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"EITHER HE'S DEAD OR MY WATCH STOPPED"

THE PLAGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE SMALL COLLEGES

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Anthropologists are a strange lot. So maybe it is a good thing that there are so few professionals. The American Anthropological Association's Guide to Departments lists approximately 4,500 academic anthropologists spread unevenly among 380 departments. Most of these individuals are clustered in a limited number of PhD granting programs. Many anthropologists work in museums. Otherwise the anthropologist finds employment in very small or combined departments. Anthropologists teach with sociologists, geographers, social workers, and nurses; or even in business, education, or medical schools. Many colleges do not have anthropologists on their faculties at all. In numbers we are very small compared with history, sociology, psychology or English. Still our calling is a large one. Anthropologists are the self-appointed investigators of human species. We consider everything related to humans to be within our rightful purview.

In order to achieve some understanding of humanity anthropologists are usually specialists in one of four disciplinary subspecialties or quadrants: archaeology (the study of culture through the remains of past human behavior); physical anthropology (the study of human origins, human biology, and the relationship between biology and culture); cultural anthropology (the study of contemporary human culture) and linguistics (the study of human language and culture). The methodology and interests vary a good deal across the quadrants, but each and every anthropologist desires to understand that phenomenon which makes the human species unique: culture. Culture is the term we use to describe the shared expectations held by humans. These shared understandings are in the mind and are made manifest in the myriad ways humans have come to endure one another and scavenge a living. The approach for study is

*Groucho Marx checking the pulse of an unconscious Harpo
usually holistic; that is, anthropologists understand the importance of interrelationships between the manifestations of these shared expectations. Hence whether the point of study is politics, art, folklore, biological adaptations, subsistence, economics, religions, or bar behavior; it is all anthropological as long as the investigator is interested in the people's shared understanding of their way of life. In the past the anthropologist has typically worked outside of his or her native country. This is no longer true. Scratch a subculture in the U.S. and you will find an interested anthropologist lurking nearby.

Such a responsibility can lead to a certain arrogance (or so, on occasion, I have been told). The anthropologist is often a "spoiler", countering a colleague's postulated universal of human behavior with a statement like: "Ah, but it is done a bit differently in Africa." As an academic minority this arrogance may be a healthy and necessary adaptation. The twin problems of low numbers and low social status combined with the huge and self-inflicted responsibility for teaching all of human culture, creates an especially acute and serious challenge for anthropologists in small colleges. We who toil in the dense foliage of academe's small groves and kitchen gardens must make our own way; without native guides, or very good maps. At least this has been my experience and the experience of peers who are similarly situated. The problems we have while attempting to serve the students and fulfill our professional responsibilities are enlightening for both the mess anthropology has gotten itself into as well as the mess small colleges find themselves in.

Today a good anthropology department is like a small college. The department is unified by its focus upon humans and human culture through time and over space; but it is separated by a large variety of methods and particular objects of study. For instance, the natural sciences are represented by studies in such areas as human biology, population genetics, computer simulation, and human ecology. The social sciences are represented by studies in comparative religions, economics, politics, and prehistory. When anthropological studies of art, literature, folklore, and philosophy are added, even the house of humanities finds an anthropologist knocking on its door. At a large school this is fine and faculty members can indulge themselves in truly wonderful specializations. At small schools the anthropologist can't indulge in such single-mindedness. Instead the lonely anthropologist must become adept at presenting the discipline in all of its aspects and quadrants as best as can be done.
To give some idea of where anthropology has come since the days of the 1920's and 1930's, one need only attend to some recent dissertation topics. Here is a brief listing of topics considered quite kosher anthropology (all originated as studies in the same graduate department): the role of women in Tunisia; the sub-culture of mental health outpatients in a mid-western city; the music of Buddhists in Switzerland and Nepal; the physiology of Macaque locomotion; minority dialects in the southern U.S.; pre-conquest farming techniques in Ecuador; time perception in rural and urban Yugoslavia; twins and tooth decay; the relationship of gastropods to prehistoric climate. Enough. Anthropology is everything. So it is that the anthropologist (perhaps with arrogance) looks at how college discipline has staked out territories in the forest of human knowledge, and comes to conclude that anthropology is the forest.

Although specialization is important and expected, anthropology is lucky in that there still exists a strong strain of generalism. Many students are drawn to anthropology because it not only allows a generalist outlook, but expects it. Many anthropologists are truly Renaissance Men and Women. Most graduate schools still demand that their students understand something of all four quadrants. Most graduate students, I think, wouldn't have it any other way, and are proud of their facility in a number of different areas.

While the erstwhile anthropologist is in graduate school accumulating degrees, he or she is intensely involved with sophisticated materials and interests. Coming into the "real world" from those rites of passage, we get a shock. Nobody has noticed what has happened to anthropology. "The watch has stopped." There are stereotypes galore.

The archaeologist digs up dead people. The cultural anthropologist studies savages in the jungle. The physical anthropologist (if a he) looks for fossils; or (if a she) lives with chimpanzees. The linguist is a polygot with facility in dozens of languages. Most everybody is prone to wear pith helmets. Anthropologists tend to spend a good deal of time in melancholy musings of Neanderthals and flowers. These are shadows upon the walls of the cave. The anthropologist lifts his torch to dispell them, but they come flitting back.

Where do these images come from: Unfortunately, I think that many anthropologists wittingly and unwittingly have created and maintained them. The more glamorous
aspects of anthropology show up regularly on television and in the newspapers and magazines. Such attention is very satisfying personally, and aids in the funding of further research. I also have come to believe that many anthropologists are unpardonable hams. Nevertheless, the romantic images are there and are conjured up in the public and collegiate mind when anthropology is mentioned.

The professional anthropologist in the small college has inherited many problems due to this image. In order to best serve the undergraduate interested in anthropology as a mode of thought and corpus of knowledge there should be a good range of course offerings made available. Usually there is already some other department on campus whose interests lie in similar areas as a proposed course. For instance, a course in political anthropology may appear to infringe upon areas best left to political science. This problem of acceptance is exacerbated by the myths of what anthropology is. These myths need to be dispelled and anthropologists, at least, know how difficult it is to dispell a myth.

Adding new courses to form an anthropology program at a small college brings these problems to the fore. Usually anthropology is included among the social sciences. This division is viewed by many as a half-way house between the humanities and natural sciences. As I have tried to make clear, anthropologists study people, their conduct, their creation, and their creations. We use methods which run the gamut from quantification and deduction to insight and induction. In the traditional world-view of the college and its curricula, anthropology is a very bad boy. For instance, what kind of distributional credit can be awarded a student completing a course in non-Western ("primitive") art? What kind of requirement is fulfilled by a student successfully completing a laboratory course in human biology? One course considers Homo faber, using examples taken from human prehistory and history as well as contemporary peoples all over the planet. The methodology is sometimes quite similar to the formal approaches utilized in art history. The second course considers Homo sapiens sapiens, our relatives and ancestors. Methodology is most similar to ethology and biology. Yet both courses are valid, pure and simple anthropology. One is a humanity, and the other is a natural science and both are anthropology.

Now the anthropologist may have (and usually does have) a rather laissez faire attitude toward credit hours and the artificial categories into which the other disciplines have
gotten themselves, but this is hardly a popular attitude among the natives of the grove. We live in a time when "FTE", "retrenchment," lowering enrollments" and such-like phrases can and do cause departmental Godfathers "to go to the (intellectual) mattresses." Retrenchment is resulting in entrenched. Anthropology's plea for holistic approaches and cross-disciplinary credit is met with a "Get away, kid" attitude, and definitely suspicious glances.

Although my colleagues have no problems understanding and communicating (at tedious lengths sometimes) the complexity of their field of study; they seem temperamentally incapable of granting anthropology a similar maturity. The stereotypes will out. This inability is, perhaps not surprisingly, most adamantine when the object or method of anthropological research overlaps with their own interests. Hence the Curriculum and Instruction Committee at General Retrenchment College greets anthropology with high suspicion. Its members (none of whom, you can bet, have ever had a course in anthropology) fall back upon some comfortable stereotypes and proceed to inform the anthropologist of what anthropology is, and what it teaches. Meanwhile at Old Retrenchment's New Core Curriculum Committee we find a juggling act of credits, categories and crude power plays. Anthropology, a core discipline for the study of humanity, if ever there were one, is being relegated to "permanent elective status." We could settle for that (happy that we were remembered at all), except that so many core requirements are being imposed that no student will have the time or energy to take an elective. We should have expected this; as the most undisciplined of the disciplines, anthropology have never seen fit to ally itself with any of the academic superpowers.

The anthropologist at the small college has a choice. Satisfaction can be found in teaching general courses in anthropology. These are safe, unprovoking, and certainly demanding enough. An attempt can be made to serve students at another level, however, and this demands even more work and much risk. Topical and areal courses in anthropology teach the variety (and fundamental unity) of human experience better than do any other academic courses. They are necessary for the liberal arts education claiming to aid in the creation of the rational person who would critically examine self and society. The study of our own culture as a part of Western civilization is obviously important, but by itself it lacks an all important perspective — that a Western culture is only one culture among many; and that the history of Western Civilization is the history of societies
and institutions which never realized this. The latter
form of action brings the anthropologist into conflict
with other denizens of the academic jungle. The field
work here is every bit as dangerous as fieldwork among
the murderous Thuggi of India. And the natives are already
restless.

The small college has a choice, too. Few small col­
leges (any less than large ones) lack lofty motivations
and high credos concerning liberal arts education and its
goals. Ironic it is then, that so few colleges have hired
anthropologists to teach what they know of human culture
and human nature. The small college can continue to limit
the scope (and presence) of anthropology on its campus, or
it can allow anthropology to open student eyes and minds
to a world much larger than the one about which they would
otherwise learn. This outside world will be encroaching
upon their adult lives to a greater and greater extent,
and it is a world about which they are taught practically
nothing.

Attempting to make anthropology a self-evident and
intrinsic part of the college and a liberal arts education
is a very difficult task. For our part I think it is im­
portant to keep trying. We are not dead, it’s just that
many watches have stopped and we have never done much to
get them going again. Anthropology is neither anecdotal,
trivial, nor helmeted in pith. It is an important and
unique perspective on human behavior. It is an organized
attempt to bring together as much knowledge of humans and
human culture as is humanly possible. As such colleges
ignore anthropology at the risk of undergraduate ignorance
as great and dark as any before in the history of Western
Civilization.
Of necessity, all societies must set standards of predictable behavior. To adhere to these standards is "normal" and acceptable; to deviate from them is "abnormal" and rejected by society. To insure the continued adherence to these standards, society rewards the correct procedure with status and prestige; it imposes sanctions and penalties upon those individuals who would oppose them.

However, the existence of these standards immediately poses two questions. First, the existence of any type of rules, by their very nature, is restrictive. There are no "natural" or automatic rules. If there were, penalties and sanctions would be unnecessary, since every member of society would unthinkingly abide by them. Also, the rules of behavior differ tremendously from one culture to another. One society's conformity is another's deviance. Therefore, in the face of constant restrictions, how do most of the rules remain relatively unbroken?

Secondly, and possibly of even greater importance, if the rules of society come out of the structure of society and are an integral part of the general configuration of the culture, they must be subject to the same processes of dynamic change as all other aspects of society. Therefore, how can the rules change without resulting in chaos? One cannot change the rules without first openly denying their validity. But, this denial might well result in the imposition of sanctions upon the rebel. Who, then, would dare to make the changes? Yet, this aspect of society cannot remain forever static; change is obligatory. How then does the alteration proceed?

Traditionally, the pattern of norms in all societies is divided into two types: the FOLKWAYS and the MORES. The first are the standardized systems of behavior in daily life; the customs, habits and traditions. The second are the moral and ethical values which form the basis for systems of belief and morality.
The problem arises in their apparently total divergence. The folkways are commonplace, trite and seemingly virtually innocuous. Their influence is limited, their violation is not considered overly important and the sanctions imposed are minimal. The mores, on the other hand, are almost overpowerful. Even the suggestion of violation or the implication of questioning their validity brings sanctions which are swift and extensive.

Yet, these norms are so widely separated as to appear to be almost divorced from each other. One is relatively unimportant; the other is all important. There appears to be no middle ground or area of transition between them. In this vital social area, we are faced apparently with the possibility of an absolutely unrelated dichotomy.

However, upon analysis, this proves to be a fallacy. There does exist a large, structured body of norms, which stands intermediate between the folkways and mores. For purposes of reference, we shall refer to these as CREDATES.

Credates are norms in various states of transition and, as such, are highly dynamic. Both folkways and mores are relatively static; folkways are too unimportant individually to be worth the trouble; mores are too important to tolerate the slightest tampering. THEREFORE, ALL CHANGES IN SOCIAL VALUES ARE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE CREDATES.

A credate is an intermediary norm which may be basically derived originally from either the folkways or mores. The transition of the credates develops out of the intensification of the folkways or the degeneration of the mores; that is, the addition of certain moral or ethical values to a folkway or the loss of certain moral values by one of the mores. These attributes may have been acquired through accidental juxtaposition of ideas or by reinterpretation of ideas through social innovation. Folkways may acquire a credate value through magnification of the original concept or through persistence - what may be referred to as the "sanctity of antiquity." In other words, "there is something untouchable about this because it has always been done this way."

However, the interpretation of the moral values of the credates is very much an individual decision. An aspect of culture which may be regarded as a credate by certain persons may be regarded as having the highest moral values
by others in the same society. Indeed, it may be subject to reinterpretation by the same individual in varying sets of social circumstances. A person regarding the act with the highest moral connotations will impose the most rigid sanctions upon its violation. Another person, regarding the same act as a credate, will be much more lenient.

For example, it was traditional for males in American society to wear their hair short, while women wore it in a longer fashion. In the late 1960's, a male with shoulder length hair encountered serious penalties for his choice of style. Obviously, the comparative length of a haircut can carry no true moral values. However, it would appear that long hair carried with it the vague implication of homosexuality and, as such, was a deviation by implication from the rigidly puritanical American sex mores. Nevertheless, the style persisted and has now been more or less accepted.

It should be noted, however, that the same situation did not apply to American women. They have been permitted to bob their hair or wear tailored clothing of vaguely masculine type, such as pants, suits or slacks. (It should be noted that bobbed hair in the 1920's was considered prima facie evidence of political radicalism.) However, a man attempting to wear a skirt, unless it is an unusual and exotic article of dress, such as a kilt, would be immediately suspect. This permissiveness for women may be a holdover of the archaic belief that women are incapable of sexual violation and that there was no danger in their imitation of men, in this regard.

The credate pattern may be most easily recognized by comparing the reactions of society to the suggestion of deviation from the accepted norms:

In the case of a folkway, suggested deviation evokes the response: "You shouldn't do it but it isn't important enough to make an issue of it."

In the case of the mores, the response is "Don't even consider doing such a terrible thing, God will punish you."

In the case of a credate, the response is "You really shouldn't do it but we can't think of a reason why."

since there is always an area of potential question in a credate situation, it is highly dynamic, providing an area of potential change in the norms. The key to the power of the credate is that it provides ways in which apparently
untouchable norms may be circumvented. This is primarily accomplished by "pseudo-deviation:" the apparent breaking of the rules in a reasonably safe and more or less socially approved manner.

For example, the rules concerning sexual behavior are perhaps the most rigid in American society. For years, no one would admit to the existence of anything but "normal" sexual activity and that only in a marital situation. Deviation was not only a moral but a legal matter. For that matter, sexual activity was not a subject for public discussion at all, leading to the invention of such mythical devices as the "stork" and endless circumlocutions. This did not prevent the existence of obscene humor or pornographic materials but neither was socially acceptable to the slightest degree.

Currently, this ban is being actively circumvented by the proliferation of "adult publications," both literary and pictorial; by "sexual realism" in literature and the performing arts and by the open discussion of formerly tabooed subjects in mixed company or the public media or the public arguments expressed for the liberalization of rules against pre-marital sexual relations, abortion, etc. The Supreme Court decisions on pornography and abortion did much to liberalize the situations, although subsequent decisions have again clouded the issue. However, the door had been opened.

However, to many persons in our society, these rules against sexual deviation remain so rigid that many of the circumventions are themselves expressly forbidden and there is still strong social pressure, although not total suppression, against their use. Nevertheless, they still continue to exist actively in society, indicating that there has been a breakdown, in certain groups, of the former total sanctity of these topics. This value system is in transition toward the credate.

It should be noted that Judge Ben Lindsay's advocacy of "companionate marriage" in the 1920's resulted in a national scandal. Margaret Mead's recommendation of the same activity in the 1970's was widely accepted and published.

More definitely within the credate syndrome is the ban against nudity in American society. Certain areas of the human body have been designated as publically unexposable, largely because of their sexual connotations. However, the reasons for this prohibition have always been largely subjective. Recall that in the 1930's, male bathers were
forbidden to go "topless." As a result of the implied question of validity, it has been circumvented constantly over the years and, in recent years, has achieved the status of a full credite.

The ban was earlier avoided by the use of theatrical performers, such as burlesque strippers, whose entire professional career depended on the existence of the ban, and so-called "cheesecake" or "pinup" photographs in publications - not to mention the time honored "French post card." Recent circumventions have become innumerable.

The fashionable acceptance of minimal clothing publicly, such as bikinis, extensive publication of magazines of the type of "Playboy," suggested nudity in advertising and the open use of the nude body in the performing arts are all presently acceptable. The fact that a case may be made for the apparent artistic approval of nudity in the example of the "old masters," provides an area of question as to the validity of the prohibition.

Other current credite areas include CHEATING ("It's not the same as actually stealing something"), or the USE OF CERTAIN DRUGS, such as marijuana ("It's no more dangerous than alcohol" or "Tobacco is known to be dangerous to health and it's still legal").

It is important to note that much of this deviation is vicarious and to a great extent, commercialized. It has long been recognized that a seller's market exists for the forbidden and, if this can be attractively packaged without danger to the consumer, it is a potential gold mine. Hence, the success of "Playboy" magazine. Publications of this type have existed long before the initial presentation of "Playboy" but "playboy" utilized every aspect of the credite pattern, at a time when that particular norm was under question.

"Playboy" is a well printed journal, on fine paper, with excellent color reproduction and easy to read print. There are interviews with famous personalities, articles and short stories by noted authors, articles on clothing styles, food, wine, jazz, sports cars, etc. The magazine labors to create a mystique of sophistication and savoir-faire, which it generously bestows, by implication, upon its readers. However, in each issue of approximately 200 pages, there are about 12-15 pages of nude photographs of attractive young women. With these pages deleted, "Playboy" would not sell but the other material provides the consumer with the appropriate excuse for the purchase.
Furthermore, an examination of "Playboy's" publication policy, over the years since its inception, shows that they have become gradually more explicit in this regard, as society's tolerance for nudity was lowered. Early photographs were tastefully draped and very little anatomy was displayed. Later, publication became more explicit but direct frontal nudity was still forbidden. Gradually, however, even this was lifted. The success of "Playboy" spawned a host of imitators. For reasons of competition, they went even further in their exposure, until "Playboy" by comparison, has become relatively conservative. Farther back in time, one can recall the 'daring' Petty Girls of "Esquire."

Interestingly, long after standards for female nudity were lowered, they remained in force for male nudity. The famous Burt Reynolds centerfold in "Cosmopolitan" prepared the way for such magazines as "Playgirl," etc., where direct frontal presentations of male anatomy are now commonplace.

This is related to Douglas' "Playboy Effect" in connection to pornography that "material that looks 'classy' because it is put in the context of 'cultural' material is allowed, while non-classy looking works are forbidden." Or as Polsky has stated,

The stigma attached to pornography is lessened when the pornography is tied to some socially valued end, such as art or science. One important result is this: when the situation being defined by society is the naturalistic depiction of sex, the most real consequence of a definition that labels it something else than pornographic use in society by lessening the inhibitions on acquiring it. This is obvious from the libraries of countless souls who avidly buy highly erotic works that 'society' labels 'Art' or 'Literature' or 'Scholarship' but who take care not to buy 'real' pornography.

In this context, certain motion pictures which centered on the explicit and realistic depiction of a wide variety of sexual acts claimed that the reason for their existence was purely educational, since they were actually a type of marriage guidance instruction.
A related example is the travelogue type of motion picture, which shows various primitive peoples in various stages of undress. Since such pictures are "educational," such nudity is completely acceptable for showing to even young children, often on public television. (One might also wonder that another reason for its acceptability is the idea that these "primitive savages" are not completely human and therefore, may be viewed without embarrassment. In any case, they are too "uncivilized" to know any better.)

Television, of all media, remains the most notoriously conservative in this respect. A prime example was the introduction of the "TOMORROW" show. All advance publicity promised that this program would present adult and controversial subjects fearlessly and openly, due to the very late hour of its presentation. Yet, in presenting programs at the Eselen Institute and nudist camps, the cameras were carefully positioned to reveal little or nothing of the anatomy of the participants. However, the implication of the locale of the program was considered daring and was considered sufficient to suggest a controversial subject.

It should also be noted that nudist camps, while not a new concept in American society, go to extreme lengths to avoid any hint of sexuality. Their emphasis is on the health promoting aspects of "sunbathing", swimming and outdoor sports. But, physical contact is minimized, unmarried individuals are discouraged from attending and even the use of sunglasses is discouraged, lest there be an implication of "peeping."

The major point that has been demonstrated by all of these cases is that all credates require rationalization and, therefore, provide for it. MORES CAN NEVER BE RATIONALIZED: CREDATES ALWAYS CAN BE. (A bikini actually covers something; one purchases "Playboy" for its literary content; cheating on an examination does not actually take anything material from another person to his detriment, etc.)

Therefore, the vital line of demarcation between mores and credates is the ability to rationalize one's actions acceptably to the person involved. If a satisfactory rationale is not forthcoming, the matter remains in the realm of the mores. The moment any type of rationalization is possible, it enters the area of the credates.

since the credate pattern apparently permits deviation from a major norm, at least, vicariously, there is a certain challenge involved in its violation. The blood
pressure rises when one purchases a ticket to an "X-rated" movie. The result is an interesting psychological reaction to the successful deviation from a credate, which differs markedly from the reactions of persons deviating from the other norms and which is of importance in its structure within the social pattern.

In the case of deviation from a folkway, the personal reaction is non-committal. There is no particular feeling of achievement, since the entire matter is innocuous and any potential penalties are not particularly serious.

In the case of deviation from the mores, the reaction is definitely and at times, overwhelmingly negative. There are extensive guilt feelings, remorse, worry over discovery and even the possibility of divine retribution.

However, the reaction to the successful deviation from a credate is one of complete and positive achievement. At times, there is a sense of euphoria all out of proportion to the importance of the act. The person has successfully challenged the system.

The degree of satisfaction or remorse again will depend entirely upon the degree to which the act is considered to be more closely related to the credates or the mores. However, if a person deviates from a credate with reservations because of residual moral commitments and concludes the act successfully, the guilt feelings will be minimal. This again relates to the possibility of rationalization and the fact that the mores, once rationalized, are no longer mores.

Often the deviation may only be subjective, such as reading pornography, viewing an "X-rated" movie or boasting of imaginary sexual adventures but often the experience is satisfying enough.

The credate pattern functions very effectively in those cases where the individual is confronted by the paradox of apparently contradictory norms. Obviously, a person cannot uphold two moral values of equal validity, which are diametrically opposed to each other. In such a case, one of the mores must become a credate.

For example, one of the strictest moral values of our society states unequivocally "THOU SHALT NOT KILL." However, another norm states, with equal emphasis, "THERE ARE TIMES WHEN, FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY, IN THE NAME OF PATRIOTISM, AS A MEMBER OF THE ARMED FORCES, YOU MUST KILL."
Either the first or second of these mores must degenerate to a credate, in order that the individual need not conform to it.

If the first norm is degenerated, it can be rationalized by at least one or more of the following arguments:
1) These are not really human beings that I am killing.
2) My country, my family, my beliefs and traditions are threatened and in jeopardy. 3) I will be strongly penalized in a variety of unpleasant ways for my refusal.

To subordinate the second norm, one need only stress the religious angle.

It is for this reason that American reactions concerning our country's involvement in Viet Nam were so different from American reactions in World War II. The Germans were depicted as evil, jack-booted robots, mindlessly committing atrocities to order; the Japanese were grinning, sub-human primates. In either case, neither were truly human and could be erased in good conscience. America had been directly attacked and was in danger. Although the attack had occurred 2000 miles away in the Pacific, it resulted in the organization of air raid wardens in American cities, which ran a greater danger of being hit by a meteor than by enemy attack. It permitted the use of euphemisms, such as "defense plants." Under the circumstances, few Americans required any coercion to get involved.

However, these opportunities for rationale were not forthcoming in the Vietnamese conflict. America was in no immediate or foreseeable danger of attack by either the North Vietnamese or the Viet Cong; there was no effort made to differentiate the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong from the ARVN troops. The atrocities of the Viet Cong were not differentiated from those of the South Vietnamese and the revelation that many Americans were equally responsible added to the confusion of values.

Under the circumstances, there were too many areas of question to permit a clear cut adherence to the norm of patriotism. Under these conditions, the stronger interpretation was either moral, religious or self-preservation.

The credate pattern apparently plays two vital roles in the social system. FIRST: It provides the avenue of dynamic change in normative social values. IF the normative value being questioned is still considered important enough
by the majority of society, the stronger value will be retained and the credate will be rejected due to the severe penalties that will be imposed on the non-conformist.

However, the existence of the credate patterns opens the door to the reinterpretation of values, if other aspects of the social system have changed and new social needs develop. The current problems of potential world over-population have brought out areas of discussion and activity on birth control and abortion which would have been inadmissible at an earlier time, even to the extent of questioning the infallibility of certain religious doctrines. Top religious leaders throughout the world have stated their case openly and publicly. In short, even the most basic norms cannot be permitted to remain static in a highly dynamic social situation and the credates provide an avenue of experimentation, leading to possible readjustment or change.

SECONDLY: and perhaps of equal importance, true credates provide a safety valve against the deviation of the most important social norms. Every person deviates from all types of norms, including mores, at least subjectively, at one time or another. But, subjective deviation, while safe, is unsatisfying. However, no one wishes to experience the personal negative effects of anti-social behavior because of urges to deviate from accepted social standards. If an individual can convince himself that he is violating one of the mores, albeit vicariously and subjectively through the avenue of active credate deviation, the resultant sense of achievement will be enough to prevent him from actually challenging the more important norm. The core values of society, therefore, will continue to remain intact. Or, if change is indicated by the new demands of a changing social situation, the change will come about slowly, with opportunities for testing and readjustment.
*EDITOR'S NOTE

The following articles by William Gilbert are bibliographies. The first bibliography lists various references to the early Mound Builders in the Midwest. The second bibliography refers to ethnohistorical studies of various midwestern Indian tribes. We are delighted with this partial index and hope to receive other such listings in the future. For anyone interested in midwestern ecological-ethnohistorical studies, these bibliographies will be quite useful.

L. Richardson

THE MIDWEST MOUND BUILDERS AND THEIR FATE*

William H. Gilbert
Silver Springs, Maryland

Introduction

In the summers of 1928 and 1929, I had the good fortune to be associated with Illinois River Valley surveys and mound exploration on the Mississippi River. The work was intensely interesting and I felt that it was just what I wanted to do with my life.

In contrast with the preceding summer, this work related to the prehistoric inhabitants of the Midwest and the Eastern Woodlands. In the summer of 1927, fresh out of college, I was studying scales, time clocks and tabulating machinery with a large corporation which was interested in training young men to be salesmen of its products. This work dealt with the technology of the United States in the late 1920's while my studies in the two later summers related to prehistory, possibly dating back over 3,000 years.

Later years have suggested that the conjunction of these two experiences might be usefully developed in the form of bibliographic thinking which would link the Prehistoric Mound Builder Culture with our own. Perhaps this might be done most easily with the use of technological developments,
first with flint and second with steel. The symbol of the Mound-Builder appears in Flint Ridge, Ohio, while that of the present day culture appears in the Mesabi, Vermillion and Cuyuna Ranges in Minnesota, and the Gogebic, Marguette, and Menominee Ranges of Upper Michigan.

Travel in the Mound-Builder culture becomes associated with streams, lakes, birch bark canoes, portages, and ridges between streams. By these means products might be conveyed over immense distances from various parts of North America into the area between the Great Lakes and the Ohio-Mississippi Drainage.

Travel in the present-day culture of the Midwest becomes associated with canals in place of portages, railroads, automobiles and trucks on highways and, ultimately, by airplanes. Almost all of these new developments had their points of origin in the Midwest. The Indian paths, founded on big game trails', ultimately become the walk ways of today, while the canoe remains a favorite vehicle for small stream and lake navigation.

The fate of the Mound-Builders remains as enigmatic as the question of their origins. Variously explained as wandering Chinese, Lost Tribes, Siberian natives, etc., we can only remain in a speculative mood on the subject of origins. What ultimately removed them from the scene is likewise subject to debate; devastating winters, attacks by foes, disease, and reductions of the birth rate alike offer possibilities of explanation.

In contrast with the Mound-Builders, our own culture has abundant sources of written documentation for its origins which fill libraries and museums with their evidence. Like the individual human being, we cannot write the ultimate fate of cultures like ours while they are still living. The best we can do is to compare technologies and ecologies between the Mound-Builders and ourselves and hope for explanations in that way.

In order to stimulate thinking along these lines bibliographies are prepared dealing with the two types of culture and their common ecological framework in the Midwest.
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ETHNOHISTORY IN THE MIDWEST*

William H. Gilbert
Silver Springs, Maryland

Interest in the history of the various Indian tribes of North America has gathered renewed force in recent decades, starting with the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act of 1934 and the publication of the Handbook of Federal Indian Law by Felix Cohen (1941). In addition, the Indian Claims Commission Act (1946) established a tribunal before which the claims of various Indian tribes might be heard and adjudicated. Our interest here is in the various individual tribes identified within the area classified as the Midwest - Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

The first edition of George Peter Murdock's Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (168 pages) appeared in 1941, a subsequent edition in 1953 comprised 280 pages. By 1975, when the 4th edition appeared, it had expanded to five volumes with two additional compilers, Timothy J. O'Leary and John Beierle. Using the culture area divisions, Volume One deals with North America; Volume Two encompasses Arctic and Subarctic tribes, Volume Three discusses Far West and Pacific Coast groups, Volume Four includes the Eastern United States and Volume Five lists Plains and Southwestern Indians. The fourth and fifth volumes include the tribes of the Midwest which are of concern to us here.

Thirty of the books cited in this bibliography were published by the Garland Publishing Company of New York in 1974. They constitute the findings and ethnohistorical documentation for the Indian tribes of the Midwest whose claims had been filed with the Indian Claims Commission. Twenty-two of the other books cited concern ethnohistory and represent current thinking on this subject, i.e., forensic anthropology. Conjoined with the Midwestern archaeological and ecological bibliographies which follow, they relate to the current state of knowledge in the tribes under consideration.

*See Editor's note, page 17
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