

## 20

# North America

Dan Hicks and Michael D. Petraglia

### 20.1 Introduction

On entering the main entrance of the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM) and descending the stairs into the Court, the visitor comes face-to-face with a central display case titled 'Pottery from North America'.<sup>1</sup> Looking down on the case and the visitor, the 11-metre high Haida House Pole stands against the east wall of the Museum (1901.39.1). But as well as these iconic Native American objects, the PRM holds a wide, varied collection of ethnographic, photographic and archaeological material from North America, some of which is displayed in the galleries, but most of which is held in storerooms. The archaeological collections come from across the United States, Canada and Greenland, from the Canadian Arctic to the southwestern deserts of the USA, and they span the entire length of the Holocene, from the Palaeoindian period and into the colonial period.

There are *c.* 4,930 objects recorded as from North America that are currently defined as 'archaeological'. Of these, *c.* 3,627 are from the USA (*Table 20.1*), *c.* 720 from Canada (*Table 20.2*), and *c.* 125 from Greenland. The remaining 435 objects are currently recorded only as 'North America', although further documentary research (especially for those objects transferred from the Ashmolean Museum) may provide further detail for these objects. As with other chapters, the definition of what might count as 'archaeological' or 'ethnographic' (and what has done in the past) is far from clear-cut. As will become clear in this chapter, particular disciplinary and definitional intersections come about in the North American collections, particularly in relation to the historical connections between ethno-archaeology, indigenous and historical archaeology, and ethnohistory.

This chapter presents a characterization of these collections. It begins with a discussion of the *c.* 271 'archaeological' objects from North America that were part of the PRM founding collection (20.2). It then discusses the collections from the Northeastern United States (20.3), the Southern United States (20.4), the Midwestern United States (20.5), and the Western United States (20.6), before considering the material from Canada (20.7) and Greenland (20.8). Brief conclusions are drawn in section 20.9. The archaeological collections from Hawai'i are not discussed here, but form part of the discussion of Polynesian material in Chapter 27. Similarly, the archaeological collections from Puerto Rico are discussed with the Caribbean material in Chapter 19. The PRM holds no 'archaeological' collections from the United States Virgin Islands.

<sup>1</sup> Pitt Rivers Museum, Court, Case 153.a

World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization  
 edited by Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson, Archaeopress 2013, page 409-454

New Mexico	642
Arizona	391
Pennsylvania	321
Oregon	306
Ohio	224
Georgia	174
Washington, D.C.	148
Texas	132
Florida	119
Massachusetts	97
New Jersey	95
Illinois	78
New York	72
Missouri	70
North Dakota	66
Virginia	56
California	55
Indiana	50
Arkansas	45
Wisconsin	40
Kentucky	32
Colorado	26
Alaska	24
Maryland	24
South Carolina	24
Minnesota	23
Idaho	22
Mississippi	19
North Carolina	15
West Virginia	14
Tennessee	10
Connecticut	8
Michigan	7
South Dakota	6
Utah	6
Louisiana	4
Oklahoma	3
Iowa	2
Rhode Island	2
Alabama	1
Delaware	1
Maine	1
Montana	1
Nebraska	1
Wyoming	1
Kansas	0
Nevada	0
New Hampshire	0
Vermont	0
Washington	0
Unknown State	169
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,627</b>

Table 20.1 Number of 'archaeological' objects from the USA in the Pitt Rivers Museum, by State.

Province/ Territory	Approximate number of objects
Alberta	0
British Columbia	66
Manitoba	25
New Brunswick	1
Newfoundland and Labrador	60
Northwest Territories	0
Nova Scotia	106
Nunavut	140
Ontario	262
Prince Edward Island	0
Quebec	48
Saskatchewan	0
Yukon	0
Unknown	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>720</b>

Table 20.2 Number of 'archaeological' objects from Canada by Province or Territory.

## 20.2 Archaeological Material from North America in the Founding Collection

### 20.2.1 Overview

Around 5% of the North American archaeological collections derives from the PRM founding collection. These *c.* 275 objects include *c.* 130 artefacts from the USA, *c.* 18 artefacts from Canada, *c.* 10 artefacts from Greenland. The remaining *c.* 116 objects have no country of origin currently recorded on the PRM database. Some of these objects may have been acquired by Pitt-Rivers during his period of military service in North America between 2 December 1861 and 30 April 1862 (Hamilton 1874: 321)<sup>2</sup> – given by or purchased from individuals or even perhaps acquired through his own collection in the field. The early 1860s is a crucial transitional time for Pitt-

<sup>2</sup> Pitt-Rivers' return from Canada on the *Niagara* was recorded in passenger lists published in the *Manchester Guardian* (30 April 1862).

Rivers' developing archaeological activities, and it is not impossible that he undertook surface-collection himself.

### 20.2.2 *Northeastern United States*

Of *c.* 130 archaeological objects from the USA in the PRM founding collection, *c.* 77 are from the Northeast. Most of these (*c.* 40 artefacts) are from the State of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvanian objects include *c.* 12 objects from West Chester, Chester County: 6 stone axes and adzes (1884.126.104, 1884.126.115–116, 1884.126.171, 1884.126.198, 1884.126.202), 2 bannerstones (1884.126.155–156), 2 stone pounders (1884.128.3), and 3 stone arrow-heads (1884.135.298, 1884.135.301, 1884.135.315). Also from Pennsylvania are 6 objects recorded as from the Delaware Water Gap, Monroe County: 4 stone sinkers (1884.129.41–42, 1884.130.9–10), a stone pounder (1884.128.58), and a whetstone (1884.129.23). These were possibly from the collection of Pennsylvanian antiquarian Benjamin Franklin Peale, from whom John Evans acquired objects from this site (see 20.3.2 below; cf. Evans 1897a: 247).<sup>3</sup>

The Pennsylvanian collections in the PRM founding collection also include a stone arrow-head from Darby, Delaware County (1884.135.195), a stone axe from Lancaster (1884.126.202), and 2 stone sinkers from Susquehanna (1884.130.11–12). Some 18 further objects are recorded as simply from 'Pennsylvania', with no further geographical detail: 8 stone axes and adzes (1884.56.20, 1884.126.117–120, 1884.126.168–169, 1884.126.181), 5 stone sinkers (1884.130.14, 1884.130.16–19), 4 stone arrow-heads (1884.135.189, 1884.135.229, 1884.135.263, 1884.135.299), and a stone chisel (1884.127.83). One of these stone axes (1884.56.20) appears to be the object described by Henry Balfour in his 1929 paper 'On Thunderbolts (continued)', where he describes (with an illustration)

'a ground stone celt of hard, slaty stone, with blunted cutting-edge and with decorative notching along the top. Pennsylvania, USA. Pitt-Rivers Collection. The small hole for suspension has evidently been drilled with a stone borer, and suggests that similar ideas as to the nature of such celts became prevalent in N America, and that the celts were preserved as amulets, though possibly by European settlers rather than by natives' (Balfour 1929: 169).

Beyond Pennsylvania, the remaining Northeastern artefacts in the PRM founding collection are from the States of New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Maine. There are *c.* 22 objects from the State of New York, most of which comprises a collection of *c.* 19 stone arrow-heads from Utica, Oneida County, purchased from the dealer Bryce McMurdo Wright (1884.135.190–194, 1884.135.199, 1884.135.209, 1884.135.212, 1884.135.261, 1884.136.269–270, 1884.136.272, 1884.136.291–292, 1884.136.305, 1884.136.321–322). Also purchased from Wright is a stone axe recorded as from Bedford, Orange County (1884.126.322). A further stone axe (1884.126.197) is recorded as from 'New York Prov.', and another stone axe is simply recorded as from 'New York' (1884.126.218). There are 6 objects from the State of Massachusetts: a stone arrow-head collected from Gill, Franklin County by geologist Edward Hitchcock (1793–1864) (1884.135.238); a stone axe from New Bedford, Bristol County (1884.126.203);

<sup>3</sup> In 1879, a paper in *American Naturalist* reported on excavations of 'Indian graves' by members of the Philosophical Society of West Chester in November 1878, and drew comparison with other graves 'opened near Delaware Water Gap a few years ago' (Barber 1879: 297; cf. Barber 1877: 199). It is possible that some of the artefacts from the PRM founding collection from these two sites relate to these excavations – although the collection of banner-stones and stone drill-points by members of the Westchester County Historical Society was also reported by Charles Rau – with whom John Evans appears to have been in contact (see 20.3.2 below) – in 1881 (Rau 1881: 539–40).

a stone axe from Milford, Worcester County (1884.126.184); and 2 stone arrow-heads and a stone axe recorded as simply from Massachusetts (1884.126.217, 1884.135.232, 1884.135.278). There are 8 objects from the State of New Jersey. These include 4 stone spear-heads, a stone blade and a stone arrow-head from the site of Trenton, Mercer County (1884.134.72, 1884.135.60–64), obtained by Pitt-Rivers by 1874. Charles Conrad Abbott had been conducting fieldwork, looking for pre-Holocene material, at his farm in Trenton for some years (Abbott 1872, 1873a, 1876), and had sent stone tools to John Evans in 1874 (see discussion in 20.3.4 below). It is probable that the Trenton objects in the PRM founding collection derive from the material acquired by Evans, although a direct exchange between Pitt-Rivers and Abbott is not impossible: Abbott was clearly aware of Pitt-Rivers by 1875, when he cited Pitt-Rivers' comments on George Grey's paper 'On quartzite implements from the Cape of Good Hope', published in the *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* in 1870 (Abbott 1876: 367–8; see Grey 1870: 41).

The remaining 2 objects from New Jersey are a stone pounder from Newark (1884.128.59) and a stone arrow-head with recorded as simply from New Jersey (1884.135.296). Finally, there is a single stone rubber from East Grand Lake ('Schoodic Lake') in Maine (1884.9.4).

### 20.2.3 *Midwestern United States*

There are c. 35 'archaeological' objects from the Midwestern states of the USA in the PRM founding collection, most of which are from the State of Ohio. The c. 21 artefacts from Ohio include 3 chert blades excavated from an unnamed mound, and donated by 'W. Wallbridge' (1884.135.66–68): a donor whose surname suggests that these may have been excavated by Thomas Campbell Wallbridge, who read a paper on 'mound structures of southern Illinois and Ohio' before the Canadian Institute in February 1861 (Wallbridge 1861). Also recorded as donated by Wallbridge is a stone sinker (1884.130.7), although the documentation for this object is unclear. Elsewhere in Ohio, a chert blade from Cincinnati is recorded as from the collection of 'H.H. Hall' (1884.134.41). There is also a stone axe from Monroe County (1884.126.182), a stone arrow-head from Newark, Licking County (1884.135.287), and a cast of a pipe bowl, in the form of a perching bird, from Kelleys Island, Lake Erie (1884.101.2). This last object appears to be from a collection described as from 'Kelby's Island, Lake Erie' that was donated to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of London by Rev. J.G. Wood, and was described in a paper by J. Stirling as found in the summer of 1868 'under three feet of soil and clay', 'much weather worn', 'made in Tennessee lime stone', and representing 'the white owl (*Strix arctica*, Bartram), a bird often found as far south as the Ohio River, in very severe winters' (Stirling 1869: cxi). The remaining objects from Ohio have no more detailed geographical provenance recorded, and comprise 4 stone axes (1884.126.110–111, 1884.126.183, 1884.126.201), a chert blade (1884.135.65), 3 chert flakes (1884.132.170–172), 2 stone arrow-heads (1884.135.201, 1884.135.239), 2 hammerstones (1884.127.123–124), and a stone pestle (1884.128.25).

Beyond Ohio, the remaining Midwestern artefacts are from the States of Illinois, Indiana and Missouri. There are 5 objects from the State of Illinois: a chert blade from Cairo, Alexander County purchased from Bryce McMurdo Wright (1884.9.5); a chert arrow-head from Carpenterville, Kane County, collected by 'T. Mouldins' (1884.135.303); and 2 ceramic vessels, one containing a human jaw, from an unnamed mound in St Clair County, collected before 1874 (1884.35.27–28). There are also 5 objects from the State of Indiana: a chert arrow-head from Jackson County (1884.135.188); 2 stone arrow-heads from Lawrence County (1884.135.241–242); and two hammerstones from Rising Sun, Ohio County (1884.127.125, 1884.127.130). Finally, there are 2 objects from the

State of Missouri – 2 stone rubbers from Kirkwood, St Louis (1884.128.62–63) – and 2 stone arrow-heads from Wisconsin (1884.135.187, 1884.135.250).

#### 20.2.4 *Southern and Western United States*

There are 10 ‘archaeological’ objects from the southern states of the USA, and just 4 objects from the western USA, in the PRM founding collection. The objects from the Western USA comprise 2 objects from Alaska – a stone sinker from Icy Cape, North Slope Borough, from the collection of British naval officer and explorer Edward Belcher (1799–1877)<sup>4</sup> (1884.11.71), and a chert scraper set in a curved ivory handle with no detailed geographical provenance (1884.133.86) – and 2 objects from California – a chert arrow-head from ‘Klamath Cave’, Del Norte County (1884.135.247), and a stone pounder from Poway, San Diego County (1884.128.55). It is possible that the Californian arrow-head is that described by J. Stirling – in a paper read before the Anthropological Society of London – as collected by himself ‘some time ago in Northern California’ from ‘the Pit River, Klamath’ (Stirling 1869: cxii). Belcher described the ‘stone implements of the western tribes at and north of Icy Cape’ in a paper in 1861 (Belcher 1861; cf. Evans 1897a: 37): he collected objects from Icy Cape, and possibly also California, while serving on HMS *Blossom* in 1825–1829 (Beechey 1831; cf. Bockstoce 1977).

The objects from the South are from the States of Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi and Virginia. The artefacts from Florida comprise 3 stone axes from an unnamed mound in Franklin County, Florida (1884.126.112–114). There are 2 objects from Kentucky: a stone arrow-head from Daviess County (1884.135.293), and a stone axe from Lexington (1884.126.199). There are 4 objects from Mississippi: 3 chert arrow-heads (1884.135.202–203, 1884.135.256), and a cast of ‘an ancient tobacco pipe made from a bivalve shell’ (1884.101.1). There is also a single object from Virginia: a stone arrow-head from Prince William County (1884.135.210).

As well as these 13 objects, there is also one stone arrow-head which is erroneously recorded as from ‘Cumberland County, Kansas’ (1884.135.216), and another stone arrow-head simply recorded as from ‘Pike County, N America’ (1884.135.326): placenames that this assessment has been unable to reconcile, and which are therefore currently defined in the PRM database as from an unknown region of the USA. Finally, a polished stone object (1884.126.224) recorded as a *toka* from Duke of Clarence’s Island, Tokelau (Polynesia) was re-identified as a ‘spud’ from Arkansas by PRM staff Beatrice Blackwood and Tom Penniman in the mid 20th century. This identification appears to have been based purely on form, rather than documentation, and was inspired by the reproduction of a figure of an object of this kind in a paper by Gerard Fowke, a reference to which is written on the object (Fowke 1896: 111; figure 111). The Polynesian provenance originally recorded for this object is perhaps more probable.

#### 20.2.5 *Canada and Greenland*

There are *c.* 19 ‘archaeological’ objects from Canada, and *c.* 10 objects from Greenland, in the PRM founding collection. The Canadian material is mainly made up of *c.* 12 objects from Vancouver Island, British Columbia, most of which were collected before 1874. These include 4 stone axes (1884.126.100–101, 1884.206–207), 4 stone pestles (1884.128.23, 1884.128.26–27, 1884.128.68), a bone awl (1884.118.2), and a stone mortar (1884.128.67). One of the pestles (1884.128.23) is recorded as collected by Frederick Dally. Also from Vancouver Island are a basalt ice-chisel with carved decoration of a human face, with lead plugs for eyes (1884.126.101), and carved stone human

<sup>4</sup> Belcher was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, before joining the British army.

head (1884.126.121). There is also a copper spear-head from Fort Témiscamingue, Duhamel—Ouest, Quebec (1884.119.1).

The remaining 6 Canadian objects are from Newfoundland. There are 2 stone axes and one stone adze recorded as collected by ‘Mr Roberts’ at Bonne Bay in 1883 (1884.126.106–107, 1884.126.170). There is also a sharpening stone from ‘Red Indian Pond’, which was part of a purchase from the Anthropological Institute in 1881 (1884.129.21),<sup>5</sup> and 2 iron axe-blades recorded as found ‘at the bottom of Red Indian Pond’ (1884.21.58, 1884.120.27). The PRM founding collection material from Greenland comprises 8 stone arrow-heads (1884.135.177–183, 1884.135.185) and 2 stone flakes (1884.132.165, 1884.135.184). All were collected before 1874, but no more detailed geographical information is recorded.

### 20.2.6 Other North American Collections

There are *c.* 117 ‘archaeological’ objects from the PRM founding collection that are recorded as from North America, but for which no more detailed geographical provenance is currently known. The majority of these (*c.* 90 objects) were acquired by Pitt-Rivers before 1874. These include 2 stone axes collected by Frederick Dally, one of which is recorded as from ‘NW Coast, N America’ (1884.126.102–103). Four stone mortars, variously carved in the form of birds, lizards and human faces, are simply recorded as from ‘NW America’ (1884.128.66, 1884.128.69–71).

Apart from these 6 objects, there are *c.* 111 objects recorded simply as from North America: *c.* 94 stone arrow-heads (1884.133.186, within 1884.135.196–325), 6 stone axes (1884.126.105, 1884.126.167, 1884.126.200, 1884.126.204, 1884.126.216, 1884.126.219), 2 stone sinkers (1884.130.8, 1884.130.15), 5 chert scrapers (1884.133.221–225), a stone chisel (1884.126.180), a stone pounder (1884.128.52), a stone flake (1884.133.122) and a stone pestle (1884.128.28). Further documentary and object-based research may reveal further details about these objects.

## 20.3 Northeastern United States

### 20.3.1 Introduction

The PRM holds *c.* 610 ‘archaeological’ objects from the Northeastern United States. Some 77 of these are from the PRM founding collection, and are discussed in 20.2.2 above. This section presents an overview of the collections from the States of Pennsylvania (20.3.2), Massachusetts (20.3.3), New Jersey (20.3.4), New York (20.3.5) and Connecticut (20.3.6).

As well as these collections, there are 2 objects from Rhode Island that were collected in 1867 and donated to the PRM by Edwin Alfred Barton in 1923: a stone tool found in the Lees River (1923.44.2) and a stone axe found by W.D. Coggenhall in a railway cutting for the Warren-Fall railroad at the Coles River (1923.44.3). There are no archaeological objects recorded on the PRM database from the States of New Hampshire or Vermont. A single object from Maine, from the PRM founding collection, is discussed in 20.2.2 above.

There are also *c.* 14 artefacts that are simply recorded as from the Connecticut River, with no State given, and were mainly collected by geologist Edward Hitchcock, before being acquired by John Evans in 1867, and donated to the PRM in 1928 from his estate: 10 stone arrow-heads (1969.34.73–77, 1969.34.135, 1969.34.423–426), a fragment of a soapstone vessel (1928.68.216), 2 stone axes (1928.68.55–56), and a stone rubber (1928.68.212).

<sup>5</sup> For an account of this sale, see Anon 1881: 438–9.

### 20.3.2 Pennsylvania

The PRM holds *c.* 321 'archaeological' objects from the State of Pennsylvania, *c.* 40 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in 20.2.2 above. The documentation for the *c.* 281 objects that came to the PRM after 1884 indicates that there are two Pennsylvanian locations that are represented in the PRM founding collection from which further objects were accessioned by the PRM after 1884. First, there are *c.* 48 stone arrow-heads excavated at Delaware Water Gap, probably in 1868. These were acquired by John Evans from the collection of Pennsylvanian antiquarian Benjamin Franklin Peale (1795–1870), and came to the PRM from the estate of John Evans (1928.68.207), and in the transfers from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.16–27, 1969.34.33–72).<sup>6</sup> Secondly, there is a stone axe (1928.68.63) from the collection of John Evans from West Chester, Chester County – a provenance also recorded for *c.* 12 objects from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.2 above). It is quite likely that there is a common source for these objects from Pitt-Rivers' and John Evans' collections.

As well as *c.* 18 objects from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.2 above), a further *c.* 18 objects that came to the PRM after 1884 are recorded simply as from 'Pennsylvania'. These include 4 stone arrow-heads from the collection of Irish antiquarian Robert Day that were purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's on May 20 1913 (1913.74.103–105); 3 stone arrow-heads donated by Beatrice Braithwaite Battey in 1918 (1918.25.183–185); and 3 more stone arrow-heads donated to the naturalist and evolutionary theorist Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.15). The remaining 9 objects are all stone arrow-heads or lance-heads, and came to the PRM as part of the transfer of collections from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.28–32, 1969.34.301, 1969.34.314–316). They are all probably from the collection of John Evans, and 5 of them (1969.34.28–32) are recorded as acquired by Evans from the collection of Benjamin Franklin Peale. Also collected by Peale, acquired by John Evans, and transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, are 5 stone arrow-heads or lance-heads from Montgomery County (1969.34.68–72). Also from the John Evans collection are 3 stone arrow-heads from Bethlehem, Northampton County (1969.34.245–247), and 3 'anvil stones' collected by Charles Rau in Lycoming County in 1874 (1928.68.202–204). These anvil stones probably relate to Rau's influential study, in the *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1868*, of 'drilling in stone without metal' (Rau 1869), which was discussed by Evans in his book *Ancient Stone Implements* (Evans 1897a: 48).

A collection of *c.* 31 stone arrow-heads from York County collected by 'Surgeon-General S. Archer of Liverpool and Birmingham' in 1887 was donated to the PRM by Manchester College, Oxford in 1915 (1915.32.33–63). There are also 2 stone arrow-heads and a stone borer collected from Darby Creek, Delaware County in 1905 by Daisy Bell, and purchased by the PRM from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in 1920 (1920.91.213–215).

A collection of *c.* 183 17th- and 18th-century glass beads was donated by John Gerard Witthoft, who was the State Archaeologist, Pennsylvania State Museum, in 1955. Some 152 of these beads are from Pennsylvania: there is also a single glass bead from Canawaugus, Livingston County, New York (1955.6.79) and a collection of *c.* 30 glass beads from Stockton, San Joaquin County, California (1955.6.80) (*Table 20.3*). The beads were selected by Witthoft from well-documented archaeological contexts, and

<sup>6</sup> The single arrow-head donated directly from Evans' estate in 1928 is recorded as 'Delaware Water Gap, Pennsylvania, 1868'. There are 6 objects from Delaware Water Gap in the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.2 above).

World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization  
 edited by Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson, Archaeopress 2013, page 409-454

Site/State	Accession Number	Description	Date/Cultural Affiliation
Bainbridge, Locust Grove, Lancaster County, PA	1955.6.75	5 blue and 2 white tubular, wampum-shaped beads of glass	Delaware Conoy, 1718 CE–1743 CE
Bainbridge, Locust Grove, Lancaster County, PA	1955.6.77	4 spherical wire-round beads, white, green and black	Delaware Conoy, 1718 CE–1743 CE
Bainbridge, Locust Grove, Lancaster County, PA	1955.6.78	7 dark blue die-drawn tubular glass beads	Delaware Conoy, 1718 CE–1743 CE
Kutztown, Delaware Cemetery, PA	1955.6.76	2 blue and 2 white glass beads	Delaware, 1700 CE–1740 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.1	12 blue beads and 4 pieces	1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.2	Bead of blue glass on a red core	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.3	4 small dark blue glass beads	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.4	8 small brown glass beads with green/black core	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.5	A box with small glass beads, white, blue and with brown stripes	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.6	29 coloured glass beads	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.7	Large bead, opaque, white, striped blue, red and green.	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.82	1 white and 1 blue tubular glass bead	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Manor Township, Washingtonboro, Lancaster County, PA	1955.5.81	2 blue glass 'star' or 'chevron' beads	Susquehannock, 1600 CE–1625 CE
Stockton, CA	1955.6.80	30 small coloured spherical beads, some broken	California, 1600 CE–1625 CE?
Fort Leboeuf, near Present Erie, PA	1955.6.71	Box with small white glass beads	Susquehannock, 1765 CE–1767 CE
Strickler Site, Cresswell, Lancaster County, PA	1955.6.72	10 tubular beads, 2 globular beads	Susquehannock, 1640 CE–1675 CE
Strickler Site, Cresswell, Lancaster County, PA	1955.6.73.1	Box of reddish-brown tubular glass beads	Susquehannock, 1640 CE–1675 CE
Strickler Site, Cresswell, Lancaster County, PA	1955.6.73.2	Box of white, blue and green tubular glass beads	Susquehannock, 1640 CE–1675 CE
Canawaugus, Avon, NY	1955.6.79	1 small deep amber tubular bead	Iroquois Seneca, 1780 CE–1800 CE

*Table 20.3 Glass beads from Pennsylvania, New York and California donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1955 by John G. Witthoft.*

are of 17th-century and early 18th-century date. A sense of the motivation behind obtaining this collection is provided by Tom Penniman's account of the donation in the PRM's Annual Report for 1955:

'A most useful gift was that of North American Indian trade beads from Mr John Witthoft. These come from various sites in the United States and date from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. As the beads are securely dated to short periods by systematic excavation of Indian cemeteries and by objects associated with them, they are valuable as criteria for dating other sites. Already the collection has been helpful in the dating of similar trade beads, and thus of the sites from which they came, on the Gold Coast. For some time Mr J.S.P. Bradford has been making a collection of trade beads, both for exhibition and for reserve research collections, and it was his known interest in the matter which attracted Mr Witthoft's gift, and is beginning to bring us various inquiries from people who have discovered sites which have no means of dating other than by trade goods from Europe of different periods' (Pitt Rivers Museum 1956).

According to Witthoft's detailed records, the c. 85 beads from the Washingtonboro site, Manor Township, Lancaster County (1955.5.1-7, 1955.6.81-82) are the earliest beads in the collection, dating from the first quarter of the 17th century.<sup>7</sup> There are also c. 33 wampum-shaped tubular beads with small diameter holes from the Strickler site, which Witthoft indicates are of mid 17th-century date.<sup>8</sup> There are also c. 30 18th-century beads: c. 18 from Locust Grove, Bainbridge (1955.6.75, 1955.6.77-78). c.12 from the site of Fort Leboeuf at Waterford, Erie County (1955.6.71).

Also deriving from John G. Witthoft is a collection of 8 gun-flints from various archaeological and historic sites in Pennsylvania, which was sent to the British Museum by Witthoft in 1954, and was passed to the PRM in 1980. These comprise a gun flint from a 17th-century grave ('Grave 30') at the Strickler archaeological site, Cresswell, Lancaster County (1980.23.1); another 'Aboriginal gun flint' from the Strickler site (1980.23.2); a gun-flint from 'the surface of the Witmer site (the Conestoga Indian town) and scene of the Conestoga Massacre of 1763' Lancaster County (1980.23.3); a gun-flint from the Dreibelis archaeological site, Dauphin County recorded as 'from a layer of a house associated with its burning in 1757' (1980.23.4); and 4 flints from the site of Fort Leboeuf (1980.23.5-8).

Finally, there is a collection of 9 imitation Predynastic Egyptian ceramic vessels, made by 'H.C. Mercer of Doylestown, Bucks County' as an early exercise in experimental archaeology (see Chapter 5), published by David Randall-MacIver and Leonard Woolley (1909: 16-18), and donated to the PRM by Randall-MacIver in 1907 (1907.48.1-9). Henry Mercer was a curator at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, who contributed to the debate about the stone tools from Trenton, New Jersey in 1893 (Mercer 1893; see 20.3.4).

### 20.3.3 Massachusetts

The PRM holds c. 97 'archaeological' objects from the State of Massachusetts, c. 6 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in 20.2.2 above. Of the c. 90 objects that came to the PRM after 1884, c. 12 are recorded simply as from 'Massachusetts': a stone arrow-head donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December

<sup>7</sup> Typescript notes (3 pages) by John Witthoft, PRM Related Documents File for 1955.6.71-82.

<sup>8</sup> A report of excavations at the Strickler site noted that 'glass beads were found in abundance' with some 30,309 uncovered (Futer 1959: 139).

1947 (1947.12.17), *c.* 10 stone arrow-heads from the collection of John Evans, which were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.261–270), and a stone spindle whorl also transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, for which no further detail is currently recorded (1969.34.456). Also from John Evans' collection are *c.* 10 stone arrow-heads from Hudson, Middlesex County (1969.34.271–280) and 2 stone projectile points from Columbia, Lancaster County (1969.34.339–340). There is also a single stone arrow-head 'picked up near Concord, Massachusetts' by Louise Imogen Guiney in 1885, and donated to the PRM through the Bodleian Library in 1915 (1915.28.1).

The remaining *c.* 67 objects are all from Kingston, Plymouth County, and comprise *c.* 43 stone arrow-heads, *c.* 9 stone axes and adzes, *c.* 13 stone rubbers, mullers, pounders and weights, and 2 whetstones (1887.1.100–115, 1887.100.121–140, 1887.1.447–464). This collection was collected by Isaac Appleton Warden in 1872–1875, and donated to George Rolleston at the OUMNH by Justin Winson in 1879, and transferred from the OUMNH to the PRM in 1887.

#### 20.3.4 *New Jersey*

The PRM holds *c.* 95 'archaeological' objects from the State of New Jersey, 8 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in 20.2.2 above. The documentation for the *c.* 87 objects that came to the PRM after 1884 indicates that all but 3 of them are from the site of Trenton, Mercer County. Two of these 3 objects are from the collection of John Evans – a stone axe from Burlington County (1928.68.54) and a stone projectile point simply recorded as from 'New Jersey' (1969.34.239) – while the third is a stone arrow-head purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913 (1913.74.100).

Trenton is a key site in the late 19th-century debate over the antiquity of the human occupation of North America, where Charles Conrad Abbott claimed to have found Palaeolithic stone tools – 'palaeoliths' or 'turtlebacks' – in excavations at his farm in Trenton. The PRM's Trenton collection comprises 6 artefacts from the PRM founding collection (20.2.2 above), a single stone arrow-head from the same purchase from Robert Day's collection mentioned above (1913.74.99), *c.* 20 artefacts (11 arrow-heads, 4 spear-heads, 2 borers, and a circular stone disc) from the collection of Edward Burnett Tylor (1917.53.113–129, 1917.53.149), and *c.* 64 stone arrow-heads, points, borers, lance-heads and drills from the collection of John Evans (1928.68.58, 1928.68.67–69, 1928.68.71–76, 1928.68.86–121, 1928.68.210, 1969.34.79–91, 1969.34.240–243). Indeed, a total of *c.* 90 of the *c.* 95 'archaeological' artefacts from New Jersey derive from Charles Conrad Abbott's Trenton excavations (Abbott 1872, 1873a, 1876; cf. 20.2.2 above). A letter from Abbott shows that he sent a collection directly to John Evans in September 1874.<sup>9</sup> The collections of Tylor and Pitt-Rivers probably derive from the same exchanges, or else were possibly obtained from Abbott after his appointment as Assistant Curator of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University (1876–1889).<sup>10</sup>

In several books and articles (e.g. Abbott 1881), Abbott strongly argued for the existence of a Palaeolithic stage in the Delaware River Valley, based on his own archaeological investigations and those sponsored by Frederick Ward Putnam, comparing artefacts from Trenton with European 'paleoliths', and distinguishing them from more recent stone tools made by indigenous people. For instance, in his 1873 paper 'Occurrence of implements in the River Drift at Trenton, New Jersey', he made a clear distinction between the 'rude implements' found in the 'upper gravel and surface',

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Charles Conrad Abbott to John Evans, 28 September 1874. PRM Related Document File (RDF) for 1928.68.58.

<sup>10</sup> But note that Tylor (1884: 546) described visiting his 'Mennonite friends in Pennsylvania' in 1884.

and the 'relics of the surface', concluding that his discoveries were 'drift implements, fashioned and used by people far antedating the people who subsequently occupied this same territory, and have left such abundant traces of their presence' (Abbott 1873a: 209). These concerns are also expressed in Abbott's 1874 letter to John Evans, which distinguishes these 'fine relics' found on the surface of fields could be distinguished from 'turtleback' forms or 'rude implements', thus recalling his published works. It therefore seems clear that Abbott considered the objects that he sent to John Evans the product of the Native inhabitants rather than 'river-drift implements', though his publications do indicate that primitive forms may also be found on surface. Although Abbott's view of human antiquity in America enjoyed support during the 1880s, it was to come under increasing scrutiny in the 1890s (e.g. Mercer 1897), especially after the excavations of W.H. Holmes at the Piney Branch quarries in Washington, D.C. (see 20.4.3 below). In June and July of 1897, a number of those who debated the existence of an American Palaeolithic visited Trenton to witness the excavations carried out there by E. Volk, who was sponsored by Putnam and Abbott. After their sojourn, the Smithsonian anthropologists Frank Cushing, W.H. Holmes and Thomas Wilson, who were accompanied by geologists, concluded that Palaeolithic objects were impossible to find in Trenton (Meltzer 1985). Although Holmes' opinion was predictable, Wilson's standpoint was obviously changed, given that he was a proponent of the existence of an American Palaeolithic (Petraglia and Potts 2004). In his earlier published work, *Prehistoric Art* (Wilson 1896a: 366) he had stated, 'It is apparent on slight inspection that these implements found in the United States, although mostly on the surface, are of the same Paleolithic type as those found in the gravels of Europe and elsewhere'. Yet, after his field visit to inspect the Trenton gravel pits, he wrote that it was impossible to find 'any evidence of the existence of man in that locality at or near the glacial epoch'.<sup>11</sup> In August 1897, at a joint meeting of the American and British Associations, John Evans concluded that Trenton artefacts were Neolithic and not Palaeolithic (Evans 1897b; see Meltzer 1996), although he reserved judgment on the matter in his discussion in the second edition of his book *Ancient Stone Implements*, published in the same year (Evans 1897a: 654). This was another devastating blow for those who maintained resemblances between American and European palaeoliths, and forms a central part of the significance of the PRM collections from Trenton.

### 20.3.5 New York

The PRM holds c. 72 'archaeological' objects from the State of New York, c. 22 of which are from the PRM founding collection and are discussed in 20.2.2 above. Of the remaining c. 50 objects, c. 20 are stone arrow-heads from Utica, Oneida County, from the collection of John Evans (1928.68.196–197, 1969.34.140–150, 1969.34.232–238). As noted above, there are c. 19 stone arrow-heads from the same site in the PRM founding collection.

There are 8 objects recorded simply as from 'New York': 2 stone arrow-heads collected by Goldwyn Smith, and transferred from the OUMNH in 1887 (1887.1.435–436); 2 stone arrow-heads, 2 stone scrapers and a stone blade purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day in 1913 (1913.74.94–98); and a chert spear-head purchased from 'the Murphey collection' at Sotheby's in 1921 (1921.67.94).

There are 5 stone objects recorded as projectile points, and an anvil-stone, from the collection of John Evans, which are recorded as from Cayuga County (1928.68.208, 1969.34.78, 1969.34.136–139).<sup>12</sup> The anvil-stone is recorded as collected by J.R. Page, which indicates that the other artefacts may also derive from this source. A stone

<sup>11</sup> Putnam Papers, Harvard University: Wilson to Putnam 28 July, 1897; See Meltzer 1985: 254–5

<sup>12</sup> Evans (1897a: 71) stated that a flint hoe and a hammerstone from Cayuga County was in his own collection: artefacts that presumably relates to these objects.

gouge from Jefferson County and a stone adze from Hammond, St Lawrence County (1917.23.1–2) are from the collection of James S. Dallas, and were donated to the PRM per William Sollas in 1917. A single glass bead from Avon, Livingston County (1955.6.79) came to the PRM in 1955 in a donation from John Gerard Witthoft that is discussed in 20.3.2 above. There are also *c.* 13 stone arrow-heads from Ludlowville, Tompkins County that were transferred from the OUMNH in 1887 (1887.1.93–99, 1887.1.111, 1887.1.117–120, 1887.1.437).

### 20.3.6 Connecticut

The PRM holds *c.* 8 ‘archaeological’ objects from the State of Connecticut, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. These include 4 stone arrow-heads excavated at a farm in Oxford, West Haven County, donated by Jerome Candee Smith to the Ashmolean Museum in 1881, and transferred to the PRM in 1886 (1886.1.836–839). There are also 2 more stone arrow-heads, recorded simply as from Connecticut, which were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.421–422). The remaining 2 objects are both from Hartford County: a stone arrow-head from the collection of John Evans (1969.34.455), and a stone arrow-head from South Windsor that was transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, but for which the field collector and donor are not currently recorded (1969.34.455).

## 20.4 Southern United States

### 20.4.1 Introduction

This section presents an overview of the *c.* 824 ‘archaeological’ objects from the Southern United States held by the PRM. Just 10 of these are from the PRM founding collection, and are discussed in 20.2.4 above. The largest collections are considered first: the *c.* 174 artefacts from the State of Georgia (20.4.2), the *c.* 148 artefacts from Washington, D.C. (20.4.3), the *c.* 132 artefacts from the State of Texas (20.4.4), and the *c.* 119 artefacts from the State of Florida (20.4.5). The section then considers the smaller collections: from Virginia (20.4.6), Arkansas (20.4.7), Kentucky (20.4.8), Maryland (20.4.9), South Carolina (20.4.10), Mississippi (20.4.11), North Carolina (20.4.12), Tennessee (20.4.13) and West Virginia (20.4.14).

As well as these collections, there is a single stone arrow-head from Alabama – donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.20) – and a single stone lance-head from Delaware, from John Evans’ collection (1928.68.198). There are also 3 stone projectile points from Trinity Mountain, Ouachita Mountains, Oklahoma, transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, for which no details of the field collector are currently recorded (1969.34.431–433). From the State of Louisiana there are 4 ‘archaeological’ objects, none of which are from the PRM founding collection: 3 stone projectile points, transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, that are simply recorded as from ‘Louisiana’ (1969.34.230–231, 1969.34.248) and a stone axe from Louisiana collected by ‘M. de Gerieves’ (1972.6.3). There is also a single stone arrow-head from the collection of John Evans is recorded as simply from the Southern United States (1928.68.195).

### 20.4.2 Georgia

The PRM holds *c.* 174 ‘archaeological’ objects from the State of Georgia none of which is from the PRM founding collection.

The largest single component of these collections is an assemblage of *c.* 76 stone arrow-heads and other stone artefacts from the collection of John Evans. These include

c. 73 objects collected by Charles Colcock Jones Jr: c. 52 stone arrow-heads recorded simply as from 'southwestern Georgia' (1928.68.143–194), c. 19 stone arrow-heads from Augusta, Richmond County (1928.68.124–142), a sandstone sinker from the Savannah River at Augusta (1928.68.215), and a stone axe recorded simply as from 'Georgia' (1928.68.60) (cf. Jones 1878). Also from the John Evans collection are a stone lance-blade from Rome, Floyd County collected by geologist Edward Hitchcock (d. 1864) (1928.68.123); a stone arrow-head recorded simply as from 'Georgia' (1928.68.122); and a stone borer from 'southwestern Georgia' (1928.68.73).

Before the donation of the John Evans collection, however, the PRM already held a significant collection of archaeological material from Georgia. The earliest donation was a collection of c. 16 ceramic sherds, c. 16 stone arrow-heads and 2 perforated steatite objects recorded as surface-collected by B.H.H. Mundy at the Etowah Indian Mounds near Cartersville, Bartow County, and received by the PRM through the Provost of the Queen's College, Oxford (1893.35.1–34). A further 5 stone arrow-heads and 2 ceramic sherds from Cartersville were donated by H.F. Russell Howland in May 1894 (1894.17.1–7). Some 9 stone arrow-heads and spear-heads simply recorded as from 'Georgia' were part of a purchase by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in May 1913 (1913.74.114–122). A further 9 stone arrow-heads and spear-heads, also simply recorded as from 'Georgia', were donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in 1921 (1921.67.92–93, 1921.67.95, 1921.67.100–105). Another stone arrow-head, collected from Augusta, Richmond County in 1905 by Daisy Bell, was purchased by the PRM from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in 1920 (1921.91.216).

There are also 38 arrow arrow-heads, simply recorded as from Georgia, that were donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.4).

#### 20.4.3 Washington, D.C.

The PRM holds c. 148 'archaeological' objects from Washington, D.C., none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Six of these are recorded simply as from Washington, D.C.: a stone arrow-head donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.9); 3 more stone arrow-heads collected by Wallace himself in 1888–1889 (1948.1.130–131); and 2 objects acquired through an exchange with the Smithsonian Institution in 1894: a stone tool donated to the Smithsonian by W.H. Abbott in 1888 (2009.105.1), and a stone arrow-head donated by Joseph Goldsborough Bruff in 1889 (2009.106.1). Also acquired from the Smithsonian Institution are a stone tool collected from Massachusetts Avenue and donated to the Smithsonian by Thomas Wilson in 1904 (2009.104.1), and a stone tool collected from the farm of the Chief Clerk of the Smithsonian, William Jones Rhee (2009.103.1).

The remaining c. 140 artefacts are all from the site of Piney Branch Quarry 1931.58.12–19, 1944.11.4, 2009.101.1, 2009.102.1, 2009.111.1–5, 2010.47.1–53). Some 66 of these appear to have been collected by Henry Balfour himself in 1891, and were presented by Balfour to the PRM in 1892 and 1931, while the remaining c. 74 objects derive from an exchange with the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History in 1894, where the site's excavator, William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), was Curator in the Bureau of Ethnology (Holmes 1890, 1897). The excavations at Piney Branch Quarry (Wilson 1896b, 1896c), and Holmes' careful analyses of stone tool forms, eventually debunked the notion of an American Palaeolithic (McGuire 1891; see Meltzer and Dunnell 1992). Contrary to Abbott's views, Holmes learned through his investigations at Piney Branch that artefacts might appear 'primitive' because they were unfinished or discarded in the manufacturing process (Meltzer 1996). Not only

was the Piney Branch material important for demonstrating that indigenous people manufactured the stone tools, but it became a productive mine for the Smithsonian's efforts to develop national and international exchanges (Petraglia and Potts 2004). The recovery of 'duplicate' material from Piney Branch was a convenient arrangement for the Smithsonian since the archaeological material was readily available in downtown Washington, D.C. In 1891, the Smithsonian received European Palaeolithic specimens from Balfour in exchange for a range of North American material (Petraglia and Potts 2004), along with stone tools from the Caribbean (see Chapter 19 below). The exchanges were small, but of interest given that Balfour and Holmes exchanged correspondence on the similarities and differences between Old World Palaeolithic artefacts and Native American specimens. A letter to Holmes, dated 9 September 1890, records Balfour's hesitation in accepting the presence of a Palaeolithic record in North America based on artefact form alone:

Please accept my best thanks for the series of quartzite implements, which have safely reached me, & which I have acknowledged to Mr Goode. I am delighted to have a series of the 'rejects' & to have had the opportunity of reading at leisure your valuable remarks upon the finds. Your evidence is certainly very convincing, & from a few specimens which had previously been sent to our museum, I was very much set against the possibility of their having any claim to be considered as finished Paleolithic implements. The resemblance to the European Paleoliths is, it seems to me, comparatively slight, though it is very interesting to find that [in] the early stages the Columbian implements so nearly correspond with forms which we believe to have been the finished tools of Paleolithic Man. The, so to speak, 'Embryological' aspect is interesting & suggestive. I do not see that the interest attached to these stones is in any way lessened by their being considered as of Indian manufacture rather than of Paleolithic date.<sup>13</sup>

Balfour's early criticism of the existence of an American Palaeolithic foreshadowed John Evans' public calling into question of the 'Palaeolithic' character of the Trenton material (Evans 1896b: 13).

#### 20.4.4 Texas

The PRM holds *c.* 132 'archaeological' objects from the State of Texas, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. All but 7 of these are recorded as from two locations: Bee Cave Canyon, and San Antonio (and environs), Bexar County.

The *c.* 52 objects from Bee Cave were donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1881–1960) in 1937: the same year in which he moved from his Curatorship of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (1922–1937) to a new appointment as Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University.<sup>14</sup> The artefacts are all of organic materials, and comprise *c.* 34 fragments of cord (1937.44.20), *c.* 7 fragments of rush matting (1937.44.12–18),<sup>15</sup> and *c.* 11 fragments of yucca fibre sandals (1937.44.1–11) (*Figure 20.1*).<sup>16</sup> This material derives from excavations carried out at the Bee Cave rockshelter between 1928 and 1929 under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian, the Heye Foundation, and the University of Cambridge. The report on the excavations

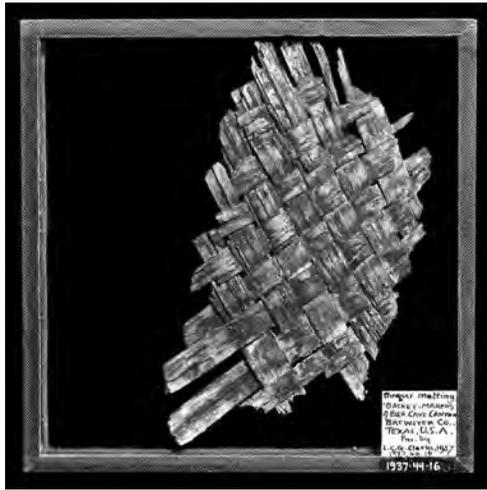
<sup>13</sup> William Henry Holmes Papers, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Prior to taking up his Curatorship in Cambridge in 1922, Clarke had read for the Diploma in Anthropology at Oxford University, and worked as a volunteer at the PRM, where he was in contact with Henry Balfour (Bushnell 1961).

<sup>15</sup> An eighth fragment of rush matting was donated to Newbury Museum in an exchange in 1952.

<sup>16</sup> A further *c.* 37 artefacts from Bee Cave are held by Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and were also accessioned in 1937.

Figure 20.1 Undated  
fragment of rush  
matting from Bee Cave,  
Texas (PRM Accession  
Number 1937.44.16).



(Coffin 1932) described the remarkable preservation of organic materials at the site, which meant that beds of grass, together with a range of perishable objects such as wooden implements (e.g. stakes, fire-making drills, small 'toy' bows, arrow foreshafts, atlatls fragments, digging sticks, snares), reeds, bone implements, gourd vessels, woven fabrics, fibre brushes, cactus thorns, and leather scraps – as well as the cord, matting and sandals represented in the PRM collection (Coffin 1932: 36) – were recovered. The PRM artefacts are currently undated.

There are *c.* 72 objects that are recorded as 'chiefly [from] San Antonio' and were donated by Alexander Y. Walton in 1922. They comprise *c.* 69 stone arrow-heads and 3 stone blades (1922.18.1–72). There is also a single stone arrow-head from San Antonio that was given to Louis Colville Gray Clarke by 'Major Walton', and donated to the PRM in May 1920 (1921.7.14).

Five of the remaining 7 objects are recorded as simply from 'Texas': 4 stone arrow-heads purchased from the collection of John Rae in November 1892 (1892.60.118–121) and a stone lance-head purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomery Bell (1921.91.208). There is also a chert blade from Lake Medina from the collection of Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1921.7.15) and a human skull recorded as 'found in the Red River', donated by E.B. Tylor in 1910 (1910.29.2).

#### 20.4.5 Florida

The PRM holds *c.* 119 'archaeological' objects from the State of Florida, just 3 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.4 above). Most of the objects are made up by an unquantified assemblage of an estimated 100 beads (1928.68.237) and a fragment of a perforated brass plaque (1928.68.236), from an excavation of 'an Indian mound, Sumter County' by Henry Wemyss Fielden in June 1864, and donated to the PRM from the estate of John Evans in 1928. Fielden was an explorer and British Army officer who is known to have undertaken some archaeological fieldwork later in his life (e.g. Fielden 1884): but this assemblage appears to derive from a very early episode of fieldwork in his life, conducted when he was 26 years old and serving on the side of the Confederate Army in the American Civil War. A label with the objects indicates that the fieldwork was undertaken with the naturalist John A. Harvie Brown who would have been only 20 years old in 1864 (Ralph 2004):

'E.MUS. FEILDEN & HARVIE BROWN From an Indian mound. Sumter County, Florida June 1864 Opened by H.W. Feilden, contained many flint arrow heads. The skeleton much decayed. Young person. Part of lower jaw brought away. H.W.F.'

The phrase 'E. Mus. Fielden & Harvie Brown' is unclear, but suggests that there may have been a joint collection made by the two men. One other object in the PRM – a lead bullet 'with which H.W. Fielden's charger was killed in action at Averysborough, North Carolina, April 1865' (cf. 20.4.12 below) – is also recorded with this phrase.

There are 3 objects from archaeological sites at Key Marco. There is a perforated shell club-head, from excavations by C.L. Moore at 'Goodland Point, Key Marco', which was donated to the PRM by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in 1924 (1924.10.7). There are also 2 casts of carved wooden objects – a figure of a kneeling panther- or lion-like figure (1976.3.3) and a mask in the form of a deer (1976.3.4) – which were excavated by Frank Hamilton Cushing. The original of the deer-head figurehead is curated by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.<sup>17</sup> The original of the seated feline figurine is curated by the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.<sup>18</sup> Also donated by Barbara A. Purdy are 7 chert flakes, a chert arrow-head and a chert ovate (1972.10.1–4) made during an exercise in experimental archaeology for a paper exploring the thermal alteration of silica materials in stone tool manufacture, which was published in *Science* (Purdy and Brooks 1971). Finally, there is one object recorded simply as from 'Florida', with no further details of provenance: a stone disc recorded purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on 2 January 1913 (1912.57.1).

#### 20.4.6 Virginia

The PRM holds *c.* 56 'archaeological' objects from the State of Virginia, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Four of these objects are recorded simply as from 'Virginia': all of which derive from the collections of the Smithsonian Institution. There are 2 stone arrow-heads purchased by Lucas White King from the Smithsonian Institution (National Museum of Natural History) in 1916, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1921.67.106–107). There are also 2 stone arrow-heads that were donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.10).

The remainder of the Virginian collection comprises *c.* 23 stone arrow-heads recorded as 'ploughed up in Amelia County', and donated by John Charles Trevelyan in 1938 (1938.9.1–38); 4 stone arrow-heads from Chase City, Mecklenburg County purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in 1920 (1921.91.209–212); *c.* 13 stone projectile points from Ditchley, Northumberland County, donated to the Ashmolean from the estate of Harold Arthur Lee-Dillon in 1933 and transferred to the PRM in 1969 (1969.34.510–522); 7 stone arrow-heads from Gainesville, Prince William County collected by 'D. Wood', and transferred from the OUMNH in 1886 (1887.1.90, 1887.1.116, 1887.1.442–446); a 'crescentic implement of white quartz' from Orange, collected by Robert Elliott (or Eliot), acquired by Louis Colville Gray Clarke, and donated by him to the PRM in October 1920 (1920.59.7); a flint spear-head from Front Royal, Warren County from the collection of E.B. Tylor (1917.53.112); a stone axe from Buckingham County purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms in November 1927 (1927.83.20); and a single stone arrow-head from 'Chickahominy' (Charles City County), purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in May 1913 (1913.74.102).

#### 20.4.7 Arkansas

The PRM holds *c.* 45 'archaeological' objects from the State of Arkansas, none of which are from the PRM founding collection (but see 20.2.4 for a discussion of 1884.126.224). The largest component of this material is a collection of *c.* 41 unfinished novaculite tools and hammerstones from Hot Springs, Garland County, acquired in an exchange with the Smithsonian Institution in 1894, through William Henry Holmes (1944.11.3).

<sup>17</sup> Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, catalog number UM 40707.

<sup>18</sup> Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, catalog number 240915.

There are also 3 stone arrow-heads recorded simply as from 'Arkansas': one purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's from the collection of Robert Day (1913.74.35); one donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.14); and one from the collection of John Evans, transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.427). Finally, also from the John Evans collection is a stone projectile point from the Ouchita River (1969.34.338).

#### 20.4.8 *Kentucky*

The PRM holds *c.* 32 'archaeological' objects from the State of Kentucky, just 2 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.4 above). There are 4 stone arrow-heads that are recorded simply as from 'Kentucky': one donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in 1923 (1923.21.2), and 3 donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.16).

There are 10 stone arrow-heads recorded as from Mammoth Cave, donated to the OUMNH by Rev. Richard Abbay of Wadham College, and transferred to the PRM in 1886 (1887.1.142–151). There are also *c.* 16 stone arrow-heads recorded as collected by pupils of the Hindman Settlement School at Troublesome Creek at Hindman in the Appalachian Mountains, and donated to the PRM by Beatrice Blackwood, who acquired them from a teacher at the school named Ann Cobb (1935.32.17–32).

#### 20.4.9 *Maryland*

The PRM holds *c.* 24 'archaeological' objects from the State of Maryland none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Some 14 of these are stone arrow-heads that are recorded simply as from 'Maryland': one donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in 1921 (1921.67.108), 2 purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in the same year (1921.91.225–226), 8 donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.18), and 3 collected by Joseph Deakins McGuire, acquired by John Evans, donated to the Ashmolean Museum, and transferred to the PRM in 1969 (1969.34.227–229). The transfers from the Ashmolean Museum also include 9 stone projectile points from Green Hill Plantation, Chillum, Prince George's County (1969.34.501–509). These were donated to the Ashmolean Museum by Charles Abbott (the third Baron Tenterdon), who obtained them from the British diplomat Harold Howard – the son-in-law of George Washington Riggs, who was the owner of Green Hill.<sup>19</sup> Finally, there is also a single stone arrow-head from Cecil County purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's from the collection of Robert Day (1913.74.101).

#### 20.4.10 *South Carolina*

The PRM holds *c.* 24 'archaeological' objects from the State of South Carolina, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. All of these are ceramic sherds – *c.* 21 from Newberry County and 3 from Orangeburg County – that were donated by Jonathan Hawkins of Haigler, South Carolina (per Edward Clodd and E.B. Tylor) to the PRM in 1894 (1894.3.1–24).

<sup>19</sup> This Charles Abbott (1834–1882) appears to be unrelated to Charles Conrad Abbott (1843–1919), who excavated at Trenton, New Jersey (see 20.2.2 and 20.3.4 above).

#### 20.4.11 Mississippi

The PRM holds c. 19 'archaeological' objects from the State of Mississippi, 4 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.4 above). Five of these are stone arrow-heads that are recorded simply as from 'Mississippi': 3 purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's from the collection of Robert Day (1913.74.36–38), and 2 from the collection of John Evans (1969.34.249, 1969.34.337). Also from John Evans' collection are 2 stone spear-heads collected in 1869 from Fort Rosalie, Natchez, Adams County (1928.68.199–200). Possibly from the same source are 4 more stone projectile points recorded as from Natchez, which were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969, and had been donated from the collection of 'F. Madan' (possibly Falcolner Madan) (1969.34.390, 1969.34.392, 1969.34.428–429). Natchez had been one of the locations from which it had been claimed that fossil remains had been found during the 1840s: claims reported by Charles Lyell in his *Second Visit to the United States of North America* (Lyell 1849: 197–9; cf. Belt 1878: 3–4).

Also transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 was a stone club head that was donated by Professor Waterman Thomas Hewett (1846–1921) in 1920, but was recorded as collected in 1840 at Palestine, Yalobusha County (1969.34.14). Finally, there are 2 unprovenanced stone arrow-heads donated by Edwin Barnes, the Bishop of Richborough, in 1996: these were given to him as souvenirs when he visited Greenwood, Leflore County in the early 1950s (1996.20.1–2).

#### 20.4.12 North Carolina

The PRM holds c. 15 'archaeological' objects from the State of North Carolina, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. These include a stone arrow-head from Burke County, donated from the estate of E.B. Tylor (1917.53.111); and c. 13 stone arrow-heads simply recorded as from 'North Carolina': one purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's from the collection of Robert Day (1913.74.113) and c. 12 that were donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.7).

There is also a lead bullet from the collection of John Evans, recorded as the bullet 'with which H.W. Fielden's charger was killed in action at Averysborough, North Carolina, April 1865' (1928.68.238). This object is recorded with the phrase 'E. Mus. Fielden & Harvie Brown', which is discussed in section 20.4.5 above.

#### 20.4.13 Tennessee

The PRM holds c. 10 'archaeological' objects from the State of Tennessee, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. These include 8 stone arrow-heads simply recorded as from 'Tennessee': 6 that were donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.8), and 2 from the collection of Frank Lasham, which were acquired by Bruce Morton Goldie, donated to the Ashmolean Museum from his estate, and transferred to the PRM in 1969 (1969.34.442–443). There is also a stone arrow-head from Grassy Cove, Cumberland County from the collection of E.B. Tylor (1917.53.110); and a stone spear-head from Cocke County purchased by Lucas White King from the Smithsonian Institution (National Museum of Natural History) in 1916, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1916.67.89).

As well as these 10 objects, there are also 3 stone arrow-heads made by Fred Snare of Brandon, Suffolk, England as 'very small imitations of flint arrow-heads from Tennessee River, USA', which were donated to the PRM by Henry Balfour in 1927 (1927.7.2–4).

#### 20.4.14 West Virginia

The PRM holds *c.* 7 'archaeological' objects from the State of West Virginia, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. These comprise 5 stone arrow-heads and a stone knife-blade (1946.4.97) 'found during ploughing on a ranch' at Rich Mountain in the Alleghany Mountains, Randolph County and donated to the PRM by Lionel Curtis of All Souls College per the social anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. There is also an undated ceramic lamp donated by Walter Hough to Henry Balfour in 1890, and donated to the PRM by Balfour in 1932 (1932.88.317). In addition, there are 7 stone arrow-heads or spear-heads that were purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's from the collection of Robert Day, and are recorded as from either West Virginia or Virginia (1913.74.106–112).

### 20.5 Midwestern United States

#### 20.5.1 Introduction

The PRM holds *c.* 570 'archaeological' objects from the Midwestern United States, 35 of which are from the PRM founding collection, and are discussed in 20.2.4 above. This section presents an overview of the collections from the Midwest beginning with the largest collections – the *c.* 224 objects from the State of Ohio (20.5.2), the *c.* 78 objects from the State of Illinois (20.5.3), and the *c.* 70 objects from the State of Missouri (20.5.4) – before considering the *c.* 66 objects from the State of North Dakota (20.5.5), the *c.* 50 objects from the State of Indiana (20.5.6), the *c.* 40 objects from the State of Wisconsin (20.5.7), the *c.* 23 objects from the State of Minnesota (20.5.8), and the much smaller collections from Michigan (20.5.9), South Dakota (20.5.10) and Kansas (20.5.11).

As well as these collections, there are 2 stone axes from Iowa – one from Lime Creek, Winnebago County donated by James Sweetland Dallas in 1917 (1917.23.3), and one collected by Horatio Nelson Rust in Keokuk County in 1877, acquired by John Evans, and donated to the PRM from Evans' estate in 1928 (1928.68.59). There is also a single stone arrow-head donated by Rev. Iain Campbell in 1988, which the donor had mounted in silver in India (1988.49.2), and which is recorded as from Weeping Water, Cass County, Nebraska (probably the address of the donor, rather than the find-spot of the arrow-head).

#### 20.5.2 Ohio

The PRM holds *c.* 224 'archaeological' objects from the State of Ohio, 23 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.3 above). Some 56 of these are recorded simply as from 'Ohio': 3 stone spear-heads, a stone scraper, a stone flake and a specimen of obsidian from the collection of E.B. Tylor (1911.32.36–41); a chert spear-head purchased by Lucas White King from the Smithsonian Institution (National Museum of Natural History) in 1916, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1921.67.91); 5 stone arrow-heads purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell (1921.91.220–224); 2 stone axes and 2 stone spear-heads from the John Evans collection, one of which was collected by Horatio Nelson Rust in 1877 (1928.68.57, 1928.68.62, 1928.68.77–78); 3 further arrow-heads from John Evans' collection, collected in 1868, by his daughter Alice Minet (née Evans), and transferred to the PRM from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.302–304); and 6 stone arrow-heads that were donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.13).

Objects from these sources for which more detail of provenance is provided comprise a stone plaque from Groveport, Franklin County from the Clarke donation

of 1921 (1921.67.88); and 6 stone scrapers from the Turner Mounds, Hamilton County, from the A.R. Wallace collection (1947.12.6). Another stone object – an arrow-head – from the Turner Mounds was donated by William G. Wallace in 1948 (1948.1.112).

Some c. 51 of the ‘archaeological’ objects from Ohio are from the collection of John Evans. In addition to the 7 objects for which no detailed provenance is provided (discussed above), the Evans collection comprises c. 44 objects acquired by Evans before 1928. These include an anvil-stone from Sandridge, Anderson Township collected by Frederic Ward Putnam (Curator of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University between 1874 and 1909) in 1882 (1928.68.206); a stone spear-head collected by ‘A.L. Moore’ from Erie County in 1873 (1928.68.79); 2 stone projectile points from Newark, Licking County (1969.34.341–342); a chert spear-head collected by ‘R. Service’ from Ravenna, Portage County in 1881 (1928.68.80); and 5 stone spear-heads collected by Horatio Nelson Rust from Ross County in 1877 (1928.68.81–85).

Also from Evans’ collection is an assemblage of c. 28 stone arrow-heads from Kent, Portage County, some of which were collected by his daughter Alice Minet (née Evans) (1969.34.281–311), and an assemblage of c. 21 artefacts collected by Frederic Ward Putnam from Madisonville, Cincinnati (Hamilton County): a stone arrow-smoother (1928.68.213); 6 stone arrow-heads (1928.68.217–222); 7 bone and antler gouges, spear-heads and spatulas (1928.68.223–229); 2 perforated bivalve shells (1928.68.230–231); 4 ceramic sherds (1928.68.232–235); and a stone scraper (1926.68.66). Putnam co-directed the Peabody Museum excavations at Madisonville from the early 1880s (Hinsley 1992: 130; Hooton and Willoughby 1920), and these objects appear to derive from that fieldwork. There is also a collection of 3 objects – an anvil-stone, a stone pounder, and a stone axe – that was collected from Cincinnati in 1872, possibly by Evans himself (1928.68.53, 1928.68.205, 1928.68.209).

There is also an assemblage of c. 70 artefacts from Flint Ridge, Licking County: c. 65 stone artefacts acquired in an exchange with the Smithsonian Institution in 1894, from excavations conducted by Gerard Fowke (Smith 1885), through William Henry Holmes (1944.11.2); and 5 stone cores donated in 1933 by Emerson Frank Greenman, Curator of Archaeology at Ohio State Museum (1933.47.1–5). Finally, there is a stone axe from Portage, Wood County, collected by Rev. James Beck and purchased by the PRM by from George Fabian Lawrence in 1897 (1897.77.15).

### 20.5.3 Illinois

The PRM holds c. 78 ‘archaeological’ objects from the State of Illinois, 5 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.3 above). Most of this comprises c. 66 stone arrow-heads and other stone tools purchased by the PRM at the sale of the collection of John Rae at Dowell’s Auction Rooms in November 1892 (1892.60.122–187). There is also a human cranium recorded as ‘from a grave mound 1867’, from the collection of Canon Greenwell (1887.33.14), and 3 objects donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke, after he had purchased them from a sale of the collection of Lucas White King at Sotheby’s on 9 November 1921: a stone spear-head or knife from Pittsfield, Pike County that had been purchased by King from the collection of ‘Colonel Underwood’ in 1915 (1921.67.90), and 2 stone arrow-heads from Green County (1921.7.4–5).

The remaining objects comprise a stone axe from the collection of John Evans, collected from Illinois – no more detailed provenance is recorded – by Horatio Nelson Rust (1928.68.65); a stone blade from Highland Park, Lake County donated by Edward Bagnall Poulton in 1930 (1930.5.2); and a stone arrow-head, simply recorded as from ‘Illinois’, donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.11).

#### 20.5.4 Missouri

The PRM holds *c.* 70 'archaeological' objects from the State of Missouri, 2 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.3 above). Most of this material comprises *c.* 41 chert implements from stone tool production sites recorded as '7 miles NNW of Seneca', Newton County' (1944.11.1). These were acquired through an exchange with the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History in 1894, arranged through William Henry Holmes.

However, the earliest accessions were a stone hoe blade from Chariton County donated by 'Prof. Douglas of New York' in 1891 (1901.14.13); 2 ceramic sherds and 'an old cast' from Bismarck, St Francois County, donated by 'H. Ward' of 12 Norham Gardens, Oxford (1902.10.1-3); and a ceramic sherd collected from '20 miles from St Louis' by David Ives Bushnell (1906.47.1). There are 4 stone spear-heads purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913 (1913.74.39-42), and 3 objects donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in January 1921: a stone spear-head recorded simply as from 'Missouri' (1921.7.1), a chert arrow-head from Osage County (1921.7.2), and another chert arrow-head from Ste Genevieve County (1921.7.3). From John Evans' collection there is a stone axe recorded as from 'Mound A, Mississippi County', excavated by 'L.E.' in 1877 (1928.68.61), and 2 stone projectile points collected '30 miles before St Louis' (1969.34.335-336). There is also a ceramic bowl 'from a burial mound in southeastern Missouri', collected by Frederic Ward Putnam on 4 September 1897, and donated to the PRM by John Linton Myres in 1932 (1932.21.1); and a stone arrow-head donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.12). Among the 1969 transfers from the Ashmolean Museum are 9 stone projectile points from Herman, Gasconade County, collected by 'Mr Thomas' on 6 October 1891 (1969.34.397-405).

#### 20.5.5 North Dakota

The PRM holds *c.* 66 'archaeological' objects from the State of North Dakota, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. All of these artefacts were purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in December 1920, and are recorded as 'Mandan relics' from 'old camping sites' in North Dakota, excavated by Rev. Anthon Temple Gesner and acquired by Bell in 1908 (1921.91.142-206). Most of the objects are stone arrow-heads, scrapers, flakes and blades, although there are also *c.* 11 bone awls and points (1921.91.193-203), 3 bone beads (1921.91.204-206), one ceramic bowl (1921.91.188), and 4 ceramic sherds (1921.91.189-192). There is also one object currently described as a 'bison rib with a perforation' (1921.91.193), but which may on examination (which has not been possible for this assessment) prove to be one of the 'bone hoes made by sharpening and cutting down buffalo shoulder blades' described by Gesner (1905: 366). Just one of these objects – a hammer-stone (1921.91.142) - has a specific site recorded: that of 'Belles Farm'. However, it is probable that the assemblage derives from excavations at or near to the site described, 6 miles to the south of Mandan, by Gesner in a paper in *Records of the Past Exploration Society* (Gesner 1905).

#### 20.5.6 Indiana

The PRM holds *c.* 50 'archaeological' objects from the State of Indiana, 5 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.3 above). Of the remaining *c.* 45 objects, *c.* 43 are recorded simply as from 'Indiana': *c.* 18 stone projectile points from the collection of John Evans, transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.317-334); *c.* 17 stone arrow-heads and scrapers purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913 (1913.74.43-59); 4 stone spear-heads purchased

from the estate of Charles Smith (1833–1908) in 1923 (1923.87.343–346); and 4 stone arrow-heads donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.5). There is also a stone plaque from Vincennes, Knox County purchased by Lucas White King from the Smithsonian Institution (National Museum of Natural History) in 1916, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1921.67.87), and a chert blade purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's from a sale of objects from the collection of George Fabian Lawrence in 1922 (1922.61.2).

### 20.5.7 Wisconsin

The PRM holds *c.* 40 'archaeological' objects from the State of Wisconsin, of which 2 are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.3 above). Just 11 of these have a detailed provenance recorded: 5 stone tools from the Silver Mound Archaeological District in Jackson County, donated by 'Mr and Mrs Willard Geske' in 1975 (1975.13.1–5), and 6 stone arrow-heads 'found by a Carmelite monk when the foundations of the Convent were being dug on Holy Hill' at Hubertus, Washington County (1935.45.1–6). The remaining objects are simply recorded as from 'North Dakota', and include 9 stone arrow-heads and blades purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913 (1913.74.67–75); a stone spear-head and 2 stone blades purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in December 1920 (1921.91.217–219); and a stone arrow-head donated to Alfred Russel Wallace by the Smithsonian Institution in 1887, and passed to the PRM from his estate in December 1947 (1947.12.19). There are also *c.* 14 spear-heads made of raw copper: *c.* 13 from exchanges with the Beloit Museum, Wisconsin in 1924 and 1927 (1924.59.1–3, 1927.69.1–10), and one from the purchase of collections from Ipswich Museum in 1966 (1966.1.126).

### 20.5.8 Minnesota

The PRM holds *c.* 23 'archaeological' objects from the State of Minnesota, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. There are *c.* 19 ceramic sherds recorded as excavated from 'burial mounds', donated to the OUMNH by 'Rev. J. King', and transferred to the PRM in 1891 (1891.61.28–46). There is a stone pipe bowl (or possibly a cast of a pipe bowl: the record is unclear) 'dug up in a Sioux grave-mound near Pipestone', which was donated to the PRM by Beatrice Blackwood in 1928 (1928.9.59), and another stone pipe-bowl given to Griffith Evans 'at a wigwam in the extreme west of Minnesota' in 1865, and donated by Evans to the PRM in 1930 (1930.35.1). There is also a specimen of raw copper from Lake Superior, and (although technically an English-made object) an arrow-head hammered from this copper by Henry Balfour (1906.16.32).

### 20.5.9 Michigan

The PRM holds 7 'archaeological' objects from the State of Michigan, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. There is a perforated bannerstone, recorded simply as from 'Michigan' that was purchased by Lucas White King from the Smithsonian Institution (National Museum of Natural History) in 1916, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1921.67.86). There are also 6 hammerstones from a copper quarry at Isle Royale in the Great Lakes, acquired in an exchange with the Smithsonian Institution in 1894 (1944.11.5).

### 20.5.10 *South Dakota*

The PRM holds 6 'archaeological' objects from the State of South Dakota, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Four of these were collected by Charles W. Thompson from a village site at the Cheyenne River Reservation ('Cheyenne River Agency') in 1875, were acquired by George Rolleston, and were transferred to the PRM from the OUMNH in 1886: a ceramic sherd (1887.1.431), and 3 stone arrow-heads (1887.1.438–440). There is also a stone maul-head collected by Beatrice Blackwood in 1927 (1927.1.9) and a hammer-stone acquired in an exchange with Beloit Museum, Wisconsin in 1927 (1927.69.12), both of which are recorded simply as from 'South Dakota'.

### 20.5.11 *Kansas*

There are no 'archaeological' objects recorded as definitely from the State of Kansas. However, there are 5 stone arrow-heads that are recorded as from 'Missouri, Kansas or Colorado', and were collected by R.E. Colvin of the Star Lumber Company, Liberal, Kansas and donated to the PRM through J.M. Gauntlett (1976.23.9–13).

## 20.6 Western United States

### 20.6.1 *Introduction*

This section considers the *c.* 1,502 'archaeological' objects from the Western United States held by the PRM, just 4 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.4 above). The vast majority of this material derives from the first three States considered: there are *c.* 642 artefacts from the State of New Mexico (20.6.2 below), *c.* 391 artefacts from the State of Arizona (20.6.3 below), and *c.* 306 artefacts from the State of Oregon (20.6.4 below). As well as these larger collections, there are *c.* 55 'archaeological' objects from the State of California (20.6.5); *c.* 26 'archaeological' objects from the State of Colorado (20.6.6); *c.* 24 'archaeological' objects from the State of Alaska (20.6.7); *c.* 22 'archaeological' objects from the State of Idaho (20.6.8); and 6 'archaeological' objects from the State of Utah (20.6.9). There is just object from Montana – a stone knife donated by John Evans in July 1894 (1894.25.8) – and one object from Wyoming – a stone scraper collected by Joseph Leidy from an unnamed 'Shoshini camp' near Fort Bridger, Uinta County in 1877, and donated from the estate of John Evans (1928.68.70). There are no 'archaeological' objects recorded from the States of Nevada or Washington.

### 20.6.2 *New Mexico*

The PRM holds *c.* 642 'archaeological' objects from the State of New Mexico, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Some 502 of these objects derive from four large collections, all of which fall between any firm distinction between 'archaeology' and 'ethnography': the assemblages of Zuni ceramics from New Mexico donated by Henry Nottidge Moseley (*c.* 118 objects) and Edward Burnett Tylor (*c.* 98 objects), and the ethnoarchaeological collections made by Beatrice Blackwood (*c.* 192 objects) and Barbara Whitchurch Freire-Marreco (*c.* 94 objects). Some of these objects derive from excavation and surface-collection, while others were bought or collected as 'modern' objects – usually because of the idea that they represented of the revival of earlier practices, or represented survivals, or were evidence of the manufacture of ceramics and other objects – such as coil-made ceramics collected as examples of different techniques (1927.1.4), or stone tools used in ceramic manufacture



*Figure 20.2 Photograph, taken in 1879, of buildings around the main plaza of San Felipe Pueblo, New Mexico. The Rio Grande River is in the distance, and Santa Ana Mesa is visible in the distance on the left. In the foreground a group of villagers is gathered, and closer still to the camera the collector James Stevenson can be seen talking with a local inhabitant. According to Stevenson's original note for this photograph (prepared around 1885), 'the walls of the old pueblo are constructed of well-selected lava boulders of uniform size'. The photograph was probably taken by John (Johannes) Hillers from the roof of the Catholic church (PRM Photograph Collections 1998.192.12).*

(1938.36.1718). While the full range of 'ethnographic' New Mexico material, and the photographic collections, are not discussed here, this permeability between the ethnographic and the archaeological is a strong characteristic of the collections from this region, and holds an important place in the unwritten history of the emergence of ethnoarchaeology. Anthropologists themselves were implicated in these overlaps: for example in the making of objects: by experimental flint-knapping, or by Frank Hamilton Cushing's crafting of a Zuni 'war god' or *abayu'da* from wood, feathers, shell and string (1911.32.1; see Isaac 2011).

The 'archaeological' collections of Moseley and Tylor derive almost entirely from a donation to them in 1885 (presumably in their respective roles as effectively managing the OUMNH and the PRM, in the year after the opening of the PRM) through John Wesley Powell (Director of the American Bureau of Ethnology) from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History.<sup>20</sup> Tylor records that he and Moseley were in Washington, D.C., and in the American west 'among the Indians of New Mexico', with the Smithsonian Institution in 1884 (Tylor 1884: 548) – and so Tylor and Moseley were perhaps more involved in some of this collecting than has previously been acknowledged.<sup>21</sup> The donation included whole ceramic vessels in various forms (including bowls, canteens, water-vases, and paint-pots), ceramic ladles and spoons, specimens of pigments used for paint, and ceramic figures of animals. There are also a number of 'hunting fetishes', which are discussed below, and which do not appear to derive from the Smithsonian material. While his role in these accessions is not currently clear, a common factor in both classes of Zuni artefact is the potential involvement of Frank Hamilton Cushing (Cushing 1883, 1886). The roles of James and Matilda

<sup>20</sup> There are two letters about this donation from John Wesley Powell on file at the PRM, both dated 2 June 1885 – one to Tylor, and one to Moseley. Both are accompanied by detailed lists of the objects donated (PRM Collectors Miscellaneous XI Accession Book).

<sup>21</sup> Miller (2007: 64) indicates that they were accompanied in travels in New Mexico in September 1884 by Moseley's wife and by Grove Karl Gilbert of the United States Geological Service.

Stevenson, who worked with the Zuni in the 1870s and 1880s, in the collection of the Zuni material in the PRM is also unclear (cf. Miller 2007; *Figure 20.2*).

The Moseley collection from New Mexico comprises *c.* 118 artefacts, all of which were given to the PRM after his death, in donations in 1895 (1895.8.2), 1896 (1896.54.1–51, 1896.54.55–60, 1896.54.64–81, 2003.148.1–2), 1918 (1918.32.1–13) and 1919 (1919.25.17) – apart from a single vessel that is recorded as donated to the OUMNH in 1881 and transferred to the PRM in 1886 (1887.1.658). The Moseley collection comprises *c.* 76 whole ceramic artefacts (including 9 ceramic figures of animals – 1896.54.55–60, 1896.54.70–72), *c.* 23 ceramic sherds (1896.54.51), 4 specimens of pigments used for decorating pottery (1896.54.63–64, 2003.148.1–2), 2 stone polishers used in pottery manufacture (1896.54.65–66), and 11 stone figures (discussed below). Some 80 of these are recorded simply as from ‘New Mexico’, but there are also objects from Acoma Pueblo, Cibola County; Zuni Pueblo, McKinley County; Cochiti Pueblo, Sandoval County; and Tesuque. Some of the Moseley collection is recorded as not deriving from the Smithsonian, notably the assemblage of *c.* 23 ceramic sherds from ‘Rattlesnake Bush, between Zuni and Nutria’ in McKinley County (1896.54.51).

The Tylor collection from New Mexico comprises *c.* 98 artefacts deriving from donations in 1892 (1892.20.1–3) and 1911 (1911.1.1–35), and from his estate in 1917 (1917.53.541–587). It comprises *c.* 45 whole ceramic artefacts, *c.* 38 ceramic sherds, and *c.* 15 stone figures of animals (discussed below). Some 83 of these are recorded simply as from ‘New Mexico’, but there are also artefacts from Acoma Pueblo, Cibola County; Mimbres, Grant County; Santa Clara Pueblo, Rio Arriba County; and Cochiti Pueblo, Sandoval County. As with Moseley, there are several objects that do not appear to derive from the Smithsonian donation, notably an assemblage of *c.* 38 ceramic sherds from an unknown New Mexican provenance (1911.1.34–35); 3 ceramic figures recorded as made for sale to tourists (1892.20.1–3); and a painted ceramic tile collected from Taos Pueblo in 1883, acquired by Tylor from Nora Mercer in 1892, and donated to the PRM by Tylor in 1911 (1911.1.33). Two more whole ceramic vessels, donated to the PRM by O.G.S. Crawford in 1952, also appear to derive from this Tylor collection (1952.12.8–9).

The Moseley and Tylor collections also include *c.* 26 objects that are recorded as ‘Zuni hunting fetishes’ from New Mexico: stone figures of animals, many of which have flint arrow-heads or other objects bound onto their backs. In the records for some of these objects, these are recorded as ‘ancient flint arrow heads (found deserted old Zuni sites)’. Such artefacts were described by Frank Hamilton Cushing in a paper in the second annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Cushing 1883). All appear to have been collected in the 1880s and 1890s. There is a stone animal figure with a stone arrow-head bound to its back, donated from the estate of Henry Nottidge Moseley (1895.8.2); *c.* 16 stone animal figures donated from Tylor’s estate, 12 of which have objects bound to them (1917.53.573–587); and *c.* 10 stone animal figures donated from the donated from Moseley’s estate in 1918, 6 of which have objects bound to them (1918.32.1–10). As well as these 26 stone figures, Moseley’s collection also included a deer-skin bag, recorded as made ‘for holding ‘prey-god’ fetishes and hung round the neck of the owner when on hunting expeditions’ (1918.32.11), and a ‘molar of a bear from a native shrine at Thunder Mountain’, Zuni Pueblo, McKinley County, which is also recorded as a ‘hunting charm’ (1918.32.12). The PRM had previously acquired 2 similar objects in 1894: a stone animal figure with a stone arrow-head bound to it donated by Richard Carnac Temple (1894.27.252), and a ceramic figure of a coyote with a red chert flake bound to its back, acquired in an exchange with Edward Lovett in 1894 (1894.55.1). There is also an alabaster figure with an arrow-head bound to its back from the collection of Charles Seligman, which was donated by his widow in 1946 (1946.8.77), and a similar stone figure of an animal (with nothing bound to it) from the collection of Adrien de Mortillet, which came to the PRM in a transfer from

the Wellcome Collection in 1985, which is recorded as collected by James Stevenson in New Mexico (1985.52.875). The other 'hunting fetishes' may also have been collected by James and Matilda Stevenson for the Smithsonian Institution.

The material from New Mexico collected by Beatrice Blackwood comprises *c.* 192 objects. Blackwood undertook a research visit to North America in 1924–1927, which was funded through a Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fellowship, shortly after her appointment as Departmental Demonstrator at the Pitt Rivers Museum (Lutkehaus 1989: 18–19; Brown and Peers 2006: 46–51; Peers 2007: 130). While Blackwood's primary focus during this research trip was the anthropological study of mental abilities (Blackwood 1927, 1930), she travelled widely across the United States and Canada, and collected widely for the Museum. Some 70 of the 'archaeological' objects from New Mexico collected by Blackwood derive from this research visit (1926.12.27–28, 1927.1.4, 1927.1.7–8, 1928.9.1–2, 1928.9.4–26, 1928.9.42–49, 1928.9.52, 1928.9.58, 1928.9.64–82, 1928.9.88, 2004.214.1), while *c.* 119 derive from a trip to the USA and Mexico in the Summer of 1939, some of which were brought back directly, and some of which were sent in 1946, after the end of the Second World War (1938.36.1718, 1938.36.1934–1935, 1946.3.14B–27B, 1946.3.29–126, 1947.7.1B–4B). The remaining 3 objects were donated from her estate in 1976 (1976.19.2–4). All of the objects are recorded as collected in the field by Blackwood herself, apart from a stone polisher, used in ceramic manufacture, recorded as collected by 'B.A. Reuter' (1938.36.1718). The Blackwood 'archaeological' collection from New Mexico includes *c.* 136 sherds of pottery: *c.* 22 from Apache Creek, Catron County (1928.9.4, 1928.9.5–25), *c.* 80 from Puye, Santa Clara Pueblo, Rio Arriba County (1946.3.47–126), *c.* 18 from Pueblo Bonito, now in Chaco Culture National Historic Park, San Juan County (1927.1.4, 1928.9.42–49), 3 from Jemez Pueblo, Sandoval County (1946.3.29–31), and *c.* 15 from Perage, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Fe County (1946.3.32–46). There are also *c.* 21 whole ceramic vessels (bowls, jars, dishes and saucers) from various locations: including Acoma Pueblo in Cibola County, Ohkay Owingeh (San Juan Pueblo) and Santa Clara Pueblo in Rio Arriba County, Cochiti Pueblo and Zia (Tsia) Pueblo in Sandoval County, and Tesuque in Santa Fe County. As well as these sherds and vessels, there are also 7 ceramic figures of animals from Santa Clara Pueblo (1946.3.0–26), *c.* 18 stone arrow-heads, a stone axe and a turquoise bead from Apache Creek, Catron County (1928.9.64–80, 1928.9.88), a hammer-stone recorded simply as from 'New Mexico' (1928.9.82), and 3 sheets of selenite used as window-panes in historic buildings at Acoma Pueblo (1927.1.7–8, 1928.9.52).

There are *c.* 94 'archaeological' objects from New Mexico that were collected by Barbara Whitchurch Freire-Marreco (1879–1967). Almost all of these were collected during a research trip in December 1910 (cf. Blair 2008: 83): although the PRM also holds a collection made in 1912–1913, the only 3 'archaeological' objects from New Mexico in that collection are a clay pipe stem and bowl (1913.87.104), and a single ceramic vessel (1955.12.12) (cf. Miller 2007: 204–205). The most clearly 'archaeological' material includes *c.* 12 objects from Santa Clara Pueblo, Rio Arriba County: an unquantified assemblage of perhaps 10 stone arrow-heads recorded as made by Eulogio Naranjo for sale to tourists (1911.86.23); a stone bead and a ceramic sherd with a drilled perforation found at 'an old site a few yards NW of the present village' (1911.86.44). There is also a stone implement (1911.86.45) and an unquantified assemblage of perhaps 41 ceramic sherds (1911.86.43) collected from 'the ruins at Frijoles Creek' (Rito de los Frijoles), now part of Bandelier National Monument. From 'the floor of the ceremonial cave' at Frijoles Creek, there is also an undated yucca fibre string, wound with split feathers (1911.86.42). Finally, there is also a collection of 5 stone arrow-heads from these two sites (Santa Clara and Frijoles Creek) (1911.86.22). These objects were probably collected while Freire-Marreco was attending a field school at Rito de los Frijoles led

by Edgar Lee Hewett (Miller 2007: 204). There are also *c.* 21 ceramic bowls, dishes and vases – and 2 figures of animals – from Santa Clara Pueblo (1911.86.57–82); 3 ceramic dishes from San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Fe County (1911.86.80, 1911.86.128); 3 ceramic vessels from Tesuque, Santa Fe County (1911.86.55–56, 1955.12.12); and a ceramic bowl from Kewa Pueblo (Santo Domingo), Sandoval County (1911.86.79).

As well as these large assemblages, the remaining *c.* 140 artefacts include significant collections made by Henry Balfour, Louis Colville Gray Clarke, Alfred Kidder, and William G. Wallace. There are *c.* 20 artefacts donated by Henry Balfour, all of which are recorded simply as from ‘New Mexico’: 13 specimens of turquoise, showing drilling for bead manufacture (1897.43.35–46, 1911.10.24); a single sherd of pottery, with a stone-drilled perforation donated in 1911 (1911.10.1); and 6 ceramic vessels, which possibly derived from the Stevenson/Powell/Smithsonian donation of 1885, or were possibly acquired from the Smithsonian at a later date (1938.35.1545–1550). There are 13 objects donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke between 1921 and 1937: a ceramic jug from San Ildefonso Pueblo donated in 1921 (1921.24.38), a ceramic bowl from ‘New Mexico or Arizona’ donated in 1929 (1929.4.1), and 6 cylindrical beads of bird bone and 7 bone awls from Kechiba:wa (Kechipaun), Cibola County, collected in 1923 and donated in 1937 (1937.21.1–13). The Kechiba:wa material was almost certainly collected by Clarke himself, since he conducted archaeological fieldwork there, funded by George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian (Bushnell 1961).<sup>22</sup> There is an assemblage of *c.* 18 pottery sherds from Pecos, San Miguel County, which were excavated by Alfred Kidder during the Andover Pecos Expedition, and donated by Kidder to Samuel Lothrop, who presented them to the PRM in 1921 (1920.79.1–18; cf. Kidder 1924). There are also *c.* 34 stone arrow-heads and other stone objects – mostly recorded simply as from ‘New Mexico’, but including objects from Maxwell, Colfax County (1948.1.128) and Glorieta, Santa Fe County (1948.1.127) – that were donated by William G. Wallace in January 1948 (1948.1.116–119, 1948.1.123–128, 1948.1.135–136).

The remaining objects include *c.* 14 ceramic vessels and figures of animals collected from Cochiti Pueblo, Sandoval County, and donated by Octavius Bates to the PRM in 1889 (1889.39.1–14). Bates ran the Selborne School (later to become the Hitchcock Military Academy) in San Rafael, California from 1888 to 1898 (Reeves 1914: 194). Two stone axes, collected from Taos in 1871, are recorded as from the collection of John Wickham Flower (1892.67.770–771): these probably derive from the collections of William Blackmore – founder of the Blackmore Museum, Salisbury, England – who visited Taos in September 1871 (Taylor 1987: 327–9; cf. Hamber 2010). There is also an obsidian scraper from Cordova, Rio Arriba County purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby’s in May 1913 (1913.74.178); 6 stone arrow-heads from the collection of ‘Colonel S. Archer of Liverpool and Birmingham’, donated by Manchester College, Oxford (now Harris Manchester College) in 1915 (1915.32.26–31); a ceramic jug in the form of a bird, collected from Acoma Pueblo and donated by Francis Llewellyn Griffith in 1925 (1925.52.1); a ceramic bowl collected from Zia (Tsia) Pueblo, Sandoval County in 1892, and donated by William Hepburn Butler in 1937 (1937.36.1); a ceramic figure of a pony from Santa Clara Pueblo, donated by Maria Chabot in 1940 (1940.7.343); 4 ceramic water-jars from Zia (Tsia) Pueblo, Sandoval County donated by Helen Heffron Roberts in 1953 (1953.7.2–5); 14 ceramic vessels from various locations (including Santa Clara Pueblo and San Ildefonso Pueblo) collected by Donald Harden<sup>23</sup> in 1927, and donated to the PRM in 1977 (1977.23.77–

<sup>22</sup> The excavation archive is held at the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

<sup>23</sup> Donald Harden (1901–1994) was Assistant Keeper, and then Keeper, of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum (1929–1956), before becoming Director of the London Museum/Acting Director of the Museum of London between 1956 and 1970 (Painter and Thompson 1994).

42); and a ceramic tile recorded simply as from 'New Mexico' donated by Iris Bars in 2003 (2003.77.1). There is also a ceramic bowl, recorded as from 'New Mexico or Arizona', for which no further detail of provenance is recorded (2004.225.1), and 5 further ceramic vessels from Harden's donation that are similarly recorded as 'New Mexico or Arizona' (1977.23.31–34, 1977.23.38).

### 20.6.3 Arizona

The PRM holds *c.* 391 'archaeological' objects from the State of Arizona, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. The four main collectors of New Mexico material (Moseley, Tylor, Blackwood and Freire-Marreco; see 20.6.2 above) are all represented in the Arizona collections. There are *c.* 17 ceramic artefacts from the collection of Henry Moseley – ladles, bowls, water-jars, jugs and cooking pots (1896.54.82–98) – that are recorded simply as from Arizona, and also a ceramic jug recorded as from Zuni ruins at West Puerco, near Gallup, McKinley County (1896.54.52). All *c.* 18 objects were donated from Moseley's estate 1896, and were possibly collected by James Stevenson for the Smithsonian Institution, and included in the donation by John Wesley Powell in 1885 (see 20.6.2 above), or collected by Moseley himself. Similarly, there are *c.* 12 ceramic vessels (1911.1.6, 1911.1.20–25, 1917.53.543, 1917.53.545, 1917.53.553–554, 1917.53.559), a bone awl (1911.1.62) and a stone arrow-head (1917.53.106) from the collection of Edward Burnett Tylor, which derive either from the Powell donation, or from Tylor's own collecting. Beatrice Blackwood donated *c.* 18 'archaeological' artefacts from Arizona, all of which had been collected by her during fieldwork in 1926–1927 (see 20.6.3 above): 2 ceramic sherds from 'a mound near Keams Canyon' in Navajo County (1927.1.5–6); 12 more ceramic sherds probably from the same site (1928.9.30–41); a fragment of a resin-coated basket 'from a cliff-dwelling, Canon de Chelly' (Canyon de Chelly) in Apache County (1928.9.27); a ceramic bowl 'said to have been dug up and probably ancient' from Chimopovi, Second Mesa, Navajo County (1928.9.3); a stone axe from Mishongnovi, Second Mesa (1928.9.83); and a miniature ceramic bowl simply recorded as from Arizona (1938.36.1933).

There are *c.* 105 'archaeological' objects from Arizona that were collected by Barbara Whitchurch Freire-Marreco. In 1911, Freire-Marreco donated *c.* 39 objects, which she had collected in December 1910 at Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation Reservation ('Mohave-Apache Reservation') in Maricopa County. This collection includes 11 objects collected by the wife of George H. Gebby from the Skeleton Cave massacre site: a rockshelter in the Salt Water Canyon, where some 75 Yavapai men, women and children were shot dead by the United States army on 28 December 1872 (Ferg and Tessman 1997: 240). The cave was 're-discovered' on several occasions from the mid 1890s, and a large quantity of human remains were collected and buried at Fort McDowell cemetery during the 1910s or 1920s (Ferg and Tessman 1997: 250–2). Freire-Marreco's collection – which comprises 8 wooden arrows (1911.86.99–106), a pair of wooden tongs (1911.86.98), a wooden throwing-stick (1911.86.107), and a human jawbone (1911.86.127) – appears to date from before this reburial event: while collected by Freire-Marreco in 1910, Mrs Gebby may have collected them at any time between her arrival at McDowell in 1904 and 1910: she also gave a human skull from an archaeological site 'above Beaver Creek' to Freire-Marreco, which she reported was collected in 1904 (1911.86.126). Also donated by Freire-Marreco in 1911 are *c.* 15 shell and stone beads, 3 stone arrow-heads, and a stone 'arrow-straightener' collected from unnamed sites by a local man named Pagakaya or 'Big Mike' (1911.86.91, 1911.86.111–114); a shell ring collected by a local man named A'Oae'la (1911.86.126); 3 stone flakes, and 2 glass arrow-heads with a deer-

horn flaking tool used for making them, collected from a local man named Sakaraba who made them (1911.86.92); and an unidentified ground stone object with two hollows, possibly for holding paint (1911.86.93).

In a second research trip, funded by a research fellowship at Somerville College and the Mary Ewart Trust, Freire-Marreco collected a further *c.* 65 objects from Arizona, all but one of which were from Navajo County. Some 30 of these are from Tewa Village (Hano), and include 2 stone arrow-heads (1913.87.111–112); an iron pyrite ball (1913.87.13); 2 ceramic tiles (1913.87.56–57); a fragment of a ceramic bowl (1913.87.139); 4 ceramic spoons and ladles (1913.87.23–26); 5 ceramic vessels with painted decoration (1913.87.22, 1913.87.27, 1913.87.54–55, 1913.87.126), and a collection of *c.* 43 objects – stone and organic tools, specimens of raw materials, and partially-made ceramic vessels – assembled in order to show the process of ceramic manufacture (1913.87.29–50). There are also 3 stone arrow-heads from First Mesa (1913.87.109–110, 1913.87.114); 2 ceramic sherds from Sikyátki, near First Mesa (1913.87.28); a stone scraper, 6 specimens of natural materials used in making paint, and *c.* 20 ceramic sherds from Walpi, also near First Mesa (1913.87.51, 1913.87.58, 1913.87.95, 1913.87.108); a stone spear-head from Hotevilla-Bacavi (Third Mesa) (1913.87.113), and a ceramic ladle with painted decoration from ‘Winslow Station’ (1913.87.53). There is also a single ceramic bowl, made for sale to tourists, purchased by Freire-Marreco at Maricopa, Pinal County (1913.87.105).

Apart from the collections made by Moseley, Tylor, Blackwood and Freire-Marreco, there are *c.* 240 ‘archaeological’ artefacts from Arizona from other sources. Principal among these is Walter Hough, who donated 8 ceramic vessels and *c.* 120 ceramic sherds from across Navajo County, including Sikyátki and Walpi (First Mesa), Red Needle and Polacca (1922.35.1–122). Another major Arizona collector is Richard Baxter Townshend. There are *c.* 29 ceramic vessels, ladles and dippers, all with painted decoration, collected by Townshend at Tewa village (Hano), Navajo County in 1903 (1903.36.1–29). A further collection of 20 ceramic vessels, dippers and ladles – also from Tewa village – was donated from Townshend’s estate in 1931 (1931.60.1–18, 2004.123.1, 2004.124.1).

In the same year as Townshend’s original donation, a lump of raw copper with depressions for fingers, found at the mouth of the Copper Queen mine at Bisbee, Cochise County and interpreted as a hammer-stone, was purchased from S.G. Fenton and Company (1903.60.1). A ceramic bowl and a ceramic jar, both with painted decoration, recorded as from Casa Grande Ruins, Pinal County (1921.24.39, 1921.24.58) were donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in 1921. These were examined by Jesse L. Nusbaum at some later point, and (probably mistakenly) identified as not from the Casa Grande Ruins: indeed, the bowl (1921.24.39) was mistakenly re-assigned by Nusbaum to Casas Grandes (Chihuahua, Mexico), on the basis of form alone.<sup>24</sup> Also donated by Clarke were 15 stone arrow-heads and lance-heads, some of which are from Adamana, Apache County (including one from the Petrified Forest National Park), and were a joint gift with John St Maur Ramsden (1921.7.6–13, 1921.7.16–22); a ceramic bowl simply recorded as from ‘Arizona’ (1922.8.13); and an undated ceramic bowl recorded as from the ‘Arizona-New Mexico border’, donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1929.4.1). There is also a sherd of pottery from Sikyátki, First Mesa, Navajo County that was donated by Samuel Kirkland Lothrop of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University in 1921 (1921.25.1); 5 stone arrow-heads, simply recorded as from ‘Arizona’, purchased from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in 1920 (1921.91.227–231); a stone axe, acquired through an exchange with the Beloit Museum, Wisconsin, recorded simply as from ‘Arizona’ (1927.69.13); a stone spear-head, recorded simply as from

<sup>24</sup> We are grateful to Rosemary Joyce for her observations about this object.

'Arizona' and collected by Horatio Rust in 1877, from the collection of John Evans (1928.68.201); and a bone awl from excavations undertaken by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University at Awatowi, Navajo County in the 1930s, donated by J. Eric S. Thompson of the Carnegie Institution in 1947 (1947.5.23).

In addition to these *c.* 391 objects, there are 2 stone points, 2 stone arrow-heads, a stone scraper, and two ceramic bowls, collected by Louise Taylor-Hansen and donated by her to the PRM in 1965, that are recorded as from either Arizona or California (1965.12.106–110, 1967.42.1–2); and 20 stone flakes, transferred to the PRM from the OUMNH (Department of Geology) in 1930, that are recorded as 'from a Grand Canyon, Arizona workshop' (1940.6.134).

#### 20.6.4 Oregon

The PRM holds *c.* 306 'archaeological' objects from the State of Oregon, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. The first object to be accessioned was a human cranium from the collection of Henry Nottidge Moseley, transferred from the OUMNH in 1887, recorded as from a cemetery on the Columbia River at Astoria, Clatsop County (1887.33.13). Also from Moseley's collection is a necklace of glass beads and a shell button, recorded as discovered during excavations by 'Dr S.A. Abby' at Elk City, Lincoln County, around 'the neck of a young woman of Chetco tribe' (2006.14.1). These were possibly collected during Moseley's trip to the United States in 1884 (see 20.6.2 above). This was followed by a collection of 5 stone arrow-heads from a shell mound at Tillamook Bay, Tillamook County (1896.3.1–5), along with an unquantified collection of perhaps 10 scale of garpike, said to be used as arrow-heads (1896.3.6), which were probably collected by Walton Haydon in the late 1870s or early 1880s.

The 'archaeological' material from Oregon is mostly made up of two large collections. First, there are *c.* 63 stone projectile points from the collection of John Evans, which were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969: 2 arrow-heads from Rome, Malheur County (1969.34.430, 1969.34.438), *c.* 44 projectile points from Willemantee River (1969.34.578–621), and *c.* 17 projectile points collected by Alexander William Chase, possibly in 1873, and recorded simply as from 'Oregon' (1969.34.622–638). Second, there is an assemblage of *c.* 181 stone arrow-heads, lance-heads, borers, blades, grinders and pipes, collected by Tracy Barrett Kittredge in Lake County, Oregon (1913.50.1–181).

As well as these larger collections, there are also a number of objects that are recorded simply as from 'Oregon': a collection of 12 stone arrow-heads and a stone scraper that were purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913 (1913.74.19–31); a stone reamer purchased by the PRM from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell in 1920 (1921.91.207); 2 obsidian lance-heads from the collection of Henry Moseley (1924.6.13–14); and 6 stone arrow-heads from the collection of Alan Herbert Coltart (1939.12.13–18). Also from Coltart's collection is a collection of *c.* 23 obsidian arrow-heads collected from Silver Lake, Lake County (1939.12.19–41).

In addition to these *c.* 306 objects, there are also 6 arrow-heads that are recorded as from either Mexico or Oregon (1940.12.209; see 20.9 below). Finally, there is also an obsidian blade, donated to the PRM by R.R. Marett after it had been found at the entrance to the University Parks opposite Keble College by his grand-daughter, which is interpreted as from Oregon (Penniman and Knowles 1941; 1942.12.62) (see Chapter 12).

#### 20.6.5 California

The PRM holds *c.* 55 'archaeological' objects from the State of California, 2 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.4 above). More than half of this collection derives from one donation. Among the collection of *c.* 183 17th- and 18th-century

glass beads donated by John Gerard Witthoft in 1955 – described in 20.3.2 above – is a collection of 30 beads from shell middens at Stockton, San Joaquin County (1955.6.80). The beads are recorded as 17th-century in date.

Apart from the beads, one early accession is a specimen of obsidian from California donated by Thomas Graham Balfour in 1895 (1895.28.3). There are 9 stone arrow-heads that were purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913, from various locations, including San Nicolas Island, Ventura County and San Diego (1913.74.10–18). There are 4 stone arrow-heads, collected by Octavius Bates, that were donated from the collection of Edward Burnett Tylor (1917.53.102–105). Louis Colville Gray Clarke donated a single stone arrow-head, recorded simply as from 'California', in 1921 (1921.67.109). Beatrice Blackwood donated a stone pestle and a stone frying pan from Weitchpec, Humboldt County (1927.43.12–13), and an antler spoon recorded simply as from 'Klamath River' (1929.2.1). There is a bone pipe excavated from a grave in Lake County, donated by Albert Green Heath in 1939 (1939.8.35B). There is also a stone, donated by Louise Taylor Hansen, and recorded as found in the hand of a human skeleton in a grave exposed when Tule Lake, Siskiyou County was drained during the Second World War (1963.5.1). Five further stone objects given by the same donor are recorded as from either Arizona or California (1965.12.106–110), and are discussed at the end of section 20.6.3 above. A flint knife donated by Miss E.M. Lewis in 1944 is possibly from California (1944.12.2). Finally, there is a single stone flake collected by Kenneth Page Oakley from Calico, San Bernardino County – one of the contested sites of early human occupation of North America – in 1970 (1988.47.9).

#### 20.6.6 Colorado

The PRM holds *c.* 26 'archaeological' objects from the State of Colorado, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. These comprise an unquantified assemblage of perhaps 10 stone arrow-heads and flakes from surface-collection by A.W.W. Brown in August 1877 'near mineral springs at Hartsell's', South Park, Park County, and donated to the PRM in 1888 (1888.22); *c.* 8 stone arrow-heads 'from the site of an old Comanche camping ground' in Saguache County, donated by Henry Balfour in 1912 (1912.39.32–39); 3 stone borers from the collection of Irish antiquarian Robert Day that were purchased by the PRM at Sotheby's on May 20 1913 (1913.74.32–34); a stone knife from Ranglely, Rio Blanco County, and 4 stone arrow-heads from various other locations in Colorado, collected by William G. Wallace in 1888–1889, and donated in 1948 (1948.1.120–122, 1948.1.126, 1948.1.134).

#### 20.6.7 Alaska

The PRM holds *c.* 24 'archaeological' objects from the State of Alaska, 2 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.4 above). Some 15 of the remaining objects derive from a transfer from the Ashmolean Museum in 1886. There are 12 artefacts – 3 ivory harpoon spikes, an ivory grip for a harpoon line, a walrus tusk point, a bone plug or handle, an ivory nozzle for a harpoon float, an iron adze with a bone handle, an ivory scraper, an unidentified flat ivory object, and 2 unidentified perforated bone objects – that were collected by Captain Frederick William Beechey (1796–1856) during a voyage that he commanded on HMS *Blossom* to chart the coast of Alaska (cf. Bockstoe 1977). These objects were collected at Point Franklin, North Slope Borough in 1825–1828, and were donated to the Ashmolean Museum in 1829 (1886.1.662, 1886.1.684, 1886.1.710–715, 1886.1.761). Also collected by Beechey is a spoon carved from a fossil mammoth tusk found at Eschscholtz Bay, Kotzebue Sound, North-West Arctic Borough (1886.1.750). It is possible that some of these objects are among those described in Beechey's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait* (Beechey

1831). These are just some of a large collection made by Beechey during this trip, the remainder of which are classified as 'ethnographic'. Taken together the collection – along with other Beechey material at the British Museum, and other historic Alaskan collections held by the PRM – holds significant research potential as a collection that falls between historical anthropology and historical archaeology. Also from the 1886 transfer is a bone cheek-stud from the collection of Henry Christy, which is recorded as probably from Alaska (1886.1.758).

Later acquisitions from Alaska comprise a flint lance-head, recorded as 'western Eskimo', purchased by the PRM from the collection of Robert Day at Sotheby's in 1913 (1913.74.5); a bone awl and a bone knife from 'N. Alaska' donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke in 1921 (1921.67.116–117); and a stone axe purchased by Lucas White King from the collection of Robert Day (through the dealer William Ockelford Oldman of Brixton Hill), and then purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1921.67.57). There is also a single stone arrow-head from the collection of John Evans, recorded as 'western Eskimo' (1928.68.23); and a bone spear-head from the Aleutian Islands, possibly collected by William Blackmore, and acquired by the Cranmore Ethnological Museum from the Blackmore Museum before being donated to the PRM in 1941 (1941.2.96). There is also a bone harpoon-point and 3 flint spear-heads and scrapers excavated by Helge Larsen at the Ipiuk site, Point Hope, North Slope Borough – the occupation of which dates to the 1st millennium CE (Larsen and Rainey 1948) – which were acquired through an exchange with the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen (1946.6.3–6).

### 20.6.8 Idaho

The PRM holds *c.* 22 'archaeological' objects from the State of Idaho, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. There are 9 stone arrow-heads and flakes, some of which are from near Dubois, Clark County, that were collected by William G. Wallace in 1888–1889, and donated in 1948 (1948.1.113–114, 1948.1.129, 1948.1.133). The remaining *c.* 13 objects are stone projectile points collected by John Evans' third son, Philip Norman Evans (1854–1893), before 1881 from Eagle Rock (now Idaho Falls), Bonneville County, acquired by John Evans, and passed to the PRM from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.92–104).

### 20.6.9 Utah

The PRM holds just 6 'archaeological' objects from the State of Utah, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. These comprise a fragment of a stone arrow-head collected by William G. Wallace in 1888–1889, and donated in 1948 (1948.1.132), and 5 stone projectile points collected by Philip Norman Evans (cf. 20.6.8 above), before 1881 from Kane County, and passed to the PRM from the collection of John Evans at the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.105–109).

## 20.7 Archaeological Collections from Canada

### 20.7.1 Overview

The PRM holds *c.* 720 'archaeological' objects from Canada, *c.* 15 of which are from the PRM founding collection, and are discussed in 20.2.5 above. As with other regions, the distinctions between 'archaeological' and 'ethnographic' artefacts are permeable. One distinctive factor in Canada is the relatively large number of objects that are recorded as 'from a grave' – which has led to their being recorded as archaeological when the

collecting activity almost certainly involved the surface collection of objects placed on the grave, rather than excavation.

This section presents an overview of the Canadian collections beginning with the largest collections – the *c.* 262 objects from the Province of Ontario (20.7.2), the *c.* 140 objects from the Territory of Nunavut (20.7.3), and the *c.* 106 objects from the Province of Nova Scotia (20.7.4) – before considering the *c.* 66 objects from the Province of British Columbia (20.7.5), the *c.* 60 objects from the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador (20.7.6), the *c.* 48 objects from the Province of Quebec (20.7.7), and the *c.* 25 objects from the Province of Manitoba (20.7.8). There are no ‘archaeological’ objects recorded from the Provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, Prince Edward Island, from the Northwest Territories, or from the Territory of Yukon. There is just one artefact from the Province of New Brunswick: an ‘unfinished stone axe’ from Tobique River, collected by ‘Dr Adams’, acquired by Robert Day and Lucas White King, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King’s collection at Sotheby’s on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM by Clarke (1921.67.64). There are also *c.* 12 objects recorded from Canada but with no further geographical provenance: 9 stone arrow-heads, a stone scraper and an unidentified bone object donated by Francis Arthur Powell Aveling in 1896 (1896.27.7–17), and a stone spear-head from the purchase of material from Ipswich Museum in 1966 (1966.1.388).

The Canadian collections include *c.* 323 artefacts from the excavations of William J. Wintemberg (1878–1941) for the National Museum of Canada – pioneering field projects that represented some of the first modern scientific archaeological projects to be undertaken in Canada (Jenness 1941; Trigger 2006: 362). Wintemberg’s first major excavations were undertaken at the Iroquoian village site at Roebuck, Ontario, in 1912 and 1915, where he was assisted by Francis Knowles – one of the first graduates of the Oxford Anthropology Diploma. Knowles studied the skeletal remains from the site (Knowles 1937).<sup>25</sup> It is probably through Knowles – who worked closely with the PRM during the 1920s and 1930s – and Diamond Jenness – another Oxford Diploma student that went on to work for the Anthropological Division of the National Museum of Canada – that the Wintemberg collections were acquired by the PRM. As outlined in sections 20.7.2, 20.7.4 and 20.7.7 below, the PRM Wintemberg collections includes material from pioneering excavations in the Maritimes of Nova Scotia (Smith and Wintemberg 1929; Wintemberg 1929), the sites of Sidey-Mackay (Wintemberg 1946) and Middleport (Wintemberg 1948) in Ontario, and sites near Tadoussac, Côte-Nord, Quebec (Wintemberg 1943).

### 20.7.2 Ontario

The PRM holds *c.* 262 ‘archaeological’ objects from the Province of Ontario, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. All but 11 objects (see the Ipswich Museum Northern Ontario material discussed below) are from Southern Ontario. The first of these objects to be accessioned was a stone arrow-head from Galt (now part of Cambridge) in Southern Ontario (1886.1.840). Some 36 further objects were donated before 1900: 4 stone polishers from Hamilton, donated by Robert Sandilands Frowd Walker (1892.22.208–211); 6 ‘ancient mound-builders’ pipe fragments possibly from Ontario, donated by Frances Arthur Powell Aveling (1896.27.1–6); 8 shell beads and one glass bead excavated from an unnamed mound in Simcoe County, obtained from the collection of the American-Canadian ethnologist Horatio Hale (1817–1896) by E.B. Tylor, and donated to the PRM in 1896 (1896.7.14, 1896.7.16). There is also one stone

<sup>25</sup> The Pitt Rivers Museum photographic collections hold 32 photographs with views of the Roebuck site, skeletal remains and artefacts from the excavations donated by Wintemberg in 1939 (1998.272.61–91). The PRM also holds a map drawn by Francis Knowles for a museum display, showing the locations of the archaeological sites at Roebuck and Sidey Mackay.

bead from 'Sacred Spring, Hamilton' (1897.43.11), and 11 shell beads (1897.43.1–10) and 6 ceramic sherds (1898.20.75–80) excavated from a burial mound at Lake Medad, Waterdown, Hamilton by Frances Arthur Powell Aveling.

There are *c.* 22 stone arrow-heads, scrapers, points and blades collected by Francis Knowles at unnamed 'old Indian camp-sites' on the banks of the Grand River in the Six Nations Reservation (Tuscarora Township), Brantford, Brant County (1913.30.1–22). There is also a stone arrow-head from London, Middlesex County purchased by the PRM from the collection of Irish antiquarian Robert Day at Sotheby's on May 20 1913 (1913.74.6). From the collection of E.B. Tylor there is a stone axe from Gananoque, Leeds and Grenville United Counties (1917.53.99) and a ceramic pipe recorded simply as possibly from Ontario (1917.53.741). Further stone tools include a stone axe from the Mississauga River purchased by Lucas White King from 'Colonel Underwood' in 1915, purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King's collection at Sotheby's on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM (1921.67.65); a stone adze 'found on a farm near Hamilton' from the collection of Alexander James Montgomerie Bell (1921.91.141); a stone chisel purchased from 'Tyrell' in May 1923, recorded as 'Six Nations (Iroquois)' (1923.73.10); a stone scraper simply recorded as from 'Ontario' transferred with no further documentation from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.468); and a stone spear-head from Belleville, Hastings County that came to the PRM as part of the purchase of material from Ipswich Museum in 1966 (1966.1.387). Also from the Ipswich Museum collections are 11 stone projectile points from Hudson Bay in Northern Ontario, from the collection of 'Sam Waller' (1966.2.104).

The remaining collections from Ontario derive from two excavations undertaken by William J. Wintemberg, and were donated by the National Museum of Canada. First, there is a collection of *c.* 155 artefacts – 101 potsherds, 12 pipe fragments, plus 11 stone implements and 9 bone tools – from the Sidey-Mackay village near Collingwood, Simcoe County, which were donated by the National Museum in 1939 (1939.12.1). This pre-European Neutral-Iroquoian village<sup>26</sup> had been excavated by Francis Knowles and F.W. Waugh in 1912, who dug up an ossuary.<sup>27</sup> Wintemberg conducted surface-collection at the site in 1923, and excavated it in 1926 (Wintemberg 1946).<sup>28</sup> Second, there is an assemblage of *c.* 28 artefacts (ceramic sherds, ceramic pipes, bone awls, beads and stone tools) from the Middleport Prehistoric Village, Grant River, Ontario, which were donated by the National Museum in 1950 (1950.12.37–61). This material was excavated in 1930 by Wintemberg, and a report was published posthumously in 1948, seven years after his death (Wintemberg 1948).

### 20.7.3 Nunavut

The PRM holds *c.* 140 'archaeological' objects from the Territory of Nunavut, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. Three of these objects were part

<sup>26</sup> The Middleport site was treated primarily as an Iroquoian village, though Wintemberg indicates the presence of Woodland artefacts, perhaps indicating a lengthier period of habitation.

<sup>27</sup> Wintemberg (1948) notes the location of the ossuary in his plan view of the site, together with 8 of his trench excavations. He indicates that the site consisted of habitation areas, refuse deposits and postholes which he interprets as defensive works. A detailed description of the 'resources and materials' are outlined, including overviews of botanical remains, fauna, bone tools, stone implements (chipped, ground, battered, pitted), ornaments, pottery and earthenware pipes.

<sup>28</sup> The Sidey-Mackay village was later the focus of excavations by Charles Garrard (1978), some 50 years after Wintemberg worked there. The Wintemberg and Garrard excavations have together formed the basis for a number of technical reports and theses on the material remains (e.g. Hamaiainen 1981; Garrard 2003). One of the intriguing questions that still surrounds the site is the degree to which beaver were exploited by the Petun prior to the onset of the fur trade between Ontario Iroquois groups and the French.



Figure 20.3 Carved ivory figure of a pregnant woman, collected by Henry Toke Munn from a grave on Southampton Island, Hudson Bay, Kivalliq Region, Nunavut, Canada (PRM Accession Number 1924.14.2).

of a transfer of collections from the Ashmolean Museum in 1886: an ivory socket from a harpoon-shaft and an ivory hand-grip collected by Lieutenant Francis Harding of HMS *Griper* in 1827, and recorded as 'east Eskimo' in origin (1886.1.679 .2–.3), and an ivory harpoon-head collected in 1825 from the Melville Peninsula by Captain George Francis Lyon of HMS *Hecla* (1886.1.685). These items should be considered alongside the other northern collections transferred from the Ashmolean Museum, many of which are classified as 'ethnographic' in character. There is also a carved stone lamp from Cumberland Gulf, Qikiqtaaluk Region (Baffin Island), donated by Beatrice Braithwaite Batty in 1917 (1917.14.16) and a bone harpoon-head from the collection of James Brown, recorded simply as 'Eastern Eskimo', donated by Cecil Vincent Goddard in 1918 (1918.56.4).

The remaining Nunavut material derives from three donations. First, there is an assemblage of *c.* 62 objects from a larger collection made by Edward James Peck of the Church Missionary Society from Cumberland Gulf, Qikiqtaaluk Region (Baffin Island) (1900.65.3–15, 1903.49.2–18, 1906.48.1–15, 1906.76.1–26). These include 7 carved stone miniature lamps recorded as recovered from the graves of children (although perhaps

most probably found placed on the surface of the graves, rather than excavated from them) (1906.48.10, 1906.76.18–22); a 'very old native wooden doll' (1906.76.17); 8 bone and stone harpoon-heads from graves (1900.65.8–9, 1903.48.5, 1903.49.5, 1906.48.5, 1906.48.8–9); and a range of bone arrow-heads and other bone, ivory and stone objects. Second, there is a similar assemblage of *c.* 60 objects from a larger collection made by Henry Toke Munn from Pond Inlet, Qikiqtaaluk Region (Baffin Island) (1925.11.4–64). These include *c.* 31 bone and ivory artefacts recorded as recovered from graves (1925.11.10–19, 1925.11.25–38, 1925.11.63–64), and a variety of other bone and ivory objects. Also donated by Munn from Nunavut are 2 ivory figures – one of a man, one of a pregnant woman (Figure 20.3) – and a copper blade with a bone handle, from graves on Southampton Island, Hudson Bay, Kivalliq Region (1923.15.1, 1924.14.1–2). Third, there is an assemblage of *c.* 25 undated bone and driftwood artefacts collected from the sites of abandoned igloos by David Haig-Thomas during the Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition of 1934–1935 (1936.15.1–16, 1936.15.18–25). These comprise mainly bone sledge-runners, rods, harpoon-points and bow-drills, but also include 3 carved wooden figures and models (1936.15.21–23).

#### 20.7.4 Nova Scotia

The PRM holds a single, unquantified assemblage of *c.* 106 'archaeological' objects from the Province of Nova Scotia. This is made up of stone tools, ivory and bone objects, and ceramics from two shell midden sites – at Mahone Bay (Wintenberg 1929) and Mericomish Harbour (Smith 1929) – that were excavated in 1913–1914, under the auspices of the Geological Survey of Canada, by Harlan I. Smith and William J. Wintenberg. The collections were donated by the National Museum of Canada in 1939 (1939.12.3). These excavations represent some of the first organized fieldwork of the Maritimes by professional archaeologists (cf. Deal and Blair 1991).

### 20.7.5 *British Columbia*

The PRM holds *c.* 66 ‘archaeological’ objects from the Province of British Columbia, *c.* 11 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.5 above). The earliest accessions comprise a deer-horn chisel from the Juan de Fuca Straits, which was collected by James Wood of the HMS *Pandora* in 1850, donated the Ashmolean Museum, and transferred to the PRM in 1886 (1886.1.850); and two carved wooden bowls recorded as ‘from a cemetery’ at Maple Bank, Esquimalt, Vancouver Island (1887.1.621, 1887.1.632). There are 6 stone axes from the collection of Lucas White King – one from the Slave River the collection of Robert Day (1921.67.58); one collected by Arthur Wellesley from Victoria, Vancouver Island (1921.67.59); 2 simply recorded as from Vancouver (1921.67.60, 1921.67.63); one from Clinton, Thompson-Nicola District, obtained through the dealer William Ockelford Oldman of Brixton Hill (1921.67.61), and one from Queen Charlotte Sound acquired from ‘Kirk’ (1921.67.62). These 6 objects were purchased by Louis Colville Gray Clarke at a sale of King’s collection at Sotheby’s on 9 November 1921, and immediately donated to the PRM.

A collection of 9 stone arrow-heads and a stone axe from the farm of Malcolm Gibson at Lumby, North Okanagan was donated by Gibson in 1922 (1922.4.1–10). Some 7 stone arrow-heads and blades from Fulford Harbour, Saltspring Island, and Victoria, Vancouver Island were purchased from the collection of Gerald Thomas Fleetwood Pike of HMS *Virago* at Stevens Auction Rooms in 1923 (1923.71.29–31, 1923.71.35–38). In 1924, Charles Harrison donated 2 stone adzes from Haida Gwai (Queen Charlotte Islands) (1924.33.3–4), and a stone labret that was ‘dug up in his garden’ (1924.33.17). There are 2 artefacts from the collection of John Evans: a stone maul with carved decoration in the form of an animal’s head, from Lax-Kw’alaams (Port Simpson), Prince Rupert, Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional District (1928.68.22) and a partially-sawn stone from Lytton, Fraser Canyon, Thompson-Nicola Regional District (1928.68.25). There is also a carved stone bowl, in the form of a frog’s head and a human hand, recorded simply as from British Columbia, and purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms in January 1936 (1936.65.1); a stone chisel from Vancouver Island donated by Eustace Fulcrand Bosanquet (1941.4.28); a stone arrow-head, possibly from British Columbia, collected by Charis Thomas (1940.12.204; cf. 20.9 below); and a stone pendant and a copper necklace from Fraser Canyon, Thompson-Nicola Regional District, from the Cranmore Museum (1954.9.180–181). Finally, there are *c.* 24 stone spear-heads, axes and blades from Vancouver Island and the Fraser River that were donated by Captain Alan Herbert Coltart in 1932 (1932.42.44–67).

### 20.7.6 *Newfoundland and Labrador*

The PRM holds *c.* 60 ‘archaeological’ objects from the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, 6 of which are from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.5 above). There are 6 artefacts – 3 stone vessel fragments, a bone spatula, a bone harpoon-head and a stone scraper – that were collected by the Moravian Mission from a grave in Labrador, and were donated to the PRM by Cuthbert Edgar Peek in 1896 (1896.13.1–4, 1896.42.2–3). Three flint arrow-heads, collected by C.D. Longstaff from Conche, Newfoundland, were donated by Frederick Augustus Dixey in 1903 (1903.33.1–3). Two stone vessel fragments collected from graves at Cape Mugford, Labrador were donated by S.W. Woodward in 1914 (1914.73.9–10). A stone spear-head, collected by Henry Toke Munn from a grave at Cape Childey, Killiniq Island, Labrador, was donated by Munn in 1924 (1924.8.1). The remaining *c.* 31 objects are stone projectile points and scrapers that are recorded as from ‘Newfoundland’, and were transferred from the Ashmolean Museum in 1969 (1969.34.344–374, 1969.34.454). Many (and perhaps all)

of these are from the collection of John Evans; the collectors are often not recorded, but include Alexander Murray and T.G.B. Lloyd.

#### 20.7.7 *Quebec*

The PRM holds *c.* 48 'archaeological' objects from the Province of Quebec, one of which is from the PRM founding collection (see 20.2.5 above). A wooden ladle, tied with a wooden toggle tied with a hide thong, is recorded as collected 'from a grave' at Saguenay River by Henry Nixon in 1827 (1887.31.3). Some 11 ceramic sherds, excavated in 1860 by John William Dawson at Hocelaga near Montréal (Dawson 1860, 1861; see Trigger 1969: 304), were transferred from the OUMNH in 1891 (1891.61.9–19). There is also a single ceramic sherd, recorded as from Lake Timiskaming (which is on the boundary between Québec and Ontario), that was donated by James Sweetland Dallas in 1917 (1917.23.4). Finally, there is an unquantified assemblage of perhaps 34 stone tools from Tadoussac, Côte-Nord, excavated by William J. Wintemberg (1878–1941) for the National Museum of Canada in 1927 (Wintemberg 1943).<sup>29</sup>

#### 20.7.8 *Manitoba*

The PRM holds *c.* 25 'archaeological' objects from the Province of Manitoba, none of which are from the PRM founding collection. An assemblage of 5 objects – a human skull, a ceramic vessel, a specimen of birch bark, and 2 specimens of soil – excavated by 'Mr Reed-Lewis' from a burial mound 'on the Winnipeg River' in Manitoba or Ontario were donated by Henry Newton Dickson in 1913 (1913.83.1–5). Some 18 stone arrow-heads from collected from Napinka, Westman Region were purchased from 'P.T. Cole' in 1935 (1935.53.1–18). There are also 2 stone arrow-heads, possibly from Manitoba, that were collected by Charis Thomas (1940.12.205; cf. 20.9 below).

### 20.8 Archaeological Collections from Greenland

There are *c.* 125 'archaeological' objects from Greenland, of which 10 are from the PRM founding collection (20.2.5 above). There are 4 stone arrow-heads collected from 'Eskimo graves' at Upernavik by Thomas Colan of HMS *Alert*, given to Robert Day, and purchased by the PRM from a sale of Day's collection at Sotheby's on 20 May 1913 (1913.74.1–4). This collection appears to derive from the British Arctic Expedition of 1875–1876, in which Thomas Colan was Fleet Surgeon (Markham 1894: xi; Nares 1878: 176). There are 4 objects collected by explorer Tom George Longstaff (1875–1964): an iron knife with a horn handle collected from on Devil's Thumb Island, Melville Bay, Qaasuitsup, and donated by him in 1934 (1934.41.2), and a wooden blade, another unidentified wooden object, and a stone shuttle from a 'pre-Danish Eskimo grave' at Sermiarmiut, Ilulissat (Jakobshavn), donated through Aage Knudsen (1934.42.1–2). A collection of 7 stone, bone and ivory objects collected from Etah, Qaasuitsup by the Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition of 1934–1935 was donated in 1936 (1936.15.26–32). A gun-flint 'excavated from the site of an old, ruined Eskimo dwelling' at Utrpruq, Amerloq Fjord by David Steven of the Oxford University Exploration Society, was donated in 1937 (1937.11.21).

<sup>29</sup> The site at Tadoussac had been located by Frank. G. Speck of the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, in 1915 and the three hundred or so stone pieces he procured from the surface of the site were presented to the National Museum of Canada. Twelve years later, Wintemberg surveyed the site and opened several trenches to retrieve specimens *in situ*. In carrying out such work Wintemberg is noted as 'the first researcher to provide an idea of the extent and variety of Quebec's prehistoric heritage' (Martijn 1998: 168). As with some of his other investigations, Wintemberg's study of both the archaeological material from Speck's work and his own around Tadoussac was not published until after his death (Wintemberg 1943).

The remaining *c.* 79 objects were all part of the 1969 transfer from the Ashmolean Museum (1969.34.151–226, 1969.639–661). These include an assemblage of *c.* 60 Dorset Culture (*c.* 900 BCE–1500 CE) stone scrapers, blades and projectile points from Kekertak, Qaasuitsup, acquired from Karup Smith by John Evans (1969.34.151–226), possibly through a visit by Evans to Copenhagen. There is also a collection of objects made in Qaasuitsup: from the Cary Islands, Baffin Bay; from Life Boat Cove, Littleton Island; from Netlik, Baden Bay; and from Pandora Harbour, Cape Alexander. These are recorded as collected by Allen William Young of HMS *Pandora* in 1875–1876. However, in his published account Young does not mention his own collecting but does discuss the discoveries made by his colleague Clements Markham when on the HMS *Assistance* in 1851: ‘the ancient remains of Eskimos, consisting of stone huts, cachés, graves, and a stone fox-trap’ at the Cary Islands (Young 1879: 32). Young was in contact with Markham during the 1870s voyage and some of these objects – such as an ivory spike from a fox-trap (1969.34.646) – may possibly relate to the 1850s collecting (Anon 1852: 337), rather than the 1870s.

## 20.9 Other North American Collections

There are *c.* 435 ‘archaeological’ objects that are currently recorded simply as from ‘North America’, with no detail of country or state. Often the ‘North America’ assignation is based on little documentary evidence. Some 117 of these are from the PRM founding collection, and are discussed in 20.2.6 above. A further 92 are from a single source: a donation by Charis E.F. Thomas of stone arrow-heads and knives collected by his father and grandfather, recorded simply as from ‘North America’ (1940.12.199, 1940.12.201–208) – as well as 5 further arrow-heads from the same source recorded as from either Mexico or Oregon, USA (1940.12.209).

The remaining *c.* 226 objects come from a variety of sources. There are *c.* 28 stone arrow-heads, blades, borers and scrapers from the collection of Edward Burnett Tylor (1911.32.42–69), and *c.* 10 stone objects from the collection of John Evans (1928.68.52, 1928.68.211, 1928.68.214, 1928.68.239–240, 1969.34.250, 1969.34.434–437). There are 7 objects from the transfers from the Ashmolean Museum in 1886: 5 ‘Eskimo’ slate arrow-heads (1886.1.730); another stone arrow-head (1886.1.835), and a catlinite pipe bowl (1886.21.27). The 1892 transfers from the OUMNH brought *c.* 52 stone arrow-heads from the collection of John Wickham Flower, many of which are recorded as from the collection of ‘Mr Black’, and some of which are recorded as ‘Eskimo’ (1892.22.204–207, 1892.60.112–117, 1892.60.188–190, 1892.67.76, 1892.67.763, 1892.67.891–925). Also from the Flower collection, and currently recorded simply as from ‘North America’ are a stone axe (1892.67.768), an ‘Eskimo’ ivory comb (1892.67.7), an object recorded as a ‘pottery club’ (1892.67.75), and 2 ‘ceramic axe-blades’ (1892.67.767–768). Some 9 further ‘North American’ stone arrow-heads were transferred from the OUMNH in 1953 (1953.6.57).

There are also stone arrow-heads and other stone objects donated by Robert Sandilands Frowd Walker (1892.22.204–207), Rollo Worthington (1921.15.1), Maurice Platnauer (1931.41.1–2), the Wellcome Institute (1952.2.71–74, 1985.49.232), the Earth Sciences Department of Queen Mary College, London (1988.39.94–95), M.E.G. Robertson (1991.38.32–40), and from the estate of Alan Coltart (1939.12.12). Further stone arrow-heads and other stone objects were purchased by the PRM: from the collection of John Rae at Dowell’s Auction Rooms in November 1892 (1892.60.112–117, 1892.60.188–190); from Francis Knowles (1904.49.35–40<sup>30</sup>); from William H. Parker (1908.78.2); and from Raymond Wilson (1910.72.100); from the collection of

<sup>30</sup> Knowles also donated 2 ‘archaeological’ objects recorded simply as ‘North America’ (1947.8.17–18).

Robert Day at Sotheby's in May 1913 (1913.74.7–9, 1913.74.177); from Cecil Vincent Goddard (1918.56.4); from Ipswich Museum (1966.1.391); and at Sotheby's in 1983 (1983.14.5–6). There are also 2 perforated bannerstones donated by Louis Colville Gray Clarke (1921.24.40–41); as well as a chert borer (1921.67.111) and 4 stone arrow-heads (1921.67.96–99) also donated by Clarke. Acquired by the PRM in the 1980s are a carved stone figure of a bird, recorded as 'from Ontario or Delaware', transferred from the Wellcome Institute in 1985, having been purchased at Sotheby's in 1919 (1985.49.224), and a carved stone dish with a human head at one end (1989.47.21)

## 20.10 Conclusions

The North American collections of the PRM provide a place to think through the historical development of distinctions between 'ethnographic' and 'archaeological' collecting, and the contemporary value of such a distinction. The pioneering ethnoarchaeological collections made by Blackwood and Freire-Marecco are unstudied (cf. Gosden and Knowles 2001), and represent a crucial resource for writing the history of American anthropology. The story of the search for pre-Holocene archaeological remains in North America (Howard 1936) is well represented in transatlantic perspective by the collections from New Jersey, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. The involvement of John Evans in these debates is central. In one early paper on American stone tools, Charles Abbott referred throughout to Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements* – even suggesting that one scraper found in New Jersey 'bears a remarkable resemblance to a Bridlington scraper, figured in Mr Evans' work (fig. 218); but is about double the size' (Abbott 1873b: 275). That scraper was almost certainly collected in Yorkshire by Pitt-Rivers himself, and held in the PRM today (see Chapter 11 above). The Evans stone tool collections from North America are a major unstudied resource in writing the emergence of the idea of world archaeology. But there are also very many less prolific collectors represented here – like Horatio Nelson Rust (Apostol 1980; Chaput 1982; Kroeber 1906; see Rust 1905, 1906) – whose contributions to archaeology can be documented through the PRM collections. Further transatlantic exchanges can be seen in the institutional exchanges with the Smithsonian Institution, in which the figure of Frank Cushing – in his creative archaeologies in Florida and New Mexico – push our conceptions of the idea of 'ethno-archaeology' to the limit.

Some of the early archaeological collecting may have been undertaken by British antiquarians themselves. It is possible that some of the North American material from the PRM founding collection was collected by Pitt-Rivers himself. John Evans – whose collection makes up c. 707 of the PRM's North American archaeological collections – was in Canada on at least two occasions, for meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science: in Montreal in 1884, and then in Toronto in 1897 (Evans 1897b: 1–2), and could well have undertaken fieldwork, or other forms of collecting, while in the New World. Similarly, while E.B. Tylor's travel in Mexico with Henry Christy in March–June 1856 is well documented (Tylor 1861), he also visited North America on other occasions: in 1854 when he travelled 'for the best part of a year in the United States', ending in 'the live-oak forests and sugar plantations of Louisiana', before meeting Christy in Havana, Cuba and accompanying him to Mexico (Tylor 1861: 1), and in 1884 when he was in the American west and in Washington, D.C. with the Smithsonian Institution, in the company of Henry Moseley (Tylor 1884).

Meanwhile, as well as a resource for writing the history of archaeology, together with the Museum's ethnographic collections, the archaeological material holds much of importance for writing the social history, through material culture, of 17th-, 18th- and 19th-century North America. The unique early archaeological collections from the circumpolar region, and the organic materials from the United States are similarly very

significant international resources for museum archaeology. To give just one example, the collection from Bee Cave, Texas comprises particularly rare and spectacular objects, which are worthy of further research and analysis: especially since the material is currently undated.<sup>31</sup> Their analysis – especially radiocarbon dating – would make most sense in relation to the assemblage held by the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. A programme of dating would not only add to our understanding of the age of these objects, and the chronology of site occupation, but also potentially contribute to knowledge of the development of prehistoric footwear in the southern Plains of Texas, and in North America more generally. Much attention has been given to the presence of rarely-found footwear in prehistoric contexts in North America, and few archaeological footwear specimens have been chronometrically dated.<sup>32</sup> Further programmes of archaeological analysis could focus on use-wear analysis of the enormous quantities of stone bifaces and projectile points, and on ceramic studies – whether typological analysis, or scientific methods of residue analysis.

The histories of Native Americans and the First Peoples can also be written through the archaeological collections – as ably demonstrated by Laura Peers' numerous studies of the ethnographic collections of the PRM (e.g. Peers 1999; cf. Richardson 2001). The politics of these histories are perhaps most visible in collections such as those from the Skeleton Cave massacre site in Arizona, but are just as present in more everyday objects. Perhaps the greatest need in developing research into the archaeological collections is a similar process of detailed archival, documentary, contextual and object-based research, that will reveal much more detail about the life-histories of these objects that is currently recorded on the PRM database. This is a process that has been begun by the research for the present paper – but which has much, much further to go. The Witthoft glass bead collections, or the bone and ivory collections collected by 19th-century voyages from Nunavut and Alaska, might be highlighted here. Similarly, the Tylor and Moseley material from New Mexico – which includes *c.* 93 whole ceramic vessels, 42 ceramic and stone figures, *c.* 12 ceramic ladles and spoons – represents a unique, unstudied (and unpublished) collection.

Developing further research into the archaeological collections from North America will require new connections, and new distinctions, between 'archaeological' and 'ethnographic' concerns: perhaps at the heart of which will be the development of new forms of historical archaeology undertaken within the Museum.

<sup>31</sup> Coffin (1932: 60) recorded that the rockshelter 'seems to have been occupied at different intervals and for no long time at any period', and that 'the artificial deposits, which varied from almost nothing at the edge, to about four feet at the rear of the shelter, were separated from one another by layers of grass only a couple of inches apart, as if the occupants had successively inhabited and abandoned the site many times, leveling and improving the floor with grass each time they or others returned to reoccupy it'. However, while Coffin suggested that the site was not occupied over a long temporal span, as 'there was no indication of any cultural difference in the layers, regardless of their depth' (Coffin 1932: 60), this interpretation concerning temporal span is likely to be somewhat problematic given the 4-foot depth of the deposits, the presence of domesticates (e.g. corn, squash) and pottery at the top of the section. Moreover, Coffin gives virtually no attention to the stone artefacts recovered from the excavations, other than to say that many chipped and flaked stone implements were present, including 'arrowpoints' and 'spearpoints'. But the National Museum of the American Indian collections on-line database shows photographs of projectile points from the site, which indicates an extraordinary length of time, including the Archaic, Woodland, Pecos and Caddoan Traditions, potentially ranging from *c.* 4000 BCE to 1600 CE. The Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology on-line records also indicate the presence of artefacts that may be temporally diagnostic, such as projectile points and ceramics.

<sup>32</sup> For instance, footwear from Arnold Cave, Missouri, was dated by AMS, and found to range over a period of 7,500 years (Kuttruff *et al.* 1998). A recent report on the oldest footwear in Europe, *c.* 3500 cal BCE, received substantial international media attention (Pinhasi *et al.* 2010).

### Acknowledgments

We are grateful to Alice Stevenson for her assistance in the collections-based research undertaken for this chapter. Thanks are also due to Rosemary Joyce (University of California, Berkeley), William H. Marquardt (Florida Museum of Natural History), and Laura Peers (Pitt Rivers Museum) for their comments on particular regions and objects.

### References

- Abbott, C.C. 1872. The Stone Age in New Jersey. *American Naturalist* 6(3): 144–160.
- Abbott, C.C. 1873a. Occurrence of implements in the river drift at Trenton, New Jersey. *American Naturalist* 7: 204–209.
- Abbott, C.C. 1873b. Relics of a homestead of the Stone Age. *American Naturalist* 7: 271–278.
- Abbott, C.C. 1876. The Stone Age in New Jersey. In J. Henry (ed.) *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1875*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office (Smithsonian Institution), pp. 246–501.
- Abbott, C.C. 1881. *An Historical Sketch of the Discoveries of Palaeolithic Implements in the Valley of the Delaware River*. Boston: Boston Society of Natural History.
- Anon 1852. Cary Islands. In H. Austin (ed.) *Arctic Miscellanies: a souvenir of the late Polar search*. London: Colburn and Co, pp. 335–340.
- Anon 1881. Report of the Council of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland for 1880. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 10: 436–439.
- Anon 1883. Intelligence from American scientific stations: the ancient cemetery at Madisonville, O. *Science* 1(13): 373–374.
- Apostol, J. 1980. Horatio Nelson Rust: abolitionist, archaeologist, Indian agent. *California History* 58(4): 304–315.
- Balfour, H. 1929. On thunderbolts (Continued). *Folklore* 40(2): 168–172.
- Barber, E.A. 1877. Aboriginal funereal customs in the United States. *American Naturalist* 11: 197–204.
- Barber, E.A. 1879. Examination of Indian graves in Chester County, Pennsylvania. *American Naturalist* 13: 294–299.
- Beechey, F.W. 1831. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait, to co-operate with the polar expeditions: performed in His Majesty's ship Blossom, under the command of Captain F. W. Beechey* (2 volumes). London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley.
- Belcher, E. 1861. On the manufacture of works of art by the Esquimaux. *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 1: 129–146.
- Belt, T. 1878. Discovery of stone implements in glacial drift in North America. *Quarterly Journal of Science* 8: 55–74.
- Blackwood, B. 1927. *A Study of Mental Testing in Relation to Anthropology*. Baltimore, MD: Williams and Wilkins (Mental Measurements Monographs 4).
- Blackwood, B. 1930. Racial differences as recorded by the colour-top. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 60: 137–168.
- Blair, M.E. 2008. *A Life Well Led: the biography of Barbara Freire-Marreco Aitken, British anthropologist*. Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press.
- Bockstoece, J.R. 1977. *Eskimos of Northwest Alaska in the Early 19th Century: based on the Beachey and Belcher collections and records compiled during the voyage of HMS Blossom to Northwest Alaska in 1826 and 1827*. Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum (Monograph series 1).

- Brown, A. and L. Peers 2006. *Pictures Bring Us Messages / Sinaakessiik.siaohtsimaahpibkookiyawa: photographs and histories from the Kainai Nation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bushnell, G.H.S. 1961. Louis Colville Gray Clarke: 1881–1960. *Man* 61: 191–192.
- Chaput, D. 1982. Horatio N. Rust and the agent-as-collector dilemma. *Southern California Quarterly* 64 (4): 281–295.
- Coffin, E.F. 1932. *Archaeological Exploration of a Rock Shelter in Brewster County, Texas*. New York: Museum of the American Indian (Indian Notes and Monographs 48).
- Cushing, F.H. 1883. Zuñi fetiches. *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1880–1881)*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, pp. 3–45.
- Cushing, F.H. 1886. A study of Pueblo pottery as illustrative of Zuñi culture growth. Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1882–1883). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, pp. 467–521.
- Davis, S. 1998. History of archaeology in Nova Scotia. In P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell (eds), *Bringing Back the Past. Historical perspectives on Canadian Archaeology*. Hull, Québec: Canadian Museum of Civilisation (Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper 158), pp. 153–162.
- Dawson, J.W. 1860. Notes on aboriginal antiquities recently discovered in the Island of Montreal. *Canadian Naturalist and Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Montreal* 5: 430–449.
- Dawson, J.W. 1861. Additional notes on aboriginal antiquities found at Montreal. *Canadian Naturalist and Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Montreal* 6: 362–373.
- Deal, M., and S. Blair (eds) 1991. *Prehistoric Archaeology in the Maritime Provinces: Past and Present Research*. Council of Maritime Premiers, Reports in Archaeology 8, Fredericton.
- Evans, J. 1897a. *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain*. (second edition). London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Evans, J. 1897b. *Address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Toronto 1897*. London: Spottiswoode and Co.
- Feilden, H.W. 1884. Notes on stone implements from South Africa. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 13: 162–174.
- Ferg, A. and N. Tessman 1997. Two archival case studies in Western Apache and Yavapai Archaeology. In S.M. Whittlesey, R. Ciolek-Torrello and J. J. Altschul (eds) *Vanishing River: landscapes and lives of the Lower Verde Valley*. Tucson, AZ: SRI Press, pp. 215–279.
- Fowke, G. 1896. Stone art. In J.W. Powell (ed.) *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institution, 1891–1892*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, pp. 57–178.
- Futer, A. 1959. The Strickler site. In J. Witthoft and W.F. Kinsey (eds) *Susquehannock Miscellany*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, pp. 136–147.
- Garrard, C. 1978. The Sidey-MacKay BbHa-6 Site in 1977. *Arch Notes: Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society* 78(2): 14–27.
- Garrard, C. 2003. The Petun and the beaver. <http://www.wyandot.org/petun/RB%2031%20to%2036/PRI37.pdf> (Accessed 1 February 2012).
- Gesner, A.T. Prehistoric Mandan remains in North Dakota *Records of the Past Exploration Society* 4: 363–367.
- Gosden, C. and C. Knowles 2001. Material culture and colonialism in West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea. In K. Fewster and M. Zvelebil (eds) *Ethnoarchaeology: case studies*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports (BAR International Series 955), pp. 124–135.

- Grey, G. 1870. On quartzite implements from the Cape of Good Hope. *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* 2(1): 39–43.
- Hamalainen, P. 1981. An analysis of bone artefacts from the Sidey-Mackay site. <http://www.wyandot.org/petun/RB%2031%20to%2036/PRI31.pdf> (Accessed 1 February 2012).
- Hamber, A. 2010. *Collecting the American West: the rise and fall of William Blackmore*. Salisbury: Hobnob Press.
- Hamilton, F.W. 1874. *The Origin and History of the First or Grenadier Guards (Volume III)*. London: John Murray.
- Hinsley, C.M. 1992. The museum origins of Harvard anthropology 1866–1915. In C. Elliott and M. Rossitor (eds) *Science at Harvard University: historical perspectives*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, pp. 121–145.
- Holmes, W.H. 1890. A quarry workshop of the flaked-stone implement makers in the District of Columbia. *American Anthropologist* 3: 1–26.
- Holmes, W.H. 1897. *Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tidewater Province*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office (Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 15).
- Hooton, E.A. and C.C. Willoughby and 1920. *Indian Village Site and Cemetery near Madisonville, Ohio*. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.
- Howard, E.B. 1936. An outline of the problem of man's antiquity in North America. *American Anthropologist* 38: 394–413.
- Isaac, G. 2011. Whose idea was this? Museums, replicas, and the reproduction of knowledge. *Current Anthropology* 52 (2): 211–233.
- Jenness, D. 1941. William John Wintemberg, 1876–1941. *American Antiquity* 7: 64–66.
- Jones, C.C. 1878. *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia tribes*. New York: D. Appleton.
- Kidder, A.V. 1932. *The Artifacts of Pecos*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Knowles, F.H.S. 1937. *Physical Anthropology of the Roebuck Iroquois with Comparative Data from Other Indian Tribes*. Ottawa: F.A. Acland (Anthropological Series 22; National Museum of Canada Bulletin 87).
- Kroeber, A.L. 1907. Horatio Nelson Rust. *Journal of American Folklore* 20(77): 153.
- Kuttruff, J.T. S.G. Dehart and M.J. O'Brien 1998. 7500 Years of prehistoric footwear from Arnold Research Cave, Missouri. *Science* 281: 72–75.
- Larsen, H. and F. Rainey 1948. *Ipiutak and the Arctic whale hunting culture*. New York: American Museum of Natural History (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History 42)
- Lutkehaus, N. 1989. Beatrice Blackwood. In U. Gacs, A. Khan, J. McIntyre and R. Weinberg (eds) *Women Anthropologists: selected biographies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pp. 17–22.
- Lyell, C. 1849. *A Second Visit to the United States of North America (volume 2)*. London: John Murray.
- McGuire, J.D. 1891. The Piney Branch Indian workshop. *Science* 17: 135–136.
- Markham, A.H. 1894. *The Great Frozen Sea: a personal narrative of the voyage of the 'Alert' during the Arctic expedition of 1875–6*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
- Martijm, C.A. 1998. Bits and pieces, glimpses and glances: A retrospect on prehistoric research in Quebec. In P.J. Smith and D. Mitchell (eds), *Bringing Back the Past. Historical perspectives on Canadian Archaeology*. Hull, Québec: Canadian Museum of Civilisation (Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper 158), pp. 163–190.

- Meltzer, D.J. 1985. North American archaeology and archaeologists, 1879–1934. *American Antiquity* 50: 249–260.
- Meltzer, D.J. 1996. Antiquity of humankind in the Americas. In Fagan, B. (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 36–38.
- Meltzer, D.J. and R.C. Dunnell 1992. Introduction. In D.J. Meltzer and R.C. Dunnell (eds) *The Archaeology of William Henry Holmes*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. vii–1.
- Mercer, H.C. 1893. Trenton and Somme gravel specimens compared with ancient quarry refuse in America and Europe. *American Naturalist* 27: 962–978.
- Mercer, H.C. 1897. *Researches upon the Antiquity of Man in the Delaware valley and the eastern United States*. Boston: Ginn and Company (University of Pennsylvania Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology 6).
- Miller, D.A. 2007. *Matilda Coxse Stevenson: pioneering anthropologist*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Nares, G.S. 1878. *Narrative of a voyage to the Polar Sea during 1875–6 in HM Ships Alert and Discovery*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.
- Painter, K. and H. Thompson 1994. Obituary: Donald Harden. *The Independent* 29 April 1994.
- Peale, F. 1861. On the stone implements of the Indians of North America, with a classification and description of the methods of making them. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 8: 265–272.
- Peale, F. 1863. Communication on an antique stone hand-hammer. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 9 (70): 401–403.
- Peers, L. 1999. ‘Many tender ties’: the shifting contexts and meanings of the S BLACK bag. *World Archaeology* 31(2): 288–302.
- Peers, L. 2007. On the social, the biological and the political: revisiting Beatrice Blackwood’s research and teaching. In D. Parkin and S. Ulijaszek (eds) *Holistic anthropology: emergence and convergence*. Oxford: Berghahn Books (Methodology and History in Anthropology 16), pp. 127–147.
- Penniman, T.K. and F. Knowles 1941. An obsidian blade found near the University Parks at Oxford. *Man* 41: 129.
- Percy Cox, H.E., G. Vanier and H.R. Hill 1936. Oxford University Ellesmere Land Expedition: discussion. *The Geographical Journal* 87(5): 441–443.
- Petraglia, M.D. and R. Potts 2004. *The Old World Paleolithic and the Development of a National Collection*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution (Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 48).
- Pinhasi, R., B. Gasparian, G. Areshian, D. Zardaryan A. Smith, G. Bar-Oz and T. Higham 2010. First direct evidence of Chalcolithic footwear from the Near Eastern highlands. *PLoS ONE* 5(6): e10984. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0010984.
- Pitt Rivers Museum 1956. *Report of the Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum for 1955*. Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum.
- Purdy, B.A. and H.K. Brooks 1971. Thermal alteration of silica minerals: an archeological approach. *Science* 173: 322–325.
- Ralph, R. 2004. Brown, John Alexander Harvie-, of Dunipace (1844–1916). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53956> (Accessed 10 August 2012).
- Randall-MacIver, D. and C.L. Woolley 1909. *Areika*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (University of Pennsylvania Museum, Egyptian Department. Eckley B. Coxse Jr Expedition to Nubia, Volume 1).

World Archaeology at the Pitt Rivers Museum: A Characterization  
 edited by Dan Hicks and Alice Stevenson, Archaeopress 2013, page 409-454

- Rau, C. 1869. Drilling in stone without metal. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1868*. Washington D.C: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 392–400.
- Rau, C. 1881. Aboriginal stone-drilling. *American Naturalist* 15: 536–542.
- Reeves, I.L. 1914. Military education in the United States. Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Company.
- Richardson, L. 2001. Speaking for themselves: the Pope collection of Native American artifacts in the Pitt Rivers Museum. Unpublished M.Sc. dissertation, University of Oxford. On file at Pitt Rivers Museum (Collectors files: Pope).
- Rust, H.N. 1905. The obsidian blades of California. *American Anthropologist* 7(4): 688–695.
- Smith, C.M. 1885. A sketch of Flint Ridge, Licking County, Ohio. *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1884*. Washington D.C: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 851–873.
- Smith, H.I. 1929. The archaeology of Merigonish Harbour, Nova Scotia. In H.I. Smith and W.J. Wintemberg (eds) *Some Shell-Heaps in Nova Scotia*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada (National Museum of Canada Bulletin 47), pp. 1–110.
- Stirling, J. 1869. On some flint arrow-heads and North-American Indian pipes, found in Kelby's Island on Lake Erie. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 7: cxi–cxii.
- Taylor, C. 1987. William Blackmore: a 19th-century Englishman's contribution to American Indian ethnology. In C.F. Feest (eds) *Indians and Europe: an interdisciplinary collection of essays*. Aachen: Rader Verlag, pp. 321–336.
- Trigger, B.G. 1969. Criteria for identifying the locations of historic Indian sites: a case study from Montréal. *Ethnohistory* 16(4): 303–316.
- Trigger, B.G. 2006. *A History of Archaeological Thought* (second edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tylor, E.B. 1861. *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, ancient and modern*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.
- Tylor, E.B. 1884. How the problems of American Anthropology present themselves to the English mind. *Science* 4(98): 545–551.
- Wallbridge, T.C. 1861. Notes upon the mound structures of southern Illinois and Ohio: in the vicinity of St. Louis, Cincinnati and Newark. Unpaginated pamphlet reproducing a paper 'read before the Canadian Institute, Feb. 23, 1861', on file at New York Public Library (HBC pv 195).
- Wiley, G.R. and J.A. Sabloff 1993. *A History of American Archaeology* (3rd edition). New York: W.H. Freeman.
- Wilson, T. 1896a. Prehistoric art; or, the origin of art as manifested in the works of prehistoric man. In *Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1896*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, pp. 325–664.
- Wilson, T. 1896b. Piney Branch (D.C.) Quarry workshop and its implements. *American Naturalist* 30: 873–885.
- Wilson, T. 1896c. Piney Branch (D.C.) Quarry workshop and its implements (continued). *American Naturalist* 30: 976–992.
- Wintemberg, W.J. 1929. The Eisenhauer shell-heap, Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia. In H.I. Smith and W.J. Wintemberg (eds) *Some Shell-Heaps in Nova Scotia*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada (National Museum of Canada Bulletin 47), pp. 111–193.
- Wintemberg, W.J. 1943. Artifacts from ancient workshop sites near Tadoussac, Saguenay County, Quebec. *American Antiquity* 9(4): 313–340.

- Wintenberg, W.J. 1946. The Sidey-Mackay village site. *American Antiquity* 11(3): 154–82.
- Wintenberg, W.J. 1948. *The Middleport Prehistoric Village Site*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada (National Museum of Canada Bulletin 109, Anthropological Series No. 27).
- Young, A.W. 1879. *The Two voyages of the 'Pandora' in 1875 and 1876* (two volumes). London: E. Stanford.

Archaeopress Open Access