Aboriginal Ritual and Economy in the Eastern Woodlands

Essays in Memory of Howard Dalton Winters

Anne-Marie Cantwell, Lawrence A. Conrad, and Jonathan E. Reyman, Editors

MOUND CITY

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Howard Winters in the Morse family living room, ca. 1952, holding the Mississippian dance sword from the Fiedler site. Photograph courtesy of the Morse Collection, Western Illinois University.
Introduction

Anne-Marie Cantwell and Lawrence A. Conrad

This volume of essays honors the contributions of Howard Dalton Winters to North American archaeology. It was originally conceived as a festschrift to be presented upon the occasion of his retirement from New York University in the spring of 1995. We planned a symposium and banquet in his honor for the fall of 1994 at the combined Midwestern Archaeological and Southeastern Archaeological conferences in Lexington, Kentucky. To that end, we invited a number of his friends, students, and colleagues from a list that Winters created. We also planned a subsequent volume, such as this, with extended versions of those talks, plus papers by others close to him who could not be present at Lexington.

We especially wanted the public part of the tribute to be held at the Lexington meeting because the Indian Knoll materials were there. Winters' reanalyses of those and other Shell Mound Archaic materials not only marked the early phases of his career but also were central in the development of American archaeology. But that festive occasion was not to be. Winters suffered a severe stroke at the end of April; he died four weeks later, on May 22, 1994, at the age of 70.

We decided to go ahead with the symposium and festschrift as memorials to his enduring contributions to, and influence on, so many aspects of the archaeology of eastern North America. The papers in this volume are written by his close friends, students, or colleagues, or in many cases, combinations of all of these.

Early in the planning the 1994 symposium, one of us asked Winters for some biographical information. He frowned and then said that, for the conference, the only significant thing to say was that he had been to Lexington before and, at that time had stayed with William Webb. In thinking about Winters' career and this memorial volume, it is appropriate to consider the results of that long ago visit to Lexington. One result was his paper, the now classic "Value Systems and Trade Cycles of the Late Archaic in the Midwest," published in New Perspectives in Archaeology. This landmark volume helped to define what is known as "The New Archaeology."

Winters (1968:175) began that paper by acknowledging his debts to Webb and went on to muse that "we should all ponder whether our own efforts will have the same utility after two or three decades as his have."

It is clear that, after three decades, Winters has more than met his own strict standards. That paper, as well as his subsequent work, considered subjects still important and set the stage for a number of later discussions and arguments that continue to this very day, including settlement systems, mortuary analysis, exchange networks, gender, and harvesting economies. Many of these are addressed in this volume (see, for example, Cantwell, Marquardt and Watson, Rothschild, and Yamell).

The papers in this volume celebrate Winters' accomplishments as a teacher, mentor, and scholar. Many of the authors are scholars with whom Winters went to graduate school, or with whom he otherwise had close professional ties (Brown, Fowler, Morse, C. Munson, P. Munson, Struver, Watson, and Yamell); others are among those with whom he developed strong associations as a member at the Center for American Archeology (Asch, Buikstra, Charles, Farnsworth, Goldstein, Kelly, Koldehoff, Rackerby, and Walthall), and at Southern Illinois University (Reyman), or at the Illinois State Museum (Conrad and Ham). Some contributors were his students at New York University (Boesch, Cantwell, Ehrhardt, Holt, and Rothschild), while others reflect the deep impression that he made on landowners with whom he worked (M. Gust and W. and E. Gust; William Gust passed away on September 15, 2004, at age 81).

Certain papers reflect his interest in specific problems or sites: Kelly on the Mitchell Mound site; Koldehoff and Walthall on Paleoindian occupations; Yamell on the Riverton Culture; Asch and Holt on subsistence; P. and C. Munson on Marion occupations in the Wabash Valley; and Ehrhardt on the Illinois. His theories on the Middle Woodland, the focus of his research in the last decade of his life, are examined by a number of scholars (Boesch, Brown, Buikstra and Charles, and Holt). Winters was always interested in the power of distribution studies as well as studies of

the sources of raw materials to raise theoretical issues, and the papers by Conrad, Farnsworth et al., Goldstein, and Pickering and Rackerby reflect this interest. Since we believe that the history of archaeology in the Illinois Valley is an important topic, in and of itself, we are happy to have papers that discuss Howard's role in that history (William, Ellen, and Mollie Gust, Fowler, Ham, Morse, Reyman, and Struever).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We both knew Howard Winters for all of our professional lives and are honored to acknowledge him as a major figure in American archaeology, and as a dear and sorely missed friend. In preparing this tribute, Kenneth Farnsworth and Stuart Struever helped us in countless ways from the very beginning, and we are grateful for their support. We also are grateful to Cynthia Sutton of the Center for American Archeology for all her efforts along the way, and to Mary Gilman for her editorial skills. Special thanks are due Marie Bell of the Department of Geography at Western Illinois University and Dawn Wilson of the Department of Anthropology at Rutgers University-Newark for secretarial assistance. Dee Ann Holtschlag-Watt and Carol Pigati at the Illinois State Museum helped to check references cited in the text. Valeria Jones and Desirée Manly, Illinois Governmental Internship Program interns at the Illinois State Museum, scanned photographs into electronic formats for publication. We are also grateful to Bonnie Styles of the Illinois State Museum, to Michael Wiart of the Illinois State Museum and Illinois Archaeological Survey, and to the Illinois State Museum for their support and assistance in seeing this volume published. Thanks to Faye Andrushko, Illinois State Museum Editor, and Seth Brown, ISM intern, who prepared the manuscript for publication and coordinated the final printing process. We are especially grateful to Michael Wiant, Director of the Dickson Mounds Museum, for raising some of the funds for the editing and publication of this volume and to three anonymous contributors who provided generous financial support for this work. Finally, we are pleased and grateful that the Illinois Archaeological Survey provided financial and continuous moral support for this tribute to one of its founding members.

REFERENCE CITED

Winters, Howard Dalton
Part One:
Howard Dalton Winters
Howard Dalton Winters (1923–1994)

Anne-Marie Cantwell
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When Howard Dalton Winters died on May 22, 1994, he was one of the preeminent archaeologists in the United States. He had made lasting contributions to our understanding of every major pre-Columbian time period in eastern North America, as well as to a number of overarching theoretical and methodological problems. The latter include studies of economic systems, social organization, gender, mortuary systems, settlement-subsistence systems, human ecology, complex fisher-hunter-gatherers, lithic analysis, interregional relationships, quantitative analysis, and material culture. He was an archaeological visionary who produced complex and original arguments that were always provocative and that forced other archaeologists to rethink their own analyses, or to strike out in new directions. He was also very much an iconoclast who remained fiercely individualistic, determinedly following his own path wherever it led him.

Howard Winters was born in Urbana, Ohio on October 30, 1923. He attended local schools, including Urbana Junior College, studied the piano and the organ, and quickly developed a reputation as a musical prodigy (Figure 1). He played for local churches and began preparing for a career as a professional musician. These plans were interrupted by World War II during which he served in the European theater as a sergeant in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. His unit was assigned to demolish bridges, and he often spoke of being shelled by the German artillery. After the war, he decided against a career in music and enrolled at the College of William and Mary, graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1949 with a degree in economics. Although economics remained a lifelong interest for him – in fact much of his later work focused on the economies of past societies – he decided instead to pursue a career in anthropology. One economic question continued to haunt him throughout his professional career; however, the very notion of “value” itself – what constituted it and how it was constituted – and he was always urging his colleagues in social anthropology to study this fundamental issue.

He enrolled at the University of Chicago where he received his M.A. in 1953 and his Ph.D. in 1967. Although he specialized in archaeology, he always insisted that he was a social anthropologist who studied past human societies because the temporal and spatial dimensions that archaeology offers gave him the latitude to address a range of anthropological problems that those who focused on contemporary societies could never consider.

Those years at Chicago were critical to the development of his thinking. It was a time of great ferment in archaeology, marked by the appearance of the New Archaeology with Winters as a key player. At graduate school and in his years at Southern Illinois University (1955-60) and at the Illinois State Museum (1960-68) he became part of an active community of scholars. These included Lewis Binford, Sally Schanfield Binford, James Brown, Joseph Caldwell, Melvin Fowler, Robert Hall, J. Charles Kelley, Patrick Munson, Stuart Stuever, and Patty Jo Watson. His other intellectual influences at that time, I think, were Walter Taylor, Alfred Kroeber, and A. S. Romer. Methods and theories then being developed by this group of midwestern archaeologists swiftly spread and influenced the broader national and international archaeological communities and remain powerful to this day (see Fowler and Marquardt and Watson this volume).

Winters’ earliest archaeological experiences were at field schools sponsored by the University of Chi-

After getting his M.A., Winters (1955a, b, c) was hired as an archaeologist for the Carnegie Institution and in 1954 went to the Yucatan to work at Mayapan. In many ways, I think, the excavations at that post-Classic Mayan site profoundly affected the direction of his later research. Many of his concerns with long-distance trade, the collapse of complex societies, and the shifts from an emphasis on the role of the sacred to that of the secular stem from this period. These concerns were among the ones to dominate his work on the late Archaic in the Wabash and Green River sites and, in recent years, on the end of the Havana Tradition.

Winters maintained a life-long interest in Mayan studies. In fact, for years he spoke of returning someday to the Yucatan and working at Dzibilchaltun to study long-distance exchange systems. He spoke often of his deep regret that more work had not been done with the materials from Mayapan, which he felt was an underappreciated site, forever in the shadow of the more glamorous Classic sites, yet capable, if properly studied, of giving great insight into the dynamics of cultural change.

With a few exceptions, most of his work after Mayapan was focused on the Midwest, especially on Illinois (Figures 4 and 5). He had a long association with Illinois Archaeology, serving on the Board of Directors of the Foundation for Illinois Archaeology (later the Center for American Archeology), the Illinois Archaeological Survey, and was Archeologist in Residence at the Center for American Archeology for many years (1975-1994). He also chaired the Midwest Conference (1960) and the Third Havana Conference (1967). Winters constantly pointed out to students, and to anyone else who would listen, that the state of Illinois was much bigger than most European countries, and, in addition, had more interesting sites and more potential for the advancement of science than any of
those small foreign nations. He always argued, and frequently demonstrated, that any major theoretical problem in understanding the human past could be solved through the analysis of Midwestern sites, especially those in Illinois, and that was why he chose to work there.

In 1955, he became staff archaeologist and curator of archaeology at Southern Illinois University; he worked in the Cache River valley in southern Illinois and, in the late 1950s, in Mexico at sites in Durango, Jalisco, and Zacatecas with J. Charles Kelley. In 1960, Joseph Caldwell then head curator of anthropology at the ISM, hired Winters and Denzil Stephens, an experienced, knowledgeable, avocational archaeologist, to excavate three Late Archaic shell middens in the central Wabash Valley and to conduct archaeological surveys in the region. In 1962, Winters became the director of the ISM's Wabash Valley project. Those were the years when he, Stephens, and sometimes Caldwell worked at Swan Island, Robeson Hills, and Riverton.

But for much of that time in the Wabash Valley, he worked alone, digging and screening by the roadside. I think he liked that best. He really was one of the last of a certain kind of archaeologist, and even then a rare one: he was always uncomfortable with the constraints of institutions and deadlines, with external reviews, and, in later years, with the inherent limitations of cultural resource management and with funding agencies. In fact, he frequently paid out of his own pocket for large parts of his own excavations during the 1980s and early 1990s; he used his summer field school salary and savings because he preferred the freedom to pursue his ideas and theories without answering to anyone. The freedom to do the kind of archaeology he wanted to do, and the freedom to do it at his own pace, were all-important to him; the personal and professional consequences of that independence were not.

The Wabash excavations produced the two Wabash survey volumes (Winters 1963, 1967), the edited Stoner and Low report by Denzil Stephens (Winters 1975), and, of course, The Riverton Culture (Winters 1969), now a classic in American archaeology and a prototype for all later research in settlement-subistence systems and functional analysis (1969). These excavations, coupled with those at Modoc, piqued his interest in Late Archaic societies, and Winters began to focus on the Green River Archaic subsistence and social systems. He turned to statistical techniques and to ecological theory to understand these ancient societies, and although these are common now, they were not then. In looking at the Indian Knoll cultures, he made a number of theoretical breakthroughs and established a direction for research that continues to this day. These innovative studies involved the demonstration of the complexity of the Late Archaic social and economic systems. He was one of the first archaeologists to see the potential of mortuary analysis to probe issues of gender, status, and role; to demonstrate the contributions specific individuals in the past made to the worlds of which they once were a part; to challenge normative ideas about fisher-hunter-gatherer social systems; and to introduce discussions of pre-Columbian value systems and long-distance trade and exchange systems in eastern North America (see also Marquardt and Watson as well as Rothschild this volume).

Much of the research and writing on these projects was done at Dickson Mounds. He had workspace in the Little Red School House there and benefited from the collegiality of Joseph Caldwell, Lawrence Conrad, Thorne Deuel, Robert Hall, Alan Harn, and Patrick Munson (Figure 6). Over the years, he was a frequent visitor there and spoke often, with great fondness, about his stays at the Spoon River Hotel (see Harn this volume).

He taught for several years (1963-65) at the University of Virginia but in 1966 joined the faculty at New York University (NYU) and moved to Greenwich Village where he lived until his death. He was happy in New York, comfortable with the complexities and anonymity of urban life and vastly amused by the culture of university life. He enjoyed the intellectual stimulation of many of his colleagues at NYU, especially that of fellow archaeologists Bert Salwen, Robert Bettinger, and Thomas Riley; social anthropologists, T. O. Beidelman, Dale Eickelman, Fred Myers, John Middleton, and Annette Weiner; and physical anthropologists John Buckner-Janusch (whom he had first met at Hubel) and Clifford Jolly.
During his teaching career at NYU, he taught a variety of students. He was an extraordinary teacher. He had no props, never used slides, was by no means dramatic, but really captivated us all by the power of his mind and the breadth of his scholarship. He freely gave us his ideas, made us feel that we were part of a great intellectual adventure, and we loved it. And if he challenged us intellectually, he also inspired us great lifetime loyalty. In addition to myself, his Ph.D. students at NYU included Eugene Boesch, Leonard Eisenberg, Leslie Eisenberg, Julie Holt, Joel Klein, Richard Nelson, Ann Otteson, Anthony Punicillo, Nan Rothschild, and Diana Wall. He also supervised countless M.A. students. But unlike many professors at large graduate departments, he spent a great deal of time with undergraduates, many of whom were non-antropology majors, who kept coming back every semester to take yet one more of his courses.

He could be stubborn and was a difficult mix of qualities, both good and bad. At a site, he could sometimes seem more interested in the fate of a stray cat than the fact that there was no money to buy film, gas, or paper bags, and he could suddenly disappear when visitors, whom he himself had invited, appeared. He did not always answer his mail, although he would sometimes start, but never complete, a reply. He frequently broke appointments. And he could wait far too long before writing a letter of recommendation. You could hand him a manuscript to read and then watch it lie on his desk, unread, as others were superimposed above it in the ensuing months. But once he did read it, he always had something original and provocative to say. He was one of the most intellectually stimulating persons I have ever known. He was also marked by an extraordinary understanding of the complexities and difficulties of daily life that people knew faced. He gave us, his students, optimism, confidence, encouragement, charity, and forgiveness that he, unfortunately, could not or would not give himself. He had a profoundly tragic view of life and this extended to his own experiences. He was also marked by such a painful shyness and general air of helplessness that we, his students, often felt the roles reversed—that we were the ones who had to work to help and to protect him. His health was poor during the 1980s, and other students and I found us calling emergency crews to bring him to the hospital when he went into a diabetic coma and, on several occasions, when he suffered heart attacks.

What I remember clearly is a class during which a student asked him to define civilization. He walked off to the window of the classroom, twisted his hair in that funny little habit he had, and then came back and said that civilization is a process in which one gradually increases the number of people included in the term we or us and at the same time decreases those labeled you or them until that category had no one left in it. Using this definition, I think he was one of the most civilized people I have had the privilege to know. He spoke to everyone—high school students, undergraduate and graduate students, avocational archaeologists, men and women, rich and poor, people on the street, farmers at the local square dance, or the cashier at the supermarket checkout—all with the same unfailing courtesy and genuine interest he would give a distinguished colleague or dean. He was an extremely tolerant person who never showed any signs of prejudice and who despised bigotry in all its forms.

After coming to New York, Winters seemed to have lost the will to publish. It may have been that he no longer had the impetus to finish his work that the ISM, which had published much of his earlier work, had given him. He began a series of major research projects, most of which were never finished. Those that were, he published in obscure venues where the articles were largely buried (see especially Winters 1974b) or at the constant prodding of his students (Winters 1981). His most significant and innovative published work during his early years at NYU was buried in the introduction to the new edition of Indian Knoll (Winters 1974a). This study, which never reached the broader audience it deserved, marked the development of his ideas of cultural terminations, broad and narrow spectrum economies and their roles in the development of cultural complexity, and the preconditions for the appearance of agricultural societies. It was really revolutionary for its time, but unfortunately it was also largely overlooked.

As an archaeologist, he was brilliant, with original ideas firmly grounded in data. He refused to take the simple route, preferring to challenge established views of the past. He railed against the tyranny of the ethnographic record, arguing that the strength of archaeology was to reveal what we didn’t already know. He was unusually well read in world archaeology and related disciplines, in a way that few people are today, and brought the results of his astonishing scholarship to bear as he tackled complex problems.

But, unfortunately, he was also a perfectionist. By many accounts, he had to be dragged to his dissertation defense because he was convinced it was far from completion. He was very reluctant to publish and felt that nothing was ever ready to go out into the world. Once he left the institutional framework of the ISM with real time deadlines, his papers rarely got finished. His list of publications (Appendix) is surprisingly brief considering his major contributions to archeological method and theory. As it appears here, it is, unfortunately, an approximation. Typically, Winters never really updated his *curriculum vitae* after he went to NYU.
Many people who were not in contact with him over the years were unaware of just how much research and writing he had actually done in the last few decades. And yet, he spent most of his time doing archaeology. The number of his publications belies his influence in archaeology and does not reflect the extent of his work, which included the circulation of unpublished manuscripts and teaching in both formal classroom and informal settings.

Figure 7. Howard Winters at the Center for American Archeology, Kampsuille. Courtesy of Kenneth Farnsworth.

He did some research at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, now the National Museum of the American Indian, working with collections from the Mitchell Mound and the Brown County Ossuary sites. During the 1970s he conducted NYU field schools at the Old Fort site in New York (1972) and at the Bums Shelter and Cypress Citadel sites in southern Illinois (1974) and later, in 1982, at the Springer Mound site (Klein 1981; Winters et al. 1983). But he was most comfortable, I think, doing his research during the summer months at the Center for American Archeology (CAA) in Kampsuille, where he held the position of Archeologist in Residence.

He and its founder, Stuart Struver, had been friends and colleagues since graduate school and remained close over the years. Winters had a long history with the CAA, serving on its board as well, and going to Kampsuille was a beloved, longed-for summer ritual. He led a Spartan, if very pampered, existence there. He always had a house dominated by long trestle tables filled with artifacts, a typist, access to a library, and the company of archaeologists working in a number of related subdisciplines or on related problems (Figure 7). Over the years, these included, in addition to Struver, Jane Buikstra, James Brown, Kenneth Farnsworth, Lynne Goldstein, David Asch, Bonnie Styles, and Michael Wiant, among many others. At his house-cum-lab and at the Kampsuille Inn, he met archaeologists — professional, avocational, student — from all over the country and talked for hours. He learned of their research, challenged them, and wrote page after page on his own various research interests. His productivity was tremendous, but alas, Winters just did not publish any of it, and friends would watch in despair as something that was to have been a 20-page paper grew to 200 pages, and just kept growing. His unpublished manuscripts from that period are legendary. But this was not an altogether new phenomenon. Even as far back as 1964, the bibliography in Caldwell and Hall’s Hopewellian Studies (1964:156) lists two unpublished papers, one on projectile points in the Cache River valley, and the other on the Southern Illinois Frontier. Neither was ever finished, but both were modified over and over again in the ensuing decades. In fact, he was still working on them at the time of his death.

His office at NYU was stuffed with manuscripts begun at Kampsuille and worked on over the years, as well as with unfinished 20-page letters to colleagues that should have been sent out months before. All were filled with new data or new theories. They dealt with Paleo-Indian and Archaic occupations, the “Pax Hopewelliana” as he called the peaceful years of the Havana Tradition, the Mitchell Mound site, the Laws Farm site, the Lincoln Hills site, a second revised version of the Riverton Culture, the Paleo-Indian survey, studies of the sources of raw materials, studies of the distribution of unusual artifacts, exchange systems, and those of his most recent interests, Middle Woodland ceramics. One of these papers, “Pax Hopewelliana,” had begun as a 15-minute talk to be given at a meeting honoring James B. Griffin on his retirement from the University of Michigan. Typically, Winters did not go to the meeting but forced me to call at the last minute with a cancellation and a story about an unusual virus. But, he continued to work on that paper up until the time of his death. By then it was over 100 pages and far from his own standards of completeness. Other scholars would have published sections of it in a number of separate papers, but he was not interested in doing that.

For a long time, he acted as though he had all the time in the world to do his work, but in later years, starting in the mid 1980s, he realized that he needed help. He began working with younger scholars who were working on related problems: John Kelly on the Mitchell Mound materials, Brad Koldehoff on the Paleo-Indian manuscript, Michael Wiant on the Laws Farm site, me on the Brown County Ossuary, and James Brown on Mississippian exchange and production. His unpublished manuscripts are now curated by the Center for American Archeology, and they will be invaluable to generations of new scholars.
In 1985, Winters began focusing on what he called termination theory. This was not a new interest; it was piqued at Mayapan, and presaged in his introduction to Indian Knoll. He was interested in the reasons for what he saw as the collapse of successful social systems such as those of the late Archaic, Middle Woodland, and Mississippian. He saw these societal changes as repetitive events in eastern North America in need of a general theory of explanation. To study this, he chose the Middle/Late Woodland transition, focusing on the Havana Tradition, on which he had begun his archaeological training at the Wilson site 35 years earlier. Typically, to test this, he did not rely on outside funding but instead worked with NYU field schools, some with just a handful of students, financed largely from his own pocket and summer field school salary, and from a small grant that I had. He began a series of field schools to study Havana floodplain mound centers in the Illinois Valley. He spent a season each at Mound House in 1985 and Ogden-Fettie in 1986 with Eugene Boesch as Field Director, and then seven at Baehr-Gust from 1987 to 1993, where he worked with Eugene Boesch and myself (Hennessey 1988; Holt 2000; Owens 1994; as well as Boesch, Buikstra and Charles, and Holt this volume).

Winters had initially become interested in the Beardstown area because of his earlier research (1984) on the entry of southern Illinois cherts into the Illinois River valley. Caches of disc cores had been found in the Beardstown region, including the Baehr-Gust site. Since Baehr-Gust was a floodplain mound group located in an area interstitial between the central and lower valleys, it seemed a promising site to test his theories. The site had been tested by Snyder (1893, 1895a, b, 1899) nearly a century before and was known in the literature as the Baehr site. Winters renamed it the Baehr-Gust site in honor of the landowners, Ellen and Bill Gust, and to recognize their keen interest in preserving the mounds and their outstanding efforts to help him and the field schools (see Gust and Gust this volume).

When he first began his mound group studies, he saw these Illinois River floodplain sites as precursors of developing urbanism, not too dissimilar to sites such as Çatal Hüyük and early Jericho. Winters was especially intrigued by the fact that Baehr-Gust was late in the Havana sequence, with large amounts of White Hall pottery. Initially, he speculated that increasing disparities and alienation between the elite populations of these lowland centers and those occupying the surrounding villages and hamlets marked the final years of the Havana Tradition. He went on to propose the disappearance of an upper stratum elite that had, for five centuries, peacefully controlled not only the procurement of exotic raw materials from distant sources, their transformation into finished products, and their distribution to other segments of the population, but also peacefully controlled the rituals embedded in the elaborate Havana mortuary system (Winters 1989; Winters et al. 1989). However, as the data kept coming in, he became increasingly excited by the large amounts of later White Hall pottery and fish remains found in areas at some distance from the mound group itself, and he began to rethink his early ideas. He kept notebooks in which he wrote of his changing views and new theories. But unfortunately he died intestate, and in the legal wrangles that followed, his notebooks, the site photographs, and the field supervisor’s notebooks were lost. As pieced together from my memory and Eugene Boesch’s, Winters saw a chronological shift at the site, with an earlier White Hall occupation closer to the mounds and then, another occupation, some three to four generations later, some distance away. This later population exploited floodplain resources to a greater extent than the earlier groups, living nearer the mounds, who had relied more heavily on mammalian resources (see Holt this volume, as well as Holt 2000). The mounds, of course, have been much more prominent features on the landscape in those White Hall years than they are today, and the role they might have played as a daily focus in the lives of the later White Hall peoples was something he was beginning to ponder.

We would talk often about the nature of sacred landscapes in ancient North America, a topic widely discussed by archaeologists today.

Winters was always very much a “hands-on” archaeologist, believing strongly that doing basic lab work was the best way to understand a site and to think through archaeological problems. As with all his projects, this was also true of his work at Baehr-Gust. He cataloged many of the artifacts from the site by himself (Figure 8). In fact, after his death, when Eugene Boesch and I cleared out his apartment, the dining room table was covered with bags of artifacts, neatly arranged piles of debitage and sherds, bottles of India ink, and provenience sheets.

In many ways, archaeology has changed both for better and for worse since Winters began his career. It has become much more “professionalized,” and I am not sure there is room any longer for someone like him in today’s archaeology. He, himself, would probably see this period as the discipline’s Dark Ages. But as archaeologists, we know one thing for certain: things change. I hope that, no matter what the winds of change might bring, there will always be room for archaeologists with the sort of vision, independence, intellect, scholarship, and devotion to raising and answering questions about the nature of the human condition that Howard Winters so uniquely possessed (see Struvev this volume).
Figure 8. Howard Winters cataloging artifacts in the field lab, Baehr-Gust Site, 1990.

Although in some ways archaeology was both his job and his passionate hobby, Winters had other interests and many friends outside the academic world. Although he no longer played the piano, music always remained a major preoccupation. He went to concerts several times a month and discussed those, as well as recorded performances, with great passion and knowledge. He was an avid stamp collector, well known to national dealers and other collectors, and an insatiable mystery novel reader. Even since his childhood, he always had a cat, and he would discuss his pampered pet’s activities at great length with anyone who would listen. In the late 1980s, he converted to Nichiren Buddhism, and Buddhist chanting and visits to a nearby temple became part of his weekly routine.

He was looking forward to retirement; he planned to teach one more course on hunters and gatherers in the fall of 1994 and then retire, splitting his time between the Midwest and New York. He hoped to finish, finally, his manuscripts and work on the Baehr-Gust materials and his model of termination theory.

But these were not to be. While preparing to attend an organ recital on April 24, 1994, he suffered a massive stroke and several weeks later died at St. Vincent’s Hospital in New York. That fall, a symposium originally planned to honor his retirement was held as a memorial symposium at the combined Midwest and Southeastern Archeological Conferences in Lexington, Kentucky. The following February, a distinguished lecture was given in his honor at New York University by his former colleague, Robert L. Bettsinger of the University of California at Davis.

A few months before he died, Diana Wall, a former student, brought some artifacts for Winters to identify. They had been found in upper Manhattan by one of her students at City College of the City University of New York. Winters identified the artifacts as Late Archaic axes. The Late Archaic site where they were found was in Trinity Cemetery. On a sunny morning in June, Howard was buried there by his students, his friends, and his colleagues.

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APPENDIX: PUBLICATIONS OF HOWARD DALTON WINTERS

Winters, Howard Dalton


