

anthro notes

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ANGEL BRINGS BONES TO LIFE

Earlier this year local newspapers carried a story about a gas tank explosion near Front Royal, Virginia, that left what were thought to be the charred remains of the truck driver. The bones were packaged and sent for identification to Dr. J. Lawrence Angel, physical anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution. When Angel opened the package, he knew immediately that the bones were not human -- a colleague showed that they belonged, in fact, to a pig.

This request for identification was not unusual for Angel whose success rate helping law enforcement agencies has earned him the nicknames "The Bone Man" and "Sherlock Bones". Every week Angel receives skeletal materials, some fresher than others, of possible missing persons or murder victims. As a physical anthropologist and leading forensic specialist, Angel can identify age, sex, ethnic background and stature by examining certain parts of the skeleton, particularly the skull, pelvis, teeth and long bones. For example, in determining the sex of an individual, the pelvis and skull are the best indicators. In females the pubic portion of the hip bone is larger than in males producing a greater sub-pubic angle. The skull is usually more robust and muscle-marked in males and has more prominent brow ridges. The skeletal materials Angel receives from law enforcement agencies or uncovers in his fieldwork seldom include the whole skeleton of an individual. He usually has only a portion of a skeleton, which may consist of fragmented bones, or bones partially gnawed

away by animals. The bones' condition and specific markings can sometimes reveal the cause of death or physical diseases contracted during the person's lifetime. (An excellent reference and required reading in Angel's physical anthropology classes is Human Osteology: A Laboratory and Field Manual of the Human Skeleton by William M. Bass.)

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Teaching with Evelyn

Angel often uses skeletal materials from a forensic case in his lectures on osteology, but he refers to the bone or bones using the victim's name if known. As Peggy Angel, his wife of 46 years, explains: "My husband feels compassion for crime victims and believes in treating their skeletons with dignity." Evelyn is an example.

Evelyn Nasca was a high school student in Rockville, Maryland. In January 1973 she was reported missing after she attended a high school talent show. Two years later a human skull, minus a jaw, was found in the vicinity of Evelyn's disappearance and immediately handed over to Angel. The skull gave him significant information. The third molars were not fully in; therefore, the person was not yet an adult. The brow ridge, though somewhat developed, and the delicate facial contours suggested it was probably a female while the shape of the cranium reflected Evelyn's German-Sicilian background. The decisive bit of evidence was the resemblance of the two front teeth on the photograph of Evelyn and on the skull -- both were slightly out of line. (Today Evelyn's bones, donated to the Smithsonian Institution by her family, are under the curatorial care of Angel.)

The challenge of identifying signs of an individual's occupation and avocation from bones particularly interests Angel. Under stress, bone builds extra layers in areas of the most pressure. A skeletal study of 18th/19th century ironworkers of Catocin Furnace, Maryland, carried out by Angel and his research assistant, Jennifer Olsen Kelly, reveals

signs of occupational stress appearing as bony crests in the ironworkers' forearms. In examining knobby bumps next to the jaw joint of a Delaware murder victim, Angel's suspicion was correct: the victim played a wind instrument. Horseback riders do not escape detection: stress marks on their lower femurs provide clues.

Angel's forensic work for law enforcement agencies has made him the subject of numerous articles in Science Digest, Smithsonian magazine, The Washington Post and recently People magazine (May 16th issue) where Angel received a two-page coverage, the envy of any Hollywood star. Mrs. Holland, Angel's secretary for many years, commented: "Dr. Angel sometimes dries bone specimens in a wire cage on the ledge of his window. He gets very excited and looks forward to new material coming in and devotes all his time to it until the work is completed." Besides helping to solve crimes, Angel's forensic work also enables him to study skeletons of middle class Americans.

Smithsonian Curator

Forensic work and identification of missing persons are just two aspects of Angel's professional interests and responsibilities as a Smithsonian physical anthropologist. He also curates the bone collection in the Department of Anthropology. The skeletal materials consist primarily of prehistoric North and South American Indian populations; African, Asian, Australian, Hawaiian, and Chinese populations; and European and U.S. specimens. This latter group includes the Terry Collection which consists of over 1650 unclaimed bodies, black and white, male and female, from the Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis with known age, sex, ethnic background and cause of death. Angel and Kelly have been studying the Terry Collection to compare the health of males and females, blacks and whites, over the past 100 years. They have researched indicators of dietary and environmental improvement including the

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skull base height, the pelvis inlet depth (what radiologists call the "Park Avenue" pelvis -- a deeper pelvis indicative of better nutrition), stature, enamel growth arrest lines, dental disease and alveolar bone disease.

Early Interests

One might begin to wonder how Angel became interested in bones in the first place and what led him to a career in physical anthropology. He was born in England in 1915, the son of an English sculptor and an American classics scholar, whose father had helped to found the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. As a small child Angel, like most children, was frightened of skeletons, even the one housed in his father's studio. But, by the age of eight his fear had turned to fascination during his frequent visits to the Natural History Museum in London. A collector of butterflies and moths, Angel enjoyed the museum's exhibit on the moth's adaptation to London's industrial environment. The exhibits on human anatomy led him to think that the "Piltdown man didn't make much sense" and the displays on evolution raised fascinating questions: How did it take place? Why did the dinosaurs become extinct?

Angel did not recognize his interest in anthropology until he was a student at Harvard University studying classics. Angel explains, "Classics was almost a boring field. Literature was not enough; archeology was necessary in order to appreciate and understand classical studies." The turning point in Angel's career was his decision to turn down his parents' offer of a European vacation and instead attend a series of courses led by Clyde Kluckhohn at the American School of Prehistoric Research in New Mexico. "Clyde Kluckhohn, a Rhodes scholar, was excessively dynamic, more or less a universal man who made a big impact on students. He presented the field of anthropology as a unified whole as I never before, or after, heard it. We started with geology and archeology of the Southwest, then on to climate, botany, ecology, and the

attitude of man toward his environment by contrasting the Navajo (pastoralists) with the Pueblo (maize growers). We had the unique opportunity of observing the Indians' ceremonies honoring nature."

On to Greece

In 1936 Harvard professors Clyde Kluckhohn and Earnest Hooton strongly encouraged Angel to pursue his interest in anthropology. From Hooton, his physical anthropology teacher, Angel became interested in the jaw joint which differs among ethnic groups, between humans and other primates, and among fossil humans (i.e. Neanderthal and Homo sapiens sapiens). "Hooton wanted me to do fieldwork in Greece where very little had been done since the 1890's and where few samples had been retrieved because of the acid soil which eats away skeletal material. Having received permission from both Greece's Director of Antiquities and a Greek archeologist, I worked for over a year taking a complete sample of all the skeletal material that had been excavated from the Neolithic onward. The material was enough for my Ph.D. thesis. I was also concerned about the Nazi interpretations of race espousing the ancient Greeks as the ideal Nordic." Angel's research revealed that the Greeks varied considerably physically as a result of several waves of migrations into the area. "The Middle Bronze Age demonstrated the greatest heterogeneity. Just before 2000 B.C. the Indo-Europeans moved in and after the Late Bronze Age the heterogeneity narrowed." After several expeditions to Greece over the years, often accompanied by his wife who mended bones and recorded bone measurements, Angel published his findings in The People of Lerna (1971), a book he dedicated to his wife Peggy whom Angel describes as "a constant source of help, advice and love."

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AAA MEETINGS

The 82nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association will be held at the Chicago Hyatt Regency Hotel, November 16-20, 1983. This year Committee 3 of the Council of Anthropology and Education (a committee dedicated to the encouragement of Pre-Collegiate Anthropology) will sponsor four events:

*Friday, Nov. 17, 5:30-7:00 p.m.
Business Meeting of Committee 3
 (open to all interested persons)

*Saturday, Nov. 18, 12-1:30 p.m.

A Workshop, "New Arenas for Anthropology in Pre-Collegiate Education," will explore possibilities for including anthropological expertise and knowledge in such precollegiate or extracollegiate arenas as museums, libraries, ethnic and international schools and camps, gifted programs, as well as in regular classrooms. The workshop will also consider whether focusing more attention on the precollegiate level (or extracollegiate) would benefit collegiate anthropology. Organizer/Chair: Ellen C.K. Johnson. Participants: Elena Bradunas, Edith M. Fleming, Jeanne M. Fulginiti, Ellen C.K. Johnson, Ruth O. Selig, and Joan S. Wider.

*Saturday, Nov. 18, 7:00-8:00 p.m.

Council on Anthropology and Education no-host cash bar and Roundtable Discussion. Committee 3 table, "Beyond the College Classroom: Reaching New Audiences." Facilitators: Patricia J. Higgins, Ruth O. Selig, Ellen C.K. Johnson, and Joan Wider.

*Sunday, Nov. 19, 9:30-11:30 a.m.

A Symposium on "Archeology & Education: A Successful Combination for Pre-Collegiate Students." Organizer: Karen Ann Holm. Papers by: Stuart Struever, John K. White, Louana M. Lackey, Barbara Byche, Karen Ann Holm, and Thomas Genn Cook. Discussant: Mark Cohen.

We hope Chicago area teachers will be able to attend these events as well as anthropologists interested in the wider dissemination of anthropology beyond the college classroom.

We hope also that Sunday's symposium will be published, perhaps as a third series of symposia organized by Committee 3 and produced by the Anthropology Curriculum Project. The previous two volumes listed below are available by writing: Department of Social Science Education, 107 Dudley Hall, The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602.

Teaching Anthropology to Students and Teachers: Reaching a Wider Audience, edited by Patricia J. Higgins and Ruth O. Selig. (Based on a symposium held at the AAA meetings in Washington, D.C., December 6, 1980.) The Anthropology Curriculum Project, The University of Georgia, 1982. (\$3.00)

Anthropology and Multicultural Education: Classroom Applications, edited by Yolanda T. Moses and Patricia J. Higgins. (Based on a symposium and workshop held at the AAA meetings in Los Angeles, December 5, 1981.) The Anthropology Curriculum Project, The University of Georgia, 1983. (\$5.00)

Patricia J. Higgins
 Chair, C.A.E.. Committee
 3, "The Teaching of
 Anthropology"

Ruth O. Selig,
 Program Chair, C.A.E.
 Committee 3

TEACHER'S CORNER: !KUNG IN THE 1980'S

The !Kung bushmen or San are among the best known people in the anthropological literature, familiar even to elementary and secondary school students through the writings of Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (The Harmless People) and the films of her brother John Marshall ("The Hunters," "Bitter Melons"). Yet this traditional way of life is rapidly disappearing.

In 1982 and 1983 I lived for an extended period at Dobe, a San waterhole on the Botswana/Namibia border in the northwest part of the Kalahari Desert. Since my first visit to Dobe in 1968 and 1969, I had made several extended trips to the area to carry out archeological and ethnographic field research. Over this period I was able to record some of the major changes taking place.

Hunters and Gatherers

In the 1950's, when first contacted by anthropologists, the Dobe San were largely isolated from the outside world. In 1963 when Richard Lee began a long-term study at Dobe, they were living almost entirely by hunting and gathering wild foods. They did not own livestock, nor did they plant fields. Most of their simple material needs were supplied by the natural resources of their local environment. In the dry season, a large group of up to 50 people camped at the Dobe waterhole; while during the rainy

season, small groups and nuclear families moved out into the surrounding bush, harvesting nuts and other abundant vegetable and animal foods. Although this rainy season utilization area included a substantial chunk of what is now Namibia (formerly South West Africa), no fences or other barriers impeded San movement across this unnatural political boundary along the 21st parallel of longitude. Archeological evidence suggests that people living a similar way of life and possessing a similar material culture minus the iron elements inhabited this general area for over 20,000 years. In addition, the history of human hunting and gathering in this area goes back over 200,000 years.

Forces of Change

During the last 15 years, three major factors have brought the San peoples into direct contact with 20th century material culture, a modern economy and modern political realities: 1) Botswana's independence and internal development plans, 2) intensive study by anthropologists, and 3) encroachment on and restriction of San territory due to political events in Namibia. While the Botswana government has tried to settle and educate nomadic people and to provide economic incentives through agricultural training and the development of a local crafts industry, anthropologists have attempted to establish San rights to



their traditional lands by helping dig wells, register land claims and provide capital for livestock purchases. At the same time, the border with Namibia has become increasingly 'closed' to San group movement, although individuals continue to visit on the other side for short periods and to marry across the boundary.

What are the results of these forces of change? In June, 1968, when I first visited Dobe, the residents lived in an intimate circle of small round grass huts which blended into the landscape so thoroughly that at 100 yards distance, only the cooking fires and the sound of women cracking mongongo nuts marked the camp's location. Almost all clothing was made from animal skins, decorated with ostrich egg shell beads and a few glass trade beads. When I looked in people's three-legged iron cooking pots and in the ashes of outside fires around which almost all in-camp activities occurred, I saw mongongo nuts, wild tsama melons, game meat and various wild root vegetables. At night, when the temperature dropped below freezing, people huddled in their thin skin clothing around the fires and coughed. Since many people were ill with coughs and flu, curing dances were held almost nightly. As I sat around the fire listening to the chanting and clapping, relishing the intimacy of the group and its remoteness from the materialism of my own world, I often thought, "Take away the metal cooking pots, arrow heads, awls, and knives, and this could be the Stone Age."

Herders and Farmers

After a further visit in 1969 and a long field season in 1975-76 and 1977, I returned to Dobe in August of 1980. The changes were striking. At the old waterhole, no one ran up in curiosity to greet our truck. Large numbers of cows stared at us from the thorn bushes while groups of goats scattered at our approach. Thorn and rail fences were everywhere, enclosing four separate "villages", their fields, a communal well and various outlying households.

At the village, where our main informants of the 1960's were still living, the intimate circle of small grass huts had been replaced by a completely cleared area the size of a football field. Along the north side of this area stood eight circular mud houses whose thatched roofs towered over ten feet high. Split-rail fences enclosed the house area and separated it from the circular cattle, goat and donkey enclosures to the south. When neighbors, friends and relations had constituted the principal insurance against hard times, people's doorways had faced inward towards other members of the group. Now each doorway looked outward to the animals which represented a new form of capital insurance and investment.

The Modern World Intrudes

Although there were no large fireplaces outside the houses, people in western clothes and army boots sat around in front of the houses and ate mongongo nuts. Nearby someone scraped a skin. It seemed almost like old times. Then meal time arrived and with it, the newly married daughters of our two informants, on a visit from the settlement at Tchum!kwe in Namibia (55 kilometers away). A three-legged pot, filled with a strange yellow porridge, appeared out of one of the huts. "What are you eating?" we asked. Again, out of the hut, someone dragged an enormous bag marked "Gift of the People of the United States of America." We were later to learn that the ration of relief food reaching Dobe each week consisted of thirteen 50-pound sacks of this corn-soy-milk mixture and several gallons of soy oil for about 100 inhabitants. No wonder even the dogs were fat!

One of the teenage girls ducked into a hut and staggered out with an amplifier that would have done justice to the Rolling Stones. I began to notice just how much stuff was hidden in these huts and how little was out in plain view of everyone. "Uncle," she said

"lend me your knife!" When her uncle produced the tool, she deftly unscrewed the back of her gramophone and a mass of wires tumbled out. Quickly she hooked up the correct wires to the correct terminals in the amplifier and soon we were assaulted by a peculiar brand of southern African rock music called gumba gumba which could have been heard back at Tchum!kwe. "Ah," I thought, "add a little more asphalt and this could be in downtown Washington."

By 1982 most families had saved up enough cash to buy bicycles on which their adolescent sons made frequent trips to Tchum!kwe for supplies. A young married woman whose childhood face illustrated the desert hunter-gatherer in many an anthropology textbook, gave me this year a can of Japanese peaches as a farewell present. A few San were serving in the South African army for the astonishing wage of ca. \$450 per month. The comparable legal minimum wage in most of the countries of southern Africa is between \$75 and \$110 per month. Like most soldiers, these individuals now hold substantial life insurance policies, which may ultimately result in unheard-of windfalls of cash.

Away from Equality

The most significant change in 1982, however, was that one man had emerged as a 'headman' who spoke for the community to the outside world, and who spent much of his day sitting on a special chair under a tree settling disputes among Dobe residents. Designated leadership goes against traditional values of the San which place a strong emphasis on personal equality, sharing and humility. Even in 1976 we could not persuade any member of the Dobe community to assume responsibility for handing out daily rations of food at lunch to workers at our archeological site. Indeed, the conflict between traditional values and the need for personal hoarding, resource conservation and dispute settlement mechanisms in a semi-settled community of subsistence farmers is perhaps the central difficulty for the San becoming independent farmer-herders.

A second major change was the increasing role of non-San individuals in the economy and social life at Dobe. To become the dependent servants of a Herero or Tswana cattle owner, when hunting and gathering is no longer viable, is to take a relatively painless road to development. San servants are often viewed as 'children' for whom the cattle owner adjudicates disputes, sets priorities, takes ultimate responsibility for fields and animals, and stores the surplus, so that traditional intimate camp styles and personal mobility patterns can be maintained if the San group desires. Inter-marriage between San and non-San is a frequent feature of the relationship, and the children of such a union are further assimilated into the cattle owner's culture. Soon, the San will probably be assimilated into the dominant cultures and nations of southern Africa. Eventually their distinctive languages and physical appearance will disappear, as has already happened over most of South Africa itself and much of Zimbabwe and eastern Botswana, where Bantu-language speakers have lighter skins, broader faces and more prominent cheekbones than their counterparts to the north, and where 'click' sounds form an integral part of some Bantu languages such as Zulu and Xhosa.

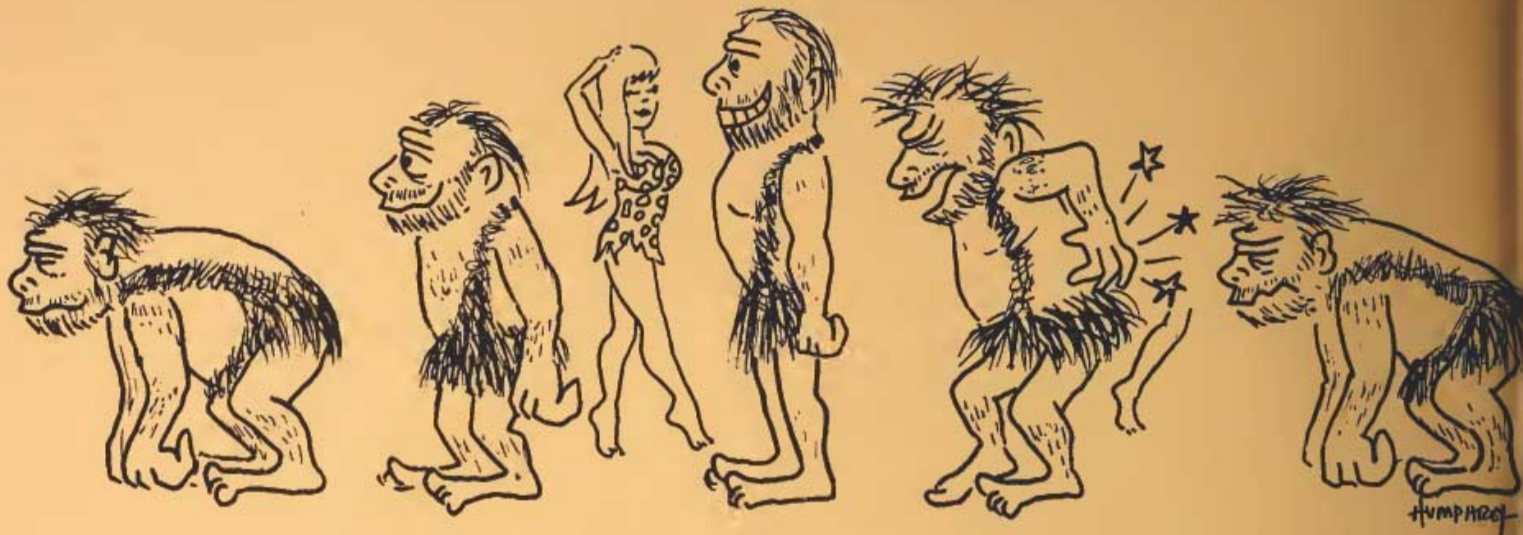
It is not hard to look down the road and see that within a generation, the traditional independent hunting and gathering way of life depicted in the films and books of the 1950's and 1960's will no longer be visible.

Alison S. Brooks
(new A·N editor)

Recent references:

Lee, Richard B. The Dobe !Kung. (Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology.) Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983.

"N!ai, the Story of a !Kung Woman", a film available from Documentary Educational Resources, 5 Bridge St., Watertown, MA 02172. "The San in Transition" guide included.



LUCY, UP A TREE?

Paleoanthropologists no longer question that Lucy, a 3 1/2 foot hominid female with a chimp-sized brain, walked on two legs in Ethiopia about 3.5 million years ago. Neither do they argue that the anatomy of Lucy's species, Australopithecus afarensis, is fully modern; all agree it is a "mosaic of human-like and ape-like features." No one seriously disputes that bipedalism was more important to their lifestyle than for any non-human primate, living or dead. However, Lucy's discoverers, Donald C. Johanson and Tim White, claim that the bipedalism seen in A. afarensis differs insignificantly from that of modern humans. Other scientists disagree.

Recently two noted anatomists from the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Jack Stern and Randall L. Susman, called for new interpretations of Lucy and her contemporaries. After carefully examining some original A. afarensis bones, casts of others, and the set of 3.7 million year old footprints at Laetoli in Tanzania, Susman and Stern argue that A. afarensis moved bipedally, but with a bent-knee, bent-hip posture.

Also, they argue, at least some of the A. afarensis hominids, especially the smaller ones like Lucy, no doubt slept, hid, and fed in trees enough of the time so that we can recognize some arboreal features in their anatomy.

Susman and Stern presented their evidence and analysis in an extensive article in the Journal of Physical Anthropology (March 1983), and at an exciting and often boisterous conference in April. The conference, held at the Institute of Human Origins in Berkeley, was directed by Donald C. Johanson, founder of the Institute. There the different factions met to examine the bones and thrash out their many different views about two controversies: 1) When did bipedalism begin and to what extent was Lucy bipedal? 2) Did A. afarensis make the footprints at Laetoli or did members of the genus Homo?

Why the Trees?

Why do Susman and Stern conclude that A. afarensis retained arboreal adaptations? The shoulder socket faces upwards 15 degrees more than in a human. This greater angle is

better for the overarm movement and branch hanging involved in climbing. In this respect A. afarensis is closer to a chimp's anatomy and almost identical to a gorilla's. An even stronger argument rests on the finding that A. afarensis' hands and feet both have long, slender curved bones and their arms and legs are relatively heavily muscled. Both conditions are found in apes and both are suitable for grasping and moving along tree branches and trunks. While Johanson *et al.* consider these as primitive patterns held over from an arboreal past, Susman and Stern argue that 1.5 to 2 million years is too long to retain morphological traits which are no longer consistent with daily behavior. "The possibility of lesser developed... ligaments [in the sacroiliac area] suggests a lesser frequency of terrestrial bipedalism" than in humans, they wrote. Looking at the knee area, they conclude that, "the hamstring moment arm [which acts to straighten the leg and is more efficient and powerful when short] is not as short as modern humans' and is not as long as monkeys' and apes'." Since leg straightening is crucial to walking but not climbing, this intermediate condition suggests A. afarensis was both a climber and walker.

Since the most compelling evidence for retained arboreality is in the shoulder, arm, fingers and toes, Susman and Stern are more cautious in arguing that A. afarensis walked on two legs in a significantly different way than a modern human does. Because the iliac blades face backwards more than sideways, the pelvic balance is closer to apes than humans, yet the rest of the pelvis is more typical of humans. A. afarensis probably straightened the knee and hip in walking less than modern humans do and also transferred less weight onto the ball of the big toe. But the anatomy of the hip and knee in no way suggests they ever were quadrupedal knucklewalkers.

Hence, Susman and Stern conclude that A. afarensis were probably both arboreal and bipedal, using the trees for sleeping, escape, and food.

Females Up, Males Down

Susman and Stern tentatively propose that sexual dimorphism explains the differences in skeletal size within the A. afarensis sample and they link this dimorphism to different degrees of arboreal adaptations. If the different sizes are different sexes, the females were smaller in stature and lighter and the males were taller and heavier. The femurs in the larger specimens (supposedly male) are more like human femurs than the smaller specimens. The knees of the small hominid are not very human-like and are more compatible with arboreality. The larger specimens probably walked bipedally more frequently than did the smaller ones. Therefore, Susman and Stern suggest that all specimens of A. afarensis may not have had "identical locomotor profiles." Perhaps the females moved in and used the trees more than the males did, a pattern also seen with orangutans and gorillas.

Who made the Laetoli footprints? Susman and Stern examined the prints and even had two subadult male chimpanzees walk on two legs in wet sand to compare to the casts of the Laetoli footprints. Susman and Stern agree with Johanson and White that the A. afarensis footbones could have made the Laetoli footprints, but they see the prints as those of walkers still climbing as well. (The Leakeys deny this interpretation.)

It is unfortunate that Susman and Stern attach the label "missing link" to the A. afarensis specimens considering the emotions surrounding that phrase. It suggests only one link, a highly linear pattern to evolution, and perhaps subtly influences their research to see these specimens as transitional. Johanson and White, on the other hand, emphasize the hominid qualities of the finds and would expect to find more

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transitional specimens further back in the past.

No Resolution

Why can't a consensus emerge? Consider these variations. Paleoanthropologists interpret biomechanics differently. While Susman and Stern use a variety of electrical methods, such as electromyography, to study muscle and movement in living apes, other scientists question whether living ape's biomechanics are similar to those of apes in the past. Paleoanthropologists must struggle to overcome problems with different measurement techniques, the effects of post-mortem distortion, and the differences between working with casts and with the original bones. Finally, they have to assess what is the expected range of morphological and behavioral locomotor variation in humans.

Moreover, paleoanthropologists interpret anatomical functions differently. For example, Owen Lovejoy, the scientist arguing for bipedalism in the A. afarensis specimens, does not accept that curved toes and fingers necessarily indicate grasping -- and therefore arboreality. He says the A. afarensis hand is smaller than an ape's, and the fingers are shorter and straighter. "If you were still climbing, why would you shrink your hand?" Lovejoy asks. Furthermore, the big toe is not divergent, as in the apes, which would certainly handicap climbing. In line with this position, Johanson and Edey argue that the long curved toes were needed to "move over rough stony ground or in mud, where some slight gripping ability would have been useful."

One certainty that all agree on is the necessity to find more bones in order to sort out the evidence and arguments, particularly bones from 4-5 million years. If only Lucy could talk, as well as walk.

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- Stern, Jact T. and Randall L. Susman. "The Locomotor Anatomy of Australopithecus afarensis," American Journal of Physical Anthropology 60 (March 1983):279-317.

JoAnne Lanouette

NOW AVAILABLE

How Humans Adapt: A Biocultural Odyssey, edited by Donald J. Ortner, is a collection of 20 essays by well-known scholars such as Rene Dubos, James Neel, L.L. Cavalli-Sforza, Jane Lancaster, and Kenneth Boulding who participated in the Smithsonian's Seventh International Symposium, November 8-12, 1981, organized by Ortner. Available from the S.I. Press, P.O. Box 1579, Washington, D.C. 20013 for \$9.95 paperback. (This book will be reviewed in the winter issue of Anthro.Notes.)

AAA: WHITHER NOW?

American anthropologists, who often scrutinize other groups' social institutions, can hardly be unconcerned with the fate of their own defining institution, the American Anthropological Association (AAA). It is facing a radical reorganization brought about by outside forces but having implications for all anthropologists. The change concerns AAA's role as an umbrella institution providing support services for independent sub-discipline organizations such as the Society for American Archaeology, the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, and the Society for Applied Anthropology. In many cases, professionals become members of these smaller societies without ever becoming members of the AAA.

The Birth of AAA

The history of anthropology reflects the tension between the holistic focus of the discipline and the divergent interests of its various subfields. In the 19th century the handful of Americans who considered themselves anthropologists usually defined their role in narrower ways than we do now. They were museum curators, or explorers, or comparative anatomists, or linguists, and their primary allegiance as professionals was to their employers. Since the most important employer of anthropologists in 19th century United States was the Smithsonian, it is not surprising that it was in Washington, where there were several dozen men and women doing professional anthropological work by 1890, that the first steps toward a larger institutional framework were taken. The Anthropological Society of Washington (ASW), founded in 1879, quickly took on many of the trappings of a full-fledged national professional association. Beginning in 1889 the Society began publishing a scholarly journal, entitled the American Anthropologist, and many anthropological scholars living elsewhere in the United States and abroad became members of ASW.

By the turn of the century, with the rapid development of anthropology in



universities, Washington began to share its automatic preeminence with other anthropological centers. After considerable negotiation between the ASW and several other local societies, it was decided to set up a national editorial board for the journal. Then, in 1902, the American Anthropological Association came into being, as a truly national professional organization for anthropologists.

Old Boys and Young Turks

The AAA had two distinct historical phases, with the division line falling in 1947. During its first four decades the Association's membership was relatively small and full participation in its affairs was limited to an elected "Council" of 30 to 40 "fellows". The yearly meetings were cozy get-togethers with most of the papers, whatever their subject, heard and discussed by the full group. This "intimate" association (which reflected the general smallness of the field right through the 1930's) was radically disrupted by the Second World War and, in the

immediate postwar years, by the huge and rapid growth of the social sciences in the curriculum of American universities.

At the 1947 meeting, a group of younger scholars, frustrated by what seemed to them an increasingly irrelevant AAA dominated by an "old boy network" (the "boy" in this case included Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Elsie Clews Parsons), led a revolt and forced the Association to adopt a new, much more liberal constitution. The new organization, unlike the pre-war AAA, actively encouraged student membership. The real business of the Association was no longer conducted in the inner sanctum of the elected Council, but by the membership at large (at the annual meeting and by mail ballot) and by an Executive Board elected by the whole membership. Concurrent with this structural shift came an enormous growth in specialization. The intimacy of the old meetings was replaced by the jumble of concurrent sessions devoted to relatively narrow topics, with here and there a half-hearted attempt at "synthesis", that still characterizes the AAA meetings we know today.

Winds of Change

Now after nearly 40 years, once again the winds of change are howling through professional anthropology. With the growth of the field and its burgeoning literature throughout the 1960's and 1970's came increasing specialization. Archeologists, physical anthropologists and even such smaller groups as medical anthropologists and applied anthropologists conduct much of their professional business within institutional structures that are, in varying degrees, independent of the AAA. The annual meeting, American Anthropologist, and other facets of the larger organization are often seen as primarily sources of practical information about new books, job opportunities, research funding, and the state of the profession while the AAA's role in the dissemination of new ideas is diminishing. Like it or not, professional anthropology in this country must face up to the social change it has undergone and once again the institutional definition must be altered.

The question is how. Unlike the situation in 1947, there are no "young turks" in 1983 with a clear alternative organization in mind. This time, change is being forced upon the AAA from outside -- from the improbable direction of the IRS. The IRS last year ruled that the services the AAA performs on behalf of the various sub-discipline organizations (billing for dues, printing and distributing journals, etc.) is, in fact, a "profit-making business enterprise, since these other organizations are in no significant structural way a part of the AAA itself." If the AAA is to avoid paying taxes on this income and, even more crucially, maintain its tax-exempt status, one of two things must be done to satisfy the IRS: either the AAA must cease to perform these services, and divorce itself entirely from the business of the subdisciplinary organizations, or the subdisciplinary organizations must formally and structurally become a part of the larger AAA organization.

A Call to Action

For anthropology as a unified subject of study and teaching, the IRS challenge provided a call to action. The AAA Executive Board decided to gamble on anthropology's intellectual unity, and last fall proposed a sweeping reorganization of the discipline, to go into effect in 1984, if agreed on by all parties. Under this plan, all of the subdisciplinary organizations now in existence (except for the Linguistic Society of America, which was deemed too intellectually independent of anthropology) would disincorporate, and their members would transfer to the AAA, where they would automatically become members of the appropriate subdisciplinary "unit". Independent journals would continue to be published, and independent annual meetings held. But henceforth all budgetary decisions and other business would be handled by a Board of Directors whose membership would represent, proportionately, the membership strengths

of the various subdisciplinary units.

Will this plan work? Much depends on the willingness of the members and officers of such organizations as the Society for American Archaeology, the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, and the American Ethnological Society, and others, to allow their organizations to lose their individual identities on behalf of the (presumably) greater good of a unified anthropology. If the proposal is rejected and no satisfactory alternative is created, it is likely that the AAA, if it survives at all, will play a very different role in the future from what it has in the past. It will be, in some sense, in competition with archeology, physical anthropology, and other subdisciplines, rather than being the "parent" organization. Negotiations are presently under way, and we may not know for several months what the final outcome will be. But one thing is for certain: the institutional definition of anthropology is once again in the process of change and the outcome will probably affect the discipline for years to come.

Victor Golla
 Assoc. Prof. of Anthropology
 George Washington University
 (July, 1983)

Editor's Note:

As Anthro·Notes was going to press, we asked Ed Lehman, the chief executive officer of the AAA for any last minute word on the reorganization. He told us that as of the end of September, while all the member societies have endorsed the AAA's reorganization plan, five organizations had voted not to merge with the AAA but to remain independent and to take over the administration of their own affairs. The five organizations were: the Society for American Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, the Society for Applied Anthropology and the Southwestern Anthropological Association. Results from the nine other organizations were pending.

In Lehman's view, the results simply reflect what has been going on in the field for several years. Not only have archeologists and physical anthropologists, for example, become more intellectually separate from general anthropology, but they have often complained of being treated like second class citizens by socio-cultural anthropologists who are in the majority in most academic departments. "The relationship is a little like that between the underdeveloped countries and the developed industrial world," Lehman said. Archeology could perhaps be compared to an underdeveloped country that discovered oil ten years ago in the form of historic preservation money, and whose oil fields are now threatening to give out.

Lehman sees the reorganization as a challenge to determine whether there is a holistic field called anthropology; to define the field, if it exists, in new ways; and to develop a new, stronger general organization (AAA) which stands on its own rather than being a supporting organization for various specialties. Perhaps a federation will be the answer, but that would require a totally new organization and considerably more time and money to work out. It is unfortunate that the present reorganization comes at a time of financial retrenchment for academic institutions in general and for anthropology in particular. If holistic anthropology is on its way out at the higher education level what is its fate at the secondary school level? Anthro·Notes editors hope to consider this question and other issues in the months ahead.

(continued from p.3)

Joining the Smithsonian

In an effort to do something useful for the war effort, and at the same time avoid the draft and a probable desk job, Angel became an Associate Professor of Anatomy and Physical Anthropology at The Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. When questioned what brought him to the Smithsonian, Angel replied, "By 1960 I was getting bored having taught anatomy for 19 years. In 1961 Dr. T. Dale Stewart, then Department head, offered me a position as Curator of Physical Anthropology which I readily accepted. Carmichael was then Secretary and he was interested in international education and neurology. There was an atmosphere of creativity at the Smithsonian which Dillon Ripley has continued."

Angel continued his research on ancient Greeks and at the same time began to explore opportunities for studying other populations. He has compared the nutrition of the Colonial Williamsburg population with their English ancestors' (selection favored higher skulls in the Americans) and American Blacks with Africans. Just as his research shows a significant improvement in health in modern U.S. populations over the last 100 years (a relatively short period of time), the health of the Classic Greeks was much better than their ancestors, though it was a much slower process. At present, Angel is working on a book Health & the Growth of Civilization, an expression of his career-long interests in demography, health and disease studies, and the processes of human evolution at the population level. "I've done pretty much what I've wanted to do. However, it would be nice to do a very detailed and extensive twin study to separate genetic and environmental factors which influence disease and different aspects of nutrition such as stature. Maturation and growth is faster today and my concern is how it affects stature and body proportions. Modern teenagers' rate of psychological maturity falls

behind their physical rate, getting them involved in adult behavior before they are psychologically ready to accept its consequences."

When asked what people think of Dr. Angel's work, Peggy Angel replied, "People think physical anthropologists are strange. There is a certain fear of their work since it is connected with death. Actually my husband doesn't like to kill anything. We have a stable of crickets in our cellar and if one of them should find its way upstairs, he returns it to the cellar."

A Latin verse hangs in Dr. Angel's office -- "Hic Locus Est Ubi Mortui Viventes Docent" (This is the place where the dead teach the living.) We might add that this is the place where Dr. Angel teaches the living about the dead.

Ann Kaupp

Science 83 articles of interest:

"Tales of an Elusive Ancestor" by Allen L. Hammond, (November):36-43. Is Ramapithecus a human ancestor?

"Heat Loss" by Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, (October):72-86. Why don't human females go into heat?

"The Perpetrator at Piltdown" by John Winslow and Alfred Meyer, (September):32-43. Is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle suspect?

* * * * *

A Teacher's Resource Packet on Creationism, which includes 17 articles and a bibliography by Laurie R. Godfrey and John R. Cole, is available from Ann Kaupp, Department of Anthropology, Stop 112, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

UPCOMING EVENTS

Oct. 1-Jan. 8, 1984: "Art of Aztec Mexico: Treasures of Tenochtitlan." Natural Gallery of Art exhibit organized with Dumbarton Oaks. Many of the objects on view were recently excavated at the site of Temple Mayor or Great Temple, of Tenochtitlan, in the heart of Mexico City. Most comprehensive collection of Aztec art ever shown in the U.S.

Nov. 1-Jan. 31, 1984: "Ban Chiang; Discovery of a Lost Bronze Age" (Thailand). Exhibit held in Evans Gallery, Museum of Natural History.

Nov. 4: "The Mindful Way" and "Bangkok: A Special Time and Place." Two free films presented in conjunction with the "Ban Chiang" exhibit. Baird Auditorium, Museum of Natural History, 12 noon.

Nov. 9-Jan. 1, 1984: "The Precious Legacy; Judaic Treasures from the Czechoslovak State Collections." Exhibit held in Evans Gallery, Museum of Natural History.

Nov. 15: Anthropology Society of Washington (ASW) meeting. Speaker Stephen A. Tyler (Rice University). The 1983-84 program theme is "Meaning in Social Life". Naturalist Center, Museum of Natural History, 8:15 p.m.

Nov. 25: "Pragues' 1000 years of Judaism" and "The Remnant". Two free films presented in conjunction with "The Precious Legacy" exhibit. Baird Auditorium, Museum of Natural History, 12 noon.

Dec. 10: "The Aztecs". All-day Smithsonian seminar. Speaker D. Esther Pasztor (Columbia University). For ticket information call Smithsonian Resident Associates Program Office at 357-3030.

Dec. 13: ASW meeting. Speaker Sharon Stephens (University of Chicago). Naturalist Center, Museum of Natural History, 8:15 p.m.



NEW EXHIBIT

"In Keeping with Nature" a new North American Indian art exhibit opened July 18th at Hillwood, the former estate of Majorie Merriweather Post. On extended loan from the Smithsonian Institution, recipient of Mrs. Post's generosity, are approximately 190 American Indian artifacts she collected in the 1920's, with emphasis on the material culture of the Plains and Southwest. The exhibit is on view in a building in the style of Topridge, Mrs. Post's Adirondack retreat, where these artifacts were originally housed.

Hillwood, located at 4155 Linnean Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., is open daily from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. except Tuesday and Sunday. To view the Indian collection, it is necessary to call in advance (202)686-5807. Admission is \$2.00.

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Robert L. Humphrey, artist.
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