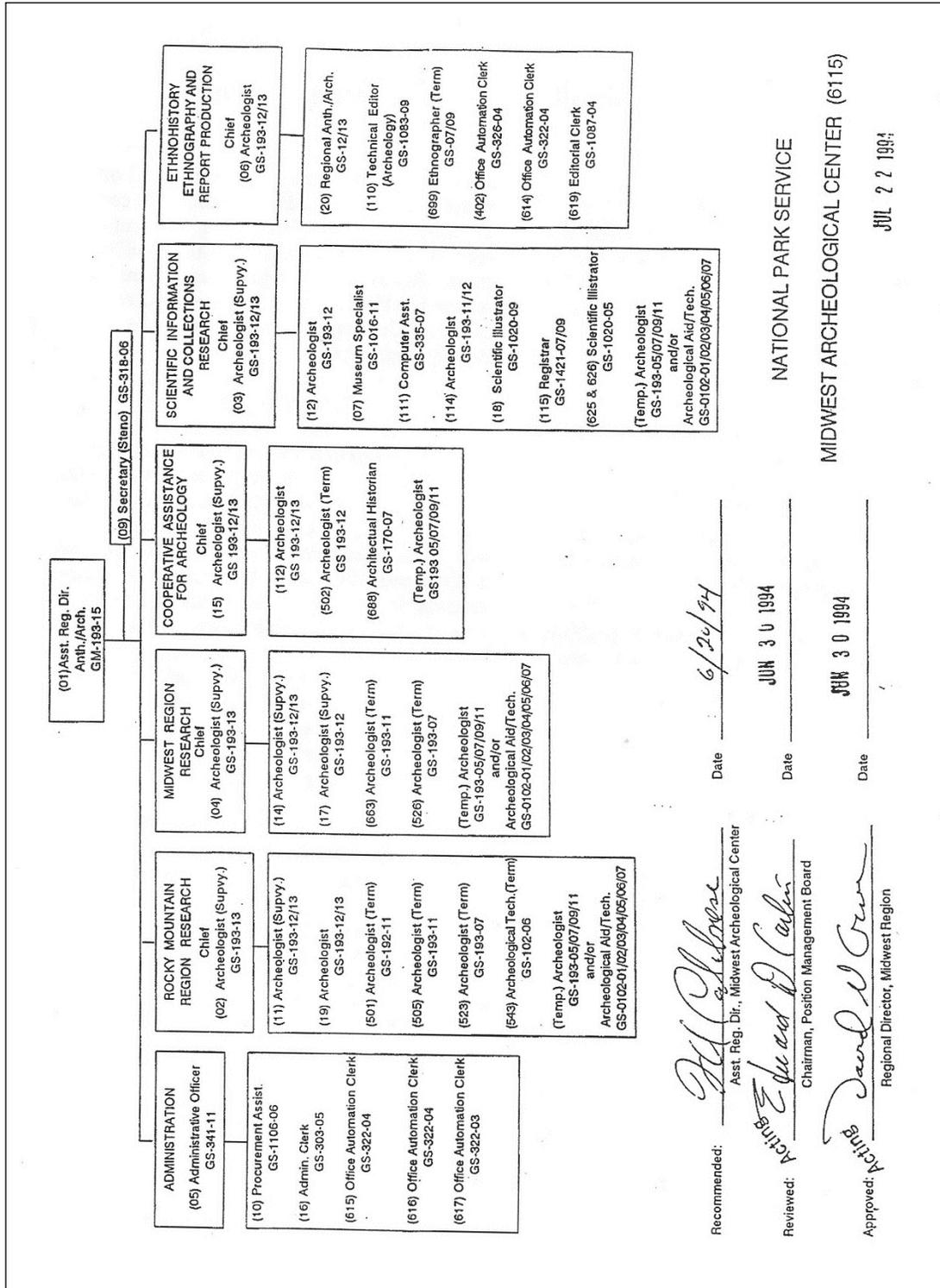
MWAC Organization Charts



Organizational chart 1984

Organizational chart 1988





NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
MIDWEST ARCHEOLOGICAL CENTER (6115)
JUL 2 2 1994

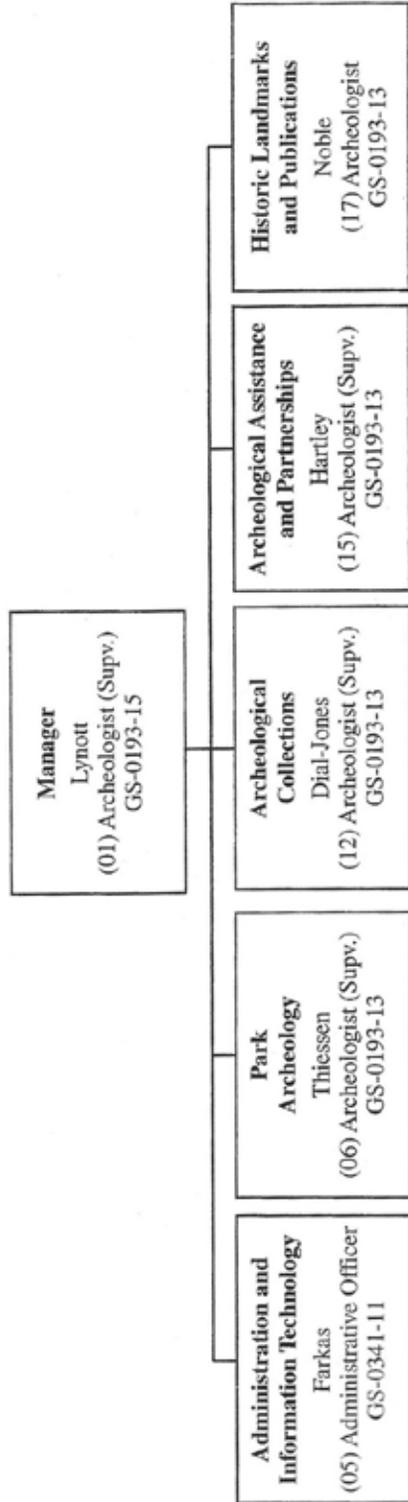
Recommended: [Signature] Date: 6/20/94
Asst. Dir., Midwest Archeological Center

Reviewed: [Signature] Date: JUN 30 1994
Chairman, Position Management Board

Approved: [Signature] Date: JUN 30 1994
Regional Director, Midwest Region

Organizational chart 1994

Midwest Archeological Center
 National Park Service Organization 6115
 Fiscal Year 2003
Manager, Programs, and Program Managers



Organizational chart 2003

APPENDIX I

MWAC by the Numbers: Center History through Accession Data By Dawn Bringelson

This appendix presents an effort to enhance Ted Catton's administrative history of the Midwest Archeological Center. The Administrative History is a qualitative analysis of the Center's development through time, and highlights a number of key projects and turning points. In his Preface, Catton states the goal of an administrative history is to "chronicle an institutional record as well as provide an interpretive understanding of how an institution got where it is." As with many historical studies, the Administrative History relied on oral histories collected from current and previous MWAC employees as well as numerous published and administrative documents. While oral history interviews provide a rich record of each individual's recollection, there is no reasonable way to capture this information for all pivotal staff; likewise, it is impossible to gather all potentially pertinent data from each person during a single interview.

The catalog of existing documents (including reports, archives, and administrative records) at MWAC is also not fully consistent and complete. Most noticeably, the number of administrative records in the Center's park files dropped significantly sometime around the year 2000. This is likely tied to several factors. The rise of email in the 1990s corresponds with a decrease in memos, transcribed phone messages and conversations, and official correspondences in the central files. This hit to the quantity and consistency of information in MWAC's park files over the past 20 years or so created a gap in the information available to Catton during his research at MWAC.

In addition, Annual Reports (of great use for Catton's analysis), ceased production after 2000. The reason for this is unclear, but is likely also related to the rise of digital communications and connections. The NPS Project Management Information System (PMIS) arose during that time as a means for this. Annual calls for project funding are now facilitated through PMIS; this system is a means of tracking funds available, project needs, and work accomplished across the NPS. To meet requirements of funds received, MWAC staff upload annual project reporting information into PMIS, and this activity may be perceived as a replacement to annual reporting. While this centralized database can be used as a replacement for the Annual Reports, the compilation of data within PMIS was not easily accessed by Catton during the research phase of this project.

Even without considering the factors just discussed, there was no feasible way for Catton to interview all staff with pivotal roles in MWAC's history, and certainly no way to include discussion of all large or influential MWAC projects. This appendix aims to complement Catton's work, accounting for a broader range of key staff, parks, and projects than was viable with traditional historiography methods, using summary analyses of a comprehensive, if somewhat shallow, data source: accession files. The museum accession process has been a mainstay of MWAC practice since the Center's origin in 1969, so those files represent an independent and relatively consistent source of information. Accession records are created for every project resulting in the collection of data of some sort, whether it be for an NPS unit or another agency, if those data and/

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or artifacts are ever curated at MWAC. While detail is slight in these records, there is a consistency that is unique among all data sources available at this time. Therefore, information held within these files is presented here to capture an overview of work conducted by MWAC through time, get a general sense of the levels to which MWAC staff invested in various parks over the years, and highlight key projects that may have been missed in Catton's narrative.

Methods

Accession files contain short, hand-filled forms completed as staff bring collections back to the Center at the end of a project. Over the course of 2018, MWAC interns Aaron Fountain and Morgan Wooster, volunteer Shaun Dinublio and Archeological Technician Eli Orrvar scanned accession forms spanning the Administrative History's study period (1969 to 2016). Data include MWAC Accession Number, MWAC Accession Date, Park, Park Accession Number, Park Accession Date, Short Project Description, Project Director, Project Director Affiliation, MWAC Crew names, Park Crew names, Other Affiliated Crew, and Site Visit Dates.

After this, senior Center staff (Vergil Noble, Karin Roberts, Dawn Bringelson) addressed questions and cleaned data to ensure project records were consistent and accurate, and derived several numeric fields (MWAC Staff Count, Other Staff Count, Project Days in Field) from entered data. In addition, Noble added a field to distinguish MWAC projects from those conducted by park staff, partners or contractors, as well as from isolated finds sent to the Center by parks.

In all, 1777 accession records were entered into this table. Of these records, 1180 represent projects conducted by MWAC personnel between 1969 and 2016. These data are presented below.

Summary of Data

The first question we can answer with accession data relates to the general "footprint" of MWAC: how many parks has the Center worked with, and how focused have park partnerships been over the course of these 1180 projects?

Figure 1 provides a gross overview of the total number of MWAC projects across parks, providing some insight into the breadth and depth of relationships built between various parks and the Center over 47 years. Based on this graph, some 18 parks (and the aggregated non-park projects) have each accumulated over 20 MWAC projects between the Center's genesis and 2016 (the cutoff date for this analysis). Only six parks, however, have accumulated more than 30 projects, and five of those boast well over 40. MWAC conducted work at CUVA 59 times, at OZAR 58 times, at INDU 49 times, at VOYA 43 times, at SACN 37 times, and SLBE 33 times. MWAC staff also conducted 48 projects for other agencies.

The number of visits to a park does not provide clear insight on the level to which MWAC invested in that park (or vice versa); Figure 2 provides a summary of total

amount of time spent in each park. Total person-days is calculated by total number of staff involved in a project, multiplied by the number of project days in field.

MWAC has spent over 3000 person-days at each of seven parks: CURE, CUVA, HOCU, INDU, OZAR, VOYA, and YELL. Note that CURE and YELL are parks outside of the current Midwest region; projects there date to a time when MWAC conducted research in both the Midwest and Rocky Mountain regions. Relationships with these parks were relatively intensive for a period of time, which will come up again in summaries below. Note also that data for Hunt's 1986-1988 work for the reconstruction project at FOUS are excluded from this summary. With those projects included, FOUS actually has 24,645 total person-days. This extends the y-axis of the chart such that representation of all other parks is visually minimized and difficult to read. Figure 3 includes Hunt's FOUS work, making clear the huge investment by the NPS in this project. Catton elaborates on this work, but suffice it to say that FOUS numbers among the top parks for person-days spent by MWAC staff. Incidentally, FOUS was also in the Rocky Mountain region when Hunt's projects took place.

Change in the MWAC footprint through time

Another question related to MWAC's institutional chronicle concerns how the quantity of work performed by the Center has evolved over time. Figure 4 shows that, overall, the number of projects performed each year has increased through time, starting out with just a few projects run by MWAC staff in the period following the transfer of the Center from the MBP, to the highest peak of 57 projects in 2015, with smaller peaks around 1980, the late 1980s/early 1990s, and in the mid-2000s. Again, this is only a snapshot of total number of visits, and does not speak to relative investment or project size. Coupling this with total person-days spent on MWAC projects each year provides some context. Figure 5 shows similar patterning overall, minus the largest peak in the mid-2010s. Including Hunt's FOUS project data, in Figure 6, reveals an extreme peak in the late 1980s.

Based on these charts, it would appear that MWAC has conducted a greater number of shorter projects and/or projects with smaller crews in more recent years. This is not surprising, especially in light of factors well-illustrated by Catton's analysis: the rise of CRM and its interaction with park development in the first half of MWAC's history, and the emphasis on conservation archeology and its rise in the second. In addition, communication between NPS planners, management, and resource specialists have improved, and the Midwest Region has developed processes for working around and avoiding impact to archeological resources in recent decades. This, in combination with a reduction in building of new NPS facilities overall, especially in established parks, has reduced the need for larger data recovery projects.

Another factor to consider is cost and practicality. Costs to support a crew have increased substantially since the late 1980s. In 1992, MIE for daily expenses was \$15 per person per day residing in park housing. Today, many projects are conducted in areas with no access to free park housing, and so per-person daily expenses range closer to \$145. Unless park housing is available, it is often fiscally prohibitive to launch a longer (over 3-week) project with a substantial crew (more than 3 or 4 total). In addition, the

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NPS imposed restrictions on travel expenses over the past decade; this travel ceiling resulted in accumulating cuts from 2008 to at least 2013, creating pressure to reduce the size of (if not forego or contract out) field projects during the most recent decade.

Fortunately, this is balanced out by the changes in the kinds of projects the Center conducts; since the late 1970s, there has been a steady increase in the use of geophysics to meet archeological inventory data needs. It's important to note that MWAC staff are able to complete more projects with fewer staff-days as geophysical techniques and equipment advance. In 2019, geophysical projects are becoming even lighter on crew needs with the addition of a magnetic gradiometer 16-sensor array, which can be towed behind an ATV, to MWAC's equipment list.

Center staff are also partnering with park staff and others to augment field project crews. Figure 7 shows an apparently increasing reliance on non-MWAC staff. However, this graph needs to be interpreted with some skepticism. While person-days were calculated in the same way for MWAC versus non-MWAC staff, there is no way to document the amount of time each individual listed in an accession record contributed to the project overall, or whether this has been consistently documented throughout MWAC's history. It is conservative to assume that each MWAC staff member listed on an accession form worked full-time on that field project, but park staff or VIPs may show up part-time or for a day only. There is no distinction in accession records. Because of this, this graph likely over-represents the number of person-days provided by parks and VIPs (especially true for FOUS 1986, as shown in Figure 8). However, it does indicate a trend toward greater involvement by park staff and VIPs with MWAC crews. Either way, the overall trend toward smaller projects in recent years holds. If non-MWAC staff are discounted from this summary (by noting the solid section of each bar only), the trend toward less intensive projects through time is even more pronounced.

MWAC by the decade

While these summaries shed light on relative investment and shifts in kinds and quantity of archeological work performed through time by MWAC staff, it is difficult to discern patterns down to the project level. Breaking accession data into ten-year increments provides greater detail, and helps to highlight contributions by key projects and staff.

As discussed by Catton, the staff of the Center were rebuilding during its first decade, with much work conducted by partner organizations. The largest amount of MWAC field time represented in Figure 9 was spent at Fort Laramie National Historic Site in Wyoming. No mention is found in Catton's narrative regarding MWAC's work at this park during this time. This spike in the data is most likely artificially inflated, as the FOLA accession record associated with the largest number of person-days in that decade was not specific, listing dates as "April 12-26, Sept & Oct. 1971." When a month was listed without reference to specific dates, the entire length of that month was included in the calculation of person-days for this analysis. Regardless, based on the low numbers shown in 1969-1978 relative to subsequent decades, it is clear that that few resources were available for MWAC work in the parks overall at this time of flux for NPS cultural resource management, as detailed by Catton in his narrative (pp. 70-75).

Projects undertaken by MWAC in its second decade (Figure 10) illustrate a swell in Center project work, and a concentration of this work at Curecanti National Recreation Area in the Rocky Mountain Region. Catton discusses the number of construction-related archeological projects conducted by MWAC staff during this period, which resulted in placement of the Curecanti Archeological District on the National Register. He also discusses projects conducted at Rocky Mountain Region's Grand Teton National Park as part of the Jackson Lake Archeological Project. It is useful to note the onset of MWAC projects at Apostle Islands National Lakeshore following a period of contracting to Wisconsin's Beloit College, as MWAC has continued to work directly with APIS since. This graph also highlights early projects at Ozark National Scenic Riverways and Voyageurs National Park, also touched upon in Catton's narrative. Figure 10 excludes Fort Union, which as noted previously, out-scales other projects undertaken in the 1980s, and is well-chronicled.

The period from 1989 to 1998 captures one of the peaks in both number of projects and person-days spent in the field over MWAC's history. The greatest amount of cumulative time spent during this period was at Yellowstone National Park. During this period, MWAC conducted 19 projects there, largely assisting with planning and compliance for road upgrades, campground and dormitory changes, and utility corridors. Projects also included large-scale inventory and testing following the massive Yellowstone wildfires of 1988, and data recovery of eroding sites. Ten of these projects were led by Center archeologist Ken Cannon; this period of project work enabled Cannon to conduct detailed, interdisciplinary research on lithic scatters common to the intermountain area. Cannon's interests brought together a range of expertise outside of archeology, which provided a means to test assumptions long-held within archeology. For example, his collaboration with geochemical specialist Richard Hughes and Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem (GYE) geomorphological specialist Kenneth Pierce enabled him to examine the applicability of obsidian hydration within that geothermal environment, and demonstrated that obsidian toolstone, while locally available, was also imported from some distance. Cannon's concern with sampling and research was applied usefully to attain a better understanding of the GYE across the Holocene. The relationship between MWAC and Yellowstone came to a close in the mid-1990s, after the reorganizations of NPS regions and MWAC divisions.

The 1990s also saw significant work at Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area (now National Park), Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (now National Park), and Ozark National Scenic Riverways. The peak in the Center's work at CUVA during the 1990s continued through the following decade, and reflects a lengthy partnership with the park focused on investigations around historic structures. The Center's strong relationship with CUVA stands out in the consistency and duration of field work over the years. MWAC teams conducted projects at this park every year from 1988 to 2011; a total of 38 accessions accumulated over these 23 years, with 25 average days in the field represented for each accession. Jeff Richner led most of the projects in the 1990s; Ann Bauermeister took over such projects after 2001.

Center work at INDU in the 1990s was driven by several large projects. Large MWAC crews conducted survey and excavations in advance of the East Unit

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Campground construction; Center Archeologist Forest Frost led a four-year parkwide inventory project, and Center Archeologist Scott Stadler led INDU staff to investigate Reservations of Use and Occupancy (ROU) parcels. The ROU projects spanned some three decades of work at INDU, the cumulative impact of which is addressed in Catton's narrative (pp. 187-188).

As Catton also discusses (p. 112), much of the MWAC's work at OZAR focused on cooperative research that could contribute to resource management and interpretation. Construction-driven investigations generated data used in interdisciplinary and scholarly research, which contributed to understanding of prehistoric cultural developments across the Eastern Ozark Region (e.g., Lynott et al. 2000).

During the Center's fourth decade (1999 to 2008), staff spent significant time at Hopewell Culture NHP. Catton details earlier involvement with this park, as Mark Lynott worked on the expansion of park boundaries to include a total of six earthworks around Chillicothe. However, that narrative concludes with the 1992 legislation. Lynott conducted and encouraged extensive research at Hopeton Earthworks and elsewhere at HOCU in the late 1990s to mid-2000s, partnering with multiple field schools and workshops to maximize impact. Notably, this decade saw significant accumulation of geophysical data, as MWAC partnered with University of Nebraska-Lincoln Physics professor John Weymouth and other specialists to collect magnetic gradiometry over multiple seasons at Hopeton (Weymouth et al, 2009; accession records indicate Lynott and Weymouth started geophysical work at Hopeton in 1997, continuing until at least 2005).

The Center's most recent (partial) decade witnessed a drop in time spent on field projects, for reasons discussed earlier. Figure 13 details this period, showing that the largest accumulation of person-days here would have ranked fifth in the previous decade. MWAC staff led projects at Hot Spring National Park totaling 1318 person-days, largely associated with Bill Hunt's Systemwide Archeological Inventory (SAIP)-funded project, with fieldwork spanning 2008 to 2011.

Conclusions

This review of accession data builds on Catton's administrative history, providing an overview of the Center's work in parks in general as well as its evolution through time. Graphic summaries of this comprehensive dataset provides a means of highlighting projects that figure significantly in MWAC's history, but may not have been captured via historiographic means.

Overall, this dataset underlines several of the larger trends identified in the Administrative History. Accession data analysis also point to the Center's transitional pains after moving into the National Park System, with a drastic turnover in staff and constrained park projects in the early years, as well as the growth in staff and project work from around 1980 to the NPS reorganization in the mid-1990s. Additionally, the shift in focus from excavation and data recovery to conservation archeology is also apparent in the greater number of smaller projects through recent decades.

While Catton provides in-depth appraisal of individual projects and trends, this appendix provides a visual summary of aggregated data. In turn, this summary points to a few key projects in MWAC's history that were not available to, nor could be feasibly addressed in, Catton's history. Likewise, not all significant work could be captured through the narrative in this appendix. It is hoped, however, that the summary charts provide an even overview, and the digitized dataset is available for further inquiry and analysis.

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Figures

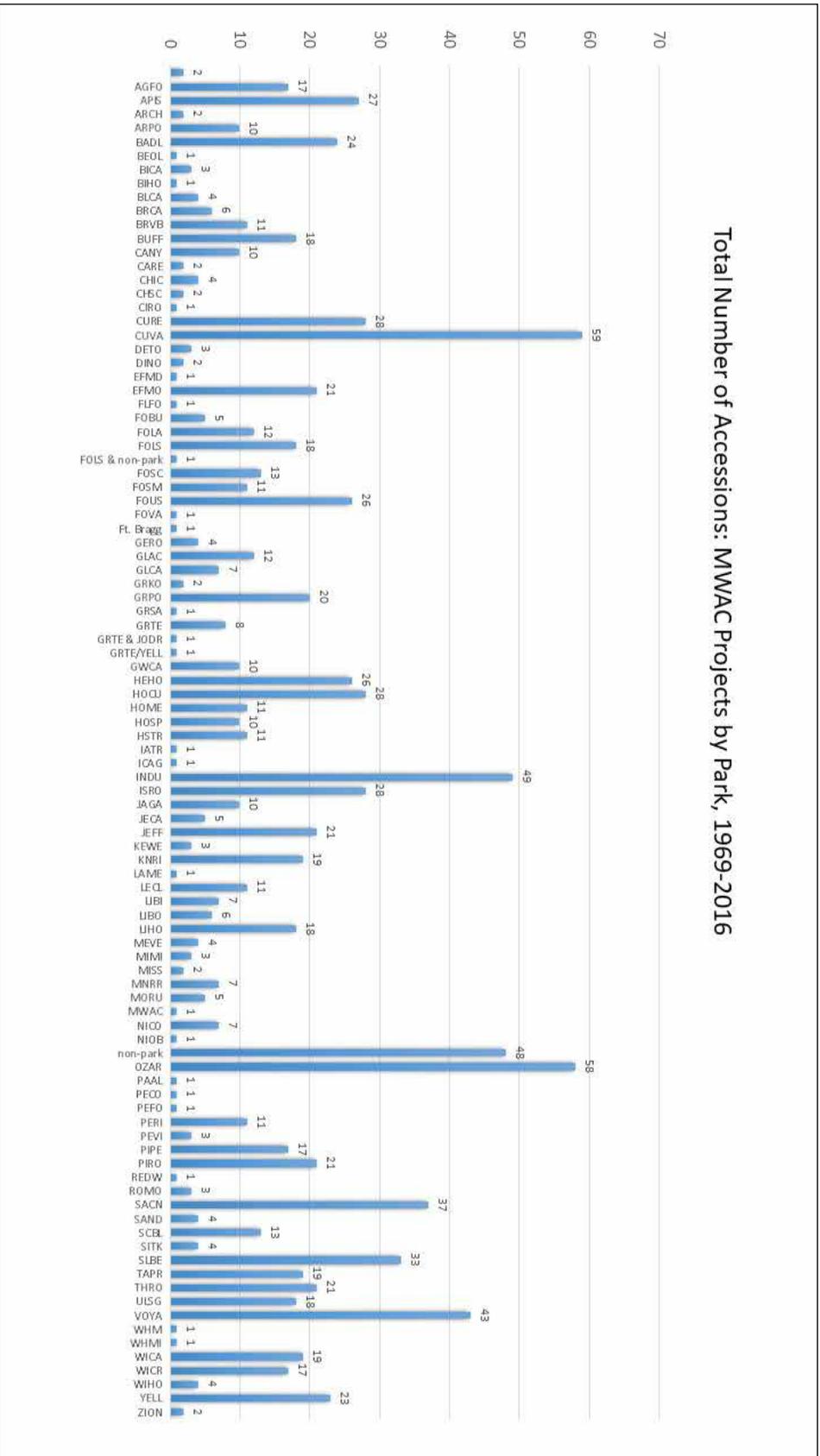


Figure 1. Total number of accessions by park. Of the 91 parks represented here, six were visited 30 or more times (CUVA, OZAR, INDU, VOYA, SACN, SLBE); most were visited less than 10 times.

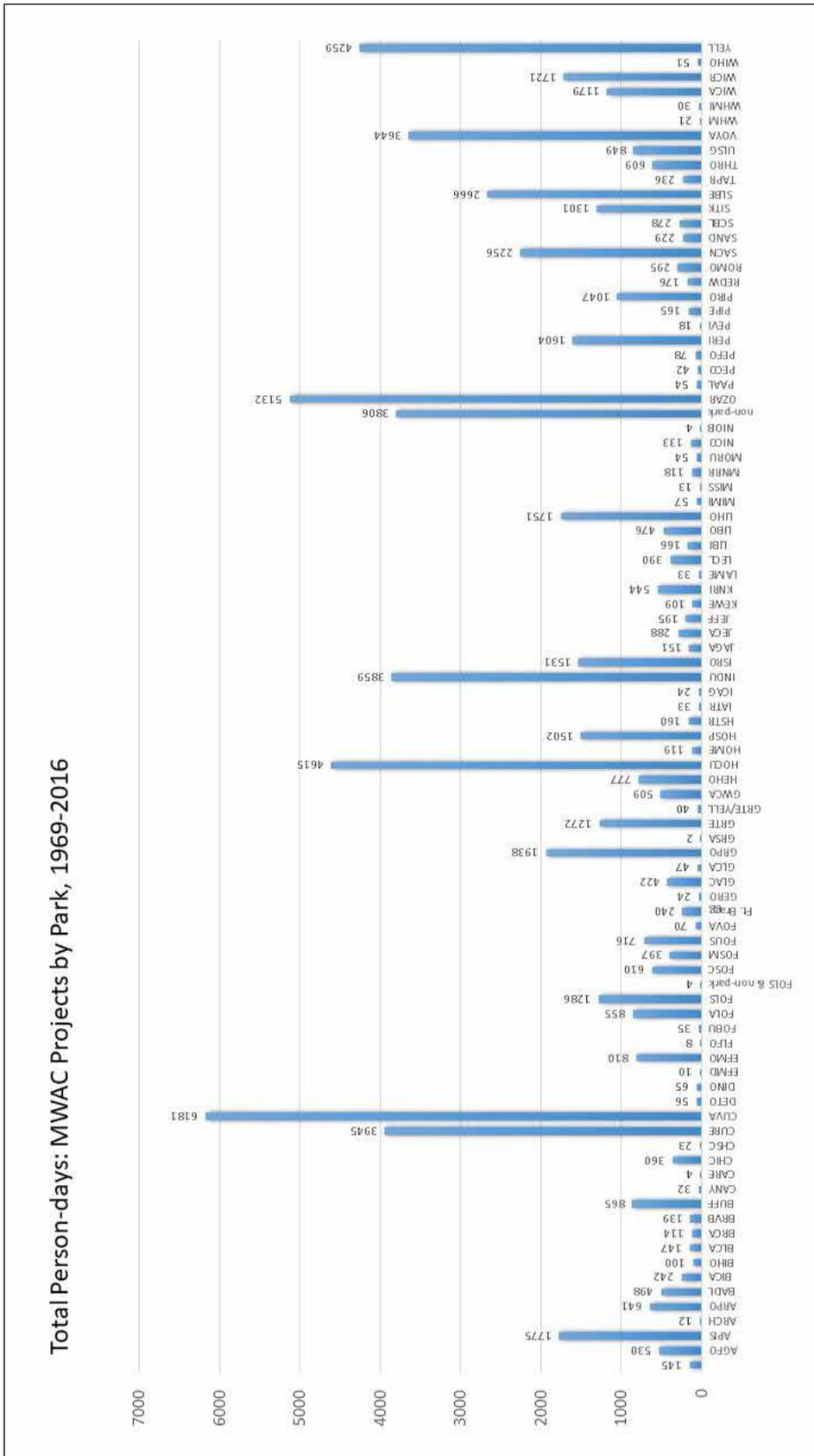
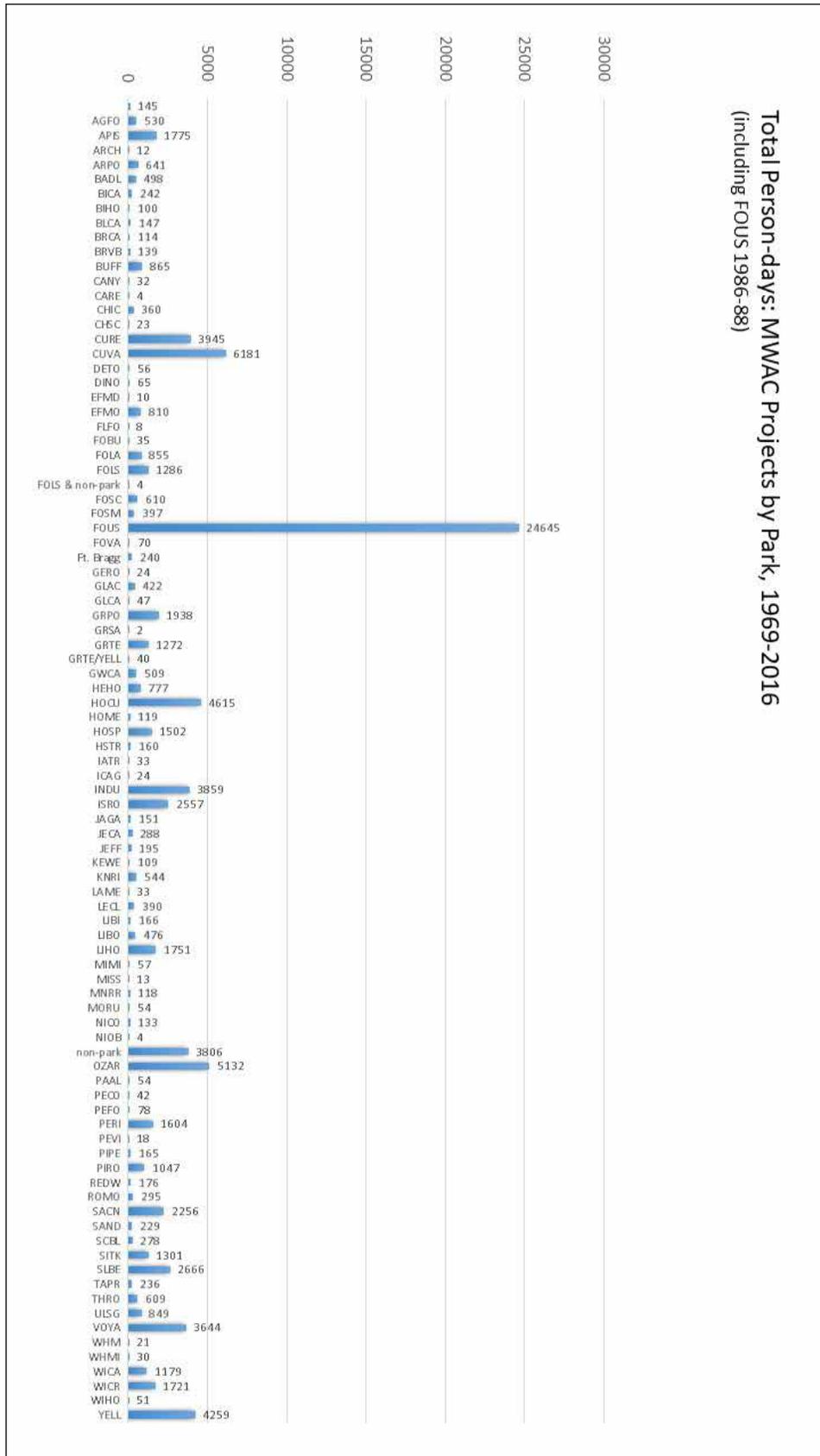


Figure 2. Total person-days by park.

Figure 3. Total person-days by park, including Hunt's 1986-1988 work at FOUS.



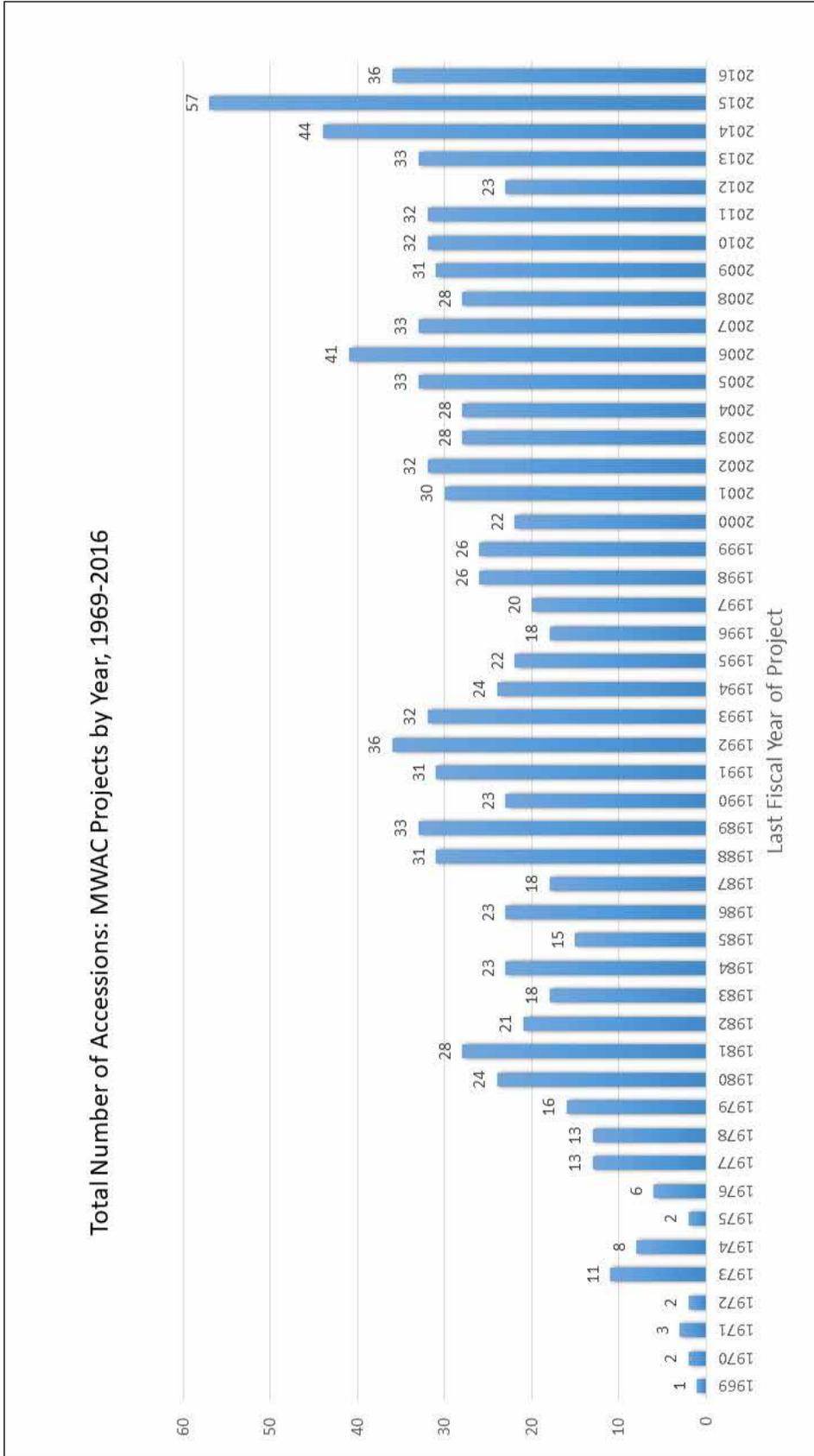


Figure 4. Total number of accessions for MWAC projects by year.

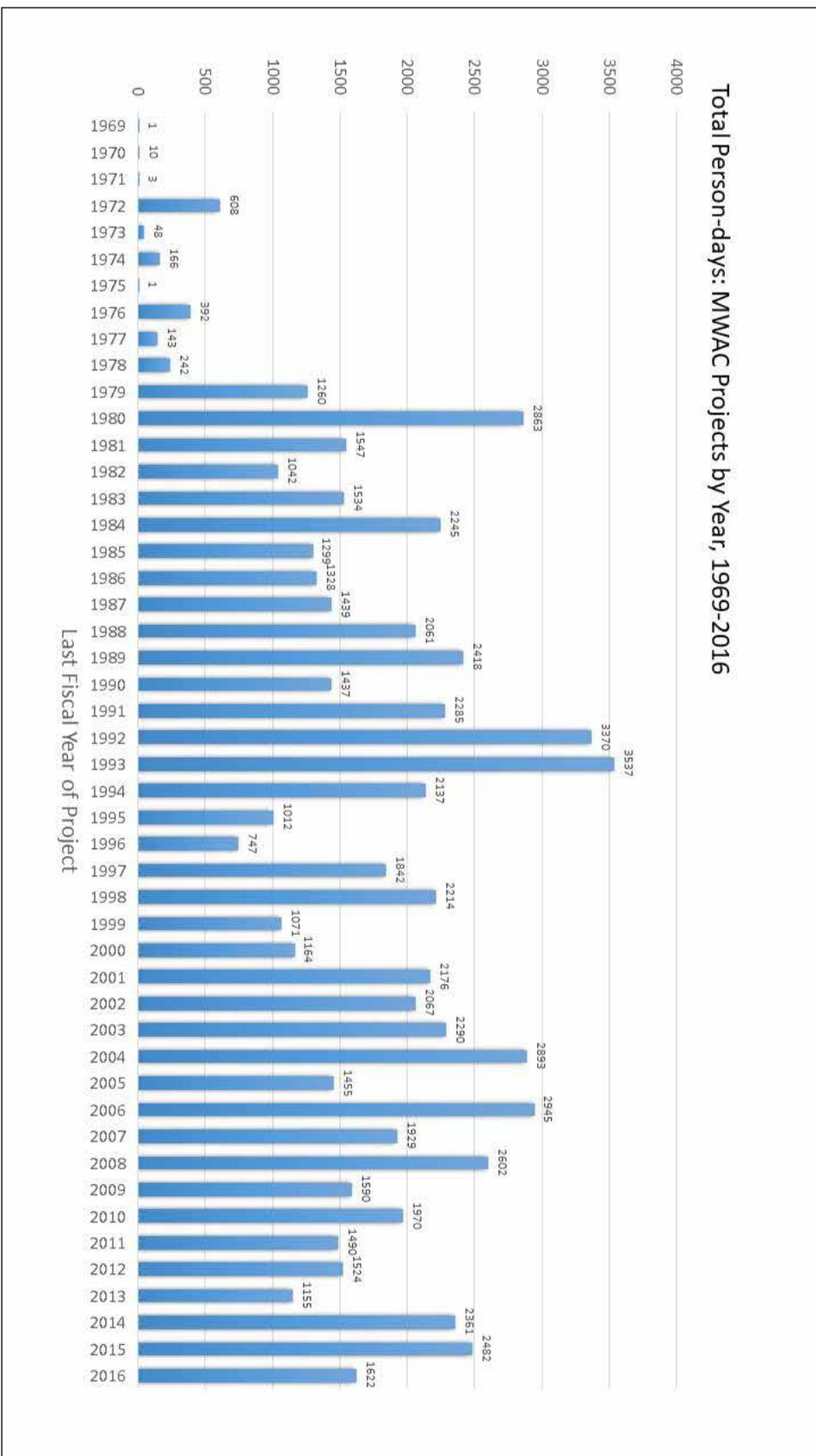


Figure 5. Total person-days for MWAC projects by year, exclusive of FOUS 1986-1988.

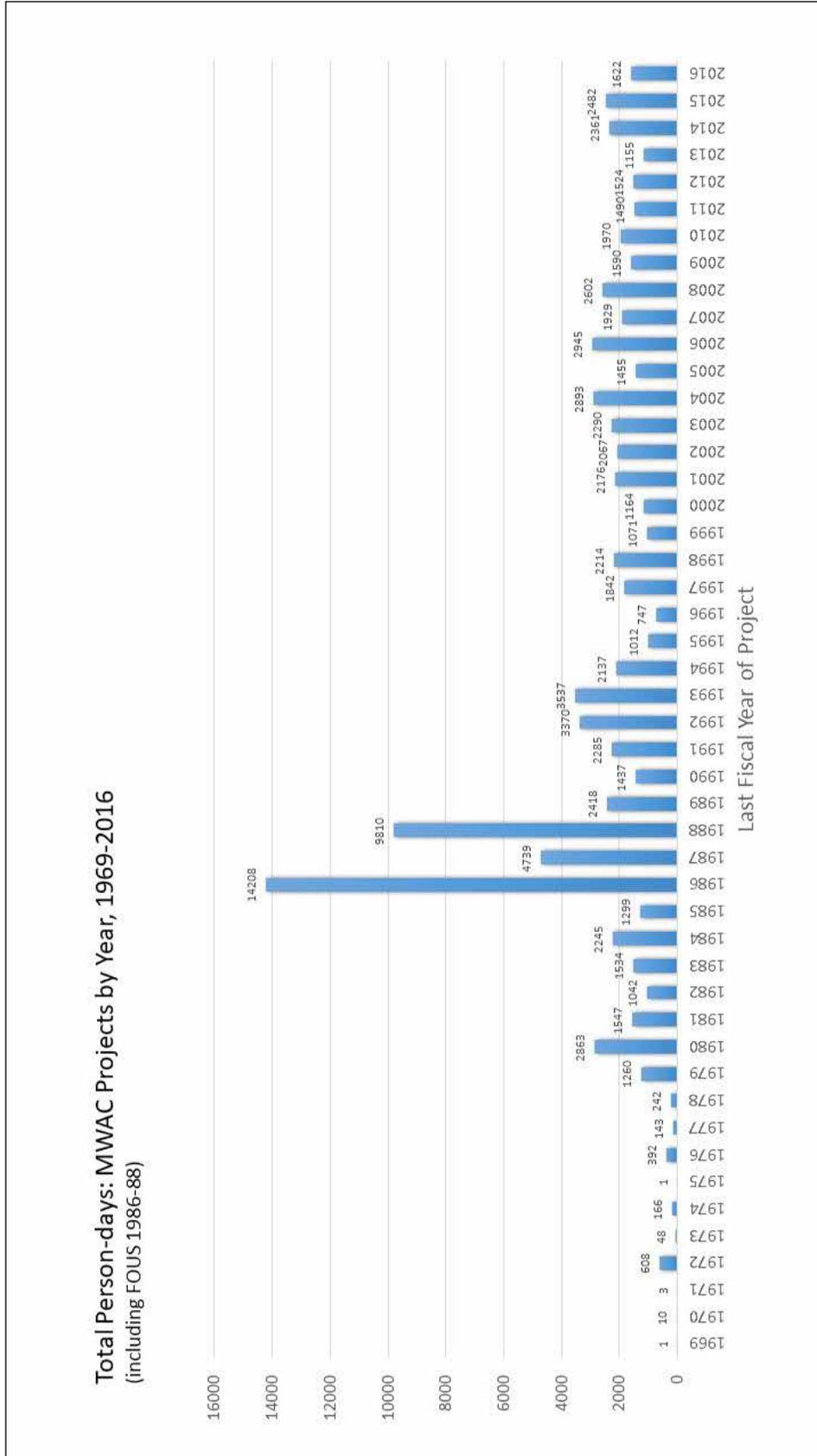


Figure 6. Total person-days for MWAC projects by year.

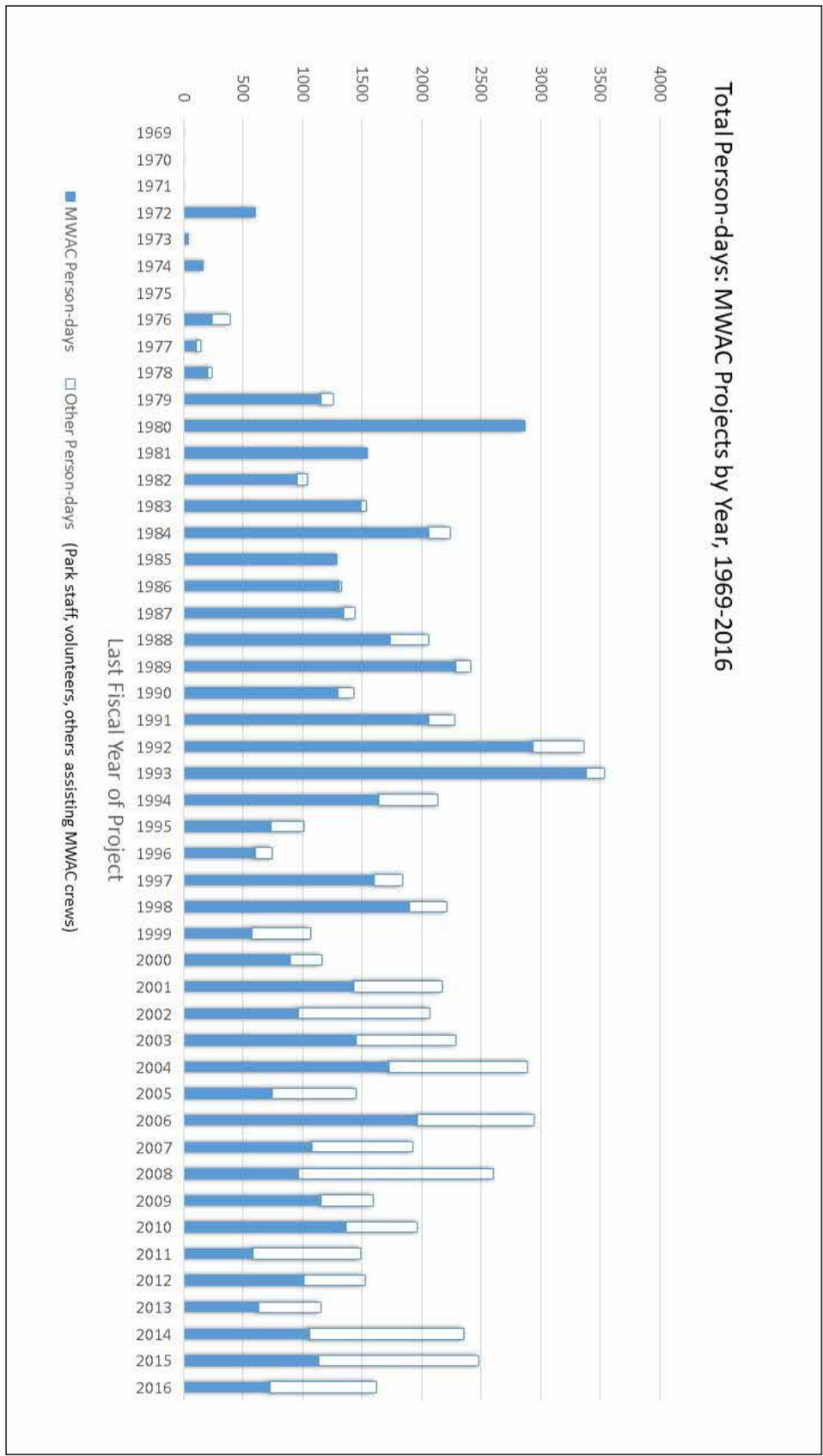
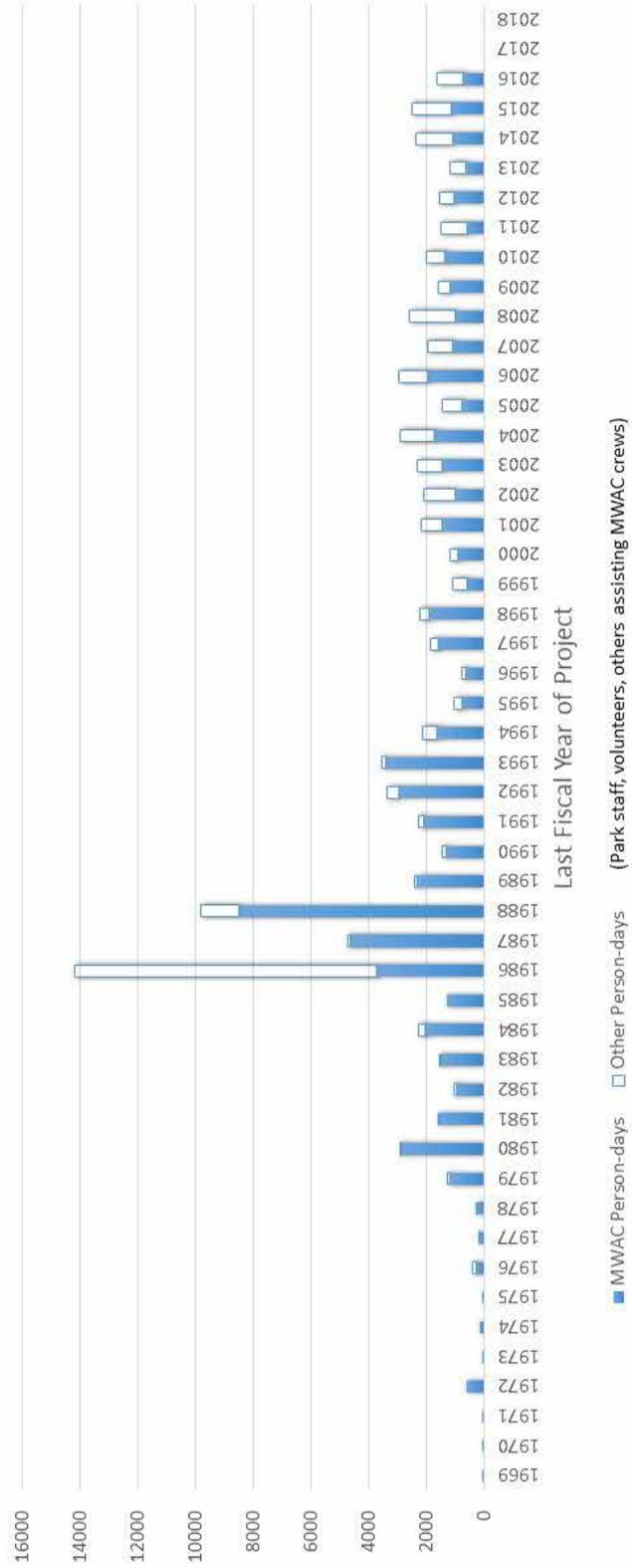


Figure 7. MWAC and Other Person-days spent on projects, by year (exclusive of FOUS 1986-1988).

Total Person-days: MWAC Projects by Year, 1969-2016
 (including FOUS 1986-88)



8. MWAC and Other person-days spent on projects, by year.

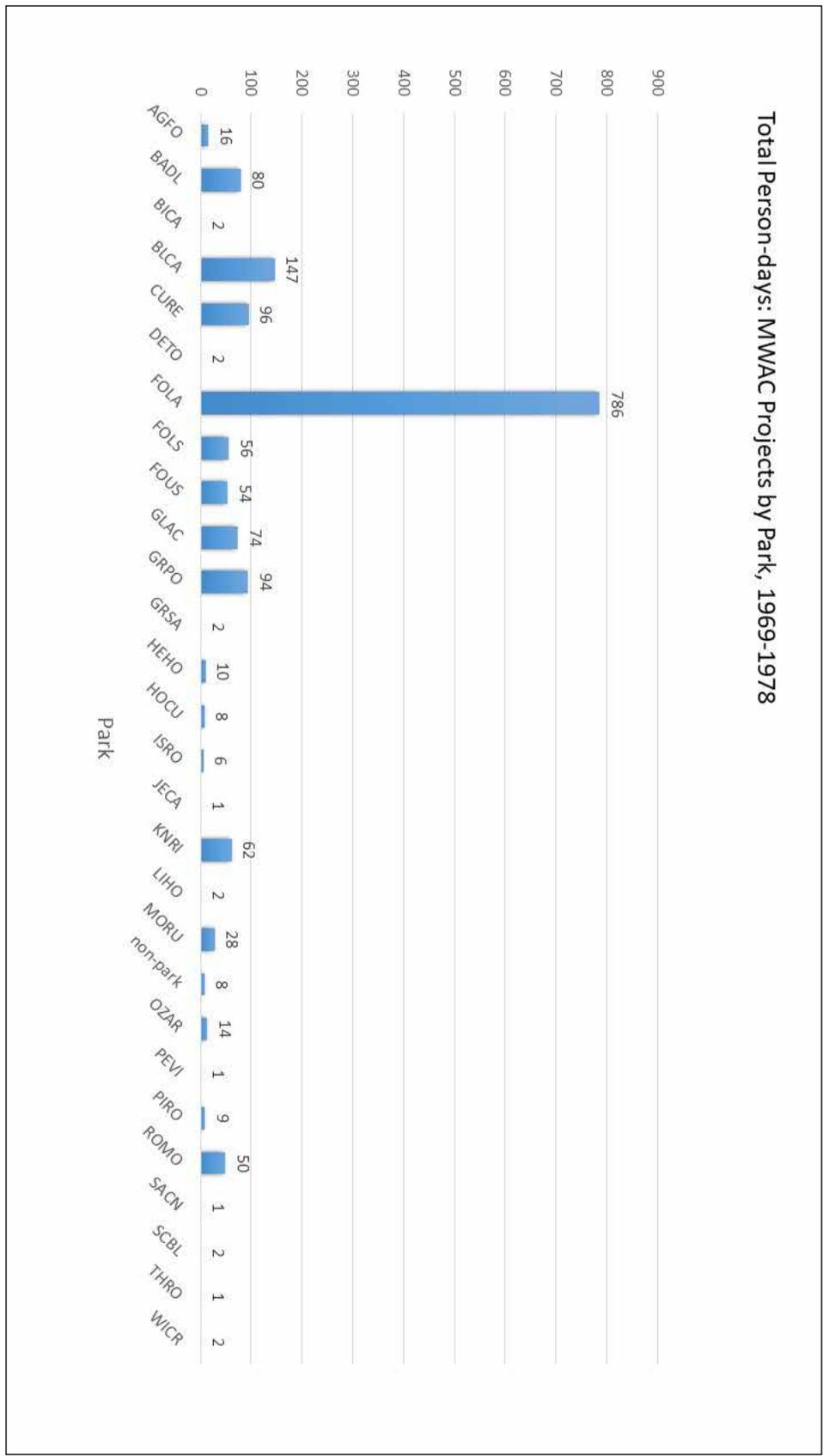


Figure 9. Total Person-days by park, 1969-1978.

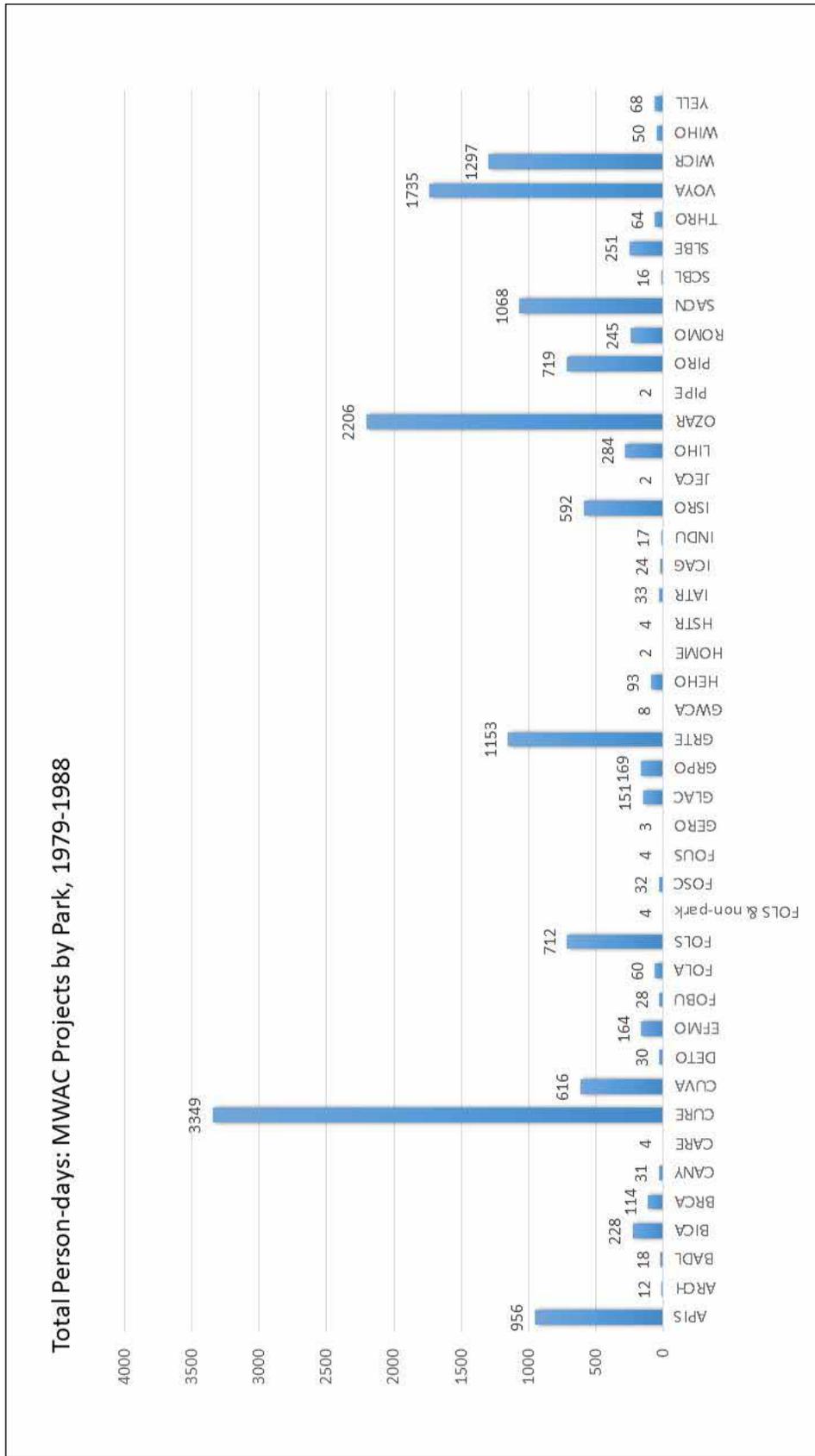


Figure 10. Total person-days by park, excluding FOUS 1979-1988

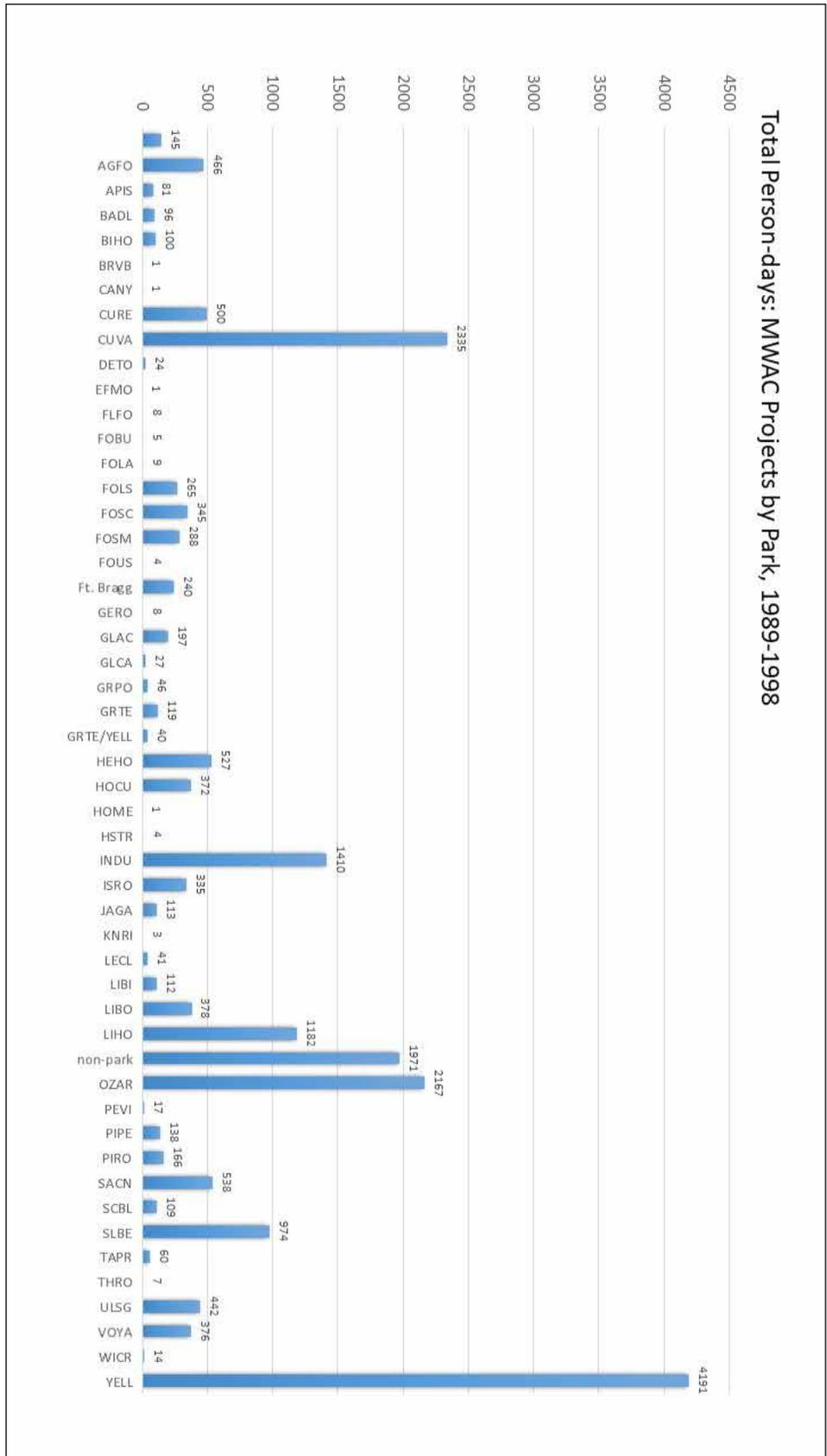


Figure 11. Total person-days by park, 1989-1998.

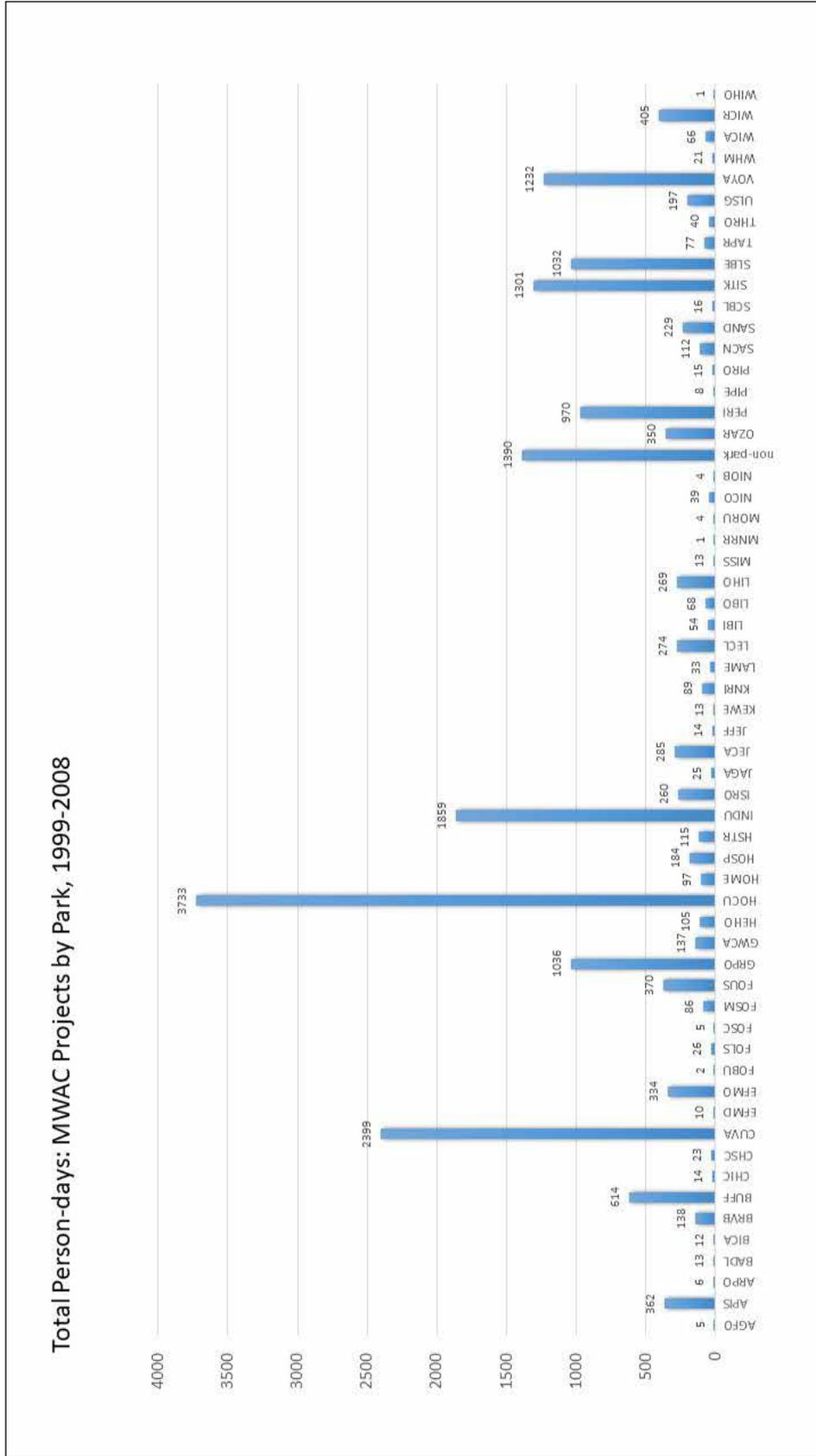


Figure 12. Total person-days by park, 1999-2008.

