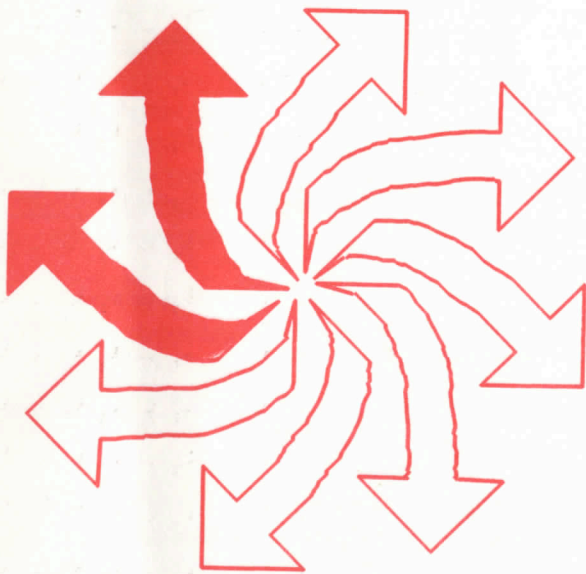


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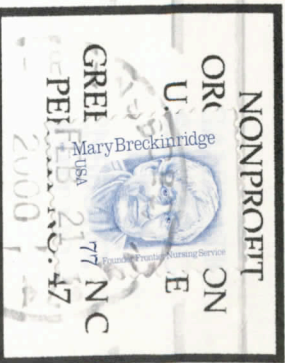
History and Rebellion in this issue!

Volume 26, No. 2, Fall 1999

Southern Anthropologist

David M Johnson, Editor in Chief
Department of Sociology & Social Work
North Carolina A & T State University
Greensboro, N C 27411

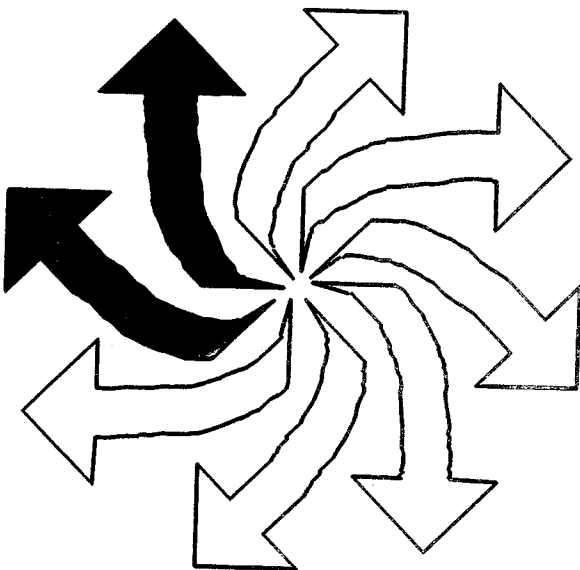
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Greensboro, N C 27411

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199d
D W INGERSOLL JR
5564 QUAKER NECK LANDING RD
CHESTERTOWN MD 21620

NONPROFIT
OR
U.
GREY
PEP
MaryBreckinridge
USA
77
N C
47



Southern Anthropologist

Editor in Chief

David M Johnson

Department of Sociology and Social Work
North Carolina A & T State University, Greensboro, N C 27411
johnsond@ncat.edu

Southern Anthropological Society 1999-2000 Board of Directors

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David Johnson

Department of Sociology & Social Work
NC A&T State University
johnsond@ncat.edu

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Department of Anthropology
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angrosin@luna.cas.usf.edu

Fall 1999]

Southern Anthropologist

Volume 26 Number 2

Fall 1999

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The *Southern Anthropologist* is normally published twice a year (Spring and Fall) and is distributed as a benefit to the membership of the Southern Anthropological Society.

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Southern Anthropological Society communications: (dues, subscriptions, and address changes) should be sent to:

Dan Ingersoll
 SAS Secretary-Treasurer
 Department of Anthropology and Sociology
 St Mary's College of Maryland
 St Mary's City, MD 20686
 E-mail: dwingersoll@osprey.smcm.edu

"Gigabyte" Johnson

Editor's Corner

Welcome to the Fall/Winter 1999 issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*. As the swing issue between millennia (how does that sound?) it has articles that look to the past (Indian Studies at Florida State University), and a reminder that millennia fever has not been confined to this last decade, so lay back in your hot tub and enjoy!

Feature articles

The first feature article this issue is "Urban Politics, Rural Rebellion: An Analysis of Brazil's Contestado Rebellion, Using an Agency Model of the State," by Tawnya Sesi, which discusses a number of issues in Brazil in the early part of this century, part of which was the millennial fever that affected the people and its effects on their lives and the politics of the area. This seems like an appropriate paper to feature at this time of the century, regardless of how you count the millennium's beginning.

Tony Paredes and Lisa Lewis bring us the definitive history of American Indian Studies at Florida State University, which

studies involved students from a wide variety of disciplines and which history ties into the history of the SAS in the earlier part of the century. This paper seems an appropriate way to tie into the Society's past, and I thank them for revising the paper especially for this publication.

The future

The Spring issue should bring us the student papers from the Paper Competition, in addition to other possible material. Some of you have verbally shared your comments to them, but I am still awaiting more of you to actually write down your responses to the "Threads" articles in the last issue, so that I can publish them!

I have recently learned about the death of Carol Taylor, who was involved with the SAS in its early days, and hope to have information about her in an upcoming issue.

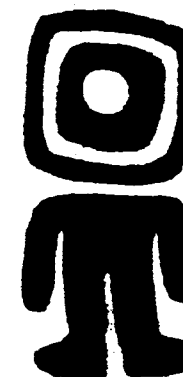
If you have other articles you think I might be interested in, please contact me; see below for ways to do this!

Keep in touch!

Ways to reach me:

(1) Voice mail at (336) 334-7894 at my office, or (336) 274-7032 at home

(2) E-mail via the Internet at johnsond@ncat.edu



(3) My email "handle" to home is: *gigabyte@nr.infi.net*

(4) Office FAX number (336) 334-7197

(5) Surface mail:

David M Johnson, Editor, SAS

Department of Sociology and Social Work

N C A&T State University

Greensboro, N C 27411

If you wish to submit materials to the Anthropologist, my preferences are (in rank order) and if possible in more than one form:

(1) text of MS Word file or RTF file on a Macintosh floppy, along with hard copy

(2) text or word processor file on 3-1/2 " IBM (MS-DOS) disk with hard copy

(3) e-mail to address above; try RTF file format.

(4) fax and/or hard copy

Material that is sent already in electronic format is less likely to have my errors in it!

My deadline for the Spring 2000 issue of the *Southern Anthropologist* is tentatively April 15.

Southern Anthropologist Staff:

Editor In Chief: Gigabyte Johnson

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Roving Reporters: Herman Nooticks, Wally Balloo

President's Column

David M Johnson

North Carolina A&T State University

Get the New Century Started off Right! Try My Two-Step Program!

Welcome to the Fall 1999 issue of the Southern Anthropologist! Due to circumstances partly out of my control, this issue is reaching completion early in the new century, so I can tell you that indeed the new century slipped quietly into place and is turning out to be just as busy as the old.

I am looking forward to the 2000 meetings in Mobile, and hope to see many of you there and hope that you will encourage your colleagues to attend also. Mark Moberg is working hard on local arrangements and ideas for making the meetings more fun, so I thank him for his efforts in preparing and thank Lisa Lefler for organizing the Key Symposium and working with the papers for the meetings.

During the fall I sent out letters to the chairs of about 50 departments of anthropology in the south, departments which have not participated in the Society recently (or at all), and encouraged them to join us, so we will see what comes of that initiative.

For those of you who did not get a Call for Papers to the Meetings, part of that information is in this issue.

Two Step Program

In this era of self-improvement, I unveil here my special *two-step program* for fixing what may ail you, and all you need to do is complete these two simple steps, which are:

(1) Attend SAS meetings, starting (if you haven't before) with the Mobile meetings, and

(2) Become active in the Society, through filling an office, bringing a student or colleague with you to the meetings, writing a paper for deliver at the meetings or for this Newsletter.

There; that is simple, isn't it? Time to get started!

I want to thank all those past Presidents, Councillors, Sec-Treasurer, Proceedings Editor, and others who have supported me during my tenure and look forward to working with them in the future. If you would like to be actively involved in the Society, please let me or others know (see my Two-Step Program, above). If you want to contact me, email me at <johnsond@ncat.edu> or contact me through the Editor.

Southern Anthropological Society 2000 Annual Meeting

March 9 – 12, 2000

(sessions to be held Friday, Saturday, Sunday)

**Radisson-Admiral Semmes Hotel
Mobile, Alabama**

Key Symposium:

**Responsibility and Partnerships:
Anthropologists Among Southern Indians in the
New Millennium**

(organized by Lisa Lefler, University of Oklahoma)

There will also be a Student Paper Competition

For information on the hotel, contact: Radisson-Admiral Semmes Hotel, 251 Government St, Mobile, Al; tel: (334) 432-8000, fax: (334) 405-5941, email: <roominfo@rdadmsemmes.com>

For information on meeting participation, contact: Lisa Lefler, Health Promotion Programs, The University of Oklahoma, 555 E Constitution, Bldg 4, Room 138, Norman, OK 73072; email: <llefler@ou.edu> or visit web site at <www.ou.edu/anthropology

Fifth Annual Ethnographic Field School in Costa Rica, May 17 - June 27, 2000

Tim Wallace, of North Carolina State University, will lead the fifth ethnographic field school in Costa Rica, May 17 to June 27, 2000. The field school uses the theoretical and applied context of sustainable tourism in the coastal communities of Quepos and Manuel Antonio to provide students with a six-weeks, hands-on, learning and research experience in fieldwork techniques in ethnography with an applied perspective. These two communities have been the site of a massive tourism boom during the 90's. Quepos is a former United Fruit Company plantation and port town. Manuel Antonio is the site of one of the most beautiful and exciting national parks in Central America. The pressures from tourism for change and development are greatly affecting both of them.

Over the last four summers, apprentice ethnographers participating in the program have been documenting the effects while they learn fieldwork basics and gain six graduate or undergraduate credits for their work. Students earned the key to the town of Quepos for their work in 1996. Students are placed in homes of Costa Rican families for their housing and board. English is the language of instruction but some Spanish competency is very useful. The low program fee covers all expenses including tuition, housing, meals, in-country transportation, health insurance, and miscellaneous other expenses.

If you are interested in applying for the program, send a brief letter or e-mail message with your name, address and telephone number to Tim Wallace, Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology, NC State University, Box 8107, Raleigh, NC 27695-8107 or E-mail to tim_wallace@ncsu.edu. (Telephone: 919-515-9025). You may also visit the field school website at <<http://www4.ncsu.edu/~twallace>>

Tim Wallace

Box 8107, Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology

North Carolina State University

Raleigh, NC 27695-8107

919-515-9025; fax: 919-515-2610

SAS Endowment Campaign for Education and Outreach in the South

The Endowment is now in its sixth year of fund-raising towards a \$30,000 goal.

The purpose of the endowment is to:

- support student participation in the meetings and the student prize competition,
- expand the knowledge of anthropology in and of the South and to smaller colleges and universities which do not yet offer courses in anthropology,
- bring the message of our discipline to minority institutions through a dynamic speakers bureau,
- encourage minority participation in the field and at our meetings, and
- reward outstanding scholarship in the anthropology of the South with the annual presentation of an enhanced James Mooney prize.

At present the Endowment is about one-third of the way to the goal, so your contributions are needed!

Please take time to make a campaign pledge or donation and send it to:

Dr Max E White

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Piedmont College

PO Box 10

Demorest, GA 30535

email: <mwhite@piedmont.edu>; Tel: (706) 778-3000 ext 261; Fax: (706) 776-2811

Urban Politics, Rural Rebellion, and Millennial Fever: An Analysis of Brazil's *Contestado* Rebellion Using an Agency Model of the State

by Tawnya Sesi

University of South Alabama

Those who have been once intoxicated with power, and have derived any kind of enjoyment from it ... never can willingly abandon it. They may be distressed in the midst of all their power, but they will never look to anything but power for their relief.

Edmund Burke 1791

In 1912, a particularly tenacious rebellion arose in the *Contestado* region of Brazil. At its height in 1914, twenty thousand rebels occupied 28,000 square kilometers of the southeastern interior. This amounts to 3% of Brazil's total territory. Almost half of the country's military force was utilized at a cost of US\$250,000 to defeat the rebels. When it was over, many hundreds had been killed, and thousands starved. After four years of siege and attack, the countryside was left in ruin.

The rebellion in the *Contestado* was actually the third in a series of rural insurrections that began with the infamous Canudos Massacre; this eventually reemerged as a "rescue campaign" by Padre Cícero, which erupted into the *Contestado* Rebellion shortly thereafter (Bello 1966: 221, 222). These three uprisings near the turn of the century have several things in common. First, they were all millennial in nature; that is, they were 'holy wars', "religious movement[s] obsessed with salvation and the moral regeneration of society" (Diacon 1991: 8). Second, they all took place primarily in the *sertão*, or backlands, of Brazil. Third, they occurred at a politically unstable time in the history of Brazil, during what is now referred to as the Old Republic. These similarities validate the *Contestado* Rebellion

as more than a mere aberration. This paper argues that the *Contestado* uprising was directly attributable to the power struggle that ensued after the fall of the monarchy and was an integral part of those decades of civil unrest.

In his discussion of the Canudos Massacre, Robert Levine defines the term *millenarianism* as referring to

... the quest for total, imminent, ultimate, this-worldly, collective salvation... social movements seeking massive and radical change in accord with a predetermined divine plan. Members often reject the existing social order and withdraw from it. In the Christian millenarian tradition... Christ is expected to reappear in the guise of a warrior, establish his kingdom, and reign for a thousand years. *Messianic* movements predict that universal salvation will occur through the enthroning of a messiah. In Christianity, then, millenarian movements are by definition messianic... (1992: 7).

Peter Worsley points out, in addition, that these movements "arise among the 'oppressed'" (1968: xxxix). It is important to remember, however, that we must not be misled by our own labeling of such movements the world over as 'millennial' even when lacking such Christian religious overtones.

Their actual expression may vary considerably. The religious aspect of these movements might even be seen as secondary to the central theme of self-perceived oppressed groups searching for social justice and relief from their oppressive situations. In this case, the particulars of the events surrounding the rural rebellion are diagnostic of a much larger political strategy by those in power in the Brazilian government. These strategies are not easily explained by prevailing theories of the state in anthropology, and highlight the need for a more nuanced approach to the relationship between the state and civil society.

An agency model is used to describe political decisions and ensuing events in light of the state's primary ambition of maintaining political control. Using the "the motives of those who exercise control over [the state]" as his "central focus" (1994: 219), Mark Moberg explains,

"Regardless of their differing ideologies, class background and alliances, and degree of sincerity or cynicism, ruling groups have a common interest. Once in control of power, most wish to retain it, and they use the apparatus and resources of the state to do so... The self-interest of powerholders is a major factor determining public policy" (1994: 219, 220).

Situating the rebellion in its historical political context, I intend to use this model to explain the etiology of the Contestado Rebellion.

Contestado, meaning disputed or controversial, refers to a large border region ranging the states of Santa Catarina and Paraná and claimed by both. This dispute between local elites had gone on for many years and, although officially adjudicated soon after the rebellion ended, was not actually laid to rest for many more years (Diacon 1991: 5, 6; Bello 1966:

222, 223). This longstanding tension between local elites (Diacon 1991: 6) can be seen as a potential proximate cause of escalating violence in the region as urban policies impinged on the established social order in an already volatile setting.

Many self-proclaimed prophets and 'miracle workers' were active in fomenting a religious frenzy among the poor in this rural area. Since patron-client relations typical to Latin America had flourished, it seems curious that those who emerged as leaders of this social movement, and those who opposed them, were all *fazendeiros*, owners of latifundia. Historian Todd Diacon does not doubt the sincerity of these elites in their struggle, as he explains:

The rebellion was not simply a political struggle in which a few leaders employed a millenarian scheme to trick an ignorant peasantry. [Some] political leaders joined the rebellion late and surrendered early. Meanwhile, [others] stayed from start to finish, through the heady times... to the times of disease and hunger as the rebellion died (Diacon 1991: 128).

Strife among and between members of factions of the elite class itself accounts for this striking dissimilarity with preconceived notions of rural rebellion.

An antipathy existed between those elites willing to and capable of making "the transition from large, interior landowner to budding capitalist" (Diacon 1991: 83) and those who were not. Those of the elite class who were also government officials had the upper hand in 'legal' affairs and this spawned frustration and violence, including ambush and murder, on the part of those not so connected. Some elite individuals had to take refuge in the millennial group's compounds, which were, considering the intralite murders of the time, seen as relatively safe. A compound, like the one at Taquaraçu, was consid-

ered to be a *cidade santa*, a holy city. Those living there would survive God's judgement, expected to come in the form of catastrophes, while those outside it would die. It is telling that order was kept by armed rebels, and that property, while often shared freely, was not communally owned; there was no injunction to turn one's worldly property over to the charismatic authority (Diacon 1991: 116-118). In this way, elite individuals were allowed to maintain their relative dominant status.

The millenarianism rampant at this time was sincerely endorsed by newly 'oppressed' elite members who could feel some empathy with disenfranchised peasants, seek sanctuary from enemy elites, and maintain some semblance of patron-client ties against the time that the 'normal' order of things might return. In fact, Diacon devotes several chapters to discussing the psychosocial importance and implications of the *patrão/compadrão* system to *agregados* (sharecroppers) and *comaradas* (peons). It is the disintegration of this system *during this period of capitalistic modernization* that he credits for the millenarian nature of the uprising; the clients feel abandoned and want a return to the old, that is, 'God-given' order (Diacon 1991: 132). Hence, the alliance between the *patrões* and their clientele in exile together. I would postulate that certain laws instituted for the expressed purpose of capitalistic modernization resulted in both the escalation of intralite rivalries and the disintegration of the *patrão/compadrão* system, and that the millenarian nature of the rebellion is a feature merely incidental to the culture and class of the majority of the people involved.

According to Brazilian historian José Maria Bello, during this time of the Republic,

The groups that had gained control of the states were made up mainly of former members of the monarchic parties. They calmly went about setting up powerful machines devoted to

graft, bribery, and violence.

Although the Congress of 1900 had the same vicious origins as the Congresses, including the imperial Parliaments, that preceded it, it was the one that gave up its last pretense of free political power [emphasis added] (1966: 169).

Bello also describes these state oligarchies as "tight little groups connected more or less by family ties" (1966: 193). The stage was set for one or more charismatic leaders to garner support in the cities where the people ostensibly would receive the greatest benefit from a sort of internal peripheral economy. It was no coincidence that the charismatic leaders that arose in the Contestado originated among those who were disenfranchised subsequent to capitalistic industrialization.

Charisma, as defined by Max Weber, is, ... a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically special powers or qualities. These are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader (Weber as qtd in Worsely 1968: Intro.).

Commenting on Weber's definition, Peter Worsely points out a second, dialectical aspect:

... a charismatic appeal, whether it depends upon attributes of personality and character or upon the performance of certain acts, or both, if it is to become the basis of collective social action,

needs to be *perceived*, *invested with meaning*, and *acted upon* by significant others: those who respond to this charismatic appeal... To give rise to a charismatic movement or organization... to crystallize individual beliefs into a belief *system* and believers into a social collectivity, the perceptions must further generate a disposition to behave in socially meaningful and causally significant ways, and to do so in coordination with others... The charismatic personality has to be 'recognized', socially validated and accorded the *right*, firstly, to formulate policy... and then to *command* support for that policy (1968: Intro.)

The combination of a poor economic situation, the already deep religiosity of the people, and the relatively new concept of electoral choice of leadership could have easily combined to allow the emergence of charismatic leaders of millennial revolution.

However, policies promoting capitalistic industrialization did not originate here in the *sertão*, although there was a tradition that supported both physical and institutional violence. The backlands of Brazil were aptly named; they were rural, isolated, and poor. Even the *fazendeiros* are described as living "in small, simple wooden structures... an existence void of culture and grace... like beggars: with coarse, patched clothing... a straw hat... many times without shoes because they don't like superfluous clothing and unnecessary footwear" (qtd. in Diacon 1991: 30). This is not to imply that *fazendeiros* as *patrões* were somehow naïve or innocent players in the subsequent tragedy.

They were ready perpetrators of the violence

committed on the *agregados*, *peons*, and *possieiros* (usually *caboclos*, those of mixed Indian/African/European ancestry and without *compadrio* ties) under their control. On the one hand, the physical violence associated with patron/client relationships in the atmosphere of *machismo* prevalent in Latin America was evident (Diacon 1991: 42, 43). On the other, institutionalization of the more refined, but possibly more deadly, violence of disenfranchisement was a well-practiced tradition, especially after the discovery of an export market.

Besides cattle and subsistence crops, *erva mate*, a type of wild tea, use of which was adopted by the Portuguese from the local Guaraní Indians, was harvested, processed, and sold. Diacon notes, "For years the product was for internal consumption only. In the late nineteenth century, the increased demand for the product in Argentina and Uruguay prompted the first *erva mate* exports. By 1907 *erva mate* was the largest export item of Santa Catarina" (1991: 16, 17). The people who suffered most in the beginning of the development of this industry were the *possieiros*, whose very name implies squatter status on *terras devolutas* (after 1889, i.e. state-owned land) (Diacon 1991: 20). These people, considered racially inferior by the Portuguese elite, did not enjoy 'confidence' status (Diacon 1991: 18) in a *compadrio* relationship with a *patrão*, although they may have often worked part-time for him as a *peon*. Only sharecroppers and full-time peons lived on, or in close proximity to, the *fazendeiro's* land and had *compadrio* ties with him. In 1889, with the beginning of the Republic, laws were put in place to register *de facto* land ownership with the government. As can be imagined, much advantage was taken of *possieiros*, who were illiterate, poor, distant from the towns and access to legal help, constantly in fear of death from Indian attack, and who lived on land that contained *erva mate*, the rights to which could be leased from the government. The federal government did little to protect *caboclos* from disenfranchisement by *fazendeiros* partly because

contemporary thought on racial 'whitening' policies, particularly through colonization, ran counter to the interests of minorities. A quote by Governador Joachim d' Almeida Faria Sobrinho in 1888 is telling:

In addition to its (economic) relevance, the importance of [European] immigration increases when one considers it as an ethnic factor of the first order, destined to purify the national organism of the vices of its origin and its contact with slavery (as qtd. in Diacon 1991: 53).

Yet the economic policies leading to disenfranchisement on a massive scale did not begin in the Contestado backland, since "a precapitalistic mode of production dominated... *Fazendeiros* appropriated surplus in noneconomic ways, relying on established relations of dependence, while most of those in the lower strata managed to maintain some access to the means of production" (Diacon 1991: 22). Soon the implementation of modernization policies, which were promoted by the ruling elites as being in the nation's best interest (Moberg 1994: 221), would have serious consequences for peasants. Taking into consideration the pragmatic aspect of the worldview associated with the "institution of *compadrio*," Diacon observes, "Through *compadrio*, the patron legitimizes his control, but at the price of becoming morally responsible for the subsistence of his clients. In a rustic economy this price is not high, but in a commercialized setting it may rise" (1991: 36). Power struggles between national party elites set the stage for this commercialization.

Confirming Moberg's point made above identifying the common interest of ruling groups as the desire to stay in power, Bello describes what happened when inexperience in individuals in the new government left themselves exposed and weak:

"The politicians left over from the monarchy then began

reappearing; their greater experience in administration and politics assured them of easy victory in local contests... They calmly went about setting up powerful political machines... In time they consolidated their positions... reminiscent of the old patriarchal regimes, with their big houses and their slave huts (1966: 193).

Moberg further explains how power positions are 'consolidated' in a country like Brazil: Regardless of whether their leaders attain power through elections or coups, Third World states often approximate a "patrimonial" form, as the term has been used to describe Brazil (Roett 1972) and Mexico (Grindle 1977, 1986). Leaders of patrimonial states extensively utilize a "spoils" bureaucracy "to reward friends, to co-opt potential and actual opponents, to satisfy local and regional allies, and to deal with newly emerging social groups in order to build support for the system (1994: 221).

The above statement defines the reason for the primacy of factional interest over that of class interest. Additionally, Paul Magnarella explains the advantage of this factional "conceptualization" over that of the uniform Marxist horizontal 'class': ...the concept *faction*... can be a class or a vertical section of society comprised of elites and their followers. Factions stand opposed to each other. The subordinate members of each faction see it in their best interest to support a

single elite or group of elites rather than to band together with other subordinates against the class of elites. For example, in multiparty political systems characterized by coalition governments, the elites of minor parties have loyal, lower-economic-class supporters who hope to be awarded secure government jobs once their minor party becomes part of a government coalition and takes control of a government ministry (Magnarella 1993: 8).

Events on the local level demonstrate the manifestation of these factionalist loyalties. At first, disenfranchisement of the *caboclos* was not a matter of concern to the clients in a *compadrio* relationship because they profited by the increased land-ownership of their patrons. Later, however, they found themselves in the same unenviable position as the *caboclos*. As a "social actor" (Moberg 1994: 220) national regimes look out for their own best interests, including that of maintaining power by consolidating a factional following through the use of a spoils system. This agency perspective on the state helps to make sense of some blatantly unjust and seemingly illogical economic practices instituted by the Contestado elite.

While the term "populism" may not have been used in Brazil until the 1950s, its use as a political tool began there in the early twentieth century (Conniff 1981: 17, 3). Denotatively, populism refers to political activities or ideas that are based on the interests and opinions of ordinary people, sometimes involving the use of people's fears or prejudices in order to achieve political success. Actually, the sheer number of electoral votes necessary for a particular regime to maintain power determines who these 'ordinary people' turn out to be. Whatever class of society has the preponderance

of the population with electoral privileges is the one that gets played to in an electoral state such as Brazil.

The working definition of populism as it manifested itself in Brazil is given by Michael Conniff: "It was urban, electoral, and charismatic in leadership," with the dual purpose of "correct[ing] abuses of [sic] elitist government and [to] accommodate rapid urbanization and industrialization" (1981: 3). Some characteristics of this definition and purpose hint at the populist movement's relationship to urban dwellers as it differs from its relationship to rural dwellers. Urban dwellers, whose needs are to be accommodated and furthered, are included as an integral part of the movement. Density of a literate, therefore potentially voting, population in the cities provided them with this advantage. Populism would reach the mostly illiterate peasant population of the rural areas only as a reagent for the purpose of endowing it with the essentials necessary to support the urban area.

Moberg explains the connection between elite ideology and its manifestation as public policy: Because statements of policy and ideology are in part based on calculations of the potential support they will generate, Ames (1987, 4) notes that leaders' substantive preferences are essentially unknowable to others. What is measurable, however, is the relationship between state policy and public support for governments. Here, Ames (1987) finds that Latin American governments of differing ideological orientations have used public expenditures in similar ways to mobilize support and to allay the threat of military coups (1994: 221, 222).

Because they foresaw the potential of rebellion as a response to the coercion to modernize

and industrialize, the rulers took steps to preclude or moderate any respondent peasant rebellions. Therefore, in terms of Brazil's history, the term populist would apply more as the stated ideology of an elite fighting to distance itself from the ideology of monarchism, which had been overthrown in Brazil in 1889. Their interest in stimulating the economy of a supposedly backward backland area stems from the simple fact that all urban dwellers need rural areas for the sustenance they provide. Additionally, a modernized hinterland can provide economic benefits to capitalist interests in the city, including jobs for some of the great masses of unemployed in the larger cities of the time. These two potential benefits provided by the periphery to the economic center constitute the basis for the reform movement in Brazil as it relates to the peasant class in the early 1900s. This 'reform' movement, as instituted by the national elite, had the full support of the urban electorate because, as Brazilian historian José Maria Bello relates,

...The masses, living in more or less permanent unemployment and misery in the backward northern cities, were always ready to try anything. The men who wished to remake the state party systems by force were aware of the psychological and social conditions (1966: 218, 219).

The major vehicles for modernization in the rural areas were the development of a railroad system and a forestry industry. Both of these projects involved the necessity of identifying and transferring the ownership of extensive tracts of land. The Brazil Railroad Company completed the line in 1910 (Diacon 1991: 60). The Brazil Lumber Company was a subsidiary of the Brazil Railroad Company. The people who stood to gain the most were the people in the best position to manipulate the ruling party into instituting laws legitimizing their claims to land over the claims of others; this was for the

purpose of selling the land at inflated prices. It may on the surface seem that this purpose would be entirely contradictory to the interests of the state whose coffers it is that would be emptied in such a situation. However, from the outset the government did not have the funds to finance the railroad and obtained financial backing from a private party in the United States (Diacon 1991: 44). Therefore, the tax money collected from land transactions would actually fill governmental coffers. And the higher the price extorted from the investor, the more taxes that would be collected. In fact, "seven to ten times the going [price] per hectare price" was paid for these lands (Diacon 1991: 50). Additionally, facilitating this state of affairs would result in national party support by local leaders who were profiting as sellers of land and as potential receivers of 'gifts' from tax money. In this case these leaders were powerful *patrões* in the Contestado, who were often government officials themselves or had familial relations to them.

What lands got sold for these massive profits? Sometimes they were lands whose ownership was hotly contested among the local *fazendeiros* themselves, but usually the lands included those of *agregados* and *peons*, those supposedly 'with confidence' in *compadrio* relationships with their *patrões*. And what happened to these clients? Being put off their lands, or often being only threatened with it, had the effect of clients being sold into virtual slavery on railway and lumber work teams by their patrons. This was not an entirely uncalculated side effect since shortage of manpower was of major concern to the industrial interests (Diacon 1991: 106), whose interests were now synonymous with those of the local elites.

Diacon uses Eric Wolf's definition of 'local elites as labor brokers': "groups of people who mediate between community-oriented groups in communities and nation-oriented groups which operate through national institutions" (as qtd. in Diacon 1991: 103) to explain the *turmas*, or a system

of work gangs, that evolved during this time. The railroad and sawmill executives found it more expedient to pay local patrons to organize work crews rather than to directly pay laborers as employees. Diacon elaborates on one manifestation of this system:

Displaced peasants sought work on the railroad as a last resort to ward off starvation. They were now "free" to do so in the Marxist sense of the word. On the other hand, *patrões* directly involved in labor contracting likely forced their current clientele into the brutal life of lifting rails and swinging spike hammers. Consider, for example, the hypothetical case of an *agregado* of Manoel Fabrício Vieira. Before the entrance of the railroad this *agregado* probably worked a few days a month directly for Vieira. The rest of the time he, along with his family, cared for his own cattle and tended the subsistence crops he grew. But now that Vieira worked as an *empreiteiro* (labor contractor), this same *agregado* probably faced, against his will, hard labor on the line for twelve to sixteen hours a day, seven days a week (Diacon 1991: 107, 108).

He goes on to outline a similar scenario for sawmill labor, wherein people displaced by land sales become 'employees' at the sawmill (Ibid.).

At first glance, this kind of behavior may seem counterproductive because elites in electoral two-party systems need to curry the favor of their constituents. But as Moberg states,

Where rural class structures are based upon patron-client relation-

ships, parties need only obtain the support of a landlord or other patron to procure the votes of his clients as well. Landless laborers and tenants are "locked in" to support their patron's party by virtue of their dependence (Moberg 1994: 222).

Still, superficially at least, this practice may seem to run counter to the moral economy of peasants who would view such extreme conditions and the elites who benefited from them as illegitimate (Scott 1976: 17). There should therefore be the fear that local peasants would vote them out of power. In fact, however, the clients in this case were not actually constituents because voting privileges extended only to those adult males who were literate, a scarce commodity in the Contestado peasantry. Since "constituents are associated with varying opportunity costs to the rulers of the state" (Moberg 1994: 225, 226), it was only profitable for the national elites to cater to the wishes of the local elites in the *sertão*.

The cities, however, proved to be a different case altogether. In the mid-1800s, the population of cities began to grow at "unprecedented rates" and "[g]rowing concentrations of people in metropolises... necessitated new forms of social control and accommodation of mass political aspirations" (Conniff 1981: 7). For one thing, the attitude of 'city folk' differed greatly from that of the peasantry:

The new urbanism fostered elitist government that no longer cared very much for the poor and downtrodden. French positivism, which deeply infused the governments of the generation, provided a rationale for neglecting the less fortunate. Society would progress, according to positivism, if led correctly by a scientific-minded

and determined vanguard. The masses would be pulled along and up if society as a whole progressed. It was wrong to expend scarce resources on the poor, who did not know how to invest in progress. The stick (police repression) predominated over the carrot (better living standards) for imposing social control. For those who found positivism too harsh, there was Spencerianism, a radical version of laissez faire applied to social relations. Also known as "social Darwinism," this approach recommended the intelligent and talented be encouraged to excel through economic rewards, while the unfit, infirm, dull, and unskilled be allowed to languish and die through natural selection (Conniff 1981: 8).

There proved to be a problem with this reasoning; since it also applied to the poor in the cities, that is, the literate, voting poor. The type of social policies engendered by such an attitude soon led to "voter protest" (Conniff 1981: 9). When Brazilian populism began, therefore, it was "always urban" and the more voters who were affected, the higher an issue would be likely to go for resolution (Conniff 1981: 11, 61). Presidents were so eager to curry the favor of urbanites by "beautifying the city and providing orderly administration" that they "disbursed federal funds far in excess of what was collected locally in taxes" (Conniff 1981: 62).

In another way, too, the reform movement can itself be seen as being led by an elitist group with its own interests in mind in that the overt ideology promulgated to the urban masses did not necessarily reflect the elite's covert ideology. Paul Magnarella explains,

In Socially ranked and stratified societies, persons in political/economic power often create or sustain ideologies that mask real relationships... according to Joll, Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci believed that "the rule of one class over another does not depend on economic or physical power alone but rather on persuading the ruled to accept the belief systems of the ruling class and to share its social, cultural and moral values"... The elite often persuade the masses to believe in social, cultural, and moral values that they themselves secretly reject (Magnarella 1993: 9).

Conniff comments on the particular case of Brazil:

... the rapid mobilization of a populist electorate representing all strata of society did not create a true citizenry; rather, it gave the vote to multitudes who might be swayed by ambitious politicians... The rise of urban politics was not an automatic response to industrial and demographic growth—instead, it was created by flesh-and-blood men and their ideas and the interplay between them (Conniff 1981: 174).

Therefore, both urban-dwellers and rural peasants can be seen as pawns in a much larger scheme not of their own making.

Moberg concludes his paper by restating the value of the agency model:

Finally, an agency approach begins to resolve the seemingly intractable debate in the

anthropology of the state. It has been seen here that states govern both through coercion and consent, and they may reward many groups in society or a few particularistic interests. Such policies are not derived from the nature of state institutions, as previous theories of the state suggest, but from the motives of those who control them. A model of the state as a social actor in its own right can better elucidate its actions toward communities that form the traditional subjects of anthropology (1994: 226).

It has been generally accepted that the presence of a millenarian movement is diagnostic of an oppressed people. While there may be many other expressions of resistance by subordinate groups facing unacceptable circumstances, the imaginations of many have been fired by the current turn of the millennium. Even in vast populations that do not practice any form of Christianity, the Christian/Western calendar has become familiar. Millenarian movements can now be found in virtually every country on earth. However, as this era passes and many of these groups fade away, it is unlikely that this waning will signal a downward trend in the numbers of oppressed peoples. Public policy is and will continue to be determined by powerholders interested in retaining their power. Using a model of the state as social actor, whatever form that state may take, presents an analysis that accounts for apparently counterproductive social policy. Events in the Contestado region of Brazil in the early part of the century constitute but one example of the far-reaching effects of seemingly remote political interests.

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Prehistory of the SAS

A Not-so-Brief History of American Indian Studies at Florida State University

J. Anthony Paredes

Chief, Ethnography and Indian Affairs
Cultural Resources Stewardship
Southeast Region
National Park Service
and
Professor (Retired)
Department of Anthropology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Given Florida State University's high-profile use of the name "Seminoles," from time to time people ask why Florida State University does not have an American Indian Studies program. In fact, currently, an *ad hoc* committee of faculty from several disciplines spearheaded by anthropology is discussing the desirability and feasibility of formalizing an American Indian Studies program at FSU. Whatever might come of those deliberations, a review of past accomplishments of FSU faculty in American Indian studies—in fact if not by name—is instructive for understanding the development of anthropology in the South (see, for example, Hudson 1996). In the case of FSU, anthropology led the way in the study of American Indians, as was so true elsewhere, but there was an interdisciplinary quality to American Indian studies at an early stage.

As with much in the history of social science at FSU, American Indian studies there began with Raymond Bellamy, before Florida State College for Women (FSCW) became Florida State University in 1947 and before "Seminoles" was adopted by student vote as the new university's eponym in the same year ("Crackers" was a close second). Although

Linda Carson Lewis

Graduate Student
Department of Anthropology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Bellamy was a sociologist, he had studied with Franz Boas's student Alexander Chamberlain at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts (see Du Toit 1986). Not only was Bellamy the founder of the FSU sociology department, but also, he was, as the plaque in the building named in his honor proclaims, "... Teacher of Anthropology, Economics, Political Science and Statistics, Defender of Academic Freedom, Student and Friend of Man and Nature." Bellamy was on the FSCW/FSU faculty from 1918 to 1956.

During 1926 to 1935, Bellamy taught a course entitled "Anthropology of the American Indian." This was probably one of the first courses of its kind in the entire South. Toward the end of his life, Bellamy recalled in a December 3, 1969, letter to Paredes:

In connection with this course, I would tell the students—all girls then—"Do something." And that was about as definite as I made it. They did some interesting

things. The most interesting was that which a girl who lived here in town did. She had the class—a small class that year—out to her home and gave us a dinner of nothing but aboriginal Indian food—turkey, beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peanut butter, maple sugar, avocados. How would you grade something such as that?

In the 1940s, Bellamy taught a course entitled "Anthropology of the Western Hemisphere." Then, he paved the way for the establishment of a separate anthropology department at FSU in 1950. Hale G. Smith was recruited in 1949 to begin the new department and continued on the faculty until his death in 1977. For a warm and lively reminiscence of the department in its early days see Mason (1999). Along with all the archaeology courses he started, Smith also initiated the course "North American Ethnology," a survey of historic native American cultures that is still taught regularly in the FSU anthropology department. Smith published (1956) a pioneering monograph on the historic archaeology and ethnohistory of the region, *THE EUROPEAN AND THE INDIAN: EUROPEAN-INDIAN CONTACTS IN GEORGIA AND FLORIDA*.

Earlier, in the history department, Robert S. Cotterill, who served on the FSCW / FSU faculty from 1928 to 1950, developed a strong interest in American Indians, especially those of the South. Although Cotterill seems never to have taught a course exclusively on American Indians, they were an important part of his courses on colonial and frontier U.S. history. Cotterill's interest in the Indians reached full fruition with publication (1954) of *THE SOUTHERN INDIANS: THE STORY OF THE CIVILIZED TRIBES BEFORE REMOVAL*, which was, arguably, the very first general work by a modern historian on the Indians of the South in the

colonial and early American periods. No one else in the history department was to match Cotterill's accomplishments in American Indian studies until the 1970s.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the anthropology department at FSU developed along the familiar southern path for the discipline (Hudson 1996) with a primary emphasis in archaeology. Nonetheless, several FSU anthropologists were specialists on living American Indians and those of the recent past. Among these were Robert Anderson (1952-54), who did research on the Cheyenne; Sarah Robinson (1962-1964), long a student of native peoples of British Columbia; Estellie Smith, a Pueblo specialist, and Charles Bishop, an ethnohistorian of the northern Ojibwa of Canada, both on the faculty in the 1960s; and Robert C. Dailey (1968-1992), who studied a modern-day Eskimo community and the ethnohistory of Iroquoian and Algonkian peoples.

In 1969, J. Leitch Wright joined the history faculty as a colonial historian. Like Cotterill before him, Wright became increasingly interested in the role of Indians in southern history. His landmark Book-of-the-Month selection on the subject, *THE ONLY LAND THEY KNEW: THE TRAGIC STORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN THE OLD SOUTH* (1981), was followed by *CREEKS AND SEMINOLES: THE DESTRUCTION AND REGENERATION OF THE MUSCOGULGE PEOPLE* (1986). Unfortunately, in 1986, Wright died in an accident, cutting short his brilliant career.

Just before his death, Wright had organized, with J. Anthony Paredes of the anthropology department, a major conference held posthumously at the FSU Conference Center in March 1987 commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Great Removal. Outstanding scholars from around the nation and tribal leaders from Florida spoke at the conference, funded largely by the Florida Humanities Council. The conference carried the title "From Big Game to Bingo: Native Peoples of the Southeastern United States, A Retrospective Occasioned by the Sesquicen-

ennial of the Great Removal." A copy of the proceedings is in the Special Collections of Strozier Library, Florida State University; the scholarly presentations and speeches were videotaped and are still available through the FSU media center.

J. Anthony Paredes joined the FSU anthropology faculty in 1969. His earlier work primarily focused on the Minnesota Chippewa, e.g., *ANISHINABE: SIX STUDIES OF MODERN CHIPPEWA* (1980). After coming to FSU, he began ethnographic and historical research on the present-day Poarch Creek Indians, whose ancestors managed to remain in south Alabama while the main body of the nation was removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in the 1830s. Paredes's general edited work (1992a), *INDIANS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES IN THE LATE 20TH CENTURY*, was published in 1992.

The involvement of FSU personnel in Indian affairs has not all been purely academic. The late Charles Fairbanks, while on the FSU anthropology faculty during 1955-1963, did the background research to support the Seminole Indians' land claim before the U.S. Indian Claims Commission in the 1950s. The Seminoles—both those of Florida and Oklahoma—finally, after more than a decade long battle, won a settlement from the U.S. government for approximately \$2,000,000 in 1967. Fairbanks's research (1957) documenting the legitimacy of the Seminoles' claim was not published until 1974 (Fairbanks 1974). By that time, Fairbanks had moved to Gainesville to head the then new anthropology department at the University of Florida.

In a similar vein, Paredes's research provided much of the documentation of Poarch Creek Indian social history and contemporary community life necessary for the tribe to receive official federal recognition as an Indian tribe in 1984 (Paredes 1992b). Also, Charles Stevens's (1983) anthropology master's thesis presented a detailed demographic investigation of the distinctiveness of the Poarch Indian community in 1900. Federal recognition

brought to the Poarch Creeks all the benefits of tribal sovereignty and opened the door to dramatic new opportunities for local economic development, including a high-stakes bingo hall.

Another, unexpected FSU connection to recent Poarch Creek Indian history is found in the Claude Pepper Collection, given to FSU in 1979 and housed in the new Pepper Library on campus. The late Senator Claude Pepper worked as an attorney on the Creek land claims case of the 1950s and 1960s and some of his constituents were Creek descendants. Consequently, several boxes of the late Senator's papers in the FSU collection are filled with letters and other documents pertaining to Senator Pepper's Indian work; these archives are yet to be studied by scholars.

In addition to the Pepper collection papers, there are other items of interest to students of American Indian culture housed at FSU. These include clothing, tools, musical instruments, and other articles in the collections of the anthropology department, the department of clothing and consumer affairs, and the music school. One of the most extensive collections of items from American Indians is included in the Mary Lewis basket collection. In 1954, the late Ms. Lewis (FSCW 1908-1909) gave her large collection of baskets from around the world to the anthropology department. Many of those baskets were made by members of various American Indian tribes. All the baskets are now curated in the FSU Fine Art Gallery. The North American part of the collection was researched and a selection of these baskets exhibited by Theresa Harris for her honor's thesis in anthropology (1993), foreshadowing a massive Native American exhibit at the gallery in 1998 mounted by newly-arrived FSU art historian Jehanne Teilhet Fisk, a specialist on Polynesia and North American Indians, and her students (Teilhet-Fisk and Nigh 1998; McEwan 1999).

Theresa Harris was just one of many FSU students through the years who have done research on American Indian topics. One of the first master's

theses at FSU in anthropology was the late Theron Nunez's study of the Creek War of 1813-1814 as a religious movement (1957). This study resulted in a classic article (1958) in *ETHNOHISTORY*. In the ensuing years to the present, there have been many other theses in anthropology on American Indian archaeology. One of the more recent ethnological theses was Raschelle N. Raker's study (1993) of the geographic distribution and social functions of different kinds of drums and other percussion instruments in the native cultures of eastern North America. Laura J. Howard (1957) completed her anthropology thesis on stereotyping in direct-mail campaigns for American Indian charities.

A number of FSU anthropology graduates have gone on to receive doctorates elsewhere (FSU does not have a doctoral program in anthropology) and become prominent in American Indian studies. Some of the most outstanding include William Marquardt (BA 1968), currently at the Florida Museum of Natural History, and Randolph J. Widmer (BA 1970), at the University of Houston. Both are experts on the Calusa Indians (e.g., Marquardt 1992; Widmer 1988). Bennie C. Keel (BA 1960) is a leading expert on Cherokee archaeology (B. Keel 1976) and currently is a senior archaeologist for the National Park Service. William L. Leap (BA 1967), now at American University, is one of the most prominent scholars in the study of American Indian dialects of English. He is the author of the recent first-of-its-kind book, *AMERICAN INDIAN ENGLISH* (1993). J. Neil Henderson (MA 1975), now on the faculty of the University of South Florida medical school, is one of the national leaders in gerontological anthropology (e.g. Henderson 1993). He is currently conducting in-depth research on socio-cultural response to Alzheimer's and other mentally disabling diseases among elderly Choctaw Indians in Oklahoma.

It has not been just anthropology students who have done research on American Indian topics. In the history department, William Graves did both

his master's thesis (1974) and his doctoral dissertation (1982) on governmental American Indian policies. George Klos wrote a prize-winning master's thesis (1990) on Black Seminoles. Frank Lewis Kalesnik wrote his master's thesis (1989) on the "Great Sioux War" and his dissertation (1992) on Native American prisoners in Florida during 1875-1888. Kathryn E. Holland Braund (1986) did her doctoral dissertation on Creek Indian trade in the colonial period. She has since published the widely cited book, *DEERSKINS AND DUFFELS: THE CREEK INDIAN TRADE WITH ANGLO-AMERICANS, 1685-1815* (1993). In 1996, Patrick Riordan wrote his history dissertation on the formation and history of the Seminoles from pre-European times to the colonial era.

Beyond history and anthropology, theses and dissertations on American Indians have been done in a surprisingly diverse array of FSU departments. In recent decades, for example, Melonie Heron did her sociology honor's thesis (1993) on the impact of tribal economic development projects on modern-day Indians in Florida (she is now on the faculty of the FSU sociology department). In the English Department, Angela Mullis (1995) and Catherine Blow (1996) did honors theses on contemporary Native American writers Leslie Marmon Silko and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, respectively. Their work was directed by Carol Batker, who joined the faculty in 1993 and is FSU's first specialist in contemporary Native American literature (e.g., Batker 2000).

Bonnie Kranzer Nelson wrote a geography master's thesis on Classic Mimbres sites in New Mexico (1977). From the College of Home Economics (now, Human Sciences), Robert William Lind wrote a doctoral dissertation (1971) comparing American Indian and white adolescents' family attitudes and marriage role expectations. Mary Story did her dissertation (1980) on nutritional and anthropometric data from North Carolina Cherokee high school students. Roy Lee Douthitt wrote his doctoral dissertation in education (1980) on Eastern Cherokee

Indian schools. Similarly, Harry Jay Richards did a dissertation (1978) in Higher Education on American Indians students in post-secondary education in Florida during 1976-1977.

James M. Amend did his master's thesis in ethnomusicology (1992) on a group of North Florida Native American powwow singers. In library science, Pamela Petrick Barron did a master's thesis (1981) on portrayals of Native Americans in children's fiction. (A similar thesis on stereotyping in popular magazines was done by University of Florida student Sandra Powers (1979) under the direction of Anthony Paredes, through a FSU / UF cooperative degree program.) Timmy Joe Bookout in Art Education did a dissertation (1987) on traditional basketmakers of the South that included American Indians as one of the major components of his study. Mary Jane Ryals did a creative writing dissertation in English (1989) with an American Indian theme.

What about American Indian people themselves at FSU? FSU has had a few American Indian students enrolled through the years. Although the first Seminole Indian to graduate from FSU was Shayne Osceola in 1993, there were several other Seminoles before him who attended FSU but completed their education elsewhere. Through the years, however, there have been a number of American Indian graduates from other tribes.

During the early 1970s, the handful of American Indian students then on campus organized the student government-approved "American Indian Fellowship," with Paredes invited to serve as faculty advisor. Particularly prominent in leading the group was James Kirkland (BA in Physics, 1970), a member of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, who also worked as a technician in the FSU electron microscopy laboratory. The group did much to sensitize the FSU community to the nature of contemporary Indian life and played a major role in eliminating "Chief Full-o-Bull" from FSU basketball games, replacing him with the more dignified Yahola.

An important factor in the success of the early 1970s Indian student group was the encouragement of Jean Chaudhuri, a member of the Muskogee Nation of Oklahoma and wife of Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, who taught political science at FSU from 1971 to 1973. Mrs. Chaudhuri was responsible for organizing a number of American Indian events at FSU in the early 1970s, including a visit by the famous Dakota Indian author Vine Deloria, Jr. Although Jean Chaudhuri passed away in 1997, a book based partly on her work at FSU and co-authored with her husband is to be published later this year. The book is entitled "A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muskogee Creeks." The book is based on the work that she conducted while she and her husband were at FSU (her Southeastern Oral History Project, now housed in the Smithsonian), as well as the work that she conducted after she and her husband moved to Arizona. She has also left behind a warehouse full of medals, awards, photo albums, papers and documents. In her husband's words, she "was a walking public relations person between the Seminole Indian tribe and the university and was an activist for constructive change on the campus."

In subsequent years the FSU Center for Participating Education has sponsored guest lectures by prominent Indian activists like Russell Means. The American Indian Fellowship dissolved in the mid-1970s, but a new Indian students' organization is being established, thanks to the leadership of such people as Lance Lane (BA 1996 in International Affairs), a Creek descendent, and Leandra Scott (BA 1997 in International Affairs), a member of the Navajo tribe.

One of the most active members of the old American Indian Fellowship was Trudy Griffin (BA 1970 in Creative Art Graphics), of the Catawba tribe of South Carolina. Trudy (now Griffin-Pierce) eventually earned a doctorate in anthropology and is now affiliated with the University of Arizona. Among her other accomplishments are her books

EARTH IS MY MOTHER, SKY IS MY FATHER: SPACE, TIME, AND ASTRONOMY IN NAVAJO SANDPRINTING, with a forward by Pulitzer Prize winning Native American author M. Scott Momaday (1992). She has also published (1996) NATIVE AMERICANS: ENDURING CULTURES AND TRADITIONS, with a forward by Vine Deloria, Jr. Dr. Griffin-Pierce's academic reputation may soon match that of FSU's most widely known American Indian graduate, Russell Thornton (most widely known, that is, if one does not count Indian descendants like Rita Coolidge and Burt Reynolds who attended FSU).

Russell Thornton, a member of the Cherokee Nation, received his Ph.D. in Sociology from FSU in 1968. He went on to become one of the nation's most prominent scholars in American Indian studies, especially in demography. After serving at a variety of other prestigious institutions, Thornton recently joined the anthropology faculty at the University of California, Los Angeles. Perhaps his most well known work (1957) is AMERICAN INDIAN HOLOCAUST AND SURVIVAL: A POPULATION HISTORY SINCE 1492. Ironically, the former FSU Press turned down one of Thornton's first book manuscripts, a study of the 19th-century Ghost Dances of the Plains and Far West, but the book was eventually published by Cambridge University Press (Thornton 1986)!

A more recent FSU American Indian doctoral graduate with great promise is Stephen G. Jones, a member of the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana. He completed a creative writing dissertation (Jones 1998) in English entitled GLORY DOG: A PLAIN-SONG that is rich with ethnological symbolism and anthropological allusions.

Other American Indian graduates of FSU include people like Larry Haikey (MS in anthropology 1989) and Joe Quetone (BA in Philosophy 1973). Haikey is a member of the Muskogee Nation and is employed as an archaeologist by the U.S. Forest Service in Oklahoma. Quetone is a member of the

Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma and has been Executive Director of the Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs since 1978. Each year the Council is responsible for the most visible American Indian event on campus.

Every summer, since 1981, the Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs has sponsored the Florida Indian Youth Program at FSU. In the program, Seminole, Miccosukee, and other Florida Indian teenagers learn more about college life, what a university education has to offer. Participants learn academic and organizational skills to serve them in their personal and career development. Through the Florida Indian Youth Program such distinguished American Indian scholars as Kirk Kickingbird (Kiowa lawyer) and Joy Harjo (Creek poet and educator) have made visits to the campus.

Other notable American Indian visitors to campus in recent years have included former Cherokee Principal Chief Wilma Mankiller in 1994, one of the speakers in the now-discontinued Distinguished Lecture Series. Former Chairman of the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Betty Mae Jumper, also visited in 1994 on the occasion of being awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Florida State University. Current Seminole tribal chairman James Billie has visited the campus a number of times in recent years as both speaker and musical performer.

Finally, though purposefully not widely publicized, during 1994-99 a series of conferences on the FSU campus brought together representatives of the National Park Service in the Southeastern Region and federally recognized tribes associated with park units in the region. These meetings were hosted by the NPS's Southeast Archeological Center and dealt with the implementation of the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. FSU has been the host institution for the Park Service Center since 1972. The conferences were organized and arranged in collaboration with the FSU anthropology department, which has had a formal Cooperative Agreement with the

Center since it moved to campus.

Anthropology at Florida State University has expanded well beyond the study of North American Indians. Through the years, its faculty has included Latin Americanists, several kinds of physical anthropologists, Africanists, East Asian specialists and others. Nonetheless, the department has remained most firmly anchored to a core of American Indian studies, especially the archaeology of Southeastern Indians—historic as well as “prehistoric.” Along the way, although often unheralded, Florida State University anthropologists have also pursued a variety of scholarly and applied activities related to contemporary American Indian issues. Likewise, in other departments there have been other faculty and students whose accomplishments, along with those of the anthropologists, help to bring a measure of academic credibility (at least by association) to Florida State University in the field of “Indian studies,” no matter if overshadowed by the gridiron successes of the “FSU Seminoles.”

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1988 *Effects of European and American Colonialization of the Southeast on Upper Creek Settlement Patterns, 1700 - 1800.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Barron, Pamela Petrick

1981 *The Characterization of Native Americans in Children's and Young Adult's Fiction, with a Contemporary Setting by Native American and Non-Native American Authors: A Content Analysis.* Thesis (Ph.D.)—Florida State University—Library Science.

Barton, John Timothy

1992 *A Reconstruction of Subsistence and Environment at the New Pass Site (8FR27).* Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Batker, Carol J.

2000 *Reforming Fictions: Native, African, and Jewish American Women's Literature and Journalism in the Progressive Era.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Beditz, Lindsay Christine M.

1980 *Development of a Research Design to Assess Significance at Shiloh Indian Mounds, Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Beers, Bridget Ann

1997 *Middle Woodland Subsistence: Floral Remains from 8LE120A, A Swift Creek Site in Leon County, Florida.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Bense, Judith A.

1969 *Excavations at the Bird Hammock Site (8Wa30), Wakulla County, Florida.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Bierce-Gedris, Katharine

1981 *Apalachee Hill: The Archaeological Investigation of an Indian Site of the Spanish Mission Period in Northwest Florida.* Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Blow, Catharine

1996 *"The So-Called Material Facts in the Case: A Reading of Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's From the River's Edge.* Unpublished Honors Thesis. Department of English, Florida State University.

Bookout, Timmy Joe

1987 *Traditional Basketmakers in the Southeastern and South Central United States.* Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Art Education.

Braund, Kathryn Holland

1986 *Mutual Convenience - Mutual Dependence: The Creeks, Augusta, and the Deerskin Trade, 1733-1783.* Thesis (Ph.D.)—Florida State University—History.

1993 *Deerskins and Duffles: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-Americans, 1685-2825.* University of Nebraska Press

Brewer, David M.

1991 *An Archeological and Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment of Mosquito Lagoon at Canaveral National Seashore, Florida.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Bryne, Stephen Cowles

1986 *Apalachee Settlement Patterns.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Card, James Edward

1991 *Prehistoric Subsistence at the Singer Island Site (8PB214).* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Cockrell, Wilburn A.

1970 *Glades I and Pre-Glades Settlement and Subsistence Patterns on Marco Island (Collier County, Florida).* Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Cooper, Allen H.

1986 *A Descriptive Taxonomy of Leon-Jefferson Ceramics.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Cotterill, Robert

1954 *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal.* University of Oklahoma Press

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1996 *A Compilation and Analysis of Florida's Prehistoric Radiocarbon Database.* Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Deitrich, Patricia Marie

1996 *Statistical Analysis of Craniometric Proximity and Diversity Among Prehistoric and Historic Population Groups.* Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Dolan, Edward M.

1959 *An Investigation of the Darby and Hornsby Springs Sites, Alachua County, Florida.* Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Douthitt, Roy Lee

1980 *Sociocultural Change and Schooling: A Case Study of an Eastern Cherokee Community.* Thesis (Ph.D.)—Florida State University—Education.

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1986 *Anthropology in Florida: The History of a Discipline.* Florida Journal of Anthropology, Special Publication Number 5. Gainesville, FL: Florida

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Graves, William Hilton

1974 A Comparison of the Indian Policies of Spain, Mexico and the United States Towards the Apache Indians to 1865. Thesis (M. A.)—Florida State University—History.

Griffin-Pierce, Trudy

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1996 Native Americans: Enduring Cultures and Traditions. University of New Mexico

Hageseth, Elizabeth Carroll

1993 The Turtle Shores Site: An Early St. Johns Period Burial from St. Johns County, Florida. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Harris, Theresa

1993 Contextual Curation of the North American Indian Baskets from the Florida State University Department of Anthropology Ethnographic Collection. Thesis (Honors paper)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Hellmich, Judy Lynn

1985 The Research Potential of C.W.A. and W.P.A. Archeological Collections from Bibb County, Georgia. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Henderson, J. Neil

1993 Ethnic and Cultural Issues in Long Term Care of Minority Elderly. Tampa, Fla.: National Eldercare Institute on Long Term Care and Alzheimer's Disease at the Suncoast Gerontology Center, University of South Florida.

Herron, Melonie Heron

1993 Unpublished honor's thesis. Department of Sociology, Florida State University.

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Hudson, Charles

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Penders, Thomas Edward

1997 A Study of the Form and Function of the Bone and Antler Artifacts from the Windover Archaeological Site (8BR246), Brevard County, Florida. Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Penton, Daniel Troy

1970 Excavations in the Early Swift Creek Component at Bird Hammock (8Wa30). Thesis

(M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Peres, Tanya Michelle

1997 Analysis of a Late Pleistocene-Early Holocene Faunal Assemblage from the Page / Ladson Site (8Je591), Jefferson County, Florida. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Potter, Douglas Tuttle

1996 Chemical Analysis of Clay and Prehistoric Pottery from St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, Using Pixel and X-ray Diffraction Analyses. Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Powers, Sandra

1979 The Image of Native Americans as Portrayed in Popular Magazines 1968-1978. Unpublished master's thesis. Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.

Prokopetz, A. Wayne

1974 An Analysis of Post Houses Site 1Bi4, Macon, Georgia. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Raker, Raschelle N.

1993 Percussion Instruments of the Indians of Eastern North America. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Richards, Harry Jay

1978 An Identification of American Indian Students Enrolled at Selected Institutions of Higher Education in the State of Florida During the 1976-77 Academic Year: A Study of Their Characteristics, Aspirations, Needs and Attitudes. Thesis (Ph.D.)—Florida State University—Higher Education.

Riordan, Patrick

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Robbins, Laura E.

1993 An Analysis of Weeden Island Period Ceramic Variability at the Sowell Site (8BY3) in Northwest Florida. Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Ryals, Mary Jane

1994 To Laugh at Nothing. Thesis (Ph. D.)—Florida State University—English.

Schwadron, Margo

1997 An Archeological Investigation of Shell Ridges at Shaw's Point (8MA7), De Soto National Memorial, Bradenton, Florida. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Smith, Hale G.

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Stanton, William M.

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Stojanowski, Christopher Michael

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Story, Mary

1980 Food and Nutrient Intake Practices, and Anthropometric Data of Cherokee Indian High School Students in Cherokee, North Carolina. Thesis (Ph.D.)—Florida State University—Home Economics.

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Thornton, Russell

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1987 American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492. University of Oklahoma Press.

Vernon, Richard Henry

1984 Northeast Florida Prehistory: A Synthesis and Research Design. Thesis (M.A.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

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1988 The Evolution of the Calusa: A Non-agricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Williams, John Mark

1975 Stubbs Mound in Central Georgia Prehistory. Thesis (M.S.)—Florida State University—Anthropology.

Wright, J. Leitch

1981 The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indian in the Old South. Free Press

1986 Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People. University of Nebraska Press

**Southern Anthropological Society
General Business Meeting Minutes
for February 26, 1999, Decatur, Georgia**

CALL TO ORDER: Daryl White called the General Business meeting to order.

ITEM 1. The minutes of the previous meeting, March 27, 1998, Wilmington, North Carolina, were approved.

ITEM 2. Treasurer's report: Daniel Ingersoll, Secretary Treasurer, gave the financial report. A financial statement for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1998 was distributed. Total revenues amounted to \$6519.44. The cost of the Southern Anthropologist, issues 25/1 and 25/2 was \$848.00. Paid to the University of Georgia for publishing and distributing the Proceedings, volume 31 was \$3440.28. The number of members with dues paid for 1998 was 108, consisting of 38 student memberships, 5 retired memberships, and 65 regular memberships; dues generated \$3,450. Meeting registration for the 1998 meeting at Wilmington was 107 total, with 43 student registrations, 3 retired registrations, and 61 regular registrations. Registration fees for the 1998 meeting amounted to \$2742.00. In the SAS checking account as of December 31, 1998 there was \$157.17. In the SAS savings account as of December 31, 1998, there was on deposit \$5,606.54.

At the present meeting at Decatur, as of February 26, 1999, 12:00 p.m., the Secretary/Treasurer reported that the total number registered was 134, with the number of papers being given at 115 and 140 authors and co-authors.

A cost projection for the year 2000 was presented by the Secretary/Treasurer, who felt that a raise in dues at this time was not necessary.

ITEM 2. Election report. Mark Moberg, running unopposed, was elected President-Elect. David Johnson becomes President, and Daryl White becomes Immediate Past President. Daniel Ingersoll continues in the third year of his three year term as Secretary/Treasurer. Arthur D. Murphy, running unopposed, was elected Councillor; the term is (1999-2002). Melinda Bollar Wagner continues her term into 2001 and Barbara Hendry continue her terms into 2000. The Southern Anthropological Society sincerely thanks Immediate Past President Daryl White for all his hard work as President, Susan Keefe for her three years as President-Elect, President, and Immediate Past President, and retiring Councillor Mark Moberg.

ITEM 3. Although Michael Angrosino, Series Editor of Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, was not able to attend, the following was reported in absentia. It was stated that volume 32 of the Proceedings, Culture, Biology, and Sexuality, edited by David N. Suggs and Andrew W. Miracle, was printed and ready at the University of Georgia Press. Volume 33, Globalism, Capitalism, and Community, edited by Tom Collins and John Wingard, is on schedule for publication in 2000. The yearly report on Proceedings sales and stock from The University of Georgia Press was received by the Secretary/Treasurer.

ITEM 4. Endowment. Tom Arcury was not able to attend this year's meeting, but a report was delivered by

Max White who assumed the duties as Endowment Chair/Treasurer three weeks prior to this meeting. Tom Arcury, SAS Endowment chair treasurer since 1994, wished to retire from the position. Max White received a check of \$10,597.89 from former treasurer Tom Arcury, now deposited in a CD on February 11, 1999. Another \$100.00 was received after that date for deposit in a CD account. Interest received during 1998 was \$406.86. If you would like to contact Max to make a donation or ask for information, his address is Max White, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Piedmont College, P.O. Box 10, Demorest, GA 30535, e-mail address is mhwhite@piedmont.edu and telephone is 706-778-3000 ext. 261. The Society would like to thank Tom Arcury for many years of working with the Endowment fund, and Max White for continuing the project.

It was noted at the Executive Business meeting earlier in the day that the Endowment interest could be used to cover the student awards. It was moved and approved at the Executive Business meeting that surplus from the SAS's general funds administered by the Secretary/Treasurer could be invested in the Endowment.

It was moved and approved at the Executive Business that income from copyrighted material in the Southern Anthropologist could be placed in the Endowment fund.

ITEM 5. The Southern Anthropologist's Editor's Report. Southern Anthropologist editor David Johnson reported that 300 copies of the spring 1998 SA (25/1) had been sent out to paid up as well as to other recent members with the idea that receiving SA would stimulate re-establishing membership. The fall 1998 issue was sent out first class only to the currently paid up membership numbering about 130. To date, David's institution has not billed SAS for bulk mailings, for which we are grateful. The first class mailing cost about \$90.00. The SAS thanks North Carolina A & T State University for their generous support of SA, and David for his many years of editorial devotion.

It was asked if the SA would accept advertisements. The answer is yes. Advertisements may also appear in the meeting program.

ITEM 6. The 1999 Meeting, Decatur. The SAS thanked Art Murphy and Martha Rees for the great job they did organizing and hosting the 1999 meeting, both as Key Symposium organizers and members of the Local Arrangements and Program Committee. It was asked if there was a "meeting manual." There is not a formal manual, but putting one together with a set of timetables and a description of needs would be helpful for future meeting planners.

The SAS is also very grateful to the other members of the Local Arrangements and Program Committee, Colleen Blanchard and Daryl White.

ITEM 7. Book Exhibit, 1999 Meeting. Mary Schweitzer was the former Book Exhibit coordinator. This year's exhibit was executed by Richard Persico. He reported that about 150 letters were sent to publishers and that his department secretary had worked hard on the task. The University of Florida Press, the University of Nebraska Press, and Mayfield Publishing Company responded especially well to the SAS meeting invitation. Richard suggested that more lead time is needed to prepare for the meetings, and more regional

presses need to be targeted. SAS/SA advertising information for publishers could be included in future letters to presses. The SAS would like to thank Mary Schweitzer for her contribution to running last year's book exhibits and Richard Persico for volunteering to organize the Book Exhibit for the 2000 meeting. Donated books from the publishers exhibits were offered as prizes to Student Paper Competition winners and honorable mentions; some of the remaining publisher-donated books were sold to meeting attendees, the resulting funds designated for the Endowment. One or more press donations underwrote the morning coffee break. The SAS thanks the publishers for their generous support at our 1999 meeting.

ITEM 8. Student Paper Competition. Last year there were three graduate paper submissions; this year 30 abstracts were submitted, with 11 graduate student and 8 undergraduate papers received. Several papers arrived late. Winners were selected from both graduate and undergraduate categories. Morgan Maclachlan, chair of the Student Paper Competition, said that there were clear winners. S. Kerth, John Sabella, and Mark Moberg were the paper judges. The undergraduate winner was Erin Finley, with her paper, "Rather Than Face That Place Again: Care-Seeking as a Factor in Maternal Mortality Among Mayan Women in Guatemala." The graduate winner was Loretta Ann Cormier's "Ritualized Remembering and Genealogical Amnesia." The papers will be published in volume 26/1 of the Southern Anthropologist.

Morgan suggested that, in the future, the graduate student competition should be divided into M.A. and Ph.D. categories, with \$200.00 more committed to the prize pool. All were in favor of the motion and it was approved. He also advised that next year the Student Paper Competition should be advertised along with the Call for Papers. All papers should be sent to one central place. Morgan expressed a desire to retire from the position but said he would be willing to be the coordinator for next year's meeting. The SAS thanks Morgan for a job well done.

ITEM 9. James Mooney Award. The Mooney Award Committee consists of Hester Davis, David Landy, Chair, and Harry Lefever. Honggang Yang, former chair has retired from the committee. The SAS thanks Honggang Yang for his contribution. This year's winner is Charles Hudson with his *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (The University of Georgia Press).

ITEM 10 The SAS 2000 Meeting. The SAS 2000 meeting will be in Mobile, Alabama. Mark Moberg will handle the local arrangements. The key symposium, "Responsibility and Partnership: Anthropologists Among Southern Indians in the New Millennium," will be organized by Lisa Lefler. Morgan Maclachlan will run the Student Paper Competition. The dates considered included early February and around March 7 (Mardi Gras). Local Native American groups will be contacted.

Ideas for the 2001 meeting were discussed. One topic considered was African Diaspora. Morgan Maclachlan suggested the University of South Carolina as a possible location.

ITEM 11. Daryl White turned the gavel over to the incoming President, David Johnson. The new president AND continuing Southern Anthropologist editor was toasted and roasted.

NOTE: Present at the earlier Executive Business Meeting, held Friday, February 26, 12:00, Decatur Holiday

Inn Express, were Colleen Blanchard, Dan Ingersoll, David Johnson, Harry Lefever, Morgan Maclachlan, Mark Moberg, Arthur Murphy, Richard Persico, Martha Rees, Melinda Wagner, Daryl White. The Business Meeting/Reception was held at the Dana Gallery, Agnes Scott College.

Minutes submitted by Dan Ingersoll, Secretary-Treasurer

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR
1999 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

FEBRUARY 25-28, 1999
DECATUR, GA

WILMINGTON (1998) MEETING REVENUES

Registration Fees	\$2742.00
1998 meeting revenues:	
Book Exhibit Fees	\$137.50
Book Sales	\$44.50
TOTAL	\$2924.50

WILMINGTON (1998) MEETING DISBURSEMENTS

Program Chair Expenses	\$566.80
Program publication	\$253.44
Hotel Expenses (Wilmington Hilton):	\$1567.41
Receptions	\$867.41
Meeting Rooms	\$485.00
AV Equipment	\$215.00
TOTAL	\$2387.65

WILMINGTON MEETING REVENUES MINUS DISBURSEMENTS \$536.85

OTHER WILMINGTON (1998) MEETING RELATED EXPENSES

Student Paper Competition Awards	\$200.00
Mooney Award	\$000.00
John Shelton Reed Honorarium	\$100.00

Southern Anthropological Society
Statement of Revenues and disbursements
for the Year Ending
December 31, 1997

REVENUES FOR CALENDAR YEAR:

	1998	1997	1996
Dues	\$3450.00		
Royalties on Proceedings	—	\$50.00	\$144.46
1995 Annual Meeting			
Book Exhibits		—	—
1996 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees		—	\$1,215.00
Book and T-shirt Sales		—	\$851.48
Book Exhibits		—	\$125.00
Bus Tickets and Refund		—	\$485.00
1997 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees		\$2,080.00	
Book Exhibits		\$205.00	—
Book Sales		\$91.50	—
1998 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	\$2742.00		
Book Exhibits	\$137.50		
Books Sales	\$44.50		
Endowment Contributions	?	\$900.00	\$50.00
Interest Income			
Chestertown Bank of Maryland	\$145.44	73.91	—
C&S/NationsBank, Atlanta, GA			
Commercial Checking Acct		—	—
Certificates of Deposit		—	\$205.42
TOTAL CASH REVENUES	\$6519.44	\$4585.41	\$5,019.69

DISBURSEMENT FOR CALENDAR YEAR:

	1998	1997	1996
Newsletter	\$848.00	\$1,595.00	\$2,851.40
Postage	\$39.13	\$246.90	\$257.80
License Fee	—	—	—
Officer Expenses	—	\$163.93	\$301.84
Bank Account Service Charges	—	\$00.00	\$3.53
1995 Annual Meeting Expenses	—	—	—
1996 Annual Meeting Expenses	—	—	\$3,074.00
1997 Annual Meeting Expenses	—	\$1,738.80	—
Proceedings	\$3440.28	\$1,478.28	\$2,911.38
Endowment	?	\$00.00	\$50.00
Awards and Grants			
Mooney Award	\$000.00	\$500.00	\$500.00
Student Paper Prizes	\$200.00	\$400.00	\$400.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS:	\$4527.41	\$5,958.98	\$10,350.77
REVENUES OVER DISBURSEMENTS	\$1992.03	-\$418.57	-5,331.08

CASH ON DEPOSIT DECEMBER 31, 1998

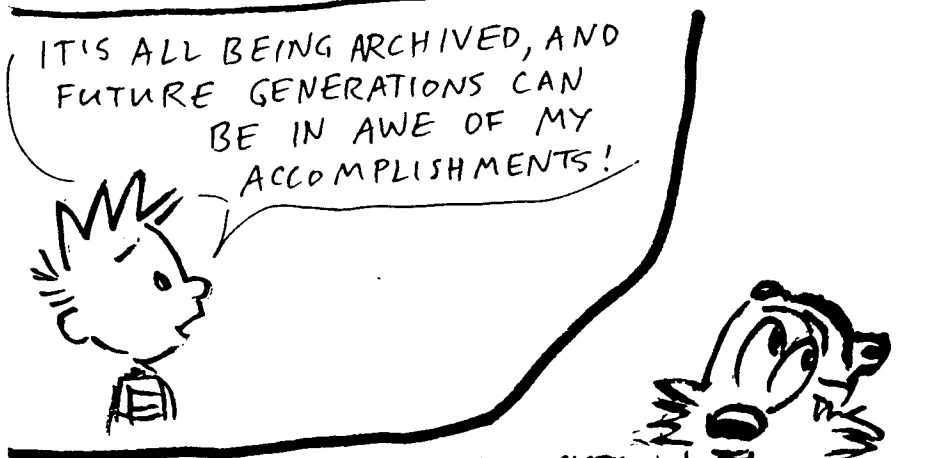
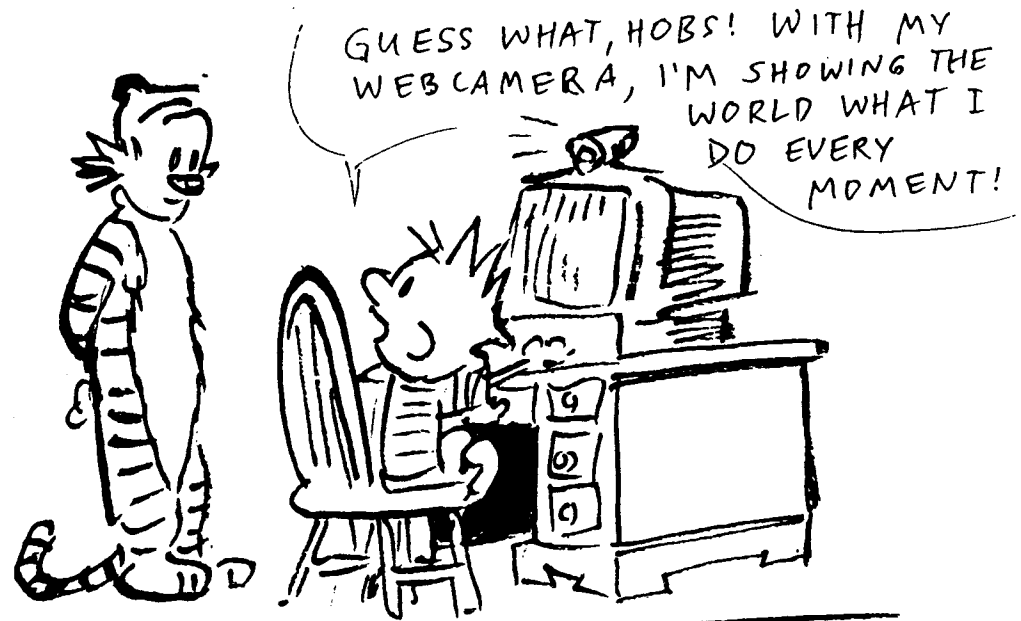
	1998	1997	1996
Chestertown Bank of Maryland, Savings Account, 2.5%	\$5,606.54	\$5,326.08	\$5,379.37
Chestertown Bank of Maryland Checking Account	\$157.17	—	—
NationsBank Atlanta, Georgia 12 Month Certificate of Deposit (3.35% Due 12/3/95)	—	—	—
24 Month Certificate of Deposit (4.65%, Due 12/3/96)	—	—	—
TOTAL CASH ON DEPOSIT	\$5,763.71	\$5,326.08	\$5,379.37

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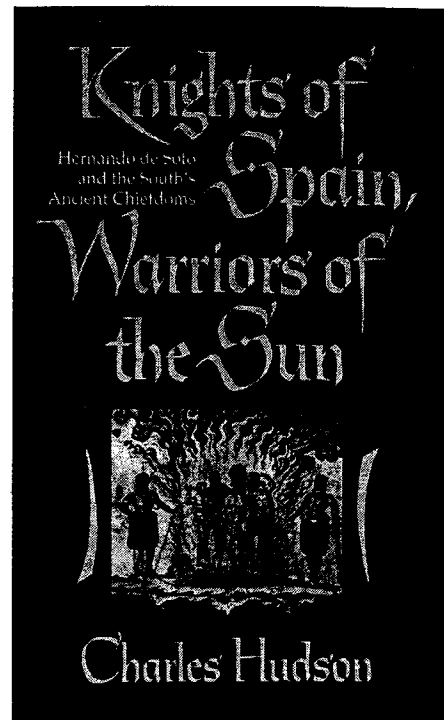
See next page for Cartoon

Respectfully submitted.,
Daniel W. Ingersoll, Jr., Secretary Treasurer, Southern Anthropological Society

Kelvin and Hobs



with apologies to WATTEYSON



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presented by the
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