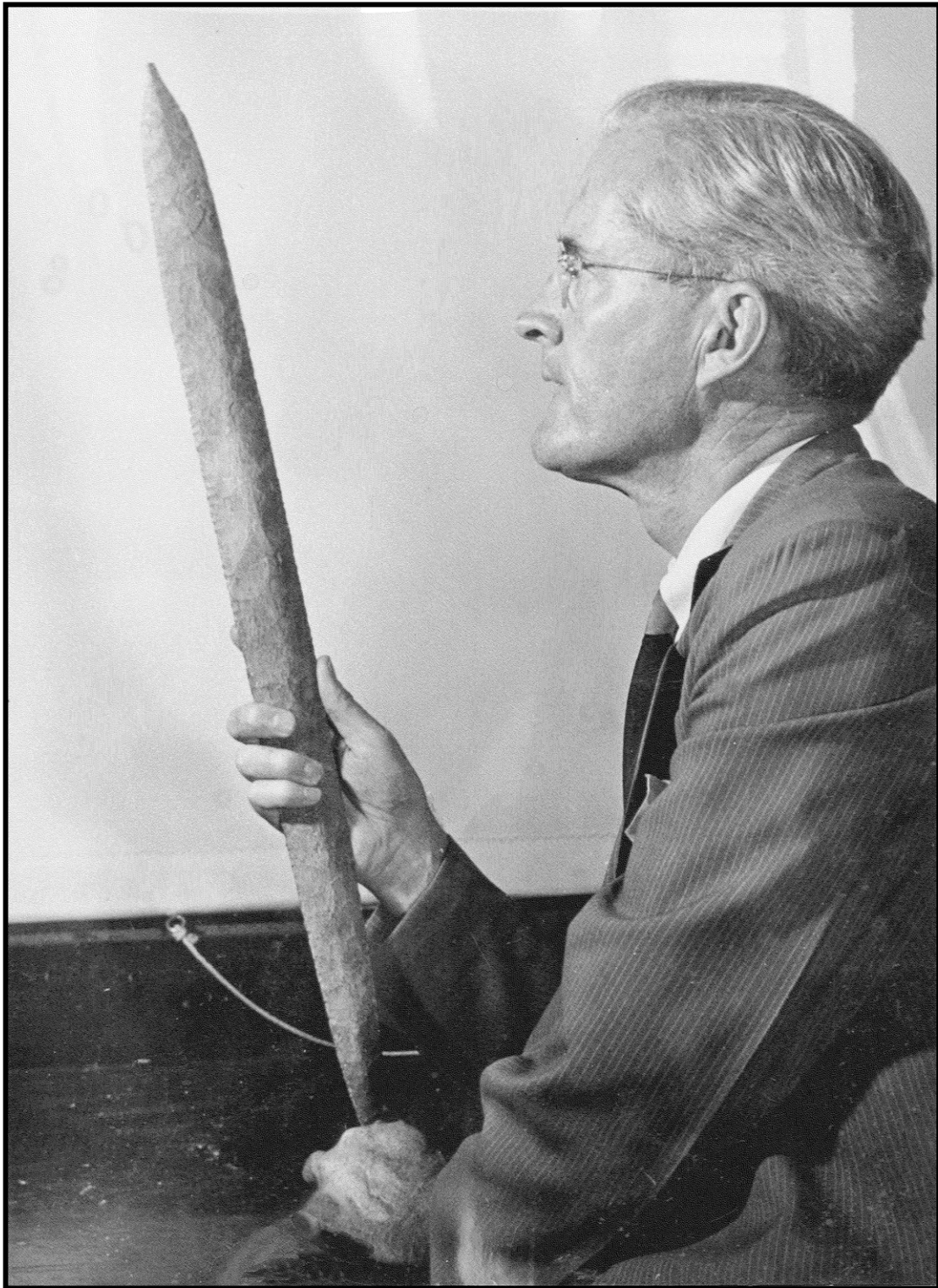


TENNESSEE ARCHAEOLOGY

Volume 7

Winter 2015

Number 2



EDITORIAL COORDINATORS

Michael C. Moore
Tennessee Division of Archaeology

Kevin E. Smith
Middle Tennessee State University

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Paul Avery
Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc.

Jared Barrett
TRC Inc.

Andrew Brown
University of North Texas

Aaron Deter-Wolf
Tennessee Division of Archaeology

Phillip Hodge
Tennessee Department of Transportation

Shannon Hodge
Middle Tennessee State University

Kandi Hollenbach
University of Tennessee

Sarah Levithol
Tennessee Division of Archaeology

Ryan Parish
University of Memphis

Tanya M. Peres
Middle Tennessee State University

Jesse Tune
Texas A&M University

Tennessee Archaeology is published semi-annually in electronic print format by the Tennessee Council for Professional Archaeology.

Correspondence about manuscripts for the journal should be addressed to Michael C. Moore, Tennessee Division of Archaeology, Cole Building #3, 1216 Foster Avenue, Nashville TN 37243.

The Tennessee Council for Professional Archaeology disclaims responsibility for statements, whether fact or of opinion, made by contributors.

TENNESSEE ARCHAEOLOGY

VOLUME 7 Winter 2015 NUMBER 2

103 EDITORS CORNER

ARTICLES

- 110 'No Terms But Unconditional Surrender':
Archaeological and Geophysical
Assessment of the Fort Donelson
Confederate Monument Landscape, Stewart
County, Tennessee
SHAWN M. PATCH, CHRISTOPHER T. ESPENSHADE,
SARAH LOWRY, AND PATRICK SEVERTS

- 141 Thomas M.N. Lewis: The Making of a New
Deal-Era Tennessee Valley Archaeologist
MARLIN F. HAWLEY AND DAVID H. DYE

AVOCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

- 180 Qualls Cave (40RB2): A Multi-Component
Site Overlooking the Red River, Robertson
County, Tennessee
JOHN T. DOWD

On the Cover: Thomas M.N. Lewis with a "sword" from the Duck River Cache (Courtesy and by permission of Nancy Ladd, Lewis' daughter, via Marlin Hawley and David Dye).

THOMAS M.N. LEWIS: THE MAKING OF A NEW DEAL-ERA TENNESSEE VALLEY ARCHAEOLOGIST

Marlin F. Hawley and David H. Dye

Thomas M.N. Lewis was a noted Tennessee archaeologist, getting his start as a professional archaeologist during the heady, early years of the New Deal and Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) archaeology program, first under William S. Webb and then at the University of Tennessee. Lewis and his associates spent nearly a decade involved in field activities in advance of the impoundment of the Tennessee River and its major tributaries. Out of their effort came several now classic archaeological reports, including Hiwassee Island and Eva: An Archaic Site, both with Madeline D. Kneberg. Lewis's path to becoming a leading Tennessee archaeologist was a long and complex one, with archaeology initially pursued as an avocation around his hometown of Watertown, Wisconsin. Lewis parlayed his success (and income) as a businessman into an expansion of his archaeological interests, venturing far from Wisconsin to collect and excavate, while devoting substantial portions of his income to amassing a collection of artifacts from across the United States. We review what is known of Lewis's early life, from his birth in Pennsylvania in 1896 to the eve of his being hired for the TVA Norris basin project in January 1934. Finally, we chart the influences that led him to become a professional archaeologist, including his early membership in the Wisconsin Archeological Society, which served as a model for his development of the Tennessee Archaeological Society.

For a relatively well-known figure Thomas M.N. Lewis's early life has not been well documented, (cf. Sullivan 1999) (Figure 1). In this article we use a diversity of sources, including correspondence, college catalogs, notes buried in the pages of *The Wisconsin Archeologist*, newspaper articles, and bits of information from his daughter, to piece together a picture of his early life and how events in these years led to his increasing interest in professional archaeology and ultimately a career directing the New Deal Tennessee Valley Authority archaeology program at the University of Tennessee. Lewis lived during a formative period in American archaeology – one concerned with forging classificatory procedures and establishing workable chronologies. Lewis's close relationship with Will C. "W.C." McKern and his participation in the Wisconsin Archeological Society shaped him from a person who had an interest in establishing his own personal

collection of artifacts to a professional who wrestled with federal and state bureaucracies and dealt with the frustrations of producing scientifically significant publications. Through his interactions with, first, McKern, and then an ever widening circle of likeminded associates, Lewis gradually constructed a new identity as an archaeologist.

Understanding the academic, political, and social milieu of archaeologists like Lewis, who worked to advance the study of archaeology, is important because it showcases the progress of archaeological science and how individuals, through hard work and personal sacrifice, overcome numerous obstacles to alter and change scientific paradigms (Nye 2009; Terrell 2009). Lewis was ambitious and well-educated, but he lacked the necessary educational requirements of an advanced degree. Nevertheless he was a self-made archaeologist at a time when one could still advance in the field with little formal



FIGURE 1. Thomas M.N. Lewis (*Courtesy of Nancy L. Ladd*)

post-graduate education in anthropology or archaeology. The course of Lewis's professional life was based on the solid foundation provided by his early education and the family and friends who nurtured

his interests and allowed him the freedom and opportunity to pursue his dreams and passions. Lewis is typical of many archaeologists of the time who began as collectors and evolved into professional archaeologists, often under the guidance and tutelage of mentors who recognized the potential for those interested in the serious, scholarly pursuit of archaeology.

Early Years and Education

The first-born child and only son of George C. and Margaret Nelson Lewis, Thomas McDowell Nelson Lewis was born on March 27, 1896 in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he entered the world in the embrace of his mother's prominent and tight-knit family. The baby's mother, Margaret (b. 1873) was the eldest of six children from the union of Thomas McDowell Nelson and Esther Anne "Annie" Hollinger Nelson. Of Irish-Scots ancestry, Margaret's father cast a long shadow in Chambersburg (Figure 2). Trained in civil engineering at Lafayette College, Nelson was a locomotive manufacturer for various railroads in the region, a lumberman, and by the late 1870s, with a succession of partners, he emerged as one of the region's most successful bridge contractors (Coffin 1879:233; Seilhamer and Seilhamer 1905:105). Endowed with "a magnetic personality" (Public Opinion 1919:2) and very much a man of the late Victorian era in his multifaceted business interests, by the time of his death from congestive heart failure in 1919, T.M. Nelson was or had been involved in a bewildering array of local entrepreneurial (i.e., construction; hosiery mill; shoe manufacturing and retail store; automobile dealership; planing mill), civic (borough engineer; Justice of the Peace; county commissioner; county clerk), fiduciary



FIGURE 2. Thomas McDowell Nelson (Seilhamer and Seilhamer 1905).

(founder, director of the Chambersburg Trust Company), educational (board, trustee of Wilson College; founder of Penn Hall corporation), and religious (financial officer, trustee, Falling Spring Presbyterian Church) activities in the community (Coffin 1879; Public Opinion 1919; Seilhamer and Seilhamer 1905). Upon his death, the local newspaper referred to him as an “active citizen” and captioned his portrait “local capitalist and manufacturer”—both of which sentiments barely capture the range of his interests and achievements (Public Opinion 1919:1). In any final assessment, the Nelson family had achieved considerable comfort and affluence and, as suggested by the pattern of awards of bridge contracts, the family patriarch was socially and politically well-connected (Phipps 2002).

Tom Lewis grew up in Watertown, Wisconsin, a town of several thousand people located almost equidistantly between Milwaukee and Madison on the Rock River. By Chambersburg standards, Watertown was a primitive frontier town; Chambersburg was settled in 1730 in the era of colonial-era expansion into the Appalachians. By contrast, Watertown’s founding dates to 1836, when the first cabin was built on the city’s future site. In Watertown, Lewis’s father, George C. Lewis, operated the family business, the G.B. Lewis Company. The only son of George Burnham Lewis and Sarah Ingalsbe Lewis, George C. was born in 1871, in Watertown; his parents had moved west from New York state to settle in the town a decade earlier, on the tail end of an outmigration of Yankee stock from New York and southern New England (Hudson 1986, 1988). George B. Lewis was an entrepreneur who with his brother, Robert E. Lewis, purchased a mill on the west bank of the Rock River in 1863-4 and began to saw lumber that was used to manufacture blinds, doors, and window sashes (Anonymous 1903:31; Ott 1917:79-83; Quaife 1924:175-176; Watertown Historical Society 2013a). After his brother retired in 1870, George B. Lewis was the business’s sole owner and operator until 1878 when he was joined by his son-in-law, forming the Lewis & Parks Company. In about 1875, the pair diversified into the production of beekeeper’s supplies and soon became one of the country’s preeminent manufacturers of “beeware”—supers and other beehive components (Historical Publishing Company 1887:133; Oertel 1976:261).

The business was formally incorporated in 1890, and with the death of the junior partner, became known as the G.B. Lewis Company (Figure 3). A

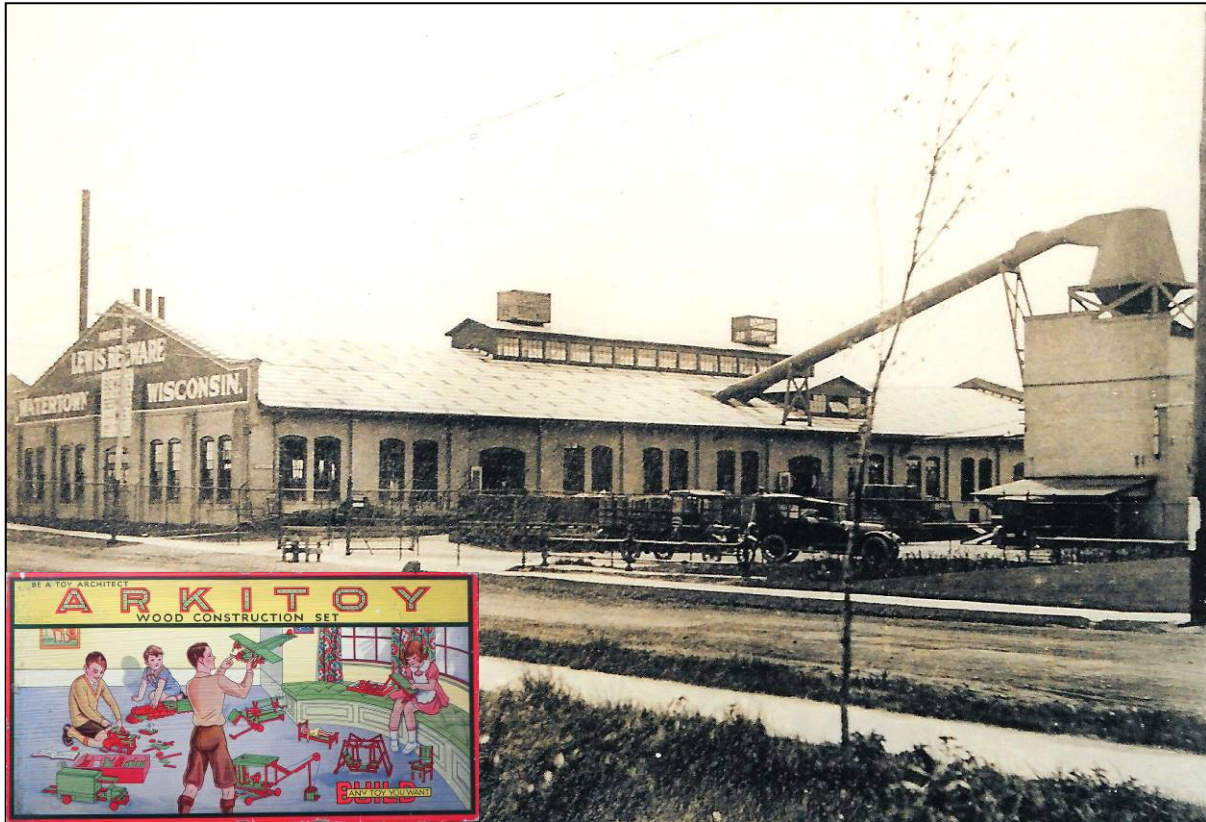


FIGURE 3. G.B. Lewis Company, Watertown, Wisconsin, ca. 1921. Inset at lower left: Arkitoy Wood Construction Set Box (*Courtesy of the Watertown Historical Society*).

family business in almost every sense, after, George B. Lewis passed away in 1903 his son, George C. assumed the mantle of company president, while George C.'s brother-in-law, Lewis W. Parks managed the company's manufacturing plant; his sister, Marguerite Parks, was employed as the administrative secretary (Anonymous 1903; Ott 1917; Quaipe 1924). Under George's leadership, the business grew and by the early 1920s had a large factory in Watertown (though no longer on the riverfront) and six branch facilities: Memphis (TN); Lynchburg (VA); Wichita (KS); Denver (CO); and Fromberg (MT) (Anonymous 1921a, b). For a while the company maintained an export office in New York, which arranged shipments overseas, and its merchandise was sold by over 250 apiary suppliers throughout

the country (Anonymous 1924:44). Over the next several years the number of branches shrunk to include only four, but all were strategically placed to reach markets throughout much of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains: Albany (NY), Lynchburg (VA), Sioux City (IA), and Texarkana (AR) (Anonymous 1926a). Additionally, the company shrewdly placed itself at the forefront of U.S. domestic beekeeping through aggressive advertising in trade journals, its catalogs, publication of projections of honey production, and informational articles and books on all aspects of beekeeping (e.g., Atkins and Hawkins 1924; Hawkins 1920).

The company held numerous patents (e.g., U.S. Patent Office 1913:xxviii; 1921:v) and, always adapting to changing markets, in the early twentieth-century

and the years leading up to World War II, expanded its line of wood products to include all manner of non-apiary goods, including heavy-duty, wire-re-enforced, shipping crates (Duchaine 1946), toys (the play lumber *Arkito* line), commercial-grade golf ball washers, and even airplane propellers. Such changes notwithstanding, beeware remained a company mainstay. After the war, the company shifted to the production of plastics. The G.B. Lewis Company was purchased by the Menasha Corporation in the mid-1950s, while the beekeeping side of the business was sold to an Illinois company (Oertel 1976:261; Watertown Historical Society 2013a). By this time, of course, Tom Lewis had long since relinquished all ties to the company.

Despite the occasional setback, such as a 1909 fire that destroyed the Rock River plant (Watertown Historical Society 2013a), the occasional worker's strike, and economic ups-and-downs, the company grew to become a major employer in Watertown with a labor force of over 100 people processing nearly 1000 train carloads of raw lumber annually and was "one of the largest bee supply manufacturing concerns in the world" (Quaife 1924:176). And as the company flourished, so too did the family. The Lewis family became "... one of prominence in Watertown and Mr. Lewis occupies an enviable position in business circles" (Quaife 1924:176). The family, along with their domestic staff, resided in a spacious Georgian Revival house, built for them in 1895, a block or so west of the company's original location on the riverfront (Figure 4) (Penkiunas and Hegglund 2001). In 1915, and likely to the great surprise of all, the family added a daughter, George Anne (Figure 5).

Tom Lewis attended local public schools and in 1910 was enrolled in the



FIGURE 4. The George C. Lewis Home in Watertown, Wisconsin.



FIGURE 5. George C. and Margaret Nelson Lewis Family Portrait, ca. 1918 (*Courtesy of Judith Coker*)



FIGURE 6. Northwestern College, Watertown, about 1912 (*Courtesy of the Watertown Historical Society*)

academic department of Northwestern College, an Evangelical Lutheran institution in Watertown with a demanding curriculum (Figure 6). Originally established as a preparatory school for would-be seminarians, by the early twentieth century the institution enlarged

its educational offerings. The college's academic department provided a five year course of study, with heavy doses of English, German, history, Latin, mathematics, and natural science, intended to give its students a solid base for, according to the college catalog, "the study of sciences" (Northwestern College 1910:31). In his second year at the school, Lewis advanced to the collegiate department, but after the 1912-3 term he was listed exclusively as a Special Student (Northwestern College 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914) - students "who do not desire to pursue the regular course of study [but] may pursue a select course, provided they [are] prepared to take the work of the regular class pursuing these branches" (Northwestern College 1910:13). Although perhaps reflective of reorganization of the college's curriculum, Lewis's change in status more than likely signals his family's intent for him to complete his education elsewhere, rather than seek the degree of Bachelor of Arts degree at Northwestern. The college had a business department, but Lewis pursued a traditional liberal arts and sciences education, albeit probably somewhat more advanced than that of most contemporary public middle or high schools in the area.

Northwestern College was a prologue to Lewis's education. Doubtless at his mother's insistence, Lewis was sent east in 1914 to the Lawrenceville Preparatory School in New Jersey, which as the name implies prepared its charges for further academic work, specifically at Princeton University, where he enrolled the next year. The family placed a premium on education. Margaret matriculated at Wilson College, a women's college located a short walk from her parent's home in Chambersburg's north end district; siblings and members of the

extended family were educated at Princeton and other regional colleges (Seilhamer and Seilhamer 1905:105). Lewis's father attended and graduated from St. John's Military Academy in Delafield, Wisconsin (*Watertown Daily Times* 1938).

At Princeton, Lewis earned a degree in economics, graduating with a very respectable cumulative 3.8 GPA (Tindal 2011). Like so many of his generation, his studies were interrupted following the United States' reluctant entry into the Great War. He enlisted in the U.S. Naval Reserve Force in May 1917 and following basic training briefly served on the patrol vessel *USS Yacona* as a seaman first class. After wintering at the Bensonhurst Naval Base on Long Island, Lewis was assigned to *Subchaser 52* as a boatswain's mate in April 1918 for the duration of the war and patrolled the shipping lanes of the North American coastal Atlantic for marauding German submarines. Honorably discharged in late 1918, Lewis was awarded the Victory Medal for his service (Dye 2013; National Archives n.d.). Because of the delay caused by military service, Princeton awarded Lewis the B.A. degree in 1920, though he was officially a member of the Class of 1919.

Lewis returned home in 1920 at the age of 24. Bespectacled and at a trim and fit 6 ft 2 in and with steel gray eyes and black hair, he cut a handsome figure. A tattoo on his left forearm was a reminder of his naval service (U.S. Department of State 1923). While his father might well have expected that upon his return he would take an interest in the company (why else the degree in economics?), Lewis had other ideas and instead pursued graduate work at the University of Wisconsin (UW) in Madison. His biography in the National Research

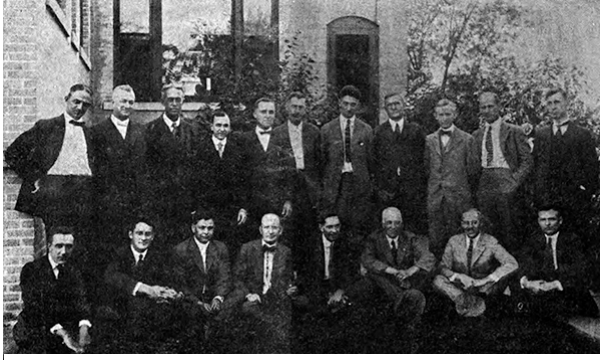


FIGURE 7. Convocation of top U.S. beekeepers at G.B. Lewis Company, fall 1920. Tom Lewis is second from left, front row; the sixth man from the left may be George C. Lewis (*Anonymous* 1921a).

Council (NRC) *International Directory of Anthropologists* (1938:59) refers to his graduate education in the most general terms: “grad. work at Univ. of Wisconsin,” with the implication that he had taken courses in anthropology or a closely allied discipline (see also *Anonymous* 1975; *Herskovits* 1950; *Lyon* 1996:40; *National Research Council* 1940). The UW, however, did not offer degree work in anthropology until 1928, when Ralph Linton was hired, though occasional courses with anthropological content had been taught in the sociology department since the late nineteenth-century (*Curti and Carstensen* 1949:342-343; *Gleach* 2009; *Lepowsky* 2000:fn8). A regular program of coursework in anthropology, though, was not an option at the time Lewis attended the university.

At the UW, Lewis’s graduate courses shifted from economics to focus on animal husbandry (*University of Wisconsin* 1920:445). The impetus for this change in direction is difficult to assay, but it is perhaps worth noting that his maternal grandfather had among his diverse interests, one in animal breeding, and had once owned a prized Friesian bull named Ben H of Maple Glen (*Wales* 1889:670) and was also a long-time member of the

Holstein-Friesian Association of America (*Houghton* 1899, 1915; *Wales* 1889). In the years leading up to his final illness and eventual death, Nelson took great pride in his flock of chickens, which won prizes for their productivity (*Public Opinion* 1919:2). Admittedly conjectural, Lewis may have obtained his interest in animal husbandry from his maternal grandfather, who was then only recently deceased. Our suspicion is that Lewis’s early motivations and interests owed more to the Nelsons than the Lewis family, in part, as his mother had “a very strong personality and was indeed a Nelson” (*Ladd* 2013).

Lewis later alleged that his graduate studies were cut short by his father’s declining health (*Crawford* 1972:2; *Herskovits* 1950:110), at which time he felt he had little recourse but to enter the employment of the G.B. Lewis Company. While difficult to evaluate, it is perhaps worth noting that George C. Lewis died suddenly at home of a massive cardiac arrest, though not in the 1920s, but in December 1938 (*Watertown Daily News* 1938). Although a heavy smoker (*Ladd* 2012), if he suffered from a protracted illness or period of worsening health in the early 1920s, his death notice made no mention of it. Further, Lewis’s course of study was not cut short, for he did graduate following two years of study, probably in May 1920. Whether bowing to family pressure or through some other inducement, that summer Lewis found himself on the company payroll (Figure 7). The following spring he was posted to Memphis where he assumed management of a recently established distribution outlet for the company. The South and Mid-South constituted an important market for the company with its mild winters. *J.J. Wilder* (1920:4), editor of *Dixie Beekeeper*, affirmed that the company “have long been heavy shippers



FIGURE 8. G.B. Lewis Company Branch building, Lynchburg, Virginia (*Courtesy of Lynchburg Museum System*).

of ... beekeeping supplies into all parts of the Southern States” and further noted that “[t]he G.B. Lewis Company, Watertown, are our greatest advertisers of beekeeper’s supplies...” (Wilder 1921:3). This is the reason for the branch outlet in Memphis and for another established in Virginia. Lewis played a role in developing these markets, as in 1922, he was dispatched from Memphis to manage the branch office recently opened in Lynchburg, Virginia (Figure 8). Lewis remained there until late 1923, when he returned to Watertown to direct sales for the company (*Watertown Gazette* 1923); the next year, he was named general branch manager for the company (*Watertown Gazette* 1924a).

The Lynchburg years were good ones for Lewis. In 1923, he took time away from the company and travelled to Europe, where he toured the British Isles, France, Italy, Switzerland and Spain (U.S. Department of State 1923). Of more

lasting significance, while stationed in Lynchburg he met and courted Miss Leone Carrie Anderson, the daughter of a local lumberman. The couple married in June 1924 and took up residence in Watertown (*Watertown Gazette* 1924b). After the death of the family matriarch, Sarah Lewis, later in the year, they moved into the spacious family home with Lewis’s parents. Their only child, Nancy, was born in 1926. The couple divorced in 1939 (Sullivan 1999:72). Leone was never a favorite of Lewis’s mother, who regarded her as “a spoiled Southern belle” (Ladd 2012). Although historically southeastern Pennsylvania, where Chambersburg was located, shared much culturally with adjacent portions of Virginia and West Virginia, the city lay north of the Mason-Dixon Line, and 25 miles west of the Gettysburg battleground, and had been successively raided, occupied, and finally burned during the Civil War. Born just a few years after these events

Margaret was a Northerner through and through, while Leone was a proper (and pampered) Southern girl. However, insofar as geography played any role in relations between the two women, it is worth considering that both Lewis and his sister had affinities for, and ended up living, in the South.

The move to Tennessee in January 1934, coupled with Lewis's position with the TVA archaeology program, added new stresses to an already frayed and perhaps unraveling marriage. He was away from home for much of the time, checking in with field supervisors, or was deeply involved in wrangling with university, state, and federal bureaucracies. He also became caught up in a protracted, bitter and public feud with his, by then, former supervisor, William S. Webb (Dye 2013; Fagette 1996; Lyon 1996; Schwartz 2015), which reached its apogee around the time of the couple's separation and divorce. Prior to the divorce, Nancy returned to Watertown to be cared for by Lewis's parents (Ladd 2012).

The Evolution of a Collector

Lewis travelled regularly and extensively throughout the U.S. and with each passing year took on ever greater responsibilities of the business operations. Yet, even as he did so, his interest in collecting artifacts and pursuing his interest in archaeology grew and began to compete for more and more of his attention and resources. Employed and with a steady income, Lewis kept his eye on the collector's market, purchasing artifacts and even entire collections from as far afield as Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, Tennessee, and Texas. Business trips afforded the opportunity to scout for

artifact collections and to search for archaeological sites. Company staff took to leaving him news clippings on archaeological topics (Lewis 1930a). A profile in the *Watertown Daily Times* in 1930 reported that while he was the head of the Arkito division of the company, he also boasted of possessing one of the largest collections in the state, then consisting of some 10,000 to 12,000 artifacts (*Watertown Daily Times* 1930). Lewis attributed his passion for artifact collecting to his early teenage years, "when he used to walk through the fields with his grandfather," in search of arrowheads and other artifacts (*Watertown Daily Times* 1930:8). As his paternal grandfather passed away in 1903 when he was seven years old, he could only have been referring to his maternal grandfather, Thomas M. Nelson, with whom he collected artifacts in Pennsylvania. On visits to Chambersburg the two evidently roamed the fields flanking Falling Springs Run or the larger Conococheague Creek, a tributary of the Upper Potomac River.

These early experiences were enough. The seed planted, he prowled fields near Princeton in search of artifacts (without any luck) when in college and while in Virginia in 1922-3 conducted his first excavations, hastily opening several small mounds most likely somewhere north of Lynchburg (Lewis 1926a). It would be surprising if he had not collected in Arkansas and Tennessee during the time he lived in Memphis in 1921-2. Without his catalog, however, the full scope of his peregrinations in search of artifacts remains sketchy at best. Upon settling with his family in Watertown, he directed as much spare time as possible to artifact hunting, first in the vicinity of his hometown, and gradually farther afield (Anonymous 1927a:67; Lewis 1929a).

Table 1. T.M.S. Lewis and the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Elected to Membership: April 1926; maintained at least into mid-1950s
Public Collections Committee: April 1926 – November 1929
State Survey Committee: November 1929 – March 1936
Board of Directors: March 1934 – March 1935
Vice President: March 1934 – March 1935
Advisory Board: March 1935 – March 1936
Honorary Member, ca. late 1930s/early 1940s
Awarded Increase A. Lapham Award in 1946

Sources: Anonymous 1927a, b; 1928; 1929a,b; 1930; 1931; 1932; 1934a,b; 1935; 1943; 1946; 1951; Lewis 1931b; 1932b; 1934; 1954.

Lewis might have remained a collector but for the fortuitous meeting in spring 1926 with two other collectors while out one afternoon walking fields near Watertown. In the course of their conversation, the two exhorted Lewis to join the Wisconsin Archeological Society (WAS). Apparently unaware of the organization (then its third decade of existence), Lewis promptly sent in an application and in April 1926 was elected to membership (Anonymous 1926b:98). In the company of men and women with similar interests, he not only attended as many of the society's meetings as his job and familial responsibilities permitted, but also took on committee assignments as well. In July 1926, he was appointed to the standing committee on Public Collections and by the late 1920s, when he was deemed one of the Society's most active field workers, he was a member of the State Survey Committee's later incarnation, the Survey, Research, and Record Committee (Anonymous 1926b:98, 1930:132) (Table 1).

In 1927, Lewis began to exhibit portions of his large collection at the WAS meetings, including materials from the Watertown area and from Virginia (Anonymous 1927a:67, 1927b:97). Other exhibits followed (Anonymous 1928:120) and in 1931 he began to present reports on his activities, such as an address

entitled, "The Thrills of an Amateur Archaeologist," which was illustrated with a selection of artifacts from Arkansas, Florida, and Virginia (Anonymous 1931:143). In 1931 he published the results of a trip to Florida, during which he explored a mound near Pensacola (Herron 2012; Lewis 1931a) and following a trip to the Mid-South in September 1931, he delivered a paper, "Archaeological Explorations in Kentucky and Tennessee" (Smith 1932), a version of which was subsequently published in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* (Lewis 1932a). Although not presented at a WAS meeting, it was noted in the *Archaeological Notes* section of the journal that Lewis offered a presentation with the provocative title, "Indian Burial Treasures," to the Watertown chapter of the American Association of University Women at its annual meeting in 1932. The title notwithstanding, he reportedly "discussed the origin of the American Indians, their routes in peopling the continent, and ... the purposes and methods of the field student in American archaeology." The presentation included artifacts "from the speaker's extensive archaeological collection, including materials from Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia and Wisconsin" (Anonymous 1932:178). An October 1933 presentation

Table 2. Notable Members of the Central Section and their Institutional Affiliations, 1922-1935.*

Individual	Institutional Affiliation(s)
Willoughby M. Babcock	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
C. M. Barbeau	National Museum of Man, Canada
Samuel A. Barrett	Dir., Milwaukee Public Museum
Glenn A. Black	Indiana Historical Society
Peter A. Brannon	Cur., Alabama Dept. of Archives and History
Charles E. Brown	Dir., Wisconsin Historical Society Museum, Madison
John Champe	Prof. Anthropology, University of Nebraska
George L. Collie	Prof. Anthropology and Dean, Beloit College; Cur. Logan Museum
Fay-Cooper Cole	Prof. Anthropology, University of Chicago
P.E. Cox	Tennessee State Archeologist
Henry Field	Cur. of Physical Anthropology, Field Museum, Chicago
Alton K. Fisher	Asst. Cur. of Anthropology, Milwaukee Public Museum
George R. Fox	Dir., Chamberlain Memorial Museum, Three Oaks, Michigan
Melvin R. Gilmore	Museum of American Indian, then Cur. of Ethnology, Univ. of Michigan
Charlotte Gower	University of Chicago, then Univ. of Wisconsin
Emerson F. Greenman	Museum of Anthropology, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Carl E. Guthe	Anthropology Museum, University of Michigan; NRC Committee on State Archeological Surveys
Melville Herskovits	Prof. Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston
W.B. Hinsdale	Curator, University of Michigan Museum, Ann Arbor
A.E. Jenks	Prof. of Anthropology, University of Minnesota
Charles R. Keyes	Prof. German, Cornell College; Iowa State Archeologist
Alfred V. Kidder	Phillips Academy, Andover, MA
Madeline D. Kneberg	University of Chicago
Wilton M. Krogman	University of Chicago
Ralph Linton	Field Museum; then, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison
Berthold Laufer	Cur. of Anthropology, Field Museum, Chicago
Will C. McKern	Cur. of Anthropology, Milwaukee Public Museum
William C. Mills	Dir., Ohio State Museum, Columbus
Warren King Moorehead	Phillips Academy, Andover, MA
Georg Neumann	University of Chicago
A.T. Olmstead	Univ. of Illinois, Urbana; then Univ. of Chicago
John E. Pearce	Prof. of Anthropology, University of Texas
Alonzo W. Pond	Logan Museum, Beloit College
A.R. Radcliffe-Brown	Prof. of Anthropology, University of Chicago
Robert Redfield	University of Chicago
Edward Sapir	Prof. Anthropology, University of Chicago
Frank M. Setzler	Indiana State Archeologist
Henry C. Shetrone	Cur. of Archeology, Ohio State Museum, Columbus
Alanson Skinner	Cur. of Anthropology, Milwaukee Public Museum, then Museum of American Indian
Huron H. Smith	Cur. of Botany, Milwaukee Public Museum
Frederick Starr	Prof. Anthropology, University of Chicago
Wm. Duncan Strong	Asst. Cur. of Anthropology, Field Museum, then Univ. of Nebraska
William S. Webb	Prof. of Anthropology, University of Kentucky
George A. West	Pres. of Board of Directors, Milwaukee Public Museum

*Source: Isaac and Pheanis 1978: Table 11; Isaac 1979:Table 17; membership list, 1929, CSAS Archives n.d.

focused on the Wickliffe site on the Mississippi River in western Kentucky (Lewis 1933a), versions of which were also published (Lewis 1933b, 1934). All the while he ascended the ranks of the organization (see Table 1), including in absentia election to the WAS Board of Directors and as a vice president in March 1934 (Anonymous 1934a:77). After moving to Tennessee, he was appointed to the Society's Advisory Board (Anonymous 1935:101).

When Lewis joined the Wisconsin Archeological Society, Charles E. Brown urged him to attend the upcoming annual meeting of the Central Section of the American Anthropological Association

(AAA) in Columbus, Ohio, in May 1926. Established in 1922, the organization was the brainchild of the Milwaukee Public Museum's [MPM] Samuel A. Barrett, with the first meeting held in Chicago. Despite its affiliation with the AAA, its early programs generally emphasized archaeological reportage over ethnography or physical anthropology (Isaac 2001; Isaac and Pheanis 1978:7). Importantly for a budding archaeologist, the roster of its members is a veritable Who's Who of the ranks of Midwest and Mid-South anthropologists (Table 2), though the papers read at the meetings ranged far beyond the geographic focus of the mid-continent. Lewis traveled to the

Table 3. Annual Meetings of the Central Section of the American Anthropological Society, 1926-1933.¹

Year	Location	Attended*	Member§
1926	Columbus, Ohio	Definite	
1927	Chicago, Illinois	Probable	
1928	Beloit, Wisconsin	Probable	definite
1929	Evanston, Illinois	Definite	definite
1930	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Probable	
1931	Three Oaks, Michigan	?	
1932	Ann Arbor, Michigan	?	
1933	Chicago, Illinois	?	

*T.M.N. Lewis attendance at 1926 Columbus meeting based on Lewis to C.E. Brown, May 11, 1926, Brown Papers; “probable” based on membership status and/or relative proximity to Watertown, Wisconsin.

§ Membership status derived from fragmentary early records of the present iteration of Central Section, the Central States Anthropological Society, National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Central Section meeting in Columbus and subsequently joined the organization (Lewis 1926b). Organizational records for the early years are incomplete, but they indicate that he was a dues paying member in 1928 and 1929 and attended at least the 1929 Evanston, Illinois meeting and almost certainly others (Table 3), as the meetings were held in relatively nearby Midwestern venues. Like the National Research Council, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, the Central Section promoted an agenda supportive of disciplinary professionalization (Isaac 2001; Isaac and Pheanis 1978; cf. Linton 1923). While presented papers were typically empirical site reports, the meetings also served as the platform for some of the major developments in American archaeology in the pre-WWII era. McKern, for instance, presented a key paper at the 1934 meeting, “Certain Culture Classification Problems in Middle Western Archaeology,” an early contribution in the evolution of the Midwestern Taxonomic Method (McKern 1934).

Although a man of considerable

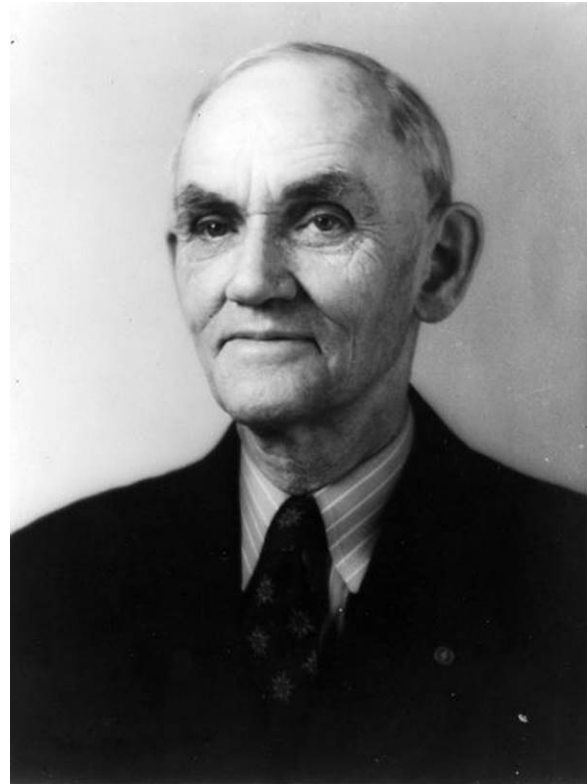


FIGURE 9. Charles E. Brown, head of Wisconsin Historical Museum and long-time editor of *The Wisconsin Archeologist* (Courtesy of Wisconsin Historical Society)

natural reserve, Lewis nevertheless knew how to network. Thus, as a result of his involvement in the WAS and the Central Section, Lewis’s circle of professional friends and acquaintances expanded to include Charles E. Brown (Figure 9), MPM staffers Alton K. Fisher, W.C. McKern (Figure 10), and Towne L. Miller, as well as others outside the state such as Thorne Deuel (University of Chicago), Eli Lilly and Glenn Black (Indiana Historical Society), and Carl E. Guthe (University of Michigan/National Research Council [NRC]).

Within his expanded circle, McKern in particular would come to exert a tremendous influence on Lewis, gradually transforming a collector and, bluntly put, pothunter, into a dedicated and skilled archaeologist (Dye and Hawley 2014;

Hawley and Dye 2015). McKern's legacy is well-known in Midwestern archaeology. Trained under Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California at Berkeley, McKern conducted fieldwork in the western U.S. and Polynesia. His early career was, like Lewis's, interrupted by WWI, serving as an infantryman in the trenches of France. In 1925 he accepted an anthropology position with the MPM and through the remainder of the 1920s and into the 1930s he fronted its field operations (Rodell and Green 2004). In the process he was credited (Johnson 1948; Wittry 1959) with shifting upper Mississippi Valley archaeology to a sound, scientific footing. In 1943, he was named to direct the MPM (Lurie 1983). McKern's methodological and theoretical inclinations placed him in the emerging culture-history school, in which he also played an important developmental role through the Midwestern

Taxonomic Method, which backed by the National Research Council, Committee on State Archaeological Survey, he shepherded into existence as an aid in culture classification (McKern 1939; Lyman and O'Brien 2003). He also served as the first editor of *American Antiquity*.

Lewis was fortunate to have met McKern early in his multi-year MPM initiative that involved excavating a series of mound sites (Rodell and Green 2004). McKern and an MPM crew spent several weeks in the summer of 1927 exploring the Nitschke Mound Group in Dodge County (McKern 1928, 1930), not too far north of Watertown. Lewis made the drive

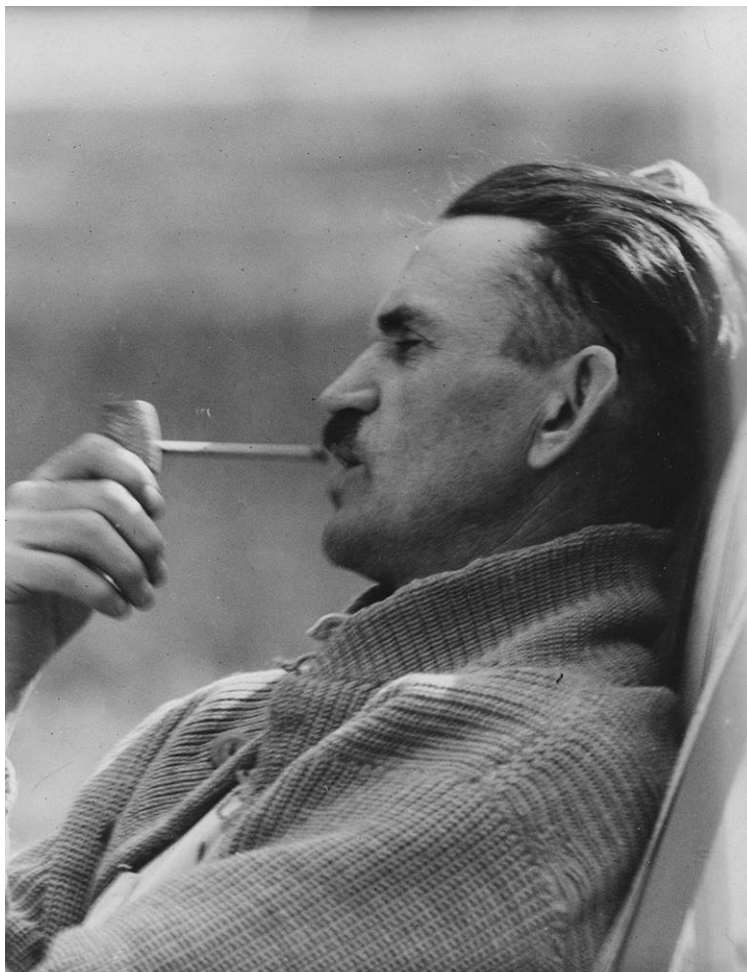


FIGURE 10. W.C. McKern in a quiet moment, Trempealeau County, 1928 (Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum)

as often as he could for the duration of the field work (Lewis 1927a, b). Subsequently, Lewis visited McKern's later digs, including the Schwert Mounds in Trempealeau County in 1930 and in 1931 and the Raisbeck Mound Group in Grant County, occasionally camping (once with his wife in tow) and spending several days at a time as a volunteer (Crawford 1972:2; Lewis 1930a, 1930b, 1931b). The Schwert Mounds and Raisbeck Group were Middle and Late Woodland mound groups, respectively (McKern 1931, 1932). That he frequented other of McKern's digs is entirely possible, but cannot be inferred from the available



FIGURE 11. Sites Explored by T.M.N. Lewis in Wisconsin

documentation. Beginning in 1930, Lewis and McKern began a regular and wide-ranging correspondence that persisted through the duration of their respective careers (Dye and Hawley 2014; Hawley and Dye 2015).

Perhaps inspired by McKern's fieldwork, and certainly driven by his own mounting impatience with surface collecting and purchase of artifacts, that same summer Lewis began to dig on his own. Not surprisingly, and like most contemporary professional archaeologists in this era, the state's distinctive conical, effigy, and geometric mounds were the initial draw; MPM field crews, for instance, excavated between 200 and 300 mounds alone between ca. 1918 and 1932 (Fisher 1932). Lewis, with two associates, dug intersecting, perpendicular, trenches

through a small, conical mound and trenched across a linear feature that extended away from the mound in the Collins (Stafeil) Mound Group, a Woodland site located a short distance southeast of Watertown (Lewis 1927c). Additional survey followed, but Lewis does not seem to have dug again until 1929, when he "examined" five or six mounds "on the east bank of the Rock River," probably in the Point Opposite Mound Group at Hustisford, Wisconsin.

To Brown, he (Lewis 1929b) reported that he "was rather disgusted ... due to the lack of artifacts and other features" in the Hustisford mounds. His investigations did not end with this site, however, as he also proceeded to trench through 11 mounds of the Heger Mound Group, also just a few miles from his home as well (Anonymous

1929a:167; Brown et al. 1934; Lewis 1929c) (Figure 11). Evidently, Lewis was less than thorough in these latter excavations, as in the summer of 1933 when a local collector found a portion of a cranium, and after consulting with the MPM, in follow-up work recovered part of a child's skeleton and shell beads. As a result of the finds, Earl "Bud" Loyster and Towne L. Miller, representing the MPM, visited the Heger group, concluding that: "All of them [the 11 mounds] have been dug into [by] unknown parties" (Anonymous 1934b:44). That MPM staff was unaware of Lewis's dig is perplexing, but the real irony is that in 1937 Loyster, on McKern's recommendation, took a lab position under Lewis at the University of Tennessee and later served as a Chickamauga Basin field supervisor.

Unprepared for the sheer volume of the Tennessee assemblages, which easily dwarfed any of those recovered by the MPM digs, Loyster was soon overwhelmed and finally replaced in June 1938 by Madeline D. Kneberg, a University of Chicago doctoral student and former instructor at Beloit College (Sullivan 1994, 1999).

In 1929, as well, Lewis spent a few days digging at what is now known as the Aztalan East site, a complex - possibly Mississippian - site on the Crawfish River opposite Aztalan, which he reported some years later (Lewis 1954). At the site, he recovered pottery and human skeletal remains. Around the same time, he ventured over pre-modern roads several hours drive from Watertown to the Wisconsin River valley in Sauk and Dane counties, where he trenched two mounds, one an effigy mound, inferentially, part of the Kruger Creek Group and the other a large, bluff top, conical mound opposite Sauk City and almost certainly associated with the East Bank Mound Group (Lewis 1929d). In 1929, after meeting Halvor Skavlem, a noted avocational archaeologist and flintknapper (i.e., Pond 1930), Lewis contemplated undertaking survey around Lake Koshkonong, Skavlem's stomping ground for many years, and an area rich in effigy mounds and other archaeological sites (Lewis 1929a, 1929e). Nothing seems to have come of this, but in September 1930, following a suggestion by Brown, Lewis and another collector spent a couple of days excavating a shaft somewhere along the Wisconsin River in search of a fabled, "lost," Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) cave in Richland County. Other than blisters perhaps and a brief mention in a story about the cave in the *Milwaukee Journal*, the effort proved fruitless (*Milwaukee Journal* 1930) (see Figure 11).

If not always thorough perhaps, Lewis was at least tolerably observant in his excavations, reporting to Brown (Lewis 1929f), for instance, after the Heger mound dig, "The original humus line was not discernible in any of the mounds, nor was there any stratification whatever." His early reports are sketchy, lacking in maps, profiles, and other critical data necessary to otherwise evaluate the quality of his work. McKern (1927) advocated two methods to investigate mounds: trenching and complete removal, with the former employed most often, probably as a time and cost saving measure (Rodell and Green 2004:35). His methods were not reported at all in his brief reports to Brown, beyond the use of such general terms as "trenched", for example. The use of intersecting trenches at the Collins Mound Group was probably picked up from the MPM digs. The focus of Lewis's own digs remained unabashedly the recovery of artifacts and in this he was successful. To his credit, he readily shared the fruits of his excavations, though; for instance, Alton K. Fisher and his colleagues (1931) illustrated human crania with dental pathologies from the local mound groups in Lewis's collection. Additionally, over the years Lewis donated material from both local sites and from sites in Arkansas, Florida, and Kentucky, to the Milwaukee Public Museum (n.d.).

Far from turning away from his principal passion in these years, Lewis only seems to have intensified his pursuit of artifacts. The mode of acquisition began to change, though, inferentially due to McKern's influence. For instance, in 1931 he was listed in *The Naturalist Directory* as a collector of "Prehistoric Indian Artifacts" (Cassino 1931:215) who was also willing to trade items, but not buy or sell. He was listed the following year as well (Cassino 1932:119). In 1933, a year

which proved to be a pivotal one in his maturation and his turn toward scientific archaeology, Lewis (1933c) sheepishly admitted to McKern that he had a new subscription to *Hobbies*, a Chicago-based magazine for collectors of everything from artifacts to stamps. Again, he sought to use the magazine as a platform to inform. Dismayed by the attention of many of its readers in Folsom points, he could not refrain from attempting to dispel what he thought was a serious misconception about the type, dispatching a letter for the May 1933 edition entitled, "More about the Folsom Point," (Lewis 1933d). He asked McKern to vet the draft:

Will you mind looking over my contribution to Hobbies regarding the Folsom fiddlesticks and if you think I am presupposing too much, just consign it to the waste-basket. I am no one to say that the matter doesn't deserve further consideration, but it seems to me that the idea is not only ridiculous but has also been definitely disproven.

Folsom points, following their discovery at the Folsom site in New Mexico in 1927, had subsequently been reported throughout the eastern United States, though mostly in surface contexts which clouded assessment of their age. Moreover, many lanceolate-shaped bifaces were unfortunately interpreted as Folsom points. McKern (1935, 1942) was skeptical of the type, believing, as he responded to Lewis that, "The Folsom type of point is quite common in some sections of the country... and was unquestionably made in late prehistoric times by some of our Indians" (McKern 1933a). The argument Lewis put forth closely mirrored McKern's ideas, showing again that Lewis was absorbing much from his friend and mentor.

Controversy at Wickliffe

To his friend Charles E. Brown, Lewis remarked in 1929 that, "I haven't looked over a campsite outside of the state of Wisconsin since 1927 and I think that there is more truth than poetry in the old adage which says that 'far fields are ever greener'" (Lewis 1929a). Lewis was probably alluding to a trip in 1927, wherein he purchased a collection of partial and complete Mississippian vessels from a farmer who had found them washing from a site being eroded by White River in Independence County, Arkansas (Milwaukee Public Museum n.d.). This effort may have coincided with a business trip to the new Texarkana branch, in far southwestern Arkansas, which also afforded the opportunity to roam parts of east Texas in pursuit of artifacts (Lewis 1931c). By the early 1930s, as his comment indicates, his acquisitive gaze had turned southward once again. Through the opportunities afforded by the company, as well as his own ample financial resources, Lewis was in an enviable position to assuage his archaeological yearnings. For instance, in 1930 after reading Swanton's (1922:144-150) monograph on the Creek and the dearth of information regarding the Pensacola tribe discussed therein, he and Kenneth Hawkins, one of the G.B. Lewis Company managers, who had formerly been a newspaperman in Pensacola, Florida, drove there for the purpose of excavating a mound on the Gulf Coast's Santa Rosa peninsula that had been exposed by the late July 1926 Nassau hurricane and with which Hawkins was familiar (Lane 1930; Lewis 1931b, 1936). The two men readily found and dug the remaining portion of a large, low mound at the Eighteen-Mile Point on Santa Rosa Sound site (the name derives from



FIGURE 12. Fort Walton culture, Port Washington Incised bowl, excavated and reconstructed by Tom Lewis in 1930 from the Eighteen-Mile Point on Santa Rosa Sound site, Santa Rosa County, Florida (Courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum)

Lewis's [1931b:123] description: "Eighteen miles up the Sound..."; the exact location is not known; Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources 1995; Willey 1949: 209-210). From it, the men recovered complete and fragmentary pottery vessels, shell beads, and skeletal remains (Herron 2012; Lewis 1931a) (Figure 12).

"Prof. Lewis," as the newspapers (and radio station) in Pensacola referred to him, unhesitatingly ascribed the remains and artifacts to the historic Choctaw, based on inferred evidence of cranial deformation. The site was later assigned to the Fort Walton culture by Willey (1949:209-210; Herron 2012), following study of photographs of pottery from the mound supplied by Lewis long after the fact. Lewis, Hawkins, and their local host took in some fishing as part of their expedition and after ten day's absence were reported as missing by the local sheriff (*Pensacola Times* 1930). The press, Lewis (1936) later claimed, made so much of the loss of the men and, after they had returned, exaggerated their discoveries to the point that he and

Hawkins felt it prudent to flee town for fear of being robbed. Lewis probably aggravated the situation with his initial claim that the decorative motifs on the pottery exhumed suggested connections to ancient Egypt and the Near East (Lane 1930; *Watertown Daily Times* 1930). Back home, Lewis was schooled in pottery reconstruction by MPM staff member, Eldon G. Wolff, and then set about reconstructing some 20 or so broken vessels removed from the Santa Rosa mound (Lewis 1930b, 1931b:127, 1933e; cf. Wolff 1939) (Figure 12). Herron (2012:84), who reported on the site some 80 years after its excavation, comments that, "While Lewis did not leave a detailed description of the site and the materials uncovered, what he did record based only on [an] extremely small sample ... was mostly accurate."

In shifting the focus of his archaeological interests to the south, Lewis soon crossed paths with Paducah, Kentucky-based lumberman and avocationalist, Fain W. King (Ross 1931) (Figure 13). Quite possibly Lewis saw King's listing in *The Naturalist Directory*, as several of his friends at the MPM, including Towne L. Miller and Huron H. Smith, were also listed for their respective interests (which did not include collecting). King was listed in both the 1929 and 1930 editions as a collector of "Indian Relics" (Cassino 1929:63; 1930:78). In other words, some collectors were using it to find persons of similar interests in their areas. Another possibility is that Lewis learned of King from MPM director Samuel A. Barrett, who was among a number of museum people King had reached out to in the early 1930s and with whom he kept in touch (King 1932a). In any event, Lewis initially thought he had found a kindred spirit in King (as he hinted in a letter to McKern [Lewis 1933f]): a

committed avocationalist and collector. When King invited him to participate in mound explorations along the Ohio River, Lewis leapt at the chance. Lewis's experiences in the field with King over the next couple of years, refracted in particular through the lens of his friendship with McKern, constituted an important catalyst in his evolution from collector to archaeologist (Dye and Hawley 2014). In September 1931 the small field party assembled by King, which included Lewis and Walter B. Jones (Figure 14), visited several localities and examined, "numerous large mounds in western Kentucky and western Tennessee," excavating in a group (probably McLeod's Bluff) near Clinton, Kentucky. Near Barlow, Kentucky, the group also dug part of a camp site in a cornfield (possibly, though, not certainly the Twin Mounds site) "abundantly covered with potsherds" (Lewis 1932a:42). A few miles from Moscow, Kentucky, the group looked over portions of what appeared to be part of an ancient canal that was said to be on the order of three miles in length (see Funkhouser and Webb 1928:79).

Elated by the experience, the next year, 1932, Lewis worked at the famous Mississippian Wickliffe site in western Kentucky (Figure 15) alongside David L. DeJarnette, James Hays, and Walter B. Jones of the Alabama Museum of Natural History (Wesler 2001:18-19). As Lewis set the scene:

Here, in the late summer and fall of 1932, a staff of archaeologists excavated portions of a prehistoric village site which has since become known to the public as the "Ancient Buried City." Obviously the term "city" is a misnomer insofar as modern standards are concerned.... That the site was not merely a temporary abiding place for some nomadic tribe is assumed from the fact that the camp refuse extends to a depth of from three to five feet over the entire site...

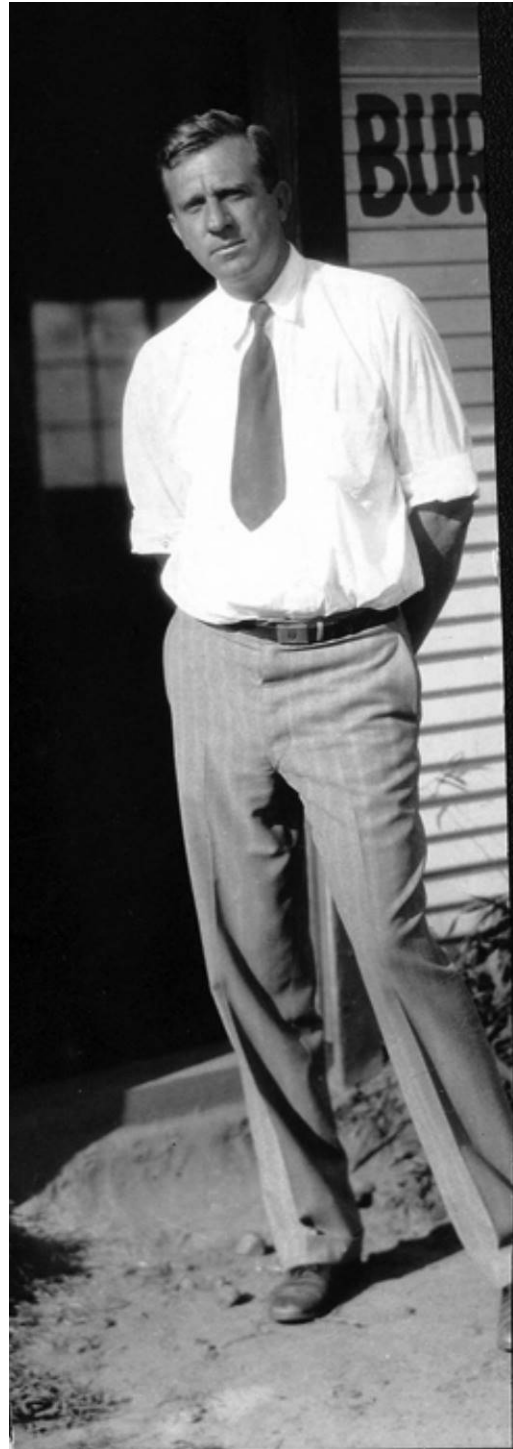


FIGURE 13. Fain W. King, 1933, at the door of the Burial Mound, Wickliffe Site, Kentucky (Courtesy of Frank M. Bodkin)



Figure 14. Walter B. Jones, geologist and archaeologist for the University of Alabama (Courtesy of University of Alabama Museums)

The abnormally high bluff [overlooking the Mississippi River] at this location afforded a point of vantage from which it was possible to survey a great expanse of land and water (Lewis 1934:25)

Lewis described the excavations by noting that:

To shelter the excavators from the weather a circus tent was pitched over that portion of the site which was staked out for excavation. The work continued incessantly seven days a week until the approach of winter. All remains were left in situ with the exception of that portion of the pottery which was encountered in a broken condition and which was later replaced in original positions after restoration. In all, excavations were made in three mounds. The work was so intelligently performed and the remains of such an interesting character that Mr. King decided to have substantial buildings constructed over each one of the three excavations.... To recover his investment in land and buildings a nominal admission charge has been asked of all visitors (Lewis 1934:26).



Figure 15. The Temple Mound at the Wickliffe Site, Kentucky. The Mississippi River can be seen in the background. (Courtesy of Frank M. Bodkin)



FIGURE 16. Sites explored by T.M.N. Lewis in the eastern U.S. prior to 1934

In his subsequent descriptions of the artifacts and other details of the site, Lewis hewed closely to the facts, displaying an understated command of his topic.

After the field work wrapped up for the season at Wickliffe, Lewis went off on his own and explored sites in Arkansas. The *Blytheville Courier News* (1932a:1), which identified Lewis as a “manufacturer, patron of museums of natural history and collector of prehistoric artifacts,” indicated that he investigated mounds on the Little River, a tributary of the St. Francis River that snakes through the northwestern part of Mississippi County. In all likelihood he visited the Walnut Mound site, partially excavated by DeJarnette and Jones from

the Alabama Museum of Natural History, and a crew of local diggers the previous year, prior to their visit to Hickman County, Kentucky, where they scouted and tested sites with King and Lewis (Knight 1993:622; Lewis 1932a; Tuscaloosa News 1931). On the same trip, Lewis apparently also excavated a site in Crittenden County, probably the heavily-looted Bradley site, from which he recovered 25 partial or complete vessels “associated with burial[s]. All skeletal material poorly preserved due to moisture content of alluvial soil. Burial ground on slight ridge. All vessels located at head” (Milwaukee Public Museum n.d.; also see Figure 16). Finally, and probably on the same trip, as well, west of Hughes, in St.



FIGURE 17. William S. Webb, physicist and archaeologist (Courtesy of William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky)

Francis County, Arkansas, he dug a single test pit into a mound and from it collected a nearly complete, restorable pottery bowl (Milwaukee Public Museum n.d.). Back in Watertown, he once again devoted his time in the arduous task of piecing together pottery from his Arkansas trip, as well as a substantial portion of the pottery vessels dug that season at Wickliffe (Lewis 1932b).

Although Lewis was heavily invested in King's project, the professionals of the era were not so enamored of either King or his efforts (Wesler 2001:21-27). King's problems sprang from several rather sensational stories sparked by the writings of a *Chicago Daily News* reporter about the site that began to appear in newspapers across the country. In these, the site was breathlessly compared to Tutankhamen's tomb and the ruined Khmer city of Angkor (Time 1933:45; cf. Lewis 1936). The lurid tales of riches at the site provoked the notice of the Science Service, a media service that cooperated with the NRC Division of

Anthropology and Psychology to investigate extraordinary claims of anthropological and archaeological interest (Davis 1930). The Science Service immediately contacted its man "on the ground", William S. Webb (Figure 17), for comments. Webb responded: "Press reports greatly exaggerated. No special scientific significance to recent finds. Attempt is being made to duplicate Don Dickson, Louistown [sic], Illinois, excavation. Publicity entirely for commercial purposes" (quoted in Davis 1933). Webb had no "on the ground" knowledge of the site, though, and may have been partly informed by C.B. Moore's testimony from 1915-6, in which he noted that "careful digging ...failed to find artifact or burial" at the mounds (Morse and Morse 1998:508). While wrong about the site's importance, Webb was correct, however, in that King (1932b) did draw inspiration from Dickson's lead in Illinois, as King himself had previously acknowledged to Webb. The construction of buildings over portions of the site, including mortuary areas, served a practical function as they also allowed year round excavation. King did charge admission, however, and this fact together with Webb's potent criticism were taken by the professional community of the day as signaling a major shift in King's interests to take advantage of the pecuniary aspects of his work at Wickliffe.

Fronted largely by Carl E. Guthe (as chairman of the NRC, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys) and seemingly at Webb's instigation the small professional community of the day turned against King. The profession at the time struggled for intellectual respectability (Judd 1929) and this entailed a commitment to professionalism, which necessitated pruning some of the wilder branches of what passed for archaeology, including

King's apparent turn toward commercialism (which Lewis [1934] and King perceived as a reasonable means to recoup operating costs incurred in the creation of an educational facility). The dispute, though, was probably as much as anything about demarcating boundaries in what was not only acceptable but also in asserting the authority of the profession, on the state and national levels, to pronounce upon such matters (Gieryn 1983; Zerubavel 1993). As Lewis informed King, others, such as Don Dickson in Illinois, had successfully combined scientific conservatism with commercialism, but largely by accepting "the limits allotted him" by the profession (Lewis 1933f). Although roundly decried in the post-NAGPRA era (e.g., Gulliford 1996:126-127), the profession was far more ambivalent toward such displays at the time. Indeed and without a hint of irony, even as he lashed out at King, allegedly for just this sort of thing, Webb himself (1932) promoted the idea of *in situ* mortuary exhibits, for instance, after the discovery of burials in Horse Cave, Kentucky. Other excavations were also conducted with the explicit aim of creating archaeological museums, often with *in situ* burials and admission charges. In 1936 and 1937, Lewis and his field supervisors conducted excavations at the Mound Bottom and Pack complex in Middle Tennessee with the objective of developing a state park and wayside museum near Nashville (Moore et al. 2014). Lewis was almost certainly influenced by his earlier association with King at Wickliffe. In 1938 Arthur R. Kelly (1938a, b) proposed and later established a museum at Ocmulgee National Monument. Likewise, the Mound State Monument museum was opened in 1939, based on prior New Deal excavations. Finally, Charles H. Nash, a protégé of

Lewis in some respects, sent one of his field supervisors, George A. Lidberg, to T.O. Fuller State Park in south Memphis in 1940 and 1941 to conduct excavations for a proposed museum with the anticipated name of Muskhogee Archaeological Park (Hawley and Dye 2011). Unfortunately, the museum would be delayed until Nash returned to establish the Chucalissa Indian Village in 1956.

As much as anything, personal animosities appear to have been a factor in the situation at Wickliffe, in particular, between King and Webb. Webb channeled highly critical information about King to Guthe, who then, despite acknowledged errors in some of that information, broadcast it widely in a harshly worded memorandum dispatched to more than 100 archaeologists and museum people (Guthe 1933). The goal of the NRC, and especially Webb, was no longer simply the censure of unwanted behavior; as Guthe (1933) put it: "I have a feeling that the name of Fain King and Wickliffe, Kentucky, are all finished as far as professional archaeological work is concerned." One important observation to be stressed is that neither Guthe nor even Webb ever visited the site. The attempted censure was not based on first-hand observation, but this fact did not prevent Guthe from arguing at a small professional gathering in Chicago in December 1932 that King and his work did merit respect from or the support of the profession.

Inevitably, and to his mounting consternation, Lewis found himself involved in the controversy. Initially, he tried to be the mentor to King that McKern had been to him, even assisting King in drafting letters responding to the accusations leveled against him by various parties (Lewis 1933g). For Lewis,

there was one positive; as the controversy unfolded, Webb proffered him as a suitable intermediary between the profession and King (Wesler 2001:23). Professional recognition from Webb was small consolation, perhaps, and to McKern, Lewis acknowledged that:

This situation [with King] which has developed is pretty much of a shock to me and I am satisfied that it is all the result of his lack of contact with the profession. He is apt to discredit my advice as coming from a mere amateur and, while he has associated himself with Dr. [Walter B.] Jones to a considerable extent, Dr. Jones is inclined to be a bit reticent when it comes to a matter of expounding the ethical phase of the situation. My frequent contact with you has enabled me to comprehend this most important aspect [i.e., commercialism] pretty thoroughly, thanks to your kindness (Lewis 1933h).

He concluded: "I believe he [King] will now recognize the line of demarcation between commercial and scientific projects...." King, however, was a former businessman and was no shrinking violet; while contrite at times, he also challenged Webb about the facts of the charges leveled against him (King 1933a, b). Ultimately, King had the personal resources to keep going at Wickliffe, in spite of Webb and the NRC. Despite involvement in excavations by the University of Chicago in the mid-1930s, King's relations with the professional community continued to deteriorate (Wesler 2012). . By early 1933, Lewis was beginning to weary of the quarrel and informed McKern: "This is one of the most irrational controversies it has ever been my misfortune to have participated in and I think it behooves me to withdraw gracefully" (Lewis 1933g).

Purgatory

Having glimpsed the Promised Land, as it must have seemed, Lewis found himself back in Wisconsin, plunged into a kind of purgatory. It was a time of great ferment for him as he used the occasion to take a hard look at his future options. In the near term, Lewis focused his attention, halfheartedly, on Wisconsin archaeology and went out to nearby Aztalan, a large, prominent -- dare it be said, Wickliffesque? -- Middle Mississippian town on the Crawfish River in Jefferson County, and, as he put it, "turned over a bit of dirt." For his effort, he came up with a portion of a human cranium, other bones, and some pottery (Lewis 1933i). He also commenced cataloging his burgeoning collection, using the MPM's cataloging system as a template (Lewis 1933j; McKern 1933b).

Wickliffe was far from forgotten, however, as he fretted over the details of an educational flyer about the site that he was writing on King's behalf (Lewis 1933k; Lewis and King 1933, 1934). Lewis, in fact, went to Wickliffe for two weeks in early fall 1933 to finalize details of the publication (King 1933c). His own articles on the site, which were published in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* and later, with only slight changes, in *Kentucky Progress Magazine*, were also probably collaborations between the two men. After Webb effectively blocked publication of an article by King about the site in the latter magazine in early 1933 (Webb 1933; Anderson 1933), Lewis published the two slightly different iterations of the article under his own name without interference (Lewis 1933b, 1934). Guthe, Lewis (1933k) informed McKern, praised the flyer.

Possibly in conjunction with his trip to Wickliffe, Lewis again travelled to

northeastern Arkansas, where he met Richmond E. "R.E." Fletcher, a well-known Osceola collector, landowner, and real estate agent. Fletcher had earlier in the year assisted the University of Arkansas Museum's Samuel C. Dellinger and Walter B. Jones and his crew from Alabama in arranging access to the Nodena phase sites in Crittenden and Mississippi Counties in 1932. He had also recently donated more than 80 artifacts (including many pottery vessels) to the Alabama Museum of Natural History (AMNH) (*Fayetteville Daily Democrat* 1932; *Blytheville Courier News* 1932b, 1932c; Durham 1989; Jones 1989; Knight 1993:627). During Lewis's visit, Fletcher gave him six Mississippian vessels that had been left behind by pot hunters looting a Mississippian site in the vicinity of Osceola. Dellinger would not have approved. As the organizer of the anthropology collections at the University of Arkansas museum and instructor of anthropology courses, Dellinger had come to deplore the looting of sites and dispersal of Arkansas artifacts to non-Arkansas institutions. Indeed, the incursions by Jones and his associates were an irritant to Dellinger and no doubt was a factor in the collaboration between him and the Alabama crew. As time passed, Dellinger turned his efforts to secure NRC backing for the cessation of work in the state by the AMNH (Mainfort 2008). In any case, Lewis did not stop with the gift of pots but possibly at the same site, which he described as "a Mississippi River Bottom site a few miles south of Osceola, Arkansas" (Lewis 1946) (see Figure 16), and collected another eight vessels or parts of vessels. Unfortunately, the limited information in the MPM accession records makes it unclear if it was the same site or another in the area. Lewis later donated these to

the MPM (Lewis 1946; Milwaukee Public Museum n.d.).

Late in the year, King personally traveled to Watertown to invite Lewis back to Wickliffe; while sorely tempted, he refused the offer. Undeterred by Lewis's ambivalence, King upped the ante with the promise of a steady income (Lewis 1933l). Lewis vacillated: "I would like eventually to become identified with this Kentucky project..." he informed McKern. He held back, however, fearing, as he put it, that King was not fully committed to a scientific archaeology (Lewis 1933m). Notably in this exchange, it appears that Lewis accepted some of criticism leveled by Guthe at King at face value; however, he had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the effort to curb King's commercialism and could not have guessed that extant, contemporary correspondence between Webb and Guthe, and Webb and others suggest that factors beyond King's commercial turn were at play. In any event, Guthe (1933) opined to Webb that Lewis's effort to distance himself from King owed chiefly to his friendship with McKern and although the available correspondence is frustratingly indirect at times, inferentially, McKern must have glimpsed the danger to Lewis and his future aspirations were he to continue his association with King. In any event, with some haste, Lewis fulfilled his obligations to King by bringing the publications the two men had planned about the site to fruition. After that, he kept King—the man who initiated him into the large-scale archaeology of Mississippian sites—at arm's length, maintaining only sporadic contact with him through the 1930s (e.g., King 1939). Webb and the NRC succeeded, ultimately, only in alienating King from the profession and little more.

For much of the summer of 1933, Lewis and McKern exchanged missives

about classification and Lewis also took advantage of Guthe's growing trust in him to propose a plan for a guide pamphlet for amateur archaeologists, drafting a detailed outline of it as well (Lewis 1933n). The NRC (1930) had only a few years before published and circulated widely a *Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists*, but Lewis wanted to go much farther. He wanted to deal with artifact analysis, cataloging, and many other issues, including especially the importance of amicable interactions with professional archaeologists. Too, it was around this time that Lewis wondered to McKern, and then at McKern's urging, to Guthe, about the feasibility of creating a new organization, one strictly focused on archaeology, unlike, for instance, the AAA or the Central Section, although in the latter case archaeologists actually comprised the overwhelming majority of its membership (Isaac 2001:14). Guthe was intrigued by the idea. In December 1933, at the AAA meeting in Columbus, Ohio, the various members of the NRC Committee on State Archaeological Surveys (which included McKern and Charles E. Brown) met and discussed the proposal at length. After further inducements from both professionals and at least one noted and well-regarded avocationalist, Paul A. Titterington, at the meeting, Guthe then helped organize the new Society for American Archaeology (SAA), which was officially launched at the joint 1934 AAA/Section H of American Academy for the Advancement of Science meeting in Pittsburg. Lewis was among the signers of the SAA's constitution (Griffin 1985; Guthe 1967).

Lewis was also involved in the creation of the Watertown Historical Society (Watertown Historical Society 2013b). As the result of his contacts at the MPM, he handled the accessioning and cataloging

of donated items (following procedures used at the MPM) (Lewis 1933o, 1933p). Once again, it is worth noting that his maternal grandfather had been an early supporter of the local historical society in Chambersburg (Foltz 1908:20) and that his mother was a charter member of the Watertown Historical Society. Indeed, Margaret Lewis was for several years (1938-1945) the custodian of the Octagon House, an unusual—and as the name suggests octagon-shaped—pre-Civil War mansion that had been purchased by the fledgling society, and which was opened for tours beginning in 1938 (*Watertown Daily Times* 1959). A portion of Lewis's artifact collection, comprising both pottery and stone implements, was displayed at the Octagon House for a number of years before being donated to the MPM (*Beatrice Daily Sun* 1942; Lewis 1946).

While these varied activities were, perhaps, satisfying in some respects, especially as he had been accepted by Guthe and other ranking members of the archaeological establishment, by fall 1933, however, and in response to the King-Wickliffe affair and the corrosive effects of it on his future aspirations, Lewis had grown pensive. To McKern, he remarked:

I have reached the point now where the commercial world has less appeal to me than it ever has had if that is possible. I desire eventually to make anthropology my profession if it will offer me an opportunity to eke out an existence for my family (Lewis 1933q).

Having rejected King's overtures, Lewis thought he glimpsed one other possibility for an "out". To McKern, he hesitantly wondered what would be "required of me in the way of further research, classroom attendance and laboratory work to obtain an M.A. degree" (Lewis 1933m) at the University of

Chicago, where Fay-Cooper Cole was building up one of the midcontinent's major anthropology departments (Eggan 1963; Jennings 1962; Stocking 1980). The program played a major role in standardizing and disseminating field methods in the 1930s and 1940s (Howe 2011, 2015; Lyon 1996:61-62). An advanced degree from the UW was out of the question, as the UW extension office was unable to accommodate his request for a correspondence course and commuting or relocating was equally out of the question (Lewis 1933q). By December he had tentatively worked out an arrangement with the Anthropology Department at Chicago for a correspondence course (Lewis 1933r). For his part, McKern (1933c) recommended instead that Lewis remain with the company and work out an arrangement that would permit him to continue as he had.

Finally, as the year dragged to a close, with McKern, Lewis began to think seriously about a "classification-of-artifacts program," and commenced an extensive reading program on the topic (McKern 1933d). McKern, backed by the NRC, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, was at the time fronting an effort to limn out a culture classification scheme for Midwestern archaeology, which eventually resulted in the Midwestern Taxonomic Method (MTM) (McKern 1939; cf. Lyman and O'Brien 2003). Lewis followed McKern's work closely and was at pains to apply the MTM or, as he would call it, the "McKern Classification" (Lewis and Kneberg 1939:29) to the archaeological assemblages later generated by the TVA archaeology program in Tennessee (Hawley and Dye 2015).

In 1933, after McKern rejected an offer to head up the TVA's fledgling

archaeology program (Lyon 1996:40), Webb accepted directorship of the program. Trained in physics, Webb ended up teaching a course on archaeology at the University of Kentucky, where beginning in the 1920s, he and his associate, biologist William D. Funkhouser, initiated a program of archaeological research in the state (Schwartz 1967, 2015). As a result of his foray into Kentucky and his involvement with King at Wickliffe, Lewis had developed a healthy respect for Webb and, through the controversy over the site, evidently Webb for him. Early in 1934, following the passage of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act in May 1933, the TVA assumed sponsorship of archaeological investigations in the Norris Basin in eastern Tennessee. As a result of his friendship with Lewis and a recommendation from McKern, Webb asked Lewis to serve as his district field supervisor for the project through June (Lyon 1996:40; Sullivan 1999:67-68; Webb 1933). In McKern's office at the MPM, the two men carefully weighed the pros and cons of Webb's remarkable—and timely—offer (Crawford 1972:2), before Lewis accepted the position and resigned from his job with the G.B. Lewis Company. A huge gamble, in early 1934 Lewis moved his wife and daughter to Knoxville, and began what would turn out to be a new and challenging career as an archaeological supervisor in the one of the nation's largest and most demanding fieldwork programs yet conceived in the United States (Ezzell 2009; Fagette 1996; Haag 1985; Lyon 1996; Stoltman 2006).

Thomas M.N. Lewis and the Growth of American Archaeology

Thomas M.N. Lewis came of age in American archaeology during the

classificatory-historical period (1914-1940), a time when archaeological research concerns centered on artifact classification and cultural chronology (Willey and Sabloff 1993) and moved away from amassing large museum holdings of artifacts. In the late nineteenth century, William H. Holmes (1903) used whole ceramic vessels to establish classificatory categories for eastern North America, building on his earlier work with museum collections of pottery from the Lower Mississippi Valley (Holmes 1886). Although his approach allowed later archaeologists to build fine-scale ceramic typologies, his scheme lacked temporal depth. The remedy was an emphasis on new methods and techniques for placing material culture in time-ordering sequences.

Time and culture became increasingly primary objectives of archaeological concerns in the late 1930s and archaeologists soon began to implement stratigraphic and taxonomic procedures for ordering archaeological units. Archaeologists knew that to gain a sense of temporal control, they would have to craft, if not innovate and invent, refinements in excavation techniques and field methods—necessary components for stratigraphic methods. In short, archaeologists were increasingly concerned with how to investigate the time-depth and culture change over a given interval of time. Lewis's entry into professional archaeology came just prior to these formative developments.

A major turning point in Lewis's thinking about the conduct of archaeology and his approach to prehistory came after he began to affiliate with professional archaeologists in Wisconsin through the WAS, but even then he would not begin to think professionally until 1932-3, when he began to publish on his explorations in

Kentucky and Tennessee. The papers were prompted by his work in Kentucky with King and his association with, among others, David L. DeJarnette, with whom he had worked in the fall of 1932 at the Wickliffe site. DeJarnette had been enrolled in the University of Chicago field school in Fulton County, Illinois, immediately prior to the Wickliffe excavations (Knight 1993). At the summer field program, run by Thorne Deuel, DeJarnette learned newly emerging techniques such as horizontal stripping, vertical trenching, plane table mapping, and field excavation record-keeping (Howe 2011, 2015). The year Lewis joined the WAS, was the first year of the University of Chicago field school, held in northwestern Illinois, and in those six years from its founding in 1926 to DeJarnette's summer enrollment in 1932, the field school had made great strides. It is unknown what Lewis learned from DeJarnette, but knowing his curious and inquisitive mind and his family's proclivity (at least in the business world) to innovate and adapt, it is difficult to image that he did not come away from the experience without an awareness of the new field methods being taught and the research questions being asked. His association with McKern only reinforced these experiences.

The state of Midwestern archaeology at the time of Lewis's entry into the profession might be best summed-up in a letter written by W. C. McKern on October 27, 1932, to Carl E. Guthe, chair of the Committee on State Archeological Surveys of the National Research Council, "To me one of the outstanding characteristics of American archaeological research is its total lack of standards" (quoted in O'Brien and Lyman 2001:55). To remedy this situation, McKern and a group of other archaeologists met in May

1932 at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Academy of Sciences in Chicago. At that meeting McKern presented some early thoughts of a classification system that would be revised at meetings of the Central Section and in December 1935 at the Indianapolis conference hosted by the NRC. The methodology became known as the Midwestern Taxonomic Method (aka McKern Classification) (Hawley and Dye 2015; Lyman and O'Brien 2003:55; McKern 1939). The primary purpose of the MTM was to establish methods and terminology, given the current lack of standardized field and laboratory methods, for classifying and describing artifacts from the upper Midwest. The end result would be an analytical method that would allow archaeologists to compare their research with one another and enable them to reconstruct culture histories over a large area.

Through their friendship, McKern exerted a tremendous influence on Lewis and mentored him during his formative years, not only through the developing analytical methodologies, such as the MTM, but also through his patient encouragement and tutelage (Dye and Hawley 2014; Hawley and Dye 2015). In July 1937, an exchange of letters between the two men perfectly catches the character of their friendship and the road that Lewis had travelled since their first meeting almost a decade earlier. It was three and half years after Lewis had moved south, and now at the University of Tennessee, he was immersed in the day-to-day struggle of administering large New Deal field crews and laboratory for the TVA. From afar, McKern (1937) had watched his progress and felt compelled to observe that:

As you may realize, I used to be rather skeptical of your work here in Wisconsin, although I always had a lot of respect for you

personally. However, your efforts in the Southeast have satisfied me that you and your work are good. I am willing to stack your technique up against that of any field research man in the country, admitting that neither you nor any one of the others is perfect.... Keep up the good work with your chin up, and you will find yourself in the upper stratum just so long as you are willing to learn; and that is all I can say for anyone.

In an equally reflective mood, Lewis (1937) responded:

With regard to the nature of the techniques which are being employed here, I can only say this: No other investigator could be any more interested in his problems than I, and anyone who is really interested in what he is doing is bound to achieve something usable in the way of results. The hours which I have been so fortunate to be able to spend with you are largely responsible for what clear thinking I am capable of exercising. As a matter of fact, I am typing this letter in my trailer now and finding this world a good place in which to be only because you did go to the trouble to talk sense into me a few years ago in that kindly, convincing sort of manner of which so few people in this world are capable.

Conclusion

Thomas M.N. Lewis has been all but forgotten for his role in American archaeology, partly because he did not have the requisite degrees or graduate students who would stand as testaments to his academic career. For much of his early professional career, Lewis spent the bulk of his effort and time wrangling with the federal New Deal programs and keeping the University of Tennessee archaeology program afloat, first during the Great Depression and then through the war years. And then from 1944 to 1961, a period during which he also cared for his aging mother (*Watertown Daily Times* 1959), he created and kept running the Tennessee Archaeological Society (Smith 2015). All the while, Lewis

continued his involvement with the Southeastern Archaeological Conference until he retired and he also maintained ties to the Wisconsin Archeological Society, which in fact awarded him its Increase A. Lapham Award for contributions to anthropology in 1946 (Figure 18), most likely for the *Hiwassee Island* report. Likewise, he remained active in the Central Section, even serving on its executive committee through much of the 1940s (Isaac 1980: Table 6).

By the end of his active career, Lewis may not have had a long string of publications, but those he produced with his long-time colleague and later spouse, Madeline D. Kneberg, were substantial productions based largely on the New Deal federal work relief program excavations (Lewis and Kneberg 1946, 1947, 1958, 1959; Lewis et al., 1995; Lewis and Lewis 1961). Lewis was instrumental in founding the Society for American Archaeology despite his lack of any formal training as an archaeologist. He also co-authored *Hiwassee Island* with Madeline D. Kneberg (Lewis and Kneberg 1946), which received rave reviews from one of his most stringent critics (Jennings 1947) and his staunchest champion alike (McKern 1947).

Acknowledgments. We are extremely grateful to Tom Lewis's daughter, Nancy, and her husband Frank Ladd for information about her father, encouragement to pursue our interest in his career, and for permission to include some of her observations into the manuscript. Judith Coker, Lewis's niece, provided the portrait of the Lewis family. Brenda Tindall, Archivist at Princeton University, sent us information about Lewis's course of study there, as well as his GPA. Ken Reidl and the Watertown Historical Society granted permission to use two images; their website, especially the section on the history of the G.B. Lewis Company, was most helpful to us. Also with the Watertown Historical Society, William Jannke tried to find interior views of the Octagon House showing Lewis's collection on display; however, none have been found. Information



FIGURE 18. Lapham Medal Awarded to T.M.N. Lewis in 1946 by the Wisconsin Archeological Society; upper obverse and lower reverse.

about Lewis's friendship with McKern and others connected with that institution derives from the Milwaukee Public Archives and we would like to acknowledge the efforts of former archivist Susan Otto for assistance in locating and copying correspondence between the two men. Additionally, Dawn Scher-Thomae provided copies of accession records documenting some of Lewis's donations; we are also indebted to her for notice of Ciera (née Herron) Fisher's recent thesis on the Eighteen-Mile Point site dug by Lewis in 1930. Ciera Fisher then provided a digital copy of her thesis. Also at the MPM, Claudia Jacobson and Sara Podejko assisted with photographs and other information. WHS Archives staff assisted

with access to the Charles E. Brown and WAS papers. Leslie Brunner, of the Menasha Corporation, supplied information about records (or rather the lack thereof) pertaining to the G.B. Lewis Company.

In regards to Lewis's membership in the Central States Section of the American Anthropological Association, we would like to thank Pamela Effrein Sandstrom and Barry L. Isaac for sharing documentation on the early history of what is now the Central States Anthropological Society. Ruth Gembe, Coyle Free Library, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania provided a copy of Thomas M. Nelson's 1919 obituary, which filled in details of his life. Kit Wesler offered up images from his book on Wickliffe and also directed us to Carla Hildebrand, Park Manager at Wickliffe Mounds State Historic Site. Frank M. Bodkin, formerly the Superintendent at Wickliffe Mounds and presently archaeologist with the Daniel Boone National Forest, U.S. Forest Service, generously provided numerous articles, correspondence, and other information about the early Wickliffe excavations that we had not previously seen, including the suggestion to look into The Naturalist Directory. Tom Klatka, Western Regional Office, Virginia Department of Historical Resources, provided general information on mound clusters in the Lynchburg area; the specific location of Lewis's mounds remains unknown. Joshua Broxson, University of West Florida Library, tracked down copies of newspaper articles about Lewis's 1930 Florida trip. R. Barry Lewis supplied the probable names of sites Lewis and King explored in 1931 on the Ohio River and Vincent "Chip" Birdsong, Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, provided what little information there is on Lewis's site near Pensacola. Lydia Ellington, Collections Technician, Alabama Museum of Natural History, and Ian Brown, Chair and Professor of Anthropology, University of Alabama, assisted with a suitable image of Walter B. Jones. At the University of Kentucky, Nancy O'Malley, Assistant Director, William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology and George M. Crothers, Director, William S. Webb Museum of Anthropology, were equally gracious in permitting us to use a photo of William S. Webb. At *Tennessee Archaeology*, we would like to thank Mike Moore and Kevin Smith and also the journal's anonymous reviewer, whose comment's helped strengthen the paper. To all, we offer our sincere thanks. Finally, any errors of fact or judgment are solely those of the authors.

Archival Sources

Anthropology Department Papers, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee

Charles E. Brown Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison

CSAS Papers, National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

William S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky, Lexington

Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison

References

- Anderson, Barbara T.
1933 Letter to William S. Webb, February 17, 1933, W.S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
- Anonymous
1903 Deaths. *Lewisiana or the Lewis Letter* 14(2):30-31.
- 1921a Nationally Known Beekeepers. [Advertisement.] *Dixie Beekeeper* 2(11):32.
- 1921b Lynchburg and "Beeware". [Advertisement.] *Gleanings in Bee Culture* 49(12):740.
- 1924 Golden Anniversary of G. B. Lewis Company. [Advertisement.] *Wisconsin Beekeeping* 1(4):44.
- 1926a No Clutch to Throw In. [Advertisement.] *Wisconsin Beekeeping* 3(9):110.
- 1926b Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 5(3):98-102.
- 1927a Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 6(2):67-70.
- 1927b Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 6(3):97-100.
- 1928 Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 8(1):119-124.
- 1929a Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 8(4):162-168.
- 1929b Committees. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 9(1):1.
- 1930 Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 9(2):131-133.
- 1931 Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 10(4):141-147.
- 1932 Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin*

- Archeologist* 11(4):176-179.
- 1934a Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 13(3):76-80.
- 1934b Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 13(2):44-46.
- 1935 Archeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 14(4):99-101.
- 1943 Chert Flakings. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 24(2):90-93.
- 1946 Archaeological Notes. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 27(1):23-24.
- 1951 List of Members. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 32(3):58-64.
- 1975 Thomas M.N. Lewis. *Anthropology Newsletter* 16(3):6.
- Atkins, E.W. and Kenneth Hawkins
- 1924 *How to Succeed with Bees*. Democrat Printing Office, Madison, Wisconsin.
- Beatrice Daily Sun
- 1942 Watertown, Wisconsin, Boasts Museum; Beatrice Needs One. *Beatrice Daily Sun*, September 18, 1942, p. 3. Beatrice, Nebraska.
- Blytheville Courier News
- 1932a Student of Archaeology Visits Indian Mounds. *The Blytheville Courier News*, October, 19, 1932, p. 1. Blytheville, Arkansas.
- 1932b Museum Honors R.E. Fletcher. *Blytheville Courier News*, February 19, 1932, p. 3. Blytheville, Arkansas.
- 1932c Fletcher Sees Nodena Exhibit at Tuscaloosa. *Blytheville Courier News*, May 26, 1932, p. 2. Blytheville, Arkansas.
- Brown, Charles E., T. T. Brown and Oscar Johnson
- 1934 Rock River Survey: Heger Mound Group. Unpublished manuscript, Charles E. Brown Papers, Box 29, WHS Library-Archives Division.
- Cassino, Samuel E.
- 1929 *The Naturalist Directory*. [23rd edition.] Salem, Massachusetts.
- 1930 *The Naturalist Directory*. [24th edition.] Salem, Massachusetts.
- 1931 *The Naturalist Directory*. [25th edition.] Salem, Massachusetts.
- 1932 *The Naturalist Directory*. [26th edition.] Salem, Massachusetts.
- Coffin, Selden J.
- 1879 *Record of the Men of Lafayette: Brief Biographical Sketches of the Alumni of Lafayette College, from Its Organization to the Present Time*. Skinner & Finch, Printers, Easton, Pennsylvania.
- Crawford, Charles
- 1972 Oral History of the Tennessee Valley Authority: Interviews with Thomas M.N. Lewis and Mrs. Madeline Kneberg Lewis, December 19, 1972. Oral History Research Office, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee.
- CSAS Archives
- n.d. Membership Records. Central States Anthropological Society Records, National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Records span 1929 to 1971.
- Curti, Merle, and Vernon Carstensen
- 1949 *The University of Wisconsin, 1848-1925*. Volume II. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Davis, Watson
- 1930 Scientific Minute Men in Anthropology and Archeology. *Science* 72(1857):115-116.
- 1933 [Untitled memorandum on Wickliffe claims.] Science Service, Washington, D.C.
- Duchaine, William J.
- 1946 Box and Crate Engineering. *Science and Mechanics*, February, pp. 81-84.
- Durham, James H.
- 1989 Excavations at Nodena in 1932. In *Nodena*, edited by Dan F. Morse, pp. 23-29. Research Series No. 30, Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Dye, David H.
- 2013 Trouble in the Glen. In *Shovel Ready: Archaeology and Roosevelt's New Deal for America*, edited by Bernard K. Means, pp. 129-146. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Dye, David H., and Marlin F. Hawley
- 2014 Mentoring Tom Lewis. *The SAA Archaeological Record* 14(4):17-22.

- Eggan, Fred
1963 Fay-Cooper Cole, 1881-1961. *American Anthropologist* 65(4):641-648.
- Ezzell, Patricia B.
2009 TVA: Built for the People of the United States. In *TVA Archaeology: Seventy-Five Years of Prehistoric Site Research*, edited by Erin E. Pritchard and Todd M. Ahlman, pp. 2-16. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Fagette, Paul
1996 *Digging for Dollars: American Archaeology and the New Deal*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Fayetteville Daily Democrat
1932 Archaeologists on Expedition near Osceola. *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, February 3, 1932, p. 1. Fayetteville, Arkansas.
- Fisher, Alton K.
1932 Discussion and Correspondence—Prehistoric Copper Artifacts. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 12(1):26-27.
- Fisher, Alton K., with contributions by Herbert W. Kuhm and George C. Adami
1931 *The Dental Pathology of the Prehistoric Indians of Wisconsin*. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee 10(3).
- Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources
1995 Florida Master Site File: 8SR0010. On file, Florida Department of State, Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee.
- Foltz, M.A.
1908 *Retrospective: A Decade of the Kittochtinny Historical Society, Chambersburg, PA*. Repository Printery, Chambersburg.
- Funkhouser, W.D. and William S. Webb
1928 *Ancient Life in Kentucky*. Kentucky Geological Survey, Frankfort.
- Gieryn, Thomas F.
1983 Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists. *American Sociological Review* 48(6):781-795.
- Gleach, Frederic W.
2009 Sociology, Progressivism, and the Undergraduate Training of Anthropologists at the University of Wisconsin, 1925-30. In *Histories of Anthropology Annual 5*, edited by Regna Darnell and Frederic W. Gleach, pp. 229-250. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Griffin, James B.
1985 The Formation of the Society for American Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 50:261-271.
- Gulliford, Andrew
1996 Bones of Contention: The Repatriation of Native American Human Remains. *The Public Historian* 18(4):119-143.
- Guthe, Carl E.
1933 Letter to William S. Webb, February 15, 1933, William S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
1967 Reflections on the Founding of the Society for American Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 32:433-440.
- Haag, William G.
1985 Federal Aid to Archaeology in the Southeast, 1932-1942. *American Antiquity* 50:272-280.
- Hawkins, Kenneth
1920 *Beekeeping in the South: a handbook on seasons, methods and honey flora of the fifteen southern states*. American Bee Journal, Hamilton, Illinois.
- Hawley, Marlin F., and David H. Dye
2011 George A. Lidberg, Jr. and Depression-Era Archaeology in Tennessee. *Southeastern Archaeology* 30:399-412.
2015 Down in the Valley: W.C. McKern as Advisor, Consultant, and Godfather for New Deal Archaeology in Tennessee. In *New Deal Archaeology in Tennessee*, edited by David H. Dye. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa (in press).
- Herron, Ciera M.
2012 *An Osteological and Ceramic Analysis of the 18 Mile Point Site, Santa Rosa, Florida*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

- Herskovits, Melville J. (editor)
1950 *International Directory of Anthropologists* (3rd edition). National Research Council, Washington, D.C.
- Historical Publishing Company
1887 *Historical Review of the State of Wisconsin*. Historical Publishing Company, New York.
- Holmes, William H.
1886 *The Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley*. Annual Report for 1882-83, Volume 4:361-436. Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1903 *Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States*. Annual Report for 1898-99, Volume 20:1-237. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Houghton, Frederick L.
1899 *Holstein-Friesian Herd-Book*, Volume XVI. Holstein-Friesian Association of American, Brattleboro, Vermont.
1915 *Holstein-Friesian Herd-Book*, Volume XXXIII. Holstein-Friesian Association of American, Brattleboro, Vermont.
- Howe, Jessica R.
2011 *The Chicago Method of Excavation at Kincaid*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.
2015 *New Deal Archaeology and the Chicago Method*. In *New Deal Archaeology in Tennessee*, edited by David H. Dye, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa (in press).
- Hudson, John C.
1986 *Yankeeland in the Midwest*. *Journal of Geography* 85(5):195-200.
1988 *North American Origins of the Middlewestern Frontier*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98(3):395-413.
- Isaac, Barry L.
1979 *CSAS History: Through Depression and War, 1931-1940, 1941-1950*. CSAS Papers, National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1980 *CSAS History: Search for a Mission, 1950s & 1960s*. CSAS Papers, National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 2001 *CSAS History: The Early Years*. http://www.aaanet.org/sections/csas/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Isaac_Barry_2001_CSAS_History_The_Early_Years_2011-11-04_Reformatted.pdf, accessed August 20, 2013.
- Isaacs, Barry L., and Mark G. Pheanis
1978 *CSAS History: The First Decade, 1921 through 1930*. CSAS Papers, National Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- Jennings, Jesse D.
1947 *Review of: Hiwassee Island*, T.M.N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg. *American Antiquity* 12:191-193.
1962 *Fay-Cooper Cole, 1881-1961*. *American Antiquity* 27:573-575.
- Johnson, Frederick
1948 *Archaeological News*. *American Journal of Archaeology* 52(3):344-372.
- Jones, Walter B.
1989 *The Alabama Museum of Natural History Excavations at Nodena*. In *Nodena*, edited by Dan F. Morse, pp. 33-35. Research Series No. 30, Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- Judd, Neil
1929 *The Present Status of Archaeology in the United States*. *American Anthropologist* 31(2):401-418.
- Kelly, Arthur R.
1938a *The Need of a Museum of Southeastern Archaeology*. Paper presented at the Society of Georgia Archaeology meeting, Savannah.
1938b *The Coordination of Southeastern Archaeological Studies*. *The Regional Review* (National Park Service, Region One, Richmond, VA) 1(1):9-12.
- King, Fain W.
1932a *Letter to William S. Webb, November 9, 1932*, W.S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
1932b *Letter to William S. Webb, October 1, 1932*, W.S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
1933a *Letter to William S. Webb, January 16, 1933*, W.S. Webb Papers, University of

- Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
- 1933b Letter to William S. Webb, February 4, 1933, W.S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
- 1933c Letter to William S. Webb, October 24, 1933, W.S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
- 1939 Letter to Thomas M.N. Lewis, October 17, 1939, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
- Knight, Vernon J., Jr.
1993 David Lloyd DeJarnette, 1907-1991. *American Antiquity* 58(4):622-625.
- Ladd, Nancy L.
2012 Personal communication with Hawley, April 1, 2012, Jacksonville, Illinois.
2013 Letter to Marlin F. Hawley, July 28, 2013. Copy in possession of authors.
- Lane, Thorne
1930 Choctaw Inhabited this Area, Says Excavator. *The Pensacola Journal*, June 13, 1930, p. 1-2.
- Lepowsky, Maria
2000 Charlotte Gower and the Subterranean History of Anthropology. In *Excluded Ancestors, Inventible Traditions*, edited by Richard Handler, pp. 123-170. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- Lewis, Thomas M.N.
1926a Letter to Charles E. Brown, May 7, 1926, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1926b Letter to Charles E. Brown, May 11, 1926, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1927a Letter to Charles E. Brown, July 7, 1927, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1927b Letter to Charles E. Brown, July 15, 1927, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1927c Report on Mound Excavation near Pipersville, Wisconsin. Charles E. Brown Papers, Box 28, Jefferson County, 1920-1929.
1929a Letter to Charles E. Brown, July 13, 1929, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1929b Letter to Charles E. Brown, July 24, 1929. Charles E. Brown Papers, Box 29, Sauk County.
1929c Site Report. Typescript, 1 p., image and sketch map. Charles E. Brown Papers, Box 28, Jefferson County, 1920-1929.
1929d Letter to Charles E. Brown, July 9, 1929, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1929e Letter to Charles E. Brown, July 18, 1929, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1929f Letter to Charles E. Brown, June 25, 1929, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
1930a Letter to W.C. McKern, July 15, 1930, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1930b Letter to W.C. McKern, June 28,, 1930, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1931a A Florida Burial Mound. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 10(4):123-128.
1931b Letter to W.C. McKern, June 30, 1931, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1931c Letter to W.C. McKern, August 21, 1931, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1932a "Old Kentucky." *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 11(2):41-43.
1932b Letter to W.S. Webb, December 10, 1932, William S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
1933a Letter to W.C. McKern, October 31, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1933b Kentucky's Buried City. *Kentucky Progress Magazine* 6(1):29-31, 45-46.
1933c Letter to W.C. McKern, April 17, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1933d More about the Folsom Point. *Hobbies* 38(4):135.

- 1933e Letter to W.C. McKern, December 4, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933f Letter to Fain King, February 1, 1933. Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933g Letter to W.C. McKern, February 3, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933h Letter to W.C. McKern, March 1, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933i Letter to W.C. McKern, June 2, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933j Letter to W.C. McKern, October 9, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
- 1933k Letter to W.C. McKern, October 20, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933l Letter to W.C. McKern, December 5, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933m Letter to W.C. McKern, November 16, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933n Letter to Carl E. Guthe, October 30, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933o Letter to W.C. McKern, May 18, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933p Letter to W.C. McKern, May 23, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933q Letter to W.C. McKern, December 12, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1933r Letter to W.C. McKern, December 11, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
- 1934 Kentucky's "Ancient Buried City." *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 13(2):25-31.
- 1936 Should We Damn the Press? *American Antiquity* 2:38-40.
- 1937 Letter to W.C. McKern, July 16, 1937, Anthropology Accession Files, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
- 1946 Letter to W.C. McKern, August 3, 1946, Anthropology Accession Files, Milwaukee Public Museum; Appendix H in Herron 2012:142-143.
- 1954 Mound Group opposite Aztalan. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 35(1):37-41.
- Lewis, Thomas M.N., and Fain W. King
1933 Fascinating Discovery of an Ancient Buried City. Privately printed.
- 1934 Fascinating Discovery of an Ancient Buried City. Second edition. Privately printed.
- Lewis, Thomas M.N., and Madeline D. Kneberg
1939 *Manual of Field and Laboratory Techniques Employed by the Division of Anthropology, University of Tennessee.* University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 1946 *Hiwassee Island: An Account of Four Tennessee Indian Peoples.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- 1947 *The Archaic Horizon in Western Tennessee.* Tennessee Anthropology Papers No. 2. University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- 1958 *Tribes That Slumber: Indians of the Tennessee Region.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- 1959 The Archaic Culture in the Middle South. *American Antiquity* 25:161-183.
- Lewis, Thomas M.N., Madeline D. Kneberg, and Lynne P. Sullivan (compiler and editor)
1995 *The Prehistory of the Chickamauga Basin in Tennessee.* 2 vols. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Lewis, Thomas M.N., and Madeline D. Lewis
1961 *Eva: An Archaic Site.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Linton, Ralph
1923 Proceedings of the Central Section of the American Anthropological Association. *American Anthropologist* 23(2)284-286.
- Lurie, Nancy Oestrich
1983 *A Special Style: The Milwaukee Public Museum, 1882-1982.* Milwaukee Public

- Museum, Milwaukee.
- Lyman, R. Lee, and Michael J. O'Brien
2003 *W. C. McKern and the Midwestern Taxonomic Method*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Lyon, Edwin H.
1996 *A New Deal for Southeastern Archaeology*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Mainfort, Robert C., Jr.
2008 *Sam Dellinger, Raiders of the Lost Arkansas*. University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville.
- McKern, W.C.
1927 Archeological Field Methods in Wisconsin. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 6(1):48-53.
1928 Archeological Field Work in Sheboygan and Dodge Counties. *Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee for 1927*, Vol. 7:10-30.
1930 The Kletzien and Nitschke Mound Groups. *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 3:417-572.
1931 A Wisconsin Variant of the Hopewell Culture. *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 10:111-113.
1932 Notes on the Museum's Collecting Expeditions in 1930: New Excavations in Wisconsin Hopewell Mounds. *Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee for 1930*, Vol. 10:9-27.
1933a Letter to T.M.N. Lewis, April 28, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
1933b Letter to T.M.N. Lewis, May 23, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1933c Letter to T.M.N. Lewis, December 4, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1933d Letter to T.M.N. Lewis, December 29, 1933, Anthropology Correspondence, Milwaukee Public Museum Archives, Milwaukee.
1934 Certain Culture Classification Problems in Middle Western Archaeology. *National Research Council, Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, Circular No. 17*, Washington, D.C.
1935 Review of a Folsom Complex by Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. *American Antiquity* 1(2):170-171.
- 1937 Letter to Professor T.M.N. Lewis, July 14, 1937, Anthropology Correspondence Files, Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
- 1939 The Midwestern Taxonomic Method as an Aid to Archaeological Study. *American Antiquity* 4:301-313.
- 1942 The First Settlers of Wisconsin. *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 26(2):153-169.
- 1947 Review of: Hiwassee Island, Thomas M.N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg. *American Anthropologist* 49(1):91-95.
- Milwaukee Journal
1930 Mysterious Cave of the Song of Death. *The Sunday Magazine of the Milwaukee Journal*, November 23, 1930, p. 7.
- Milwaukee Public Museum
n.d. Accession Files. Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
- Moore, Michael C., David H. Dye, and Kevin E. Smith
2015 WPA Excavations at the Mound Bottom and Pack Sites in Middle Tennessee, 1936-1937. In *New Deal Archaeology in Tennessee*, edited by David H. Dye. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa (in press).
- Morse, Dan F., and Phyllis A. Morse (editors)
1998 *The Lower Mississippi Valley Expeditions of Clarence Bloomfield Moore*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- National Archives and Records Administration
n.d. Military Records for Thomas McDowell Nelson Lewis. National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis.
- National Research Council
1930 *Guide Leaflet for Amateur Archaeologists*. Reprint and Circular Series of the National Research Council, No. 93, Washington, D.C.
1938 *International Directory of Anthropologists*. National Research Council, Washington, D.C.
1940 *International Directory of Anthropologists* (2nd edition). National Research Council, Washington, D.C.
- Northwestern College
1910 *Catalogue of Northwestern College at Watertown, Wisconsin for the Year 1909-*

1910. Northwestern Publishing House, Printer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- 1911 *Catalogue of Northwestern College at Watertown, Wisconsin for the Year 1910-1911*. Northwestern Publishing House, Printer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- 1912 *Catalogue of Northwestern College at Watertown, Wisconsin for the Year 1911-1912*. Northwestern Publishing House, Printer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- 1913 *Catalogue of Northwestern College at Watertown, Wisconsin for the Year 1912-1913*. Northwestern Publishing House, Printer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- 1914 *Catalogue of Northwestern College at Watertown, Wisconsin for the Year 1913-1914*. Northwestern Publishing House, Printer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- Nye, Mary Jo
2009 Scientific Biography: History of Science by Another Means? *Isis* 97:322-329.
- O'Brien, Michael J., and R. Lee Lyman
2001 The National Research Council and Midwestern Archaeology: The St. Louis Meeting of 1929. *Missouri Archaeologist* 62:107-148.
- Oertel, Everett
1976 Early Records of Honey Bees in the Eastern United States. *American Bee Journal* 116(6):260-261, 290.
- Ott, John Henry
1917 *Jefferson County, Wisconsin and Its People*. Volume II. The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Penkiunas, Daina, and Timothy F. Heggland
2001 *South Washington Street Historic District*. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, United States Department of Interior, National Park Service.
- Pensacola Times
1930 Former News Man Turns Up. *The Pensacola Times*, June 12, 1930, p. 1.
- Phipps, Linda S.
2002 Mowersville Road Bridge, HAER No. PA-590.
<http://www.historicbridges.org/pennsylvania/mowersville/data.pdf>, accessed July 18, 2013.
- Pond, Alonzo W.
1930 *Primitive Methods of Working Stone, Based on Experiments of Halvor L. Skavlem*. Logan Museum Bulletin No. 2, Beloit.
- Public Opinion
1919 T.M. Nelson Dies, of Heart Trouble; Active Citizen. *Public Opinion*, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, March 20, 1919, pp. 1, 2.
- Quaife, Milo
1924 *Wisconsin, Its History and Its People*. The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago.
- Rodell, Roland, and William Green
2004 McKern Breaks Ground in Wisconsin: Contributions to Method and Chronology in Midwest Archaeology. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 85(2):24-43.
- Ross, John T.
1931 Paducahan Owns Valuable Indian Relics. *Kentucky Progress Magazine* 4(1):22, 44, 45.
- Schwartz, Douglas K.
1967 *Conceptions of Kentucky Prehistory: A Case Study in the History of Archaeology*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.
2015 William S. Webb and the Paradoxical Leadership of TVA Archaeology. In *New Deal Archaeology in Tennessee*, edited by David H. Dye. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa (in press).
- Seilhamer, G.A. and G.O. Seilhamer
1905 *Biographical Annals of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, Containing Genealogical Records of Representative Families*. Genealogical Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois.
- Smith, H.H.
1932 Letter to Charles E. Brown, October 1932, Wisconsin Archeological Society Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
- Smith, Kevin E.
2015 The Tennessee Archaeological Society (1944-1985): Legacy and Consequences of the New Deal in Tennessee. In *New Deal Archaeology in Tennessee*, edited by David H. Dye. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa (in press).

- Stoltman, James B.
2006 History of Archaeological Research. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 14: Southeast*, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson, pp. 14-30. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Stocking, George W., Jr.
1980 *Anthropology at Chicago: Tradition, Discipline, Department*. Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.
- Sullivan, Lynne P.
1994 Madeline Kneberg Lewis: An Original Southeastern Archaeologist. In *Women in Archaeology*, edited by Cheryl Claassen, pp. 110-119. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
1999 Madeline D. Kneberg Lewis, Leading Lady of Tennessee Archaeology. In *Grit Tempered: Early Women Archaeologists in the Southeastern United States*, edited by Nancy M. White, Lynne P. Sullivan, and Rochelle A. Marrinan, pp. 57-91. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Swanton, John R.
1922 *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*. Bulletin 73. Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.
- Terrell, Mary
2009 Biography as Cultural History of Science. *Isis* 97:306-313.
- Time
1933 Buried News. *Time* 21(4):45.
- Tindal, Brenda
2011 Letter to Marlin F. Hawley, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, December 9, 2011. Copy in possession of authors.
- Tuscaloosa News
1931 Museum Party Returns after Arkansas Trip; University Group Excavates at Walnut Mounds. *The Tuscaloosa News*, September 10, 1931, p. 3. Tuscaloosa, Alabama.
- United States Department of State
1923 Passport Application: Thomas McDowell Nelson Lewis, May 9, 1923. <http://interactive.ancestrylibrary.com>: U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, accessed March 13, 2014.
- United States Patent Office
1913 *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
1921 *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- University of Wisconsin
1920 The University of Wisconsin Catalogue, 1919-20. *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, General Series 841, Madison.
- Wales, Thomas B. (compiler)
1889 In-Friesian Herd-Book Containing a Record of All Holstein-Friesian Cattle. *Holstein-Friesian Association of America, Volume IV-Bulls*. Egbert, Fidler & Chambers, Printers and Binders, Davenport, Iowa.
- Watertown Daily Times
1930 Interesting Facts about Watertown People. *The Watertown Daily Times*, July 2, 1930, p. 8.
1938 Geo. C. Lewis Stricken with Heart Attack. *The Watertown Daily Times*, December 13, 1938, p. 1.
1959 Mrs. Lewis, Formerly of City, Dies. *The Watertown Daily Times*, March 27, 1959, p. 1, 4.
- Watertown Gazette
1923 Personals. *The Watertown Gazette*, Watertown, Wisconsin, November 8, 1923, p. 4.
1924a Employed to Manage G. B. Lewis Company. *The Watertown Gazette*, Watertown, Wisconsin, May 29, 1924, p. 1.
1924b Lewis-Anderson Wedding. *The Watertown Gazette*, Watertown, Wisconsin, June 12, 1924, p. 1.
- Watertown Historical Society
2013a G.B. Lewis Company. http://www.watertownhistory.org/Articles/Lewis_GB.htm, accessed July 25, 2013.
2013b Watertown's Octagon House.

http://www.watertownhistory.org/Articles/Octagon_House_MainPage.htm, accessed August 15, 2013.

David H. Dye
Department of Earth Sciences
University of Memphis
Memphis, Tennessee
daviddye@memphis.edu

Webb, William S.

- 1932 Letter to J.T.B. Gillenwater, Horse Cave, Kentucky, July 6, 1932, William S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.
- 1933 Letter to Barbara T. Anderson, February 13, 1933, W.S. Webb Papers, University of Kentucky Archives, Lexington.

Wesler, Kit W.

- 2001 *Excavations at Wickliffe Mounds*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 2012 A Century at Wickliffe Mounds: Evolving Goals, Methods and Prospects. Paper presented at the 77th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Memphis.

Wilder, J.J.

- 1920 Our Advertisers. *Dixie Beekeeper* 2(1):4-5.
- 1921 Editorial. *Dixie Beekeeper* 2(11):2-4.

Willey, Gordon R.

- 1949 *Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 113, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Willey, Gordon R., and Jeremy A. Sabloff

- 1993 *A History of American Archaeology*. Third edition. Thames and Hudson, London.

Wittry, Warren L.

- 1959 Introduction: Archaeological Studies of Four Wisconsin Rockshelters. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 40(4):146-150.

Wolff, Eldon G.

- 1939 Pottery Restoration at the Milwaukee Public Museum. *The Notebook*, June 1939, pp. 53-61.

Zerubavel, Eviatar

- 1993 Horizons: On the Sociomental Foundations of Relevance. *Social Research* 60(2): 397-413.

Marlin F. Hawley

Adjunct Research Associate
Illinois State Museum
Springfield, Illinois
mfhawley@wisc.edu