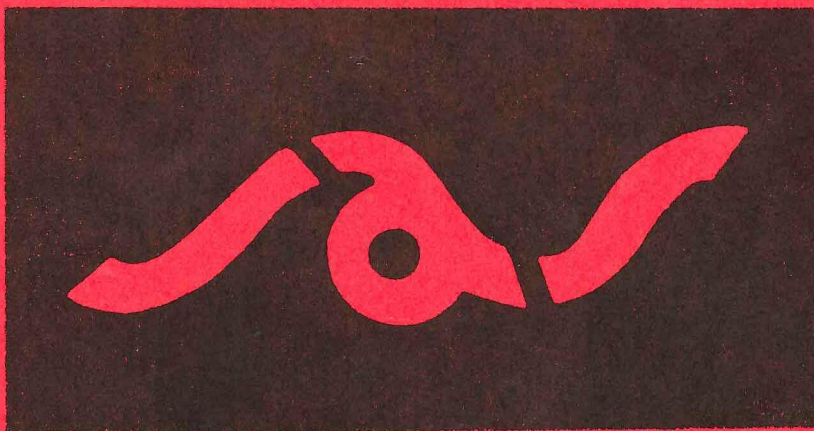


Southern Anthropologist

Celebrating 30 Years of the
Southern Anthropological Society:
Looking Back and Reaching Forward



Part 1: Looking Forward: Student Papers

Volume 23, No. 1, Spring 1996

Southern Anthropologist

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Southern Anthropologist

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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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Renewal Notice!

Please look at the mailing label on this issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*. If you have a "95" on your label, you have not paid your current 1996 dues. The current *Proceedings* have been ordered from the University of Georgia Press and are presently being shipped to members who have paid their current membership, that is, those who have a "96" on their mailing label. Those with a "95" on their label need to send Daryl White their current dues so they can receive their *Proceedings*.

Editor's Corner

David M Johnson

Welcome to the Spring 1996 Issue of the **Southern Anthropologist**! This issue represents part of the celebration of the Society's 30th anniversary, and I am celebrating the anniversary by dedicating it to the future of the Society, and that is to *students* and their writing. The Fall issue will have more material on the Society's history, as partly foreshadowed by the brief promissory note by Michael Angrosino on his oral history project.

This issue

In place of the SAS People column I am reprinting a talk by Dr Sharlotte Neely on "Careers Choices in Anthropology," a subject that is of interest to many students who are thinking about anthropology as a career. With her permission, I have revised the talk slightly to be oriented to a wider audience than her students.

The bulk of the issue is devoted to the student paper winners from the Spring 1996 meetings; due to a tie for first place with the graduate students, there are three, rather than two, papers here. The paper by Charlene Keck (University of Georgia) on "The Nutritional Status of a Late Mississippian Population" tied with Julian Murchison's (University of Michigan) paper on "The Roman Catholic Church's Institutionalized Biases: Syncretic

Processes in Tanzania," and both are printed here. The runner-up was Susan Stans' (University of Florida) paper on "Are You Here to Study Us?":

Anthropological Research in a Progressive Native American Community."

For undergraduates, the winner was Mariel Rose (University of North Carolina at Wilmington), whose paper, "Pocomoke: A Study in Remembering and Forgetting," is printed here. The runner-up was Candy Wagoner (University of North Carolina at Asheville), whose paper was entitled "Conceptions of Mental Illness: Mind, Body and Community in Indian Healing Traditions."

Many thanks again to Barbara Hendry (Georgia Southern) who oversaw the student paper competition again this year!

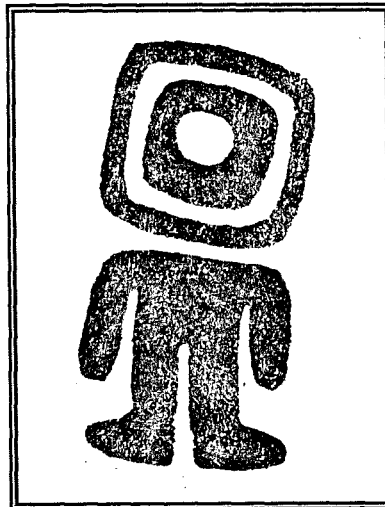
As mentioned above, there is a brief note from Mike Angrosino about his oral history project, as well as from Pat Beaver reminding us about the

SAS Endowment. Please do what you can to support both of these activities of the Society!

The minutes and financial report from the Society's Business Meeting will be printed in the next (Fall) issue, along with more material about the Society's history.

The Editor requests

I am still interested in receiving short papers about the South for this publication and for sources for line art to



enliven the pages!

Ways to reach me:

(1) Voice mail at (910) 334-7894 at my office, or (910) 274-7032 at home

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

(3) Via America OnLine, my "handle" is MegabyteJ.

(4) Office FAX number (910) 334-7197

(5) Surface mail:

David M Johnson, Editor,

SAS

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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 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

(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 Fall 1996 issue of the Southern Anthropologist is tentatively October 1.

Southern Anthropologist Staff:

Editor: Dr David M Johnson

Photography: Anthropoid Photographic Enterprises (APE)

Layout and Computer Work: Megabyte Johnson

President's Column

Patricia B Lerch

Why Should We Have an Identity Crisis When Everybody's Copying Us?

Volunteer, to be part of the tradition!

The 1996 SAS meetings in Baton Rouge were by all measures a grand success. We owe a debt of gratitude to all those who worked so hard so that the rest of us could enjoy ourselves! A special notes of thanks goes, of course, to Miles Richardson, Carole E Hill, Patricia D Beaver and past-President Hans Baer. The meeting emphasized our 30 year history as a society, and I for one thoroughly enjoyed listening to the memories and "re-memories" of those among us who were witnesses to the formation of SAS. The SAS is a very special group and, as many of the past presidents have written in this very column, there is a definite friendliness, warmth and graciousness that characterizes our gatherings. Without going on and on about the "warm and fuzzy feelings" that our meetings evoke, I must tell you that when I first moved to the South to take my position at UNC Wilmington in 1981, I did not really feel "at home" (to use Tim Wallace's phrase) until I joined the SAS and volunteered to edit the *Southern Anthropologist* (1984-87). This bit of memory is related to our younger, newer members who may be wondering how to become more involved in the SAS.

Volunteer to do some of the committee work. I have never met a committee chair yet who refused the help of a willing volunteer! Getting involved will give you a sense of belonging to an important organization that is making its mark on the discipline of anthropology.

Borrowing back our methods

We read every day about the crisis of identity in anthropology, especially cultural anthropology. Our national meetings and newsletter reflect our concerns as anthropology faces an uncertain future. We sometimes wonder if we are obsolete or if we will all become ethnohistorians or social historians. But before we retreat totally into other disciplines, we need to take a closer look at what others think is valuable in anthropology. In the month of May I will be in southern Brazil where, among other things, I will be presenting a seminar on ethnographic and qualitative methods. My audience will consist of educators from many disciplines, including some anthropology students. When I began preparing for this course, I drew upon my lectures from a course, "Methods and Practice in Cultural Anthropology," that I teach every year at UNCW. Since I

have been teaching this course now for many years, I felt ready to spread my interpretation of qualitative methods and ethnography to the untutored. Imagine my surprise as I prepared bibliographies in fields outside of anthropology and discovered the very popular and multiple uses of ethnography in the fields of education, sociology, psychology, history, business and many health fields. I knew, of course, that there had been a long interest in ethnography in other disciplines but I was taken aback by the extensive use of ethnography. What is going on here? While cultural anthropologists have been having an identity crisis, others, it appears, have gone ahead and developed some very interesting and careful studies based largely on ethnographic methods and qualitative approaches. "Stop!" you say. "This is not really ethnography as anthropologists know it." I respond, "Okay, it isn't,

but what can we learn from the Other?" (M. Agar makes a similar point in the most recent issue of *Practicing Anthropology*.) These "others" are refining what we do and adopting it to their needs. Isn't this just what we study and teach—diffusion, syncretism, and reinterpretation of cultural traits in new settings? I for one am very pleased to see that fields outside of anthropology are confidently forging ahead and using the traditional approaches of the cultural anthropologist. We may be able to regain our confidence by studying them and discovering how they have managed to avoid a crisis of identity.

Help with fund raising

In closing, let me say that I hope you will give your support to the SAS fund raising efforts and help make 1996 a great year for the Southern Anthropological Society! 🍏

SAS Endowment Campaign

for Education and Outreach in the South

The Endowment is now in its third year of fund-raising toward 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 less than a quarter 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 Thomas Arcury, Campaign Treasurer, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, CB#3410, Hickerson House, UNC-CH, Chapel Hill, N C 27599-3512

Project on the Oral History of the SAS

by Michael Angrosino

This year the SAS is commemorating the 30th anniversary of its founding, and several sessions of the recent meetings in Baton Rouge were dedicated to retrospectives on our three decades. An additional anniversary event has been the collection of an oral history of the SAS. Michael Angrosino of the University of South Florida, a longtime member of the Society and currently its Proceedings Editor, received a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation to conduct the oral history project. Wenner-Gren has a very strong interest in documenting the history of anthropology, and the SAS oral history materials will find a permanent home in the Foundation's New York office, alongside similar materials from other anthropological institutions.

Angrosino and two of his graduate students, Geoffrey Mohlman and Jennifer Paul, taped interviews with a dozen past and current officers during the Baton Rouge meetings, and they made arrangements to obtain the narratives of others who were not in attendance. They also recorded a round table discussion of past Presidents and other interested parties, as well as the Keynote Address by Charles Hudson of the University of Georgia. Both of those ses-

sions will be included with the oral history materials in the archive.

The project aims to document the personal, rather than the "official" side of the history of the SAS. Interviews also deal with the evolution of the discipline of anthropology in the South, and the changes in the South itself which the SAS has both witnessed and analyzed. The SAS has long been one of the most consistently active and successful of the regional anthropological societies. The project aims to present the "emic" story of the rise of a discipline long marginalized in a region that itself has traditionally been considered marginal to the US academic mainstream.

Indexed tapes will be archived with Wenner-Gren ca. September 1, 1996. A copy of the indexed taped record will also be presented to the SAS, perhaps to form the nucleus of an official archive for the Society.

Watch the Newsletter for updates on the project. Contact Mike Angrosino (c/o Dept. Of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620; 813-974-0786; e-mail: angrosin@luna.cas.usf.edu) if you have any suggestions or comments.



What Do You Want To Do With *Your* Life?

Career Choices in Anthropology

by Dr Sharlotte Neely
Northern Kentucky University

The world famous author of *Jurassic Park*, Michael Crichton, was recently interviewed in *Time Magazine*. Asked the inevitable question about how his career as a best-selling writer developed, Crichton answered that he "went to Harvard in 1960 intending to be a writer. But the English department rubbed a blister on his soul (it was 'not the place for an aspiring writer' he said; 'it was the place for an aspiring English professor'), so he switched to anthropology

I hope that my discussion will help you decide whether you want a career in anthropology, and if so, what areas of anthropology offer the most promise. But before we get down to the basics of where the jobs are and how much money there is to be earned, I would like to address briefly what, in my opinion, is an even more important issue: *what would you enjoy doing for the next forty or fifty years of your life?*

While the least a career should do is offer you a salary and some security, I think it should offer so much more. Therefore, I ask you to consider this advice. Before you ask the questions of where are the most jobs and how much money you can make, I suggest you ask yourself what you enjoy. If you think what you would enjoy doing in life is anthropology, I hope to answer some of your questions here.

I *love* being an anthropologist. At times it offers all the excitement of an

Indiana Jones story and the all the challenge of a Tony Hillerman mystery. I will never forget riding horses in Canyon de Chelly with a Navajo guide in search of Anasazi ruin or living in a remote, haunted cabin on the Cherokee reservation. I have danced around a campfire, my face painted with magical designs, and have slept under the stars. I have climbed inside the Great Pyramid in Egypt and stood atop the Pyramid of the Moon in Mexico. As an applied cultural anthropologist, I have researched and written a report that stopped a highway from barreling through an Indian reservation. And every time I do something like that, I marvel that I actually get paid to be an anthropologist.

If I won the lottery tomorrow and never had to work another day in my life, I would not quit my job because the money is only one of the reasons I am an anthropologist. I suggest you ask yourself the question of what gives you so much pleasure that even if you won the lottery, you would not quit. I think that question should be the first that you ask yourself in your quest for a career.

But you should also know that I enjoy the more contemplative tasks that go into being an anthropologist, too, at least as I define anthropology. I enjoy teaching, even topics like kinship terminology, and watching the faces of my students as they "get it" for the first time. I enjoy analyzing my research and the thrill that comes when I "get it" for the first time. I enjoy writing

books and articles about the people I have studied and thinking that long after I am dead someone will pull a dusty book I have written from a library shelf and feel some of the same wonder I did so long ago.

How do you define anthropology? What would give you pleasure? How will you make a living out of something that gives you satisfaction? Some areas of anthropology are more popular than others.

Most of us, often as children, have read the story of archaeologist Howard Carter as he gazed upon the treasures of King Tut's tomb for the first time. Archaeology is a sub field of anthropology. Forensic anthropology is another popular sub field, and I realized recently just how popular when I ran

across a children's book, *The Bone Detectives: How Forensic Anthropologists Solve Crimes and Uncover Mysteries of the Dead*. Archaeology and forensic anthropology both seem like such interesting ways of making a living. Is that possible? The answer is yes and no.

For archaeology the answer is a loud yes! There are more than half a dozen contract archaeology companies operating right here in this and the other nearby states and hiring people at every college degree level from the Bachelor's degree to the doctorate. Throw in local universities and museums that hire archaeologists, and the job market is even bigger. And that is true of archaeology all over the world. So, if your interest is archaeology, go to it.

What about forensic anthropology? Exciting? Yes. Jobs that pay money? Only for the lucky few. There are only about 150

forensic anthropologists in the United States, and only about 15 of them work full-time as forensic anthropologists. The rest of them do forensic anthropology part-time and support themselves working in related areas of anthropology, biology, or medicine. Part-timers might get only one or two grisly cases a year. If your interest is forensic anthropology, you need to decide how the availability of work affects your career

choice. Could you be happy earning your living in a related area of anthropology where there are numerous jobs and do forensics here and there?

Other job prospects in anthropology lie somewhere along the continuum between archaeology and forensic anthropology.

Applied anthropology and environmental studies lie closer to archaeology along the job continuum. College teaching has slipped toward the forensic anthropology end of the continuum when it comes to new jobs as a professor. Could you be happy teaching in college part-time and making your living as a contract archaeologist or an applied researcher?

As may be obvious by now, my mission is not only to give you some answers to start you on your career search but to help you pose the questions important to you. You can ask your instructors what careers are hiring and which ones are not, at least for now. What should your strategy be in your quest for a career in anthropology? That is something for you to decide, but my suggestions are as follows:

I would have a two-pronged

I love being an anthropologist. At times it offers all the excitement of an Indiana Jones story and the all the challenge of a Tony Hillerman mystery.

approach. I would prepare myself to go after the career in anthropology I most wanted, job availability or not. But then for me, when it comes to a career, I am willing to be a risk taker. But even risk takers hedge their bets. The second part of my approach would be to amass as many job skills as possible in every area of anthropology and related fields, especially those areas where jobs are more readily available. The most important question you can answer for yourself today is what your approach should be. Ask your instructors for help.

Follow your heart, but in a pragmatic sort of way. Take courses that will develop important skills, anthropology courses like ethnographic methods, museum methods, laboratory methods, and archaeology field schools and courses outside of anthropology like statistics, a foreign language, computer skills, and sociological methods. Accumulate work experience, even if at first you have to do it

on a volunteer basis, with museums, contract archaeology companies, and human services organizations.

Now that you've gotten started by reading this article, continue your careers research by talking with anthropology faculty and alumni. Read articles on anthropology careers in the American Anthropological Association's *Newsletter* and browse the Association's *Guide to Departments of Anthropology*. Consider whether graduate school is something you do or do not want to attend. Read books and articles on the various sub fields. Take more anthropology courses.

Above all, continue to ask yourself what you want to do, and how you can get there!

Thank you.

[SAS Editor's Note: in thinking about the undergraduate experience and careers, I recommend Inge Bell's This Book Is Not Required (Fort Bragg, CA: The Small Press, 1992)]



CALL FOR PAPERS SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

**1997 Annual Meeting
April 11-13, 1997
Memphis, Tennessee**

KEY SYMPOSIUM: CULTURE, BIOLOGY AND SEXUALITY: TOWARDS SYNTHESIS

Currently anthropology is engaged in a re-examination of several issues of broad significance to the future of our discipline. Two of these issues - the questions of the relationship (1) between biology and culture and (2) between science and humanism - are at the center of concern in the rapidly developing area of the anthropology of sexuality. The key symposium for the 1997 meetings brings together some of the country's central figures in this field for a discussion of the theoretical sources of debate. brings together some of the country's central figures in this field for a discussion of the theoretical sources of debate.

ABSTRACT SUBMISSIONS

We invite submissions of paper and session proposals on any topic, but particularly those related in some way to the debates noted above and to the area of sexuality studies. Abstracts for individual papers or organized sessions are due no later than March 1, 1997. Those interested in organizing a session for the meetings are encouraged to contact one of the co-chairs of the program.

If possible, you should send abstracts via email and as early as possible. Send abstracts electronically to: Suggs@Kenyon.edu

Send hard copy abstracts to: Andrew Miracle, TCU Box 298710, Dept. of Sociology, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas 76129.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Contact program chairs David Suggs, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio 43022; (614)-427-5851 [Suggs@kenyon.edu] OR Andrew Miracle (817)-921-7470 [AMiracle@gamma.is.tcu.edu]

Head of local arrangements is Tom Collins, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Memphis, Memphis, TN 38152 (901)-678-2080 [Collins@msu2.memphis.edu]

Winning Entry 1996 SAS Undergraduate Student Paper Competition

Pocomoke: A Study in Remembering and Forgetting

by Mariel Rose

University of North Carolina at Wilmington

Introduction

On June 24, 1777, "King" Roger

Moore of Orton Plantation conveyed by deed to Peter Mallett and Arthur Magill "all that Tract or Parcel of Land with every appurtenance thereto belonging called and well known by the name of Negroe Head Point and containing about three thousand acres, be it moore or less. Situate lying and being in New Hanover County in the Forks of the N. East and N. West Rivers nearly opposite to the upper Part of the Town of Wilmington (NHC Deed H/51)."

The point of land that gave the tract its name is framed by the confluence of the two northern branches of the Cape Fear River and is now called Point Peter for Col. Mallett who bought it in 1777 (Reaves Collection). The terrain here ranges from swamp to sandhills covered with low-growing vegetation and sparse stands of oak and pine forests. Today the area is industrial, with one tiny community of white, working-class residents. Now known by the name of Flemington, in the 1940's and earlier this community and the whole point of land between the river branches were called Pocomoke.

To the east, across the river, the pretty and prosperous city of Wilmington extends toward the Atlantic Ocean to the upscale resort of Wrightsville Beach and the more plebeian Carolina Beach. Wilmington's deep-water port on the Cape Fear River has secured a place of prominence for the city in the history of North Carolina and the south-

eastern United States. Together with Flemington and rural Castle Hayne, these communities comprise the modern New Hanover County.

Within the bustling life of New Hanover County, Flemington and Point Peter go largely unnoticed. In 1992, however, an article in the *Wilmington Morning Star* entitled "Mystery Town Lies Hidden in New Hanover Thickets" brought attention to the area. This article reported on "the thriving black town of Pocomoke" near modern-day Flemington, evidenced by brick rubble from foundations and chimneys, by the trace of an old road, and by the gravestone of a woman named Millie Hill who was born in 1844 and died in 1901 (Monroe 1992). (The presence of the gravestone of Millie Hill at this site later proved to be a valuable key to this research project.)

Background

The *Morning Star* article was generated by the interest and enthusiasm of a man named H. D. Hales, who grew up in Flemington and had often heard his father and grandfather tell stories about the community of former slaves that had once lived nearby. Mr. Hales' persistence in seeking recognition for this "thriving black town" resulted in a preliminary report conducted by Mark Wilde-Ramsing, Underwater Archaeologist for the North Carolina Division of Archives and History. This report concluded that "if it is indeed an Afro-American settlement, archaeological information could shed light on a whole realm of questions concerning economic and social adjustments being made

immediately following the Civil War" (Wilde-Ramsing 1992) and resulted in the designation of the housesites as a registered historical site (Number 31NH500). At the request of Wilde-Ramsing, Wilson Angley of the Division of Archives and History conducted a preliminary search of documents in the North Carolina State Archives housed in Raleigh; he found no conclusive evidence of an African-American village at Point Peter. However, he concluded that the area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encompassed "rather large-scale agricultural and industrial activity that could easily have sustained such a community (Angley 1992)." Dr. Anne Russell's folklore class of Cape Fear Community College videotaped oral history with Mr. Hales as he guided a site visit. The work of all these people has provided a starting point for this current project.

Goals of this Report

This paper will outline the research questions, literary search, research design, and expected findings of this study. Ethnographic findings will be elaborated. Documentary evidence of an independent African-American community at Site No. 31NH500 for the period of 1870 through 1900, including evidence linking that community to the plantation that occupied the site in the antebellum period, will be presented. In conclusion, the value of the site to the field of anthropology and to the people of the lower Cape Fear region will be assessed.

Research Question

This research project was generated by a request from the Cape Fear Museum for a student of the University of North Carolina at Wilmington to conduct a search of the land records for Site No. 31NH500. Once the task was accepted and work began, the process by which the scanty information on this site had transformed into the newspaper's

description of a "thriving black town" proved fascinating, as did Dr. Russell's inspiring image of Pocomoke based upon oral history from Mr. Hales:

In the area now known as Flemington, remnants of the post-Civil War community which once thrived here bear mute testimony to the resourcefulness of the African-Americans who lived and worked free of white control (Russell 1993).

The charm of these images fostered an interest not only in the history of this community but also in the process of history-making: the element of human imagination in our memories of the past and our utilization of these memories for our own purposes in the present. From this interest emerged the following research question: What significance do memories of Pocomoke--historic, folkloric, and symbolic--have for the modern culture of New Hanover County? Research along this line soon suggested related questions: How do these memories differ in the black and white communities? What significance lies in things forgotten? The historical research was conducted in light of the following question: What can documentary evidence reveal about the nature of the culture history of the people who once lived at Site No. 31NH500?

Memory as a Cultural Concept

The review of anthropological literature concerning memory as a cultural concept began with George E. Marcus' (1994:47,48) critique of historical determinism as a primary explanatory model of ethnography. He argued for "the return of an ethnographic present", a present "defined not by historical narrative but by memory"; at the same time, however, he acknowledged the value of an "historical consciousness" in ethnography.

Marcus' critique led to a perusal of Eric R. Wolf's (1982) *Europe and the People Without History*, a work Marcus had credited with advancing

the role of historical narrative in modern ethnography. Marshal Sahlín's (1981) *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*, in which indigenous Hawaiian culture was interpreted in light of past European contact, provided an example of an ethnography based upon a stream of history. The goal here was to contrast Wolf's and Sahlín's views of history as a determinant of culture with the notion of culture as a creator of history, two theoretical stances that came to bear upon both the ethnographic and historical aspects of this study. The latter concept was explored by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*. In this study of the origin and spread of nationalism, he outlined the process by which groups of people embrace narratives of shared pasts in the formation of a collective identity. He wrote, "All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives" (Anderson, 1991, 1983:204).

At a conference at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in the fall of 1995, entitled *Memory: Southern Social and Cultural Comparisons*, Benedict Anderson gave an address concerning the role of forgetting in the process of identity formation. At this conference, this and other perspectives presented in direct reference to the southeastern United States, among them Mary Catherine Bateson's comments on the cultural value of simultaneously accepting multiple versions of history, brought this study into sharper focus.

Research Design

The dual nature of this study required use of two methodologies that are often viewed as mutually opposed in the field of anthropology: An interpretive approach, with a focus "less on verification than on contextualization" (Borofsky

1994:24), was used in the ethnographic inquiry; a materialist or empirical approach, with an emphasis on verification, was employed for the historical research.

In the ethnographic inquiry, the primary research method was interviewing of native and long-time residents of the lower Cape Fear region, both African-American and Caucasian. Thirty seven respondents were Wilmingtonians; two people in Flemington and four in Pender County were also interviewed.

The following questions were asked of these people: Have you ever heard of Pocomoke? What do you know about it? What do you know about Point Peter? Have you ever heard of Mount Misery (the historical name of a bluff over the Northwest Cape Fear, near Site #31NH500) or Negro Head Point? Of Negro Head Point Road? (Many responded to this question with the vernacular: "It's Niggerhead Road.") How did these places get their names? How old were you when you heard these stories, and who told them to you?

The historical aspect of this study was addressed primarily by a title search in the New Hanover County Registry of Deeds on Site No. 31NH500 and related tracts. Other documentary research, of shorter duration but of equal value, included an examination of census data, maps, and records of marriage, birth and death. This research was undertaken in the local history room of the New Hanover County Library, the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, the Wilson Library of U.N.C. Chapel Hill, and—once again—the New Hanover County Registry. In addition, the office of a local surveyor proved an invaluable source of maps.

Expected Findings

Oral history from H.D. Hales and Mark Wilde-Ramsing's preliminary report placed Site No. 31NH500 on the Old Stage Road from Point Peter to Fayetteville by way of Mount Misery, a road also known as Negro Head Point Road or Mount Misery

Road. The presence of this road at the site influenced expectations of findings in both the ethnographic and the historical aspects of this study.

This road name was the one memory of the Pocomoke area that I, a newcomer to Wilmington, had encountered prior to beginning this project. Rebellious blacks, I was told, had been beheaded and their heads placed on poles along the road as a warning to others. The potency of this one memory alone indicated a fertile field for ethnographic inquiry, certain to yield rich cultural data.

For the documentary search, the presence of Negro Head Point Road at Site No. 31NH500 led to a skepticism about the "thriving" and independent nature of this community, although it seemed likely that some people who lived there had been born in slavery. What seemed puzzling was how a bustling community of 20 to 30 households, with daily contact by stage with a major port city, could have vanished with no documentary trace. Because of this seeming inconsistency, I expected the title search to reveal that these housesites were tenant shacks on a rice farm.

Findings: Ethnographic Inquiry

In the interview process, it soon became apparent that the narratives of an independent black community at Pocomoke after the Civil War were not widespread among the people of New Hanover County. Most interviewees had never heard of Pocomoke or Point Peter. Among responses concerning Mount Misery were the following quotes:

My father used to tell me stories about Mount Misery. He said that ex-convicts were sent to work up there because it was such a miserable place. No one else would have lived over there, across the river.

People didn't go across the river in the old days. They were scared to. It was a bad place,

poor farmland. It's where the niggers were sent for punishment. When I say "niggers" I mean the bad ones...the only people over there were trash--white trash or black trash. That's why it was called Mount Misery. It's one of those things that people in Wilmington don't like to talk about.

While a few respondents remembered Mount Misery, the one memory of the area "across the river" that is pervasive, at least among the white respondents in this study, is Niggerhead Road. The following quotes are typical of stories recounted in explanation of the road name by white respondents:

I've heard of Niggerhead Road all my life. There was a slave uprising, and the people were caught and killed. Their heads were put on poles along the road as a warning. I don't know when it happened. People used to say it was "when the river ran red with nigger blood."

A black man raped a white woman, and his head was stuck on a stick over there as a warning to other black men.

The Niggerhead Road is another one of those things that people in Wilmington don't like to talk about--like the 1898 race riots, when black people were forced into the river and drowned. It happened in 1831. Ten black men were plotting to get the slaves riled up, and they were executed down on the riverfront in Wilmington. Their heads were put up on poles over at Point Peter, so anyone coming up the river could see it. It was an awful thing. People just don't like to talk about it.

I guess I've heard that all my life. I couldn't say when I heard it or who I heard it from. I

know it had to do with executions or lynchings or something like that. The river ran red with blood.

In these and other responses, the dates 1831 and 1898 were mentioned. Early in the interview process, it seemed likely that the source of the association of the road name with these dates was a locally well known historical novel, Philip Gerard's *Cape Fear Rising*. This fictional work opened with an account of the Niggerhead Road story, which Gerard attributed to Nat Turner's 1831 slave rebellion in Virginia; the central story of the novel was based upon the 1898 "race riot" in Wilmington (Gerard 1994). [Concerning this event, Professor S. Link of Princeton University wrote, "Armed Democrats in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1898 overthrew the duly elected Republican government, an event which, had it occurred elsewhere on the globe, would have been called a coup d'état. Instead, it is known in history books as the Wilmington race riot." (Prather 1984:9)] Upon further questioning of respondents, it became apparent that Gerard was not the source of these associations, some of which were quite subtle. For example, the phrase "when the river ran red with blood" was from a speech by Alfred Waddell, a fiery Democratic orator and prominent figure in the 1898 event (Gerard, personal communication, 1995). In another example, one respondent told of a book about the Niggerhead Road incident, which turned out to be African-American author Charles A. Chesnut's *The Marrow of Tradition*, an earlier historical novel about the 1898 "race riot" which makes no reference to heads on poles (Chesnut 1901).

As evidenced by the deed quoted in the beginning paragraph of this paper and by many other early documents, the road name clearly predates these events. One likely source for the name is the definition of a "negrohead" or "niggerhead" as a navigational obstruction in the river, such as a

partially submerged snag or stump (Thomas Loftfield, personal communication, 1995). However, if incidents of racial violence are unlikely origins for the road name, the grim reality is that the acts recounted in the Niggerhead Road stories quite possibly occurred along the lower Cape Fear. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, in his book *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930*, wrote that "mass mobs chose execution sites for explicitly symbolic reasons." Ritual mutilation following lynchings, he wrote, was common: "Just how often mobs mutilated corpses of their victims is impossible to determine, but it is safe to assume...that the bodies of those blacks charged with sensational crimes that attracted large mobs almost certainly did not remain intact." Further, "the rituals of mass mobs...created a heightening of experience and moments of such exceptional and widely shared emotional intensity that they were quickly enshrined in folk legend" (Brundage 1993:41-48)

The goal of this ethnographic analysis is not, however, to determine the historical accuracy or inaccuracy of these stories, but to examine their significance to the people of the lower Cape Fear region. The interpretation of the Niggerhead Road as a symbol, at least among white residents, for the entire history of racial violence in the area seems inescapable. The familiar themes of Southern inter-racial strife—suffrage, sexuality, oppression and revolt—are all represented in these stories. The narratives, too, seem to defy time; respondents sometimes alluded to the 1898 incident, for example, at the same time that they referred to the victims as "slaves". Barbara Myerhoff's model of the creation of stories as a process of "re-membering" —piecing together bits of experience into a structural whole (Myerhoff 1979)—is applicable here.

Among African-American respondents, however, a different picture emerged. Early in the interview process, it seemed that Niggerhead Road

had been collectively forgotten in the black community, as evidenced by these typical responses:

I've never heard of Negro Head Point Road but I've only been here in Wilmington for about fifty years. I grew up in Southport.

I've heard of Negro Head Point but I don't know where it is. I don't know how it got its name. My grandparents were from Brunswick County, across the river. They probably knew about it, but they're dead now.

To a question about the 1898 event, an African-American woman replied,

I only heard of that within the last five years. It's not something that black parents would tell their children. My parents wanted to protect me from things like that.

The people of the lower Cape Fear, it seemed, had very different memories of racial violence in the area, depending upon their skin color. On the one hand, whites responded in words and with body language that "people didn't like to talk about these things." Yet collective memories of incidents of racial violence were ubiquitous within this group, suggesting that many people had indeed been talking about them. On the other hand, an apparent collective forgetting of these incidents—at least in response to an unfamiliar white interviewer—existed among African-Americans.

Later on in the interview process, the responses of two black interviewees, both approximately fifty years old, shed some light on this curious forgetting:

Of course the Niggerhead Road incident happened in 1831. It's true that blacks in Wilmington don't talk much about these

things, even among themselves. But I find it hard to believe that they haven't heard about them. I remember hearing as a child about a woman in my neighborhood whose son was killed in 1898, and she buried him in her backyard because she feared retaliation. The very next morning, she was on the job as a domestic in the home of a white family.

I first heard about the Niggerhead Road in the Phoenix community across the river, near Navassa. My father was a conductor on the railroad, and he used to love to take me back in the country to visit families that he knew. When we visited people like that, what I loved to do when I was little was to listen to the old people talk. The story that I heard in the Phoenix community about Niggerhead Road was basically the story of 1898. There was a time when black people were becoming too successful, too powerful. White people would execute them and place their heads on poles along the road, to warn them of the dangers of being too successful. This happened not once but many, many times. I think it's possible that younger people in Wilmington don't know that story, because it's true that people don't talk about it. But old people surely know. What you need to do is to talk to some people who are very old--too old to care anymore. They'll talk to you.

Curiously, the African-American interviewee with the most direct memories of the area "across the river" told a story that was different from those of other respondents, white and black, in this study. Hortense Moss, whose mother and grandmother cooked for several decades in the early twentieth century at the Pocomoke Guano Factory on the Northeast Branch of the Cape Fear, told the following story in response to a question about Mount Misery:

A battle was fought over there. And a woman, her statue is there. I've often heard my mother speak of Mount Misery, and I said why did they call it Mount Misery? And she said, so much blood was shed. And this lady I think my mother said was carrying a message when she was killed. Her tombstone is over there at Mount Misery...I used to think about what my mother would say about Mount Misery and the blood was shed...when they would start telling about the things that has really happened over there, I was always scared at night...It's just like somebody would drop blood on sand or something. It would dry sometimes. Then it would rain, my mother said, would wash it up. And I said, mama, why they call that? Because there was so much blood shed. And they fought that time, some of them was on horses and some of them had swords. They fought that battle.

Mrs. Moss's story of Mount Misery, when compared with one common version of the Niggerhead Road narrative, illustrates Claude Lévi-Strauss's model of transformation, in which certain elements of a story are altered from culture to culture into their opposites (Lévi-Strauss 1978): Cinderella to the Ash Boy, for instance. Both in the Niggerhead Road story and Mrs. Moss's Mount Misery story, blood was shed. In the former, the river ran red with blood; in the latter, the blood dried on sand, never to be completely washed away. In one, the central character was a male scoundrel who was executed; in the second, the heroine died with valor and was honored. (I recount Mrs. Moss's story and this analysis as an interesting aside. However, I will not venture an interpretation based upon one woman's response.)

Clearly, however, the differing ways that African-American and Caucasian people have "remembered"—or have forgotten—stories of racial violence is significant as an indicator that the lower

Cape Fear region is not one community but two, in which many old wounds have not healed. If there is a public forgetting among African-Americans of incidents of racial violence, there is also an "official" forgetting of these events. In a city that takes pride in its history, no historical plaque commemorates the 1898 "riot"; the event is not covered in North Carolina history classes offered in Wilmington's schools.

The region and its people lack what Benedict Anderson called "the reassurance of fratricide" in assimilating the horrors of the past. He wrote, "A vast pedagogical industry works ceaselessly to oblige young Americans to remember/forget the hostilities of 1861-65 as a great 'civil' war between 'brothers' rather than between—as they briefly were—two sovereign nation-states." Anderson also quoted Ernest Renan, who wrote in 1882 that Frenchmen were "obliged to have already forgotten" ancient horrors such as the *la Saint-Barthélemy* and the thirteenth-century massacres of the Midi. Anderson wrote, "It is instructive that Renan does not say that each French citizen is obliged to 'have already forgotten' the Paris Commune. In 1882 its memory was still...sufficiently painful to make it difficult to read under the sign of 'reassuring fratricide'" (Anderson 1991, 1983:199-201). I suggest that memories of racial violence along the lower Cape Fear are still too painful—even one hundred years and more after the events were perpetrated—to allow the people of this region to consider themselves as one community with one shared past, publicly acknowledged.

Findings: Documentary Research

What, then, of the small community that existed at Site No. 31NH500? The interview process revealed that much knowledge of this place had been lost in the "characteristic amnesia" of cultural change. Through a documentary search, a partial picture of the community that existed there

after the Civil War emerged.

A title search of documents on record at the New Hanover County Registry of Deeds revealed that the site is situated on a tract of land that was once part of Lyrias Plantation, a rice farm on the Northwest Branch of the Cape Fear (NHC Deeds Y/524, AA/440). The gravestone at the site of Millie Hill, marked "Born January 4, 1844; Died July 23, 1901" provided the key which linked this community to the slave population at antebellum Lyrias. Table 1 shows comparisons of lists of slaves at Lyrias in 1844 and 1849 (NHC Mortgage AA/190 and NHC Deed GG/512) with census data for 1870, 1880 and 1900 (Hasket 1991, 1995; Hasket and Butler 1995). (1890 census data is not available.) From these data, it appears that many members of the community at Site No. 31NH500 lived and worked at Lyrias before the Civil War, some—including Millie Hill—from childhood.

The independent nature of this community in the decades following the Civil War is concluded from data which suggests that Lyrias was, in effect, abandoned by its owners during that period. James Anderson lost the property to the Bank of New Hanover in 1882 for non-payment of debt (NHC Deed RR/712); Produce Exchange Statistics for 1883 list "Lyrius" but show no productivity figures for the plantation (Sprunt 1883). The rice banks of Lyrias eroded after the war. The property was purchased in 1902 by Cape Fear Rice Company, which reportedly restored Lyrias "to its former productivity at considerable expense by the company". (Hall 1980:247) Further, the road bed of the Negro Head Road appears to have been moved (Cherry 1891), probably during the Civil War when Forceput Plantation--another rice plantation located on the Northeast Branch of the Cape Fear--was used as an ammunition storage site, according to oral history from H.D. Hales. No longer extending from the Negro Head Point to Mount Misery, the road now began at a ferry to the northeast of the point, bypassing Site No.

31NH500. Thus, the inconsistency of a vanishing community on a major road was resolved. It appears very likely, then, that during the post-Civil War period, the inhabitants of Site No. 31NH500 did "live and work free of white control".

Conclusion

The dual nature of this research project—an ethnographic inquiry coupled with historical research—reflects the dual manner in which the past is present in living cultures. Oral traditions and stories represent a folding process, through successive generations, of memories of the past into symbolic wholes such as the Niggerhead Road. An unfolding also occurs, as documentary evidence such as that presented in this study is transformed into narratives relevant to those living cultures. The unfolding of the story of this African-American community will continue not only through the work of future researchers, but, more importantly, through the creativity of the people of the lower Cape Fear region.

This site is an important one for the field of anthropology. Archaeologist Thomas Loftfield, following a cursory walk of the site, stated that this historical period for African-Americans has been little researched by archaeologists in the Cape Fear region. Further, the site is relatively undisturbed, not having been plowed over since the houses collapsed and rotted (Loftfield 1995, personal communication). This community, then, has great value as an archaeological site.

It also has a great value to the people of the lower Cape Fear region. James Peacock, in his closing comments at the Memory Conference at Chapel Hill, commented upon the healing power of sharing our differing versions of history (Peacock 1995). The creation of an historical narrative for the community that lived at Lyrias Plantation after the Civil War offers the opportunity for the black and white residents of New Hanover County to share their stories about the road that once passed through

the site. Perhaps, through the unfolding of this narrative, the possibility of one shared history of the lower Cape Fear region will emerge. It is with that hope that I offer this remembering of Pocomoke.

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Winning Entry

1996 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

**The Roman Catholic Church's Institutionalized Biases:
Syncretic Processes in Tanzania****Julian M Murchison**

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Abstract

My ethnographic fieldwork in Tanzania suggests that many Tanzanian Roman Catholics would prefer for the Church to adopt more syncretic practices drawing on autochthonous customs, symbols, and ideas. Thoughts and suggestions from Tanzanians on this topic incorporate a wide variety of possibilities. Nevertheless, the present situation in the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania seems to diverge significantly from these possibilities.

Given this context, my paper will describe and examine the connections between the organizational structure of the Roman Catholic Church and syncretic manifestations in the Church in Tanzania. I will analyze the relation between the locations of decision-making and authority and processes of transformation. These processes take place within a complex dialogue about issues of "tradition" and an institutionalized church that makes claims to universality.

Key Words: Religion, Syncretism, Roman Catholic Church, Tanzania

When I arrived in Tanzania in 1993, I wanted to observe and to analyze religious phenomena. Instances where individuals and groups of people had appropriated elements of foreign ideas, customs, and symbols and adapted them to fit their own situation particularly interested me. Numerous experiences in Latin America and my prior reading on the topic (especially in the context of the Roman Catholic Church) had convinced me of the intrigue and importance of these phenomena. Therefore, when I stumbled across the Cathedral Bookshop in downtown Dar es Salaam shortly after my arrival in Tanzania, I began to explore actively the topic of syncretism as it related to Christianity, and Roman Catholicism specifical-

ly, in Tanzania. My voracious reading of books with titles such as *Towards an African Christian Liberation* set the tone for what I hoped to observe and to analyze during the course of my year in Tanzania.

One day, a friend who knew that I was interested in these topics, suggested that we attend a Sunday morning mass at the Mwenge Catholic Church in a neighborhood near the University of Dar es Salaam. The experience was an amazing one. My Kiswahili abilities were still in the very rudimentary stage, and I only understood bits and pieces of the liturgy and homily. Nevertheless, the experience of over five hundred Tanzanians worshipping together, with women occasionally

ululating in celebratory fashion, was a powerful one. This worship experience took place within an environment of walls covered in colorful murals depicting different biblical scenes with protagonists that had distinctively stereotyped African features. In these respects, it seemed like I had found exactly what I had hoped for; I would conduct the bulk of my fieldwork over the course of the next year in this church.

That account of my first experience is not the whole story, however. Reciting the mass in front of this congregation was a white priest from the United States, Father James. Moreover, in contrast to the murals, several icons and symbols of recognizably European or North American origin appeared throughout the Church. I subsequently realized that my initial deficiencies in Kiswahili had also masked another extremely important element in the mass, namely the introduction and repetition of foreign metaphors, symbols, and ideas in the liturgy and homily.

Other than a single monthly mass still recited in Latin, this church had followed the direction of Vatican II and conducted its services in Kiswahili (though limits in the Kiswahili proficiency of one important group of participants --the priests--were obvious on occasion). Language is definitely not a transparent medium of communication, and Kiswahili's use in the mass played an important role in issues of identification with the worshipping group as a whole and the priests in particular. Still, simply switching from a foreign language to a language common among all participants need not and did not correspond directly to changes in other aspects of the ritual.

These specific examples represent different aspects of a common tension that I found pervasive in my experiences as a participant observer in rituals and in my conversations with individual lay members of the church as well as the clergy. On the one hand, a desire and a perceived need for syncretic processes that would incorporate more

autochthonous elements in the ideas, symbols, and customs of the Church were obvious in a number of my experiences and conversations. On the other hand, claims of the Roman Catholic Church to be a universal church entailed reservations about deviation from "tradition," and different individuals set out certain elements as universal principles not subject to change. A tension between these two perspectives, often expressed by the same individual, struck me as particularly influential in processes of syncretic change within the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania.

Despite support from within theological circles and from the laity who constitute the base of the Roman Catholic Church, evidence of conscious and successful syncretism in Tanzania was relatively limited. The syncretism that had occurred included adoption of instruments and melodies from indigenous musical traditions, the switch from Latin to Kiswahili and other African languages for mass, and other modifications in rituals and symbols. On the whole, however, the actual extent of syncretism did not match the observable support for it at various levels of the Church.

The ideas of individual Tanzanians about the benefits of syncretic processes (and especially about the specific directions these processes should take) varied widely. One lay Tanzanian went so far as to tell me that "the writings of the Bible differ greatly from African traditional customs" and "there is nothing in the culture [of Africa] that is similar to the Catholic faith." By contrast, the vast majority of the Tanzanian Roman Catholics I interviewed believed that further incorporation of indigenous customs, symbols, and objects would better address their social reality. In addition, they suggested that this increased incorporation would lead to success in increasing the depth of the African Catholic faith as well as the number of practitioners present within the community of Tanzanian Africans.

A variety of Roman Catholic theologians

have also argued for the need to incorporate autochthonous elements, that is, to "inculturate" the Church. As Andre Droogers (1989) points out, the threat of syncretism to the universality of the Church appears in many theologians' rejection of the term "syncretism" itself. The basis for this rejection stems from a "subjective" definition of the term that condemns the mixing of religions. Nonetheless, at the same time, many theologians and official agents of the Church support aspects of local adaptation and coin new terms such as "inculturation" to refer to these possibilities.

Proponents of syncretic processes among both the laity and the theologians offer a wide variety of possibilities for specific syncretic changes. In terms of equating Tanzanian objects with Church forms, Tanzanian lay members suggested such ideas as: introducing more musical rhythms and instruments indigenous to Tanzania; substituting more appropriate substances for the bread and wine in the Eucharist; changing the names of certain objects used in the Church to match the vocabulary found in African languages; and identifying customary offerings with the Church offering as similar methods of expressing thanks and appreciation. In addition, two customs -- polygyny and matambiko (propitiatory offerings) -- often appear in the writings and thoughts of both theologians and laity on the topic of syncretic processes.

Different individuals interpret the tension between universality and syncretism in different ways. Even the most superficial exploration of the topic of syncretism in Tanzania reveals a tremendous diversity in opinions and attitudes toward syncretism, its benefits, and its dangers. This diversity is the product of long-term historical processes and unique individual experiences.

Robin Horton (1971, 1975a, 1975b), Monica Wilson (1971), and others have proposed an "intellectualist" model for understanding conversion to, and participation in, different religious

communities. In this model, enlargement of scale corresponding to processes of colonialism, capitalist expansion, and technological innovation directly relate to, and lead to, conversion to Christianity (and Islam). According to Horton and Wilson, these "macrocosmic" religions involve a larger scale of interaction in their conceptions of deities and supernatural forces. They contrast these religions with autochthonous religious customs and ideas, which are more "microcosmic." Following this model, these microcosmic religions correspond to the more limited arena of social interaction that preceded the effects of capitalism, colonialism, and other crucial historical processes.

Terence Ranger (1983, 1993) and others have broken down this dichotomy between microcosm and macrocosm by demonstrating the incredible diversity in communities and scales of social interaction both prior to these processes and subsequent to them. Their work has called the utility of Horton and Wilson's simple model into question. Nonetheless, this criticism does not negate the relationship between general social relationships and interactions and specific ideas about religion and participation in different religious activities. This relationship is more complicated because it is no longer a simple causal relationship along unidirectional evolutionary lines. Instead, the relationship is one of mutual interrelation and varies from community to community, from individual to individual, and from one point in time to another. This realization is constructive for analyzing the wide range of diverse ideas concerning syncretism in the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania. In a sense, much thought and writing about syncretism or "inculturation" rests on a false dichotomy of static "invented traditions." Recognition of the diversity in the heritages of particular Tanzanians and the groups they belong to makes syncretism a much more complicated topic.

Despite this diversity, my interviews and conversations with Tanzanian laity suggested sig-

nificant support for more extensive syncretic processes within the Church. Especially in light of substantial support in theological circles, my central questions for analysis became: "How does the diversity in opinions about syncretism play itself out in the Church?" and "What contributes to the discrepancy between the laity's general support for syncretic change and the reality in Tanzania today?" Working from these questions, I came to focus on power structures and hierarchical relationships within the Church as they relate to the way diversity appears in syncretic processes.

In large part, the limited nature of syncretism in the Church's symbols, practices, and rituals has resulted from the diversity of opinions in relation to the structures of power and decision-making within the Church. A rudimentary chart of the Church's structures reveals a hierarchy that is essentially pyramidal in construction. The vast majority of the Church's members constitute the laity that forms the base of the pyramid. On the next level are the priests and the religious, who are the principal ritual functionaries in a particular area. They possess local authority and decision-making powers. Above this level, the pyramid demonstrates consistently diminishing numbers as the structure converges toward the apex with positions such as bishop, archbishop, and cardinal. As the numbers decrease, each individual has responsibility and authority over a wider geographical area with more members at the base. Finally, the structure reaches its peak with the position of the Pope, who embodies the ultimate decision-making authority and the unification of the "universal" Roman Catholic Church under a singular structure.

Analysis of this pyramidal structure demonstrates an interesting set of biases and predilections that are an extremely important factor in the syncretic process and its results. The geographical center of the Church demonstrates perhaps the most obvious bias in the structure and a central one in terms of syncretism. The Pope and his imme-

diates subordinates have their residences and offices in the Vatican, which is surrounded by the modern nation-state of Italy. Thus, the general geographical focus of the Church is Europe. In addition, the Pope has traditionally been of European descent with the concomitant cultural ties. As a result of these facts, a European bias exists, at least in the higher echelons of the decision-making hierarchy. This bias affects syncretism directly, both in terms of overall openness to significant transformations in the Church and awareness of the needs and desires of the local laity.

The authority and decision-making structure within the Church has produced a general predilection against true dialogue. This predilection, in turn, works against syncretic processes that produce significant transformations of Church ideology, ritual, or symbols because the immediate impetus for change comes from local levels. Theologians and others have emphasized the importance of the laity's involvement in inculturative endeavors. Nevertheless, in general, the Church has been mostly uninvolved in instigating and facilitating this involvement. Members at the base of the pyramid depend on authoritative permission from above. The result is a slow process that has yielded few and limited concrete results despite support at various levels.

Elochukwu Uzukwu (1994) views the European bias evident in official Catholic theology as creating ambiguity about the relationship between the Church as a whole and its manifestation in particular contexts. An "evolutionist" model in the colonialist-missionary framework carries an implicit assumption of the superiority of one culture or context over another and the idea that movement toward that superior culture represents progress. As a result of the ultimate decision-makers' reliance on this model, a bias emerges that looks unfavorably upon syncretism and favors retention of forms, practices, and symbols that the missionaries originally brought with them

In the face of the anti-syncretic bias' precedence in the Roman Catholic Church, Tanzanians recognize and articulate the need for African initiative and control in the syncretic processes. One Tanzanian asserted that "the things that are discussed in the Church would be better understood by Africans because it is the culture that they have been born and raised with." From this viewpoint, Africans are the only ones who truly understand the unique situation of a particular church and context. Thus, they should direct and determine the course of the syncretic processes.

The European bias extends beyond the confines of the top of the pyramid. In the context of political and economic hegemony, this model pervades many people's thoughts about modernity and progress. Some Africans seem to have adopted a similar set of assumptions and applied them within the Church. This practice explains the statements by Tanzanians about the role of African clergy in relationship to syncretism and African cultural heritages in general. One Tanzanian lay member told me:

These African priests have been brought up and fed colonialist ideas and thoughts. Therefore, they are more inclined toward the European realm than they are toward their culture. They are unable to bring about any changes. If they alone remain, they will like for things to go just in the European way, because they feel that if things go in the European way that will indeed be the best.

In the eyes of this Tanzanian Catholic, African priests, taken as a whole, have adopted the evolutionist model that favors a European bias in authority and decision-making for the entire Roman Catholic Church. Other Tanzanians presented a similar perception of the situation when they argued that the presence of African priests as opposed to expatriate priests had virtually no effect on the

promotion of change within the Church.

Because many African clergy have assimilated European cultural values, a European bias disseminates through the Church's structure into the lower levels. As a result, even decisions at the local level under the authority of individual priests or religious may reflect these influences. The structure has served to perpetuate and to reinforce this bias through its educational programs for Church members as a whole and for clergy in particular.

The other obvious bias in the general structure of the Roman Catholic Church relates to gender roles. In essence, the structure relegates women to the bottom of the pyramid. Women within the Church play a vital role as lay members and contributors to local activities and practices of the Church. Women have access to religious roles as sisters. However, beyond this point, the Church effectively precludes their ability to assume authority or central positions within the pyramidal decision-making structure. Because the Church restricts the position of clergy to men, women lack access to the structure's upper positions. The clergy fill such roles as bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, from whom each subsequent Pope emerges. In short, women are confined to the two bottom levels of the official Church hierarchy. Such organization implies inevitable biases in terms of the Church's historical processes. Women are an integral and often dominant constituent of the laity on a local level and in lay organizations that organize members regionally. Despite this fact, decisions within the Church and dialogues about syncretism have significantly ignored the voices and efforts of women. Consequently, the syncretic process has been less than holistic.

Conversion of, and participation by, women in the Church has occurred for a variety of reasons, including the search for gender egalitarianism in the context of an increasingly differentiated society resulting from the "modernization" process. Women's involvement has been crucial to the

growth and success that Catholicism has experienced in Africa over the last century. Yet, the Church's overall structure, which is ordained by the central authority in Europe, has served as an effective limit on women's roles in authority and decision-making. Power ultimately rests in the hands of the men that dominate the upper levels of the pyramidal structure. Through its structures and institutions, the Church discourages the role of women as authoritative figures or contributors to theological discourse. Consequently, decisions concerning syncretism have tended to ignore or to downplay the opinions and attitudes of women, though women are a vital component in Church membership, particularly in Africa.

The barrier to women's involvement in the principal decision-making activities of the Church has by no means completely precluded the development of women's ideas and initiatives within the Church. In fact, an important group of feminist theologians has appeared in the African Church. These theologians, together with female lay members have focussed their attentions on the particular situation of African women in the Church and in society at large. As with many other African theologians and lay members, the issue of syncretism and the Church's relationship to Africans' cultural heritages are important foci of these women's comments and criticisms, and they present a potential source for transformation of the Church. At the same time, however, these women emphasize different syncretic goals and provide unique insights that pertain to a vital component of African Church membership.

African women have participated significantly in the development of the Church and a particular christology. In this experience, Emmanuel Martey (1993) sees the root of the work of many African feminist theologians. Their work focuses on the relationship of African women to the patriarchy of the Church and society as a whole. As a result of their experiences in this relationship,

Martey (1993) asserts: "African women reject the 'Christ of dogma' or the doctrinal approach to christology that prevails in the male-dominated church. Instead they accept the 'Christ of history' who . . . defines his mission as a mission of liberation" (84). In essence, women seek a transformation of the typical christology and imagery of the hierarchical Church, but they experience difficulty in garnering official recognition because of the biases of the Church's authority structure.

The result of the Church's two obvious biases has been a virtual disarticulation between official theology and the "popular" theology that exists among African laity. This type of disarticulation appears to be characteristic of many different aspects of the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania. It is a direct product of the Church structure. This structure, which concentrates power and decisions in a centralized authority, essentially precludes significant input from the laity or from Africa as a whole. In the centralized authority, the structure manifests biases in favor of European control and customs as well as the position of men in dominant decision-making roles with very little input from women. Decentralization of authority and attention to local context comprise the keys to congruence between popular and formal theologies and christologies. For the most part, churches such as the Roman Catholic Church that emerged out of missionary efforts and that remain subject to the control of international structures have failed to realize this congruence. As Robert Hefner (1993) states: "centralized control has created an organizational environment conducive to the strict management of doctrine and regular campaigns against heterodoxy" (33).

The figure of the *nganga* or "traditional healer" often appears in discussions of African "folk" theologies and offers evidence of the effects of centralized control. According to Matthew Schoffeleers (1994), christological imagery based on the *nganga* paradigm appears throughout sub-

Saharan Africa. The image of the *nganga* offers an alternative to the official images of Catholicism and other mission churches that Africans may find difficult to integrate into their belief systems. Despite the prevalence of the *nganga* paradigm in "folk" theology, Schoffeleers claims that African theologians have virtually ignored its presence and potential, primarily because of the tension between universality and locality.

The official inadmissibility of the paradigm has not, however, completely eliminated efforts aimed at its incorporation. Priests such as Emmanuel Milingo have integrated healing into the rituals they perform under the auspices of the Church. Schoffeleers (1994) argues that these priests have rejected use of the term *nganga* in reference to their activities even though it serves as the model for their activities. This aversion to the term seems to reveal their concerns about the support and approval of the Church's central authority and an attempt to distance themselves from a syncretistic impression that Rome might perceive as a threat to the "universal" institution. Nevertheless, Rome has still acted to stop these endeavors by removing or placing sanctions on Milingo and others.

One particular example of this exercise of authority in Tanzania involves Father Felician Nkwera. A Catholic priest, his superiors have barred him from performing the sacraments because of his healing practices. As the central figure of the Marian Faith Healing Centre located in Dar es Salaam, he conducts all-night vigils once a month. These vigils and other activities of the center have a significant following and demonstrate definite affinities to Catholic symbols, rituals, and practices. The Catholic hierarchy has intervened in an effort to stop this initiative to bring popular theology and imagery into the official Church, despite its support among many Tanzanian laity.

Though support for more extensive syn-

cretic measures exists both at the base level of the laity and within certain circles of African theologians, this support has failed to emerge in the officially sanctioned practices of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church's refusal to incorporate or to promote forms that are congruent with the wants and needs of many of its members is a product of a number of factors. Tension between the universality of the Roman Catholic Church and the local context of a particular congregation or group of congregations has sparked the debate within the Church over syncretism. Significant numbers of Tanzanian Roman Catholics support efforts to incorporate elements from their indigenous heritages. However, the structure of the Church functions in such a way that the principal supporters of this process lack input in the decision-making process. The structure divorces them from authority, autonomy, and a voice in the determination of the Church's development and transformation. In essence, a rigidity pervades the Church ideology as a consequence of the codified social structure.

This rigidity entails two biases that affect the syncretic process in particularly tangible ways. First, the geographical and cultural orientation of the structure favors European leadership and cultural forms. Europeans who identify with the "traditional" theology, symbols, and practices of the Church control authority and decisions within the centralized hierarchy. As a result, syncretic endeavors involving reorientation toward Tanzania's cultural heritages lack interested supporters at the crucial level of authority. In addition to concentration of authority in the hands of Europeans and others inclined toward European identification, the structure also alienates women from positions of prestige and influence. As a consequence, the Church fails to realize the potential and support for syncretism inherent in the ideas, symbols, and practices of Tanzanian women, who form the core membership of local churches in most instances.

African Independent Churches have

achieved some degree of decentralization by breaking with international institutions and seats of power. These churches control their own decision-making processes. On the whole, a good deal more syncretism has occurred in these churches as a result of the recognition of the autonomy and authority of Africans and women in particular. Therefore, popular beliefs and official teaching parallel each other much more closely than in the "mission churches" like the Roman Catholic Church.

African Independent Churches represent, in one sense, a product of the Church's rigidity. Because its structure implies a bias toward the universality of European and "Westernized" forms, Tanzanians and other Africans have responded by developing their own institutions with local authority and autonomy. Within this localized context, the overall trend has been toward much more extensive syncretism than appears in the official practices of the Roman Catholic Church. In general, these churches have a limited geographical range and build on the heritages and experiences of particular localities. The result has been localized institutions that conform more closely to the experiences of individual Tanzanians' unique cultural heritages within the recent circumstances of increasing incorporation into the structures of capitalism, an independent nation-state, and other large-scale structures.

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Winning Entry

1996 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

The Nutritional Status of a Late Mississippian Population

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Abstract

NUTRITIONAL INFERENCE FROM FAUNAL REMAINS AT THE PARKIN SITE. Parkin, a late Mississippian site in Arkansas, provides the opportunity, using archaeological evidence, to examine the nutritional status of a population which may have faced demographic collapse after the De Soto expedition of 1539–1543. Paleobotanical research by Williams shows Parkin conforms to generalized notions of maize-based agriculture. Human skeletal assessments by Murray show evidence of possible nutritional stress at Parkin. This study provides interpretive faunal analysis from a house floor excavated at Parkin. Integrating faunal, botanical, and human skeletal evidence provides a profile of nutritional adequacy and diversity. Nutritional stress was not a factor in the late Mississippian/early historic transition at Parkin.

The southeastern region of North America witnessed the gradual emergence, development, and sudden collapse of maize-based social hierarchies known as Mississippian chiefdoms. The introduction of disease by Europeans in the sixteenth century is often thought to be the prime mover in the demographic and social collapse of these chiefdoms (Dobyns 1983). There is increasing recognition of the role played by diet and nutrition during periods of cultural transition such as occurred in the sixteenth century (Larsen and Ham 1994; Super 1988; Cook and Borah 1979; Reitz 1994). Nutritional stress is often considered a synergistic factor in the body's ability to respond to infectious diseases (Armelagos 1994; Chandra 1986; Scrimshaw and Young 1978). Some argue that increased dependence on maize as a staple led to compromised nutritional status among these Native Americans and contributed to the high mortality. It

is important, therefore, to study the role of nutrition during this period of depopulation and social collapse.

Several classes of data must be integrated to assess nutrition using archaeological evidence. The archaeological record provides direct evidence of diet from coprolite analyses and from isotope studies of bone. Indirect evidence of diet is more frequently available through botanical and faunal analyses of resources which may have been consumed (Fritz 1994; Sutton 1994). In addition, nutritional stress may leave pathologies on human bone (Armelagos 1994; Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982; Larsen 1987).

Faunal analysis by Styles (1994) has shown dietary change in the resource-rich lower Illinois and central Mississippi River valley of Illinois. As sedentism increased in riverine localities due to greater dependence on maize after A.D. 600, greater

emphasis was placed on aquatic resources such as fish, aquatic turtles, aquatic birds, and semi-aquatic mammals (Styles 1994:41--42). As terrestrial resources such as deer were less frequently used, the limiting factor in the food quest shifted from energy capture to protein capture.

On the Atlantic coast, Larsen and Harn (1994) found evidence of increased morbidity and mortality documented in burials from Mission Santa Catalina de Guale. The declining nutritional status of this population is blamed in part on an increasingly narrow diet dominated by maize.

Parkin, a Late Mississippian site in northeast Arkansas, provides the opportunity, using archaeological evidence, to examine the nutritional status of a population which may have faced demographic collapse in the wake of Hernando de Soto's expedition. In order to explore the relationship between diet and nutrition during the early contact period I examined the nutritional contribution of vertebrate fauna recovered from an intact house floor at Parkin. The faunal record complements macrobotanical research conducted previously by Williams (1993) at Parkin. Human skeletal studies of 24 burials excavated at Parkin provide further evidence of nutritional status within this Late Mississippian population (Murray 1994;1989).

I initially expected that subsistence research at Parkin would conform to patterns described by Styles (1994) and Larsen and Harn (1994). Williams' (1993) research demonstrated that Parkin conforms to the generalized notions of maize-based agriculture typical of the Late Mississippian chiefdoms. Located on the St. Francis River within the central Mississippi River valley, Parkin is thought to be the capital of Casqui, a polity visited by the Hernando de Soto entrada of 1539 to 1543 (Morse and Morse 1983; Hudson 1993). Parkin is a typical St. Francis-type site with a rectangular village fortified with a palisade and a moat. An aproned platform mound was

built on the east bank of the river. St. Francis-type sites are characterized by deep occupational midden (Phillips, Ford, and Griffin 1951; Morse 1990; 1981). The modified environment created by the moat favored many aquatic species. I expected faunal analysis at Parkin to show heavy reliance on aquatic resources and, accordingly, I did not expect terrestrial resources, though present, to contribute heavily to the subsistence base.

METHODS

The 1994 research design at Parkin included defining the dimensions of several superimposed house floors in Locus 4 (Mitchem 1993). One intact house floor was designated Structure 11. It was determined in the field that the faunal material recovered from the general level excavations associated with Structure 11 would provide adequate data for studying animal use by a single household. Material from the first level of excavation, as well as post holes, burials, or other intrusive features are not included in this analysis due to the possibility of mixed levels. A preliminary report used feature material not included in this study (Keck 1995).

Standard zooarchaeological methods (Grayson 1979; 1973) were employed in examining the vertebrate faunal remains from Structure 11. Five thousand thirty-five specimens, representing 119 individuals from all classes of vertebrates were examined. I identified the vertebrate remains using the Museum of Natural History Zooarchaeological collection at the University of Georgia (Table 1). Bones of all taxa were counted to determine Number of Identified Specimens (NISP). The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) was estimated based on numbers of paired elements and degree of fusion. All bones of each taxon were weighed and biomass calculated based on these weights. As an indication of the quantity of meat supplied by a species, biomass was calculated using allometric regression principles that

relate body mass and skeletal mass with increasing body size. The relationship is described by the allometric equation:

$$Y = aX^b$$

where X represents bone weight, Y is the biomass, b is the constant of allometry, or slope of the line, and a is the Y-intercept (Simpson et al. 1960:397; Reitz and Cordier 1983; Wing and Brown 1979). The allometric formulae used here are represented in Table 2.

To estimate nutrient density, biomass values of species identified in the Parkin collection were converted to grams and multiplied by the values per 100 grams edible portion obtained from the food composition tables (USDA 1989; 1987; 1979; Kuhnlein et al. 1994). Nutritional values were not found for all species. Using protein as an example, the formula was as follows:

$$\text{Biomass, grams} \times \frac{\text{Grams (protein)}}{100 \text{ Grams Edible Portion}}$$

This provided an estimate of the total value of a given nutrient represented by the biomass estimated for that taxon (Table 3).

RESULTS

As expected (Table 4), deer represent only 3 percent of the MNI, while fish represent 52 percent, followed by small mammals. However, deer represent 68 percent of the biomass while fish represent 13 percent, followed by small mammals, turtles, and birds. Commensal taxa include frog, salamander, and mice.

Converting biomass to nutrient density, deer provide 78 percent of the food energy (KCAL) and 83 percent of the protein, while small mammals contribute 13 percent of the food energy and 10 percent of the protein. Fish, representing the highest MNI in this sample, provide only 5 percent of the food energy and 4 percent of the protein. Deer and small mammals provide 84 percent of the fat in the total biomass.

Seventy-three percent of the iron is provided by deer, with birds providing 21 percent. Fish provide 39 percent of the calcium, although deer provide 49 percent of this nutrient. Deer, by fact of sheer volume, provide over 80 percent of most of the essential vitamins and minerals. An exception is found in vitamin C, 70 percent of which was provided by muskrat. Turkey is the sole meat source of the vitamin folacin.

Although it is difficult to quantify and may be subject to preservation bias, archaeobotanical remains also provide general information about nutrition (Fritz 1994; Reitz and Scarry 1985). Archaeological faunal and botanical remains are quantified differently and are difficult to combine or compare. In addition, nutritional assessments are not available for all of the plants represented in the archaeological record. Not all plants recovered were necessarily consumed, nor are all plant food sources represented in the archaeological record. For purposes of this study I valued 13 plants identified by Williams' research in Locus 3 at Parkin (Table 5). Those with the highest ubiquity include maize, acorn, hickory, squash, chenopodium, and persimmon. Plants with low ubiquity that I evaluated include amaranth, walnut, maygrass, bean, sunflower, poke, and dock (Williams 1993:21). For purposes of this study the nutritive value of plants recovered from Parkin, for which nutritional values are documented, are represented (Table 6) by the value per 100 grams edible portion (USDA 1984; 1984; 1982; Watt and Merrill 1963; Leung and Flores 1961; Crites and Terry 1984).

Nuts provide the highest levels of food energy (KCAL) although sunflower seed kernels provide comparable food energy. Protein yield is highest in walnut; however, sunflower, maygrass, and bean provide comparable amounts. Hickory is highest in fat, followed by walnut and sunflower. Although sunflower had a low ubiquity rating at Parkin, the morphological characteristics of the specimens indicated that it was cultivated

(Williams 1993:43) and therefore represents a domesticated nutrient source. Carbohydrate value is highest in maize, closely followed by bean, maygrass, and acorn. Bean has a low ubiquity at Parkin but this may be due to poor preservation (Williams 1993:42).

Of plants represented by high ubiquity, hickory, walnut, and acorn, are a source of calcium, although seasonally available chenopodium and amaranth leaves have much higher values. Iron yield is low in the plants of highest ubiquity. The best sources for iron are bean, sunflower, and maygrass which have low ubiquity. These three plants also supply a relatively high calcium yield.

Sunflower also provides the highest source for magnesium, phosphorus, zinc, and copper. Acorn is highest in potassium, maize is highest in sodium, and walnut is highest in manganese.

Vitamin C was available seasonally from poke, persimmon, dock, amaranth, and chenopod. If persimmon was dried it may have provided further sources of vitamin C in other seasons. Vitamin A, also available seasonally in chenopod, dock, and squash, is stored in the body fat. Yellow-colored maize would provide an off season source of carotin which can be converted into vitamin A (Whitney and Rolfes:1993).

Sunflower is highest in thiamin, poke is highest in riboflavin and niacin, while maize would provide the highest source of pantothenic acid and vitamin B6. Values for folacin show squash as the sole plant source.

This summary analysis indicates that a broad spectrum of plants providing all the essential nutrients was present at Parkin seasonally as well as year round.

Human skeletal remains provide further evidence of the health of a population when an adequate sample size is available for assessment (Huss-Ashmore, Goodman, and Armelagos 1982). Nutritional stress, or lack thereof, may be inferred

from skeletal pathologies; however, most indicators of stress are non-specific and as such, may result from more than one cause (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982; Larsen 1987). Many types of nutritional stress, such as vitamin C and D deficiencies, affect soft tissue and may have no impact on bone development. It should be noted that a deficiency severe enough to affect the "protective umbrella" of skin, mucous membranes, white blood cell production or iron absorption, may not be clinically cast as malnutrition (Chandra 1986).

Human burials from Parkin are being examined at the University of Arkansas Bioanthropology Laboratory in accordance with an agreement between the Quapaw Indians and the State of Arkansas (Mitchem 1993). Katherine Murray (1989) concludes that the rate of dental caries in the Parkin sample is consistent with rates from other Mississippian populations in the southeast that relied on maize as a staple.

The enamel hypoplasia rate at Parkin indicates that this population experienced a high level of childhood stress. Of thirteen burials with dentition, ten exhibited hypoplasias, with the greatest occurrence appearing between the ages of 2.5 to 2.99 years of age (Murray 1994; 1989). Hypoplasia may be caused by nutritional stress at weaning, when the child is removed from a high protein diet of mother's milk and switched to a non-milk diet (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982; Larsen 1987). The rate of infection exhibited by burials at Parkin is 37 percent (Murray 1994; 1989). Three cases of periostitis, a bacterial infection, would, according to Larsen (1994), point to environmental degradation related to overcrowding and unsanitary conditions.

Only one case of porotic hyperostosis, a condition which may often be caused by severe iron deficiency anemia (Huss-Ashmore et al. 1982), is reported from Parkin. This condition may have been caused by anemia due to parasites. The loss of dentition in this particular individual

could have led to a diet low in heme iron from animal sources (Murray 1989:54). Heme iron is more easily absorbed by the human body than iron available from other sources (Whitney and Rolfe 1993).

It may be inferred from the rate and degree pathologies that most individuals at Parkin successfully met the challenges presented by various environmental stressors and endured, as well as survived, obviously severe infections.

SUMMARY

The Late Mississippian population at Parkin had a nutritional regime dominated by maize; however, high levels of food energy, protein, and iron were provided by deer. Fish contributed calcium, muskrat was a source of vitamin C, and turkey and duck yield high sources of B vitamins. Other year-round resources were the nutrient-dense acorn, hickory, and walnut. Beans and sunflower, though poorly represented in the archaeological record, provide additional carbohydrates, protein, and fat as well as all but a few of the necessary vitamins and minerals. Seasonally available foods, such as poke, may-grass, chenopod, and amaranth contributed to the broad nutritional base during part of the year. The nutrients necessary for a healthful diet at Parkin were available through multiple pathways.

Skeletal assessments from Parkin indicate that severe infections were bacterial and not nutritional in origin. A high rate of enamel hypoplasia indicates severe environmental stress was frequently faced during childhood. A single case of porotic hyperostosis indicates that iron deficiency was not a problem at Parkin.

CONCLUSION

The integration of faunal, botanical, and biological data indicates that Late Mississippian residents at Parkin did not experience the predicted

pattern of compromised nutritional status brought on by an increasingly narrow diet focused on maize. Exploitation of terrestrial animals remained an important source of energy and protein. This may be interpreted as a sound nutritional regime which provided the population the resiliency and strength to defend itself against infectious assaults. If demographic and social collapse occurred at Parkin due to European disease, it does not appear to have been exacerbated by compromised nutrition. Further research should seek to include invertebrate sources of nutrition such as mollusks, as well as direct evidence offered by coprolites or bone chemistry. Additional botanical and faunal research at Parkin may support these data or provide further insight on the nutritional status of this Late Mississippian population.

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Table 1. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Species List.

	NISP	MNI #	%	Wt/g	BIOMASS Kg	%
UID Mammal	1654			1481.35	18.78	37.83
<u>Didelphis virginiana</u>	4	1	0.84	2.61	0.06	0.12
Opossum						
Soricidae	1	1	0.84	0.01	tr.	
Shrew family						
<u>Sylvilagus</u> spp.	51	5	4.20	27.76	0.52	1.05
Rabbit						
UID Rodent	5			0.45	0.01	0.03
<u>Sciurus</u> spp.	37	4	3.36	13.83	0.28	0.52
Squirrel						
<u>Castor canadensis</u>	1	1	0.84	0.67	0.02	0.04
Beaver						
<u>Ondatra zibethicus</u>	5	2	1.68	9.17	0.19	0.38
Muskrat						
Cricetidae	33	8	6.72	2.86	0.07	0.14
New World mice						
<u>Peromyscus</u> spp.	1	(1)		0.09	tr.	
Mouse						
<u>Sigmodon hispidus</u>	16	(3)		2.01	0.05	0.10
Hispid cotton rat						
<u>Homo sapiens</u>	7	(2)		10.92		
Human						
Canidae	6			5.32	0.12	0.24
Dog family						

Table 1. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Species List (cont.)

	NISP	MNI #	%	Wt/g	BIOMASS Kg	%
<u>Deirochelys reticularia</u>	1	1	0.84	1.57	0.04	0.08
Chicken turtle						
<u>Graptemys geographica</u>	1	1	0.84	2.70	0.06	0.12
Map turtle						
<u>Pseudemys</u> spp.	2			1.65	0.04	0.08
River cooter						
<u>Pseudemys concinna</u>	2	1	0.84	4.92	0.09	0.19
River cooter						
<u>Pseudemys floridana</u>	11	1	0.84	25.37	0.28	0.56
Cooter						
<u>Trachemys scripta</u>	3	1	0.84	4.71	0.09	0.18
Pond slider						
<u>Apalone</u> spp.	23	2	1.68	29.84	0.31	0.62
Softshell turtle						
UID Fish	1494			345.45	3.36	6.77
<u>Lepisosteus</u> spp.	378	9	7.56	78.72	0.95	1.91
Gar						
<u>Lepisosteus oculatus</u>	2	(1)		0.32	0.01	0.02
Spotted gar						
<u>Amia calva</u>	355	8	6.72	66.11	0.83	1.67
Bowfin						
Clupeidae	30	2	1.68	0.98	0.03	0.06
Herring family						

Table 1. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Species List (cont.)

	NISP	MNI #	%	Wt/g	BIOMASS Kg	%
<u>Anas platyrhynchos</u>	7	2	1.68	4.27	0.08	0.16
Mallard						
<u>Branta canadensis</u>	3	1	0.84	1.89	0.04	0.08
Canada goose						
<u>Meleagris gallopavo</u>	21	2	1.68	31.81	0.48	0.97
Wild turkey						
Anura	8			0.19		
Frog/Toad						
Bufo	1	1	0.84	0.10		
Bullfrog						
Plethodontidae	1	1	0.84	0.02		
Woodland salamanders						
UID Turtle	145			60.65	0.49	0.99
Chelydridae	3			6.02	0.11	0.22
Snapping turtle family						
<u>Chelydra serpentina</u>	1	1	0.84	1.56	0.04	0.08
Snapping turtle						
Kinosternidae	97	2	1.68	18.42	0.22	0.44
Mud/Musk turtle						
Emydidae	12			7.57	0.12	0.24
Box/Water turtle family						
<u>Chrysemys picta</u>	3	1	0.84	2.16	0.05	0.10
Painted turtle						

Table 1. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Species List (cont.)

	NISP	MNI #	MNI %	Wt/g	BIOMASS Kg	BIOMASS %
<u>Canis latrans</u>	1	1	0.84	22.01	0.42	0.85
Coyote						
<u>Procyon lotor</u>	37	6	5.04	58.47	1.02	2.05
Raccoon						
Mustelidae	1	1	0.84	0.10	tr.	
Mink family						
<u>Mustela vison</u>	3	1	0.84	0.48	0.01	0.02
Mink						
<u>Felis rufus</u>	1	1	0.84	3.20	0.07	0.14
Bobcat						
Artiodactyl	11			71.78	1.23	2.48
<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	181	4	3.36	1299.77	16.69	33.62
White-tailed deer						
UID Bird	118			39.42	0.58	1.17
Ardeidae	2			0.98	0.02	0.04
Heron family						
<u>Ardea herodias</u>	1	1	0.84	1.60	0.03	0.06
Great blue heron						
Anatidae	5			0.96	0.02	0.04
Duck family						
<u>Aix sponsa</u>	1	1	0.84	0.34	0.01	0.02
Wood duck						
<u>Anas acuta</u>	1	1	0.84	0.19	0.01	0.02
Pintail						

Table 1. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Species List (cont.)

	NISP	MNI		Wt/g	BIOMASS	
		#	%		Kg	%
Catostomidae	11			4.85	0.11	0.22
Sucker family						
<u>Ictiobus</u> spp.	5			0.81	0.03	0.06
Buffalo sucker						
<u>Ictiobus</u> <u>bubalus</u>	7	2	1.68	2.83	0.07	0.14
Smallmouth buffalo						
<u>Ictiobus</u> <u>cyprinellus</u>	6	2	1.68	2.74	0.07	0.14
Bigmouth buffalo						
<u>Ictiobus</u> <u>niger</u>	13	1	0.84	9.96	0.19	0.38
Black buffalo						
<u>Minytrema</u> <u>melanops</u>	5	2	1.68	1.41	0.04	0.08
Spotted sucker						
Ictaluridae	64	10	8.40	16.59	0.29	0.58
Catfish family						
<u>Ictalurus</u> cf. <u>furcatus</u>	1	(1)		1.49	0.03	0.06
Blue catfish						
<u>Ictalurus</u> cf. <u>punctatus</u>	3	(1)		1.18	0.02	0.04
Channel catfish						
<u>Ameiurus</u> spp.	10	(2)		2.38	0.05	10.00
Bullhead catfishes						
<u>Ameiurus</u> cf. <u>nebulosus</u>	3	(1)		0.79	0.02	0.03
Brown bullhead						
Centrarchidae	15			1.89	0.03	0.06
Sunfish family						

Table 1. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Species List (cont.)

	NISP	MNI #	MNI %	Wt/g	BIOMASS Kg	BIOMASS %
<u>Lepomis macrochirus</u> Bluegill	2	1	0.84	0.35	0.01	0.02
<u>Lepomis microlophus</u> Redear sunfish	3	1	0.84	0.38	0.01	0.02
<u>Micropterus salmoides</u> Largemouth bass	14	2	1.68	2.22	0.03	0.06
<u>Pomoxis nigromaculatus</u> Black crappie	2	2	1.68	0.14	tr.	
<u>Aplodinotus grunniens</u> Freshwater drum	83	20	16.81	51.05	0.71	1.43
UID Vertebrate			599.63			
Total	5035	119		4454.04	49.64	

Table 2. Allometric Values Used in Biomass Calculations.

Faunal Category	n	y-intercept log a	slope b	r ²
Mammal	97	1.12	0.90	0.94
Bird	307	1.04	0.91	0.97
Turtle	26	0.51	0.67	0.55
Osteichthyes	393	0.90	0.81	0.80
Non-Perciformes	119	0.85	0.7	0.88
Siluriformes	36	1.15	0.95	0.87
Centrarchidae	38	0.76	0.84	0.80
Sciaenidae	99	0.81	0.74	0.73

$Y = aX^b$ or, $\log Y = b(\log X) + \log a$

Y = Body Weight (dependent)

X = Skeletal Weight (independent)

a = Y-intercept

b = Slope

n = number of observations used in the regression

r² = proportion of total variance by the regression model

Table 3. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Nutrient Density Represented by Biomass of Vertebrate Fauna.

Taxon:	Biomass g	KCAL	Protein g	Fat g
Deer	16,690.9	26,371.6	5042.3	532.4
roasted				
Opossum	62.4	137.9	18.8	6.4
roasted				
Rabbit	523.7	906.0	172.9	18.4
stewed				
Squirrel	279.7	380.4	67.5	10.2
roasted				
Beaver	18.3	30.4	5.0	1.0
roasted				
Muskrat	193.3	355.7	45.6	17.8
roasted				
Raccoon	1023.9	2610.9	298.9	148.5
roasted				
Duck	88.6	186.9	15.4	13.5
flesh and skin, raw				
Canada Goose	36.4	230.8	12.4	19.7
flesh, smoked				
Turkey	475.7	989.5	133.7	46.7
flesh and skin, roasted				
Sucker	449.5	413.5	75.3	10.4
raw				
Catfish	333.1	386.4	60.6	14.2
raw				
Lepomis (sunfish)	14.9	13.3	2.9	0.1
raw				
Bass	37.3	42.5	7.0	1.4
mixed species, raw				
Freshwater drum	714.4	850.1	125.3	35.2
raw				
Total		33,905.9	6083.6	875.9

Table 3. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Nutrient Density Represented by Biomass of Vertebrate Fauna (cont.)

Taxon:	Calcium (mg)	Iron (mg)	Magnesium (mg)	Phosphorus (mg)
Deer	1168.4	746.1	4005.8	37,721.4
roasted				
Opossum	-	-	-	-
roasted				
Rabbit	94.3	25.4	162.3	1256.9
stewed				
Squirrel	5.6	14.9	61.5	464.3
roasted				
Beaver	3.1	1.4	4.2	41.9
roasted				
Muskrat	54.1	-	38.7	409.8
roasted				
Raccoon	-	-	-	-
roasted				
Duck	4.4	3.7	17.7	148.8
flesh and skin, raw				
Canada Goose	8.4	207.5	-	207.5
flesh, smoked				
Turkey	123.7	8.5	118.9	965.7
flesh and skin, roasted				
Sucker	314.6	5.8	134.9	943.9
raw				
Catfish	133.2	3.2	83.3	709.5
raw				
Lepomis (sunfish)	11.9	0.2	4.5	26.8
raw				
Bass	29.8	0.6	11.2	74.6
mixed species, raw				
Freshwater drum	428.6	6.4	214.3	1285.9
raw				
Total	2380.1	1023.7	4857.3	44,257.0

Table 3. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Nutrient Density Represented by Biomass of Vertebrate Fauna (cont.)

Taxon:	Potassium (mg)	Sodium (mg)	Zinc (mg)	Copper (mg)	Manganese (mg)
Deer	55,914.5	9013.1	458.9	50.1	7.7
roasted					
Opossum	-	-	-	-	-
roasted					
Rabbit	1796.3	235.7	-	-	-
stewed					
Squirrel	771.9	262.9	-	-	-
roasted					
Beaver	57.8	8.4	-	-	-
roasted					
Muskrat	485.2	144.9	-	-	-
roasted					
Raccoon	-	-	-	-	-
roasted					
Duck	2.5	49.6	0.7	0.2	-
flesh and skin, raw					
Canada Goose	305.8	72.8	-	-	-
flesh, smoked					
Turkey	1331.9	323.4	14.1	0.4	0.1
flesh and skin, roasted					
Sucker	1708.1	179.8	3.4	0.9	2.7
raw					
Catfish	1162.5	209.9	2.4	0.3	0.1
raw					
Lepomis (sunfish)	52.2	11.9	0.2	0.0	0.1
raw					
Bass	132.8	26.1	0.2	0.0	0.3
mixed species, raw					
Freshwater drum	1964.6	535.8	4.7	1.7	5.0
raw					
Total	65,686.1	11,074.3	484.6	53.6	16.0

Table 3. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Nutrient Density Represented by Biomass of Vertebrate Fauna (cont.)

Taxon:	Vitamin C (mg)	Thiamin (mg)	Riboflavin (mg)	Niacin (mg)
Deer	-	30.0	100.1	1119.9
roasted	-	0.1	0.2	-
Opossum	-	0.1	0.4	33.5
roasted	-	0.1	0.6	10.2
Rabbit	0.4	-	-	0.3
stewed	11.6	0.1	1.1	10.9
Squirrel	-	6.0	5.3	-
roasted	4.6	0.3	0.2	2.9
Beaver	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-
Muskrat	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-
Raccoon	0.0	0.3	0.8	24.2
roasted	-	-	-	-
Duck	-	-	-	-
flesh and skin, raw	-	-	-	-
Canada Goose	-	-	-	-
flesh, smoked	-	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-
flesh and skin, roasted	-	-	-	-
Sucker	-	0.2	0.4	7.1
raw	-	-	-	-
Catfish	-	-	-	-
raw	-	-	-	-
Lepomis (sunfish)	-	-	-	-
raw	-	-	-	-
Bass	-	-	-	-
mixed species, raw	-	-	-	-
Freshwater drum	-	-	-	-
raw	-	-	-	-
Total	16.6	37.2	109.1	1209.0

Table 3. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Nutrient Density Represented by Biomass of Vertebrate Fauna (cont.)

Taxon:	Pantothenic	B6 (mcg)	Folacin (mcg)	Vitamins:	
	Acid (mg)			B12 (mcg)	A RE
Deer	-	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-	-
Opossum	-	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-	-
Rabbit	-	-	-	-	-
stewed	-	-	-	-	-
Squirrel	-	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-	-
Beaver	-	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-	-
Muskrat	-	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-	-
Raccoon	-	-	-	-	-
roasted	-	-	-	-	-
Duck	0.6	0.5	-	0.6	-
flesh and skin, raw					
Canada Goose	-	-	-	-	-
flesh, smoked					
Turkey	4.1	1.9	33.3	1.7	0
flesh and skin, roasted					
Sucker	-	-	-	-	-
raw					
Catfish	-	-	-	-	-
raw					
Lepomis (sunfish)	-	-	-	-	-
raw					
Bass	-	-	-	-	-
mixed species, raw					
Freshwater drum	-	-	-	-	-
raw					
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	4.7	2.4	33.3	2.3	0

a. From Kuhnlein, et al. (1994:151).

Table 4. Parkin, Locus 4, Structure 11: Summary.

	MNI		BIOMASS	
	#	%	Kg	%
Deer	4	3.36	16.69	68.37
Small mammals	23	19.33	2.61	10.69
Birds	8	6.73	0.63	2.58
Turtles	11	9.24	1.19	4.88
Fish	62	52.10	3.22	13.19
Commensal taxa	11	9.24	0.07	0.29
Total	<u>119</u>		<u>24.41</u>	

Table 5. Macrobotanical Remains From Parkin, Locus 3.

Taxon	Common Name	Ubiquity Index
<u>Carya</u> spp.	Thick hickory	41%
<u>Carya</u> spp.	Thin hickory	19%
Juglandaceae	Walnut family	14%
<u>Quercus</u> spp.	Acorn	70%
<u>Zea mays</u>	Maize	95%
<u>Phaseolus vulgaris</u>	Bean	8%
<u>Helianthus annuus</u>	Sunflower	8%
<u>Cucurbita</u> spp.	Gourd, squash	38%
<u>Acalphs</u> spp.	Three-seed mercury	5%
<u>Amaranthus</u> spp.	Amaranth, pigweed	19%
Asteraceae	Aster	3%
<u>Chenopodium</u> spp.	Chenopod	32%
Cheno-Am		8%
Convolvulaceae	Morning glory	5%
<u>Diospyros virginiana</u>	Persimmon	27%
<u>Echinochloa muricata</u>	Spurge	5%
<u>Euphorbia</u> spp.	Spurge	11%
Fabaceae	Bean family	8%
<u>Hordeum pusillum</u>	Little barley	3%
<u>Iva annua</u>	Sumpweed	8%
<u>Phalaris caroliniana</u>	Maygrass	14%
<u>Phytolacca</u> spp.	Pokeweed	3%
Poaceae 6L	Grass	38%
Poaceae Type 1	Grass	32%
<u>Polygonum</u> spp.	Knotweed	19%
<u>Rumex</u> spp.	Dock	3%
<u>Sida</u> spp.	Mallow	5%
<u>Solanum americanum</u>	Black nightshade	24%
Vetch-type		3%

Note: From Williams (1993:21).

Table 6. Parkin, Locus 3, Plants: Nutrient Density,
per 100 grams edible portion (cont.)

Taxon:	KCAL	Protein g	Fat g	Carbohydrate g
Thick hickory, dried	657	12.7	64.4	18.3
Walnut, dried	607	24.3	56.6	12.1
Acorn, dried	509	8.1	31.4	53.7
Maize, dried	365	9.4	4.7	74.3
Bean, dried ^a	337	22.0	1.6	60.8
Sunflower, Dried seed kernals	570	22.8	49.6	18.8
Squash, summer, boiled	20	0.9	0.3	4.3
Squash, winter, baked	39	0.9	0.6	8.8
Amaranth, boiled	21	2.1	0.2	4.1
Chenopod, boiled	32	4.2	0.8	7.3
Maygrass ^b	370	23.7	6.4	54.3
Poke, raw ^c	23	2.6	0.4	3.7
Dock, raw	22	2.0	0.7	3.2
Dock, boiled	20	1.8	0.6	2.9
Persimmon, raw	127	0.8	0.4	33.5

Table 6. Parkin, Locus 3, Plants: Nutrient Density, per 100 grams edible portion (cont.)

Taxon:	Calcium mg	Iron mg	Magn. mg	Phos. mg
Thick hickory, dried	61	2.1	173	336
Walnut, dried	58	3.1	202	464
Acorn, dried	54	1.0	82	103
Maize, dried	7	2.7	127	210
Bean, dried ^a	86	7.6.		247
Sunflower,				
Dried seed kernals	116	6.8	354	705
Squash, summer, boiled	27	0.4	24	39
Squash, winter, baked	14	0.3	8	20
Amaranth, boiled	209	2.3	55	72
Chenopod, boiled	258	0.7		45
Maygrass ^b	66	6.3		510
Poke, raw ^c	53	1.7		44
Dock, raw	44	2.4	103	63
Dock, boiled	38	2.1	89	52
Persimmon, raw	27	2.5		26

Table 6. Parkin, Locus 3, Plants: Nutrient Density,
per 100 grams edible portion (cont.)

Taxon:	Potassium	Sodium	Zinc	Copper	Manganese
	mg	mg	mg	mg	mg
Thick hickory, dried	436	1	4.3	0.7	-
Walnut, dried	524	1	3.4	1.0	4.2
Acorn, dried	709	0	0.7	0.8	-
Maize, dried	287	35	2.2	0.3	-
Bean, dried ^a	-	-	-	-	-
Sunflower,					
Dried seed kernels	689	3	5.1	1.8	2.0
Squash, summer, boiled	192	1	0.4	0.1	0.2
Squash, winter, baked	437	1	0.3	0.1	0.2
Amaranth, boiled	641	21	-	-	-
Chenopod, boiled	-	-	-	-	-
Maygrass ^b	69	-	-	-	-
Poke, raw ^c	-	-	-	-	-
Dock, raw	390	4	-	-	-
Dock, boiled	321	3	-	-	-
Persimmon, raw	310	1	-	-	-

Table 6. Parkin, Locus 3, Plants: Nutrient Density,
per 100 grams edible portion (cont.)

Taxon:	Vitamin C	Thiamin	Riboflavin	Niacin
	mg	mg	mg	mg
Thick hickory, dried	-	-	-	-
Walnut, dried		0.22	0.11	0.69
Acorn, dried	0.0	0.15	0.15	2.41
Maize, dried	0.0	0.39	0.20	3.63
Bean, dried ^a	3.0	0.54	0.19	2.10
Sunflower,				
Dried seed kernals	-	2.29	0.25	4.50
Squash, summer, boiled	5.5	0.04	0.04	0.51
Squash, winter, baked	9.6	0.09	0.02	0.70
Amaranth, boiled	41.1	0.02	0.13	0.56
Chenopod, boiled	37.0	0.10	0.26	0.90
Maygrass ^b	-	0.88	0.24	2.49
Poke, raw ^c	136.0	0.45	0.63	6.20
Dock, raw	48.0	0.04	0.10	0.50
Dock, boiled	26.3	0.03	0.09	0.41
Persimmon, raw	66.0	-	-	-

Table 6. Parkin, Locus 3, Plants: Nutrient Density,
per 100 grams edible portion (cont.)

Taxon:	Pantothenic Acid, mg	B6, mg	Folacin, Vitamin A, mcg	Vitamin A, RE
Thick hickory, dried	-	-	-	-
Walnut, dried	-	-	-	30
Acorn, dried	-	-	-	-
Maize, dried	0.42	0.62	-	-
Bean, dried ^a	-	-	-	5
Sunflower, Dried seed kernals	-	-	-	5
Squash, summer, boiled	0.14	0.07	20.1	29
Squash, winter, baked	0.35	0.07	28.0	356
Amaranth, boiled	-	-	-	277
Chenopod, boiled	-	-	-	979
Maygrass ^b	-	-	-	-
Poke, raw ^c	-	-	-	-
Dock, raw	-	-	-	400
Dock, boiled	-	-	-	347
Persimmon, raw	-	-	-	-

a. From Leung and Flores (1961).

b. From Crites and Terry (1984:116).

c. From Watt and Merrill (1963).

Appendix 1.

Locus 4 FSN's associated with Structure 11

Master's Thesis data of Charlene Keck, University of Georgia

FSN:	PROVENIENCE:	COMMENTS:
902	1074N 218E 20-30cm	middle 1/3 of unit
922	1074N 218E 20-30cm	E 1/3 of unit
926	1074N 220E 20-30cm	E 1/2 of unit
929	1074N 216E 20-30cm	General level
938	1074N 220E 20-30cm	Daub concentration
941	1074N 220E 20-30cm	NW 1/4
948	1074N 218E 20-30cm	W 1/3
950	1074N 220E 30-40cm	General level
966	1074N 218E West Balk	Shell concentration
972	1074N 218E 32+cm	General level
973	1074N 218E 32+cm	General level
1207	1072N 218E 10-20cm	general level
1208	1072N 220E 10-20cm	general level
1211	1072N 216E 11-22cm	general level
1216	1072N 216E 11-22cm	West border
1222	1072N 220E 20-30cm	daub concentration
1223	1072N 220E 20-30cm	excluding daub
1225	1072N 216E 11-22cm	inside str 11
1226	1072N 216E 11-22cm	outside str 11
1227	1072N 218E 20-30cm	general level
1236	1072N 218E 20-30cm	outside str 11
1247	1072N 218E 10-20cm	South 1/2 balk
1248	1072N 218E	Floor str 11
1264	1072N 216E 10-20cm	E balk outside
1265	1072N 216E 10-20cm	E balk inside
1268	1072N 216E 22+cm	Floor
1269	1074N 218E 10-20cm	E balk
1271	1072N 218E 10-20cm	N 1/2 E balk
1272	1074N 218E 20-30cm	S 1/2 E balk
1278	1074N 218E 30+cm	Floor
1282	1072N 218E 20-30cm	N 1/2 E balk
1288	1074N 216E 10-20cm	S 1/2 E balk
1295	1074N 216E 20-30cm	S 1/2 E balk
1297	1074N 218E 30+cm	Floor
1336	1072N 220E 30+cm	Floor

Everything I Need to Know about Life I Learned while Driving on the Interstate*

by Herman Nooticks

I. (a) If you don't keep up the pace, you'll be steamrollered by the competition. (Ever try driving just the speed limit and no faster?)

I. (b) Just doing what the rules say, that is, just doing what is expected by those who make the official rules, is seldom good enough (see above)

II (a) The official rules are often arbitrary and indefensible. (Who makes up speed limits anyway?)

II. (b) It often seems that the rules are designed for some ends other than those stated (Latent functions). (Are speed limits designed to save lives or make money for the Authorities?)

II. (c) In the absence of oppressive external authority, people will do what makes sense,

or

II (d) In the absence of oppressive external enforcement, arbitrary and indefensible changes in the rules will not result in changes in peoples' behavior (When the speed limit drops from 65 to 55 with no changes in scenery or road conditions, and in absence of police, the traffic keeps going 65)

II (e) There is safety in the social group, or, conformity to the group is safest. (see above)

or

**Editor's note: This manuscript was found while cleaning up from the meetings in Baton Rouge and is offered here in the spirit of this issue, which celebrates emerging writers. Even though there is no provenience given for the author, it seemed worthwhile to include the material in order to encourage him and others who may have knowledge to contribute to the Society in the future.*

II. (f) Conformity is easiest, especially when the rules are unknown or don't make sense (see above)

III. No matter how much of a hurry you are in, there is always someone in a greater hurry (in other words, don't stay in the left lane or you'll find someone on your tail)

IV. The big guys never get caught, no matter what they do. (Ever seen an 18 wheeler pulled over for speeding?)

V. All plans are subject to sudden change (Just when you thought you would make good time on the trip, there is a sudden and mysterious slow down or stoppage often for no apparent reason)

VI. Life is like a highway whose beginning started before we got on and whose end is beyond however far we travel, and any one of us is only on it for a little while (there is always some interstate before we started our trip, and we almost never come to the end of the interstate)



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