Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project: 1800s–1965

IGOR KRUPNIK

The intellectual foundations of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* (*HNAI*) series lie in the history of Americanist anthropology that preceded, often by many decades, the *Handbook* production. When in 1965–1966 Smithsonian anthropologists debated their new initiative, they promptly related it to *four* established scholarly practices. The first was the concept of an ethnological "handbook," a book or series of volumes dedicated to peoples and cultures from a certain region. The second was a tradition of synthesis of Native American/First Nations history, languages, and political relations using a certain template to bring it under one cover. The third was a practice of providing data on Native American societies with a broad and practically oriented audience in mind. And, fourthly, such work had to be done by working in partnership with Indigenous knowledge holders, also with experts at government, research, and educational institutions. In 1966, when the formats for the future *HNAI* series were first discussed, all critical intellectual foundations for a new venture were firmly in place (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

The planned volume 1 of the *Handbook* was expected to include two opening chapters called "Editor's Introduction" (2,500 words) and "Guide to Other General Works" (1,250 words), both to be authored by the volume and series general editor, William C. Sturtevant. The former chapter was to be an overview of "previous handbooks," whereas the latter was defined as an "essay on general and regional sourcebooks on North American Indian cultures, prehistory and history; textbooks; sources of information; introductory and encyclopedic works" (Sturtevant 1972c:1). We have no record of these chapters ever having been written; it leaves us with a daunting task to fulfill Sturtevant's pledge half a century later. Other factors critical to *HNAI* planning in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the rise of the American Indian movement, the emergence of new Native leadership, and the changing face of Americanist anthropology, are covered elsewhere (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" and "Codes of Ethics," this vol.).

The *Handbook* Template

Origins of the Term Handbook; Early Handbooks

The English word *handbook* commonly means a compact reference book or a manual small enough to be conveniently carried and typically containing a compendium of information on a particular subject (e.g., Oxford dictionaries; Merriam-Webster dictionaries). It was reportedly first mentioned in 1538 as *hand booke*, a literal translation from the much older Greek word *enchiridion* (that which is held in the hand) or its Latin equivalent, *manualis* (from *manus* [hand], French *manuel*). The first "handbooks" were practical books, often tailored for special fields and audiences, like for military tasks (Duane 1812, 1813), technology (Appleby 1882), domestic activities, and arts (Bramah 1898). In the 1800s, the term *handbook* was also applied to travel guides (Koshar 1998; Lister 1993). The latter half of the nineteenth century also witnessed the proliferation of handbooks covering various fields of science, such as chemistry (Appleton 1888; Bowman 1866), geology and geography (Page 1865), natural sciences (Furneaux 1893), and medicine (Seaton 1868). They were formatted as concise, practical guides and general reference sources for a wide audience of practitioners and students.

Handbook versus Encyclopedia

A competing format called *encyclopaedia* or *cyclopaedia* (a common term in the 1700s and 1800s) denotes a reference work containing articles on various topics within a broad range of human knowledge or within particular fields or specialties. An encyclopedia generally assumes more in-depth treatment, often in several volumes, with the entries commonly arranged in alphabetical order. The term *encyclopaedia* was introduced by sixteenth-century European humanists, who combined two Greek words—*enkyklios* and *paideia* (in [the] circle/[of knowledge] education)—used by Plutarch, the Greek historian (b. A.D. 46, d. A.D. 120). The earliest modern-era *Cyclopaedia*

appeared in two volumes in 1728 (Chambers 1728). The French *Encyclopédie* had 17 volumes of articles, plus 11 volumes of illustrations (Diderot 1751–1765). The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the oldest continuing English-language series, contained 3 volumes when first released in 1768–1771 and 20 volumes in the fourth edition of 1801–1810.

During the nineteenth century, multivolume encyclopedias proliferated in major European countries, also in the United States, such as *The New American Cyclopedia* in 16 volumes (Ripley and Dana 1857–1866). By the mid-1800s, both genres of reference sources, the handbook and the encyclopedia, were quite familiar to the public in Europe and North America.

Early Continental Overviews of North American Native Cultures

With contributions by Cesare Marino and Ives Goddard

Thanks to the popularity of ethnographic themes in the nineteenth-century literature, the first scholarly treatments of Native Americans appeared beside the myriad fiction books, travelogues, memoirs, and government documents (see Additional Readings, this chapter). Organized materials on Indian tribes and Canadian First Nations had many users, and accurate information was at a premium, as policies toward Native Americans were changing rapidly (Horsman 1988; Prucha 1988; Surtees 1988a).

The scholarly materials on the American Indian nations available by the 1880s and pertinent to the intellectual "roots" of the *HNAI* project fell into *five* major categories.

General Overviews

Following the purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806 accomplished the first government-sponsored survey of the areas populated by the Indian Nations between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. A two-volume summary of the expedition, based on the explorers' field notebooks, was published shortly after (Biddle 1814); the first edition of the expedition journals appeared decades later in four volumes (Coues 1893), doubling to eight in the next decade (Thwaites 1904–1905).

In 1820, President James Monroe commissioned an official overview of the Native American tribes within the territory of the United States by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse (b. 1761, d. 1826), an antiquarian (historian) and geographer. The resulting single-volume report included statistical tables and a map of the tribal areas (Morse 1822). The governor of Michigan Territory, Lewis Cass (b. 1782, d. 1866), produced his own overview of the Indian nations within the territory of the United States (Cass 1821 [2nd ed., 1823]). Albert Gallatin (b. 1761, d. 1849), a Swiss-born language teacher and later a successful American businessman, politician, and founding president of the American Ethnological Society (1842), provided the first continental treatment of the North American Indigenous groups, from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico. Beyond its detailed treatment of Native languages (Goddard 1996a, 1996b), it was accompanied by a continental map of tribal areas and included many other subjects, like climate, vegetation, Native economies, and the origins of the early civilizations of central Mexico (Gallatin 1836; Hallowell 1960; Bieder 1986; Campbell 1997).

Coinciding with Gallatin's work, Thomas L. McKenney (b. 1785, d. 1859), superintendent of Indian affairs in the U.S. War Department, and James Hall (b. 1793, d. 1868) produced a three-volume, richly illustrated *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (McKenney and Hall 1836–1844). It included more than 100 biographical sketches and lithograph portraits of "Indian types" and historical characters. Other synopses of Native American cultures of the era covered a mixture of subjects, often including excerpts from personal travels, letters, and remarks on Native leaders (e.g., Brownell 1853).

Arrangements of Statistical Sources

By the 1840s, government agencies and policy makers were short of reliable and systematic data on Native North American tribes and Canadian First Nations. In 1847, the U.S. Congress authorized the secretary of war, then responsible for Indian affairs, to "collect and digest such statistics and materials as may illustrate the history, the present conditions, and future prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States" (Schoolcraft 1851:iv). That task fell to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (b. 1793, d. 1864) (fig. 1), American geographer and former Indian agent (Bieder 1986:146–193), who produced six folio volumes filled with records, narratives, statistical tables, and illustrations, including a continental map (fig. 2) (Schoolcraft 1851–1857; Nichols 1954). The last volume provided a summary of the history of Indian nations, from the first contacts in the 1500s to their relations with the U.S. government. Schoolcraft's

Fig. 1. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793–1864).

monumental series was, nonetheless, criticized for being eclectic and difficult to use (Brinton 1868; Hallowell 1960:42–48).

Continental Analysis of Particular Cultural Features

Lewis Henry Morgan (b. 1818, d. 1881), an attorney from Aurora, New York, became one of the leading ethnologists of nineteenth-century America (Bieder 1986; Hallowell 1960; Powell 1880; Tooker 1978, 1984, 1992). Morgan's second book, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* (Morgan 1871) was published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge series. His last work, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Morgan 1881), appeared in the Bureau of Ethnology's Contributions to North American Ethnology. It reviewed a broad range of Native American societies from North and Central America and illustrated the increasing complexity of the dwelling and house-life structure, from barbarism to ancient agricultural civilizations, according to the then-dominant evolutionary vision. A similar evolutionary approach framed Daniel G. Brinton's books (1868, 1882) on American Indian mythology.

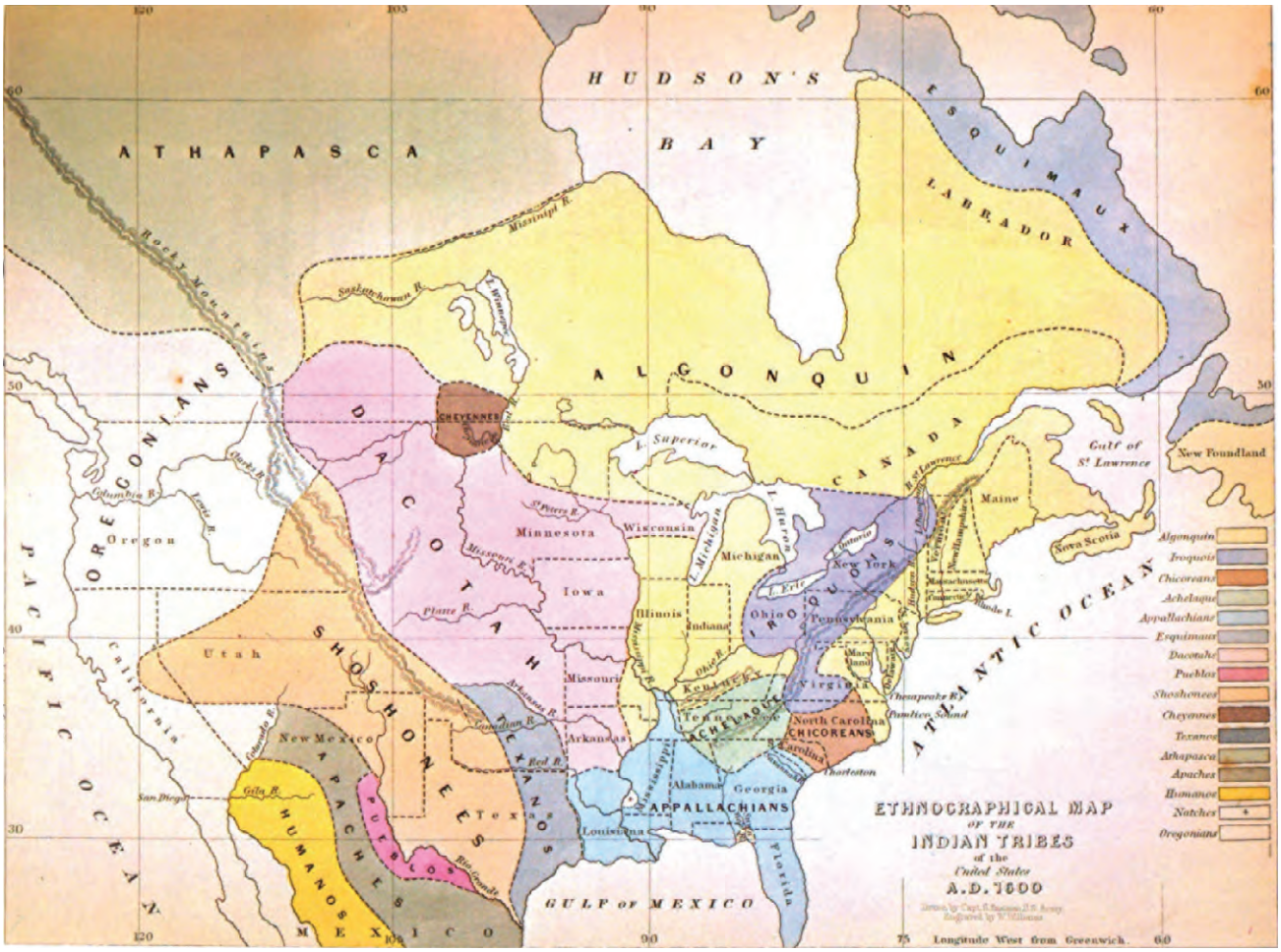
North Americans in Popular Global Overviews

Books on the world's "exotic" peoples became an established genre of scholarly and popular literature in the 1800s (Müller 1873; Pickering 1872; Reclus 1875–1894, 1878–1894). Friedrich Ratzel's three-volume *Völkerkunde* (Ratzel 1885–1888), lavishly illustrated with images of tribal peoples and ethnographic objects from European museums, offered a powerful new form of ethnographic synopsis (Frazer 1887; Morton 1842; Nott and Gliddon 1854; Tylor 1871, 1881). In this book groups from both North and South America were merged under a combined "New World" section (Ratzel 1885–1888, 2:525–753). In the United States, Ratzel's approach was emulated by Daniel G. Brinton (b. 1837, d. 1899), first in his short collection of "lectures" on world cultures (Brinton 1890) and later in an influential volume, *The American Race* (Brinton 1891; Darnell 1974, 1998, 2001).

Illustrated Albums and Photographic Catalogs

Subscribing to the "vanishing race" paradigm, the work of George Catlin (b. 1796, d. 1872) combined his talents as an artist with a wide-ranging ethnographic interest in the Native peoples of the Americas (Truettner 1979). Catlin traveled among the Native groups of North, Central, and South America and produced hundreds of paintings and sketches, many of them now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. He published a selection of his paintings in his two-volume synthesis, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Catlin 1841 [3rd ed., 1844]).

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the arrival of photography helped expand the visual documentation of Native American peoples (Taft 1942). Photographers in Washington, DC, took dozens of portraits of individual Indian leaders and Native delegations (Viola 1981). In 1869, the Smithsonian organized its first exhibit of 300 Native American photographs and published the accompanying catalog of photographic portraits of North American Indians (Shindler 1869; Fleming 2003). That number was soon tripled in another massive catalog produced by William Henry Jackson (b. 1843, d. 1942), photographer for the U.S. Geological Survey (Jackson 1877). The images listed in both catalogs soon formed the basis of the Native American photographic collection at the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology and were later used in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910) and the *HNAI* series.



Map drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army. From Anonymous 1860.

Fig. 2. Ethnographical Map of the Indian Tribes of the United States, A.D. 1600.

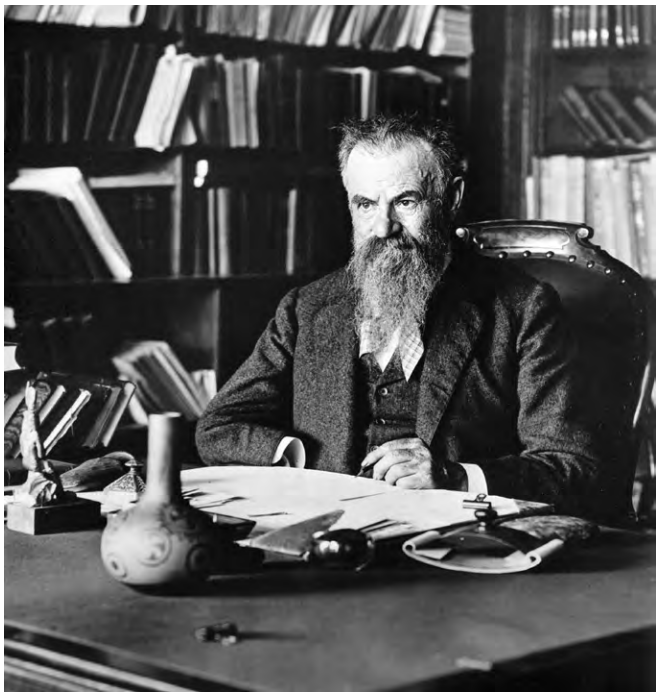
The Bureau of American Ethnology and Its Mission

With contributions by Ives Goddard

The Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, founded by an act of the U.S. Congress in 1846 to serve as the nation's prime scientific establishment (Bunzel 1960; Ewing 2007; Hinsley 1981, 1994), soon evolved into the main center of research on Native societies and cultures of North America. The first Smithsonian secretaries, Joseph Henry (b. 1797, d. 1878) and Spencer F. Baird (b. 1823, d. 1887), had strong ethnological interests and solicited information on Native American tribes from explorers, Army officers, government agents, and, increasingly, from trained naturalists (Fitzhugh 1988, 2002a, 2009; Lindsay 1993; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999).

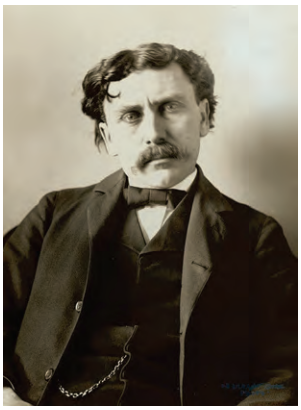
The Smithsonian's role as the prime institution for Native American research was acknowledged in 1879, when the U.S. Congress created the Bureau of Ethnology (renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE] in 1897) within the institution (Hinsley 1994:147; Judd 1967:3–4). John Wesley Powell (b. 1834, d. 1902) (fig. 3) served as its first director from 1879 until his death (Stegner 1954). From the beginning, he insisted that the BAE's main priority should be a thorough study of American Indian groups, particularly of their languages (Powell 1881:xv; Campbell 1997; Goddard 1996a; Shaul 1999). It was assumed that the Smithsonian and the BAE would serve as a producer and national repository of knowledge, including practical information for the administration of Native American tribes under the U.S. governmental supervision.

The BAE struggled with many competing scholarly and practical demands under its congressional mandate



left, Photograph by John K. Hillers, 1873, National Anthropological Archives (BAE GN 01636 06282600). right, Photograph by DeLancey Gill, circa 1890, National Anthropological Archives Portraits (64-a-13-a).

Fig. 3. left, Paiute leader Tau-Gu with John Wesley Powell (b. 1834, d. 1902), during Powell's 1873 expedition to the Great Basin region of Utah and Nevada. right, Powell in his office in the Adams Building on F Street NW in Washington, DC.



National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (left to right: NAA INV 02861400; NAA INV 02862900, Photo Lot 33; NAA INV 02870700; NAA INV 10057100/Portraits 22-a).

Fig. 4. left to right, USNM and BAE Americanist staff Otis Tufton Mason (1838–1908), James Mooney (1861–1921), Matilda Coxe Stevenson (1849–1915), and Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857–1900).

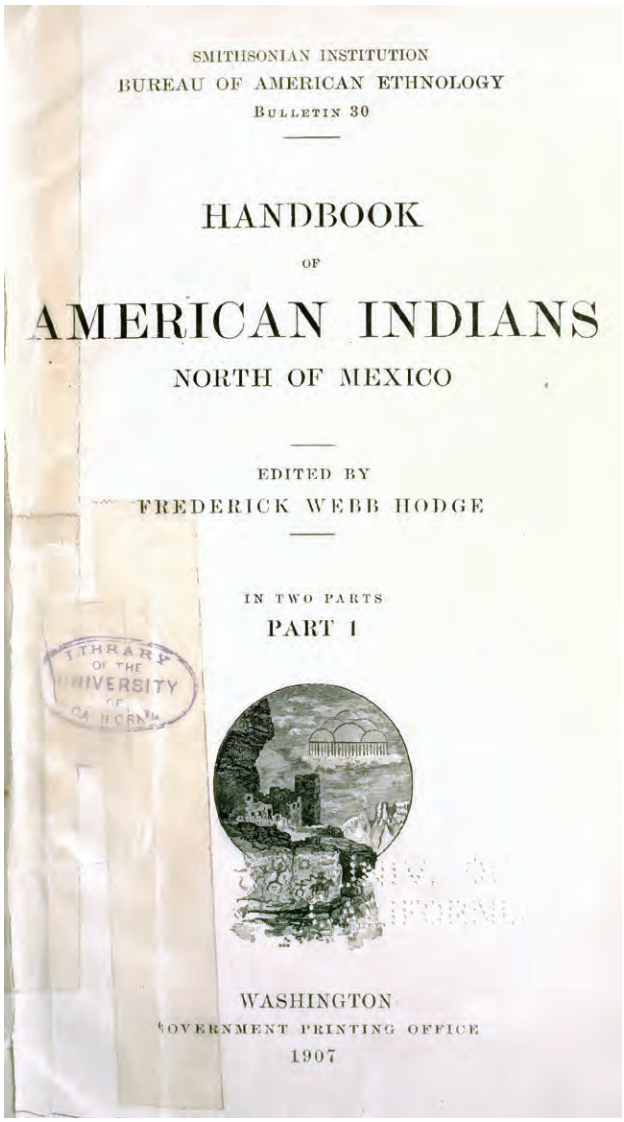
to provide valuable information for government agencies (Hinsley 1994). It promptly produced the compilation of the *Proof-sheets of a Bibliography of the Languages of the North American Indians* (Pilling 1885) with more than 1,000 pages, from which nine heavily annotated volumes on major Native language families were published between 1887 and 1894 (C. Evans 1971:16–17). The BAE's second major contribution was Powell's *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico* (1891) and the accompanying color map of 58 Native language families or "stocks" (Goddard 1996a; Shaul 1999). The BAE staff also spent more than two decades compiling a vast list ("synonymy") of names for Native American tribes and languages cited in myriad sources. That effort was initiated independently by several Smithsonian anthropologists and BAE staffers, such as Otis T. Mason (b. 1838, d. 1908), James Mooney (b. 1861, d. 1921), Henry Henshaw (b. 1850, d. 1930), and Garrick Mallery (b. 1831, d. 1894) (Darnell 1969, 1998; Judd 1967; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999) (fig. 4).

The *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*

Among the BAE activities, Powell's classification and map of Native language families and the synonymy of tribal names were instrumental to the next BAE effort of 15 years, the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (*HAINM*). The work on an "Indian cyclopedia" was first listed among the BAE's activities in its annual report for 1895 (Powell 1897:lxxi). Powell's original plan was to publish a set of monographs in the BAE bulletin series, each focused on a specific language "stock" (family) and eventually build an "Indian cyclopedia" series of many volumes (Powell 1897:lxxi; Darnell 1998).

The work moved slowly until Powell's death in 1902, when the Smithsonian secretary, Samuel P. Langley (b. 1834, d. 1906), demanded a speedy completion. Soon after, the entire BAE personnel were engaged in the production of the book that had already changed its official title to the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Holmes 1907b:xxv; 1908:xxiii; 1911:9; Powell 1904b:xl; Darnell 1969; Hinsley 1994:158). The scope of the handbook was also expanded to include practical topics of interest, such as the relations between Indian tribes and the government, biographies of notable Native American leaders, and the words from aboriginal languages incorporated into English (Holmes 1907b:xxv). The first volume with alphabetical entries from A to M was completed in July 1905 (Hodge 1907:iii). It took two more years to get it published; the second volume, with the entries from N to Z was released in 1910.

The two-volume set of more than 2,100 double-column pages featured 12,800 alphabetically arranged entries written by BAE staff researchers, curators from the U.S. National Museum, officers of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and external authors, including some Native American contributors (see below). BAE chief William H. Holmes (b. 1846, d. 1933) (fig. 5), rightly claimed "that no work so comprehensive in its scope



National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (portraits 44-b).

Fig. 5. top, Frederick W. Hodge (b. 1864, d. 1956), *HAINM* general editor. right, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* Part 1 (1907), title page, BAE Bulletin 30.

had hitherto been attempted" (Holmes 1908:xxiii). Most of the *Handbook* (fig. 5) entries were short and anonymous, but some articles on the largest Indian nations contained 4,000–5,000 words, with sections on history, language, settlements, material culture, religion, and social organization. The two longest essays, "Reservations" and "Treaties" (Thomas 1910a, 1910b), included tables of all Indian reservations in the United States and Canada and a list of about 370 Indian treaties made between 1778 and 1880. Both were products of decades of research by BAE staff (Darnell 1969, 1998; Hinsley 1981, 1994).

Volume 2 of *HAINM*, included two other valuable elements: an Indian tribal synonymy of 158 pages in small font (Hodge 1910, 2:1021–1178) and a 43-page bibliography of about 2,500 sources. The synonymy based chiefly on a manuscript by ethnologist James Mooney (b. 1861, d. 1921) contained about 2,800 tribal, band, and other Native group names in alphabetical order. These basic elements of the *HAINM*, tribal synonymy and bibliography, decades later influenced the format of the *Handbook of North American Indians* volumes of 1978–2008.

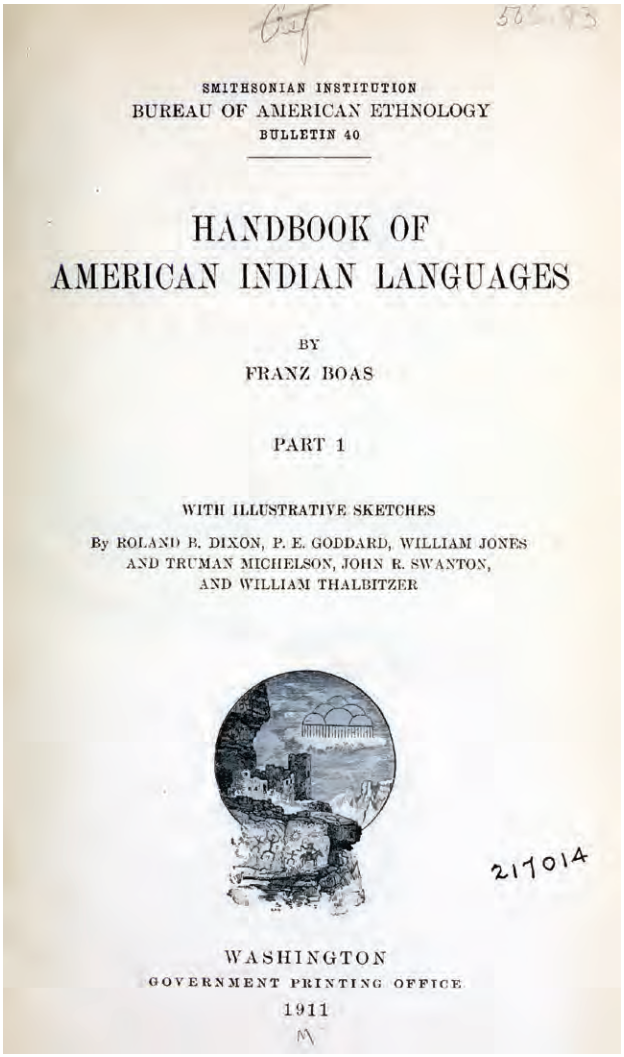
The monumental handbook had no parallel in contemporary scholarship, and its success was immediate (Judd 1967:114). Recognizing its value, the U.S. Congress ordered a second printing of 6,500 copies in 1912 and kept 6,000 to distribute across the nation.

Later BAE Initiatives

BAE chief William H. Holmes (1919:xiii), claimed that the BAE "once planned to have a series of at least 12 separate handbooks [to] cover as many grand divisions of the subject matter" related to American Indians. Two more handbook-style publications were started by BAE; other never materialized.

Handbook of American Indian Languages

Historically, the second BAE handbook (Boas 1911–1941) was an outgrowth of Powell's plan to produce



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 40

HANDBOOK OF
AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES
By ROLAND B. DIXON, P. E. GODDARD, WILLIAM JONES
AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, JOHN R. SWANTON,
AND WILLIAM THALBITZER

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1911

left, Canadian Museum of History (79-796).

Fig. 6. top, Franz Boas (b. 1858, d. 1942), circa 1915. right, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, vol. 1 (Boas 1911), title page, BAE Bulletin 40.

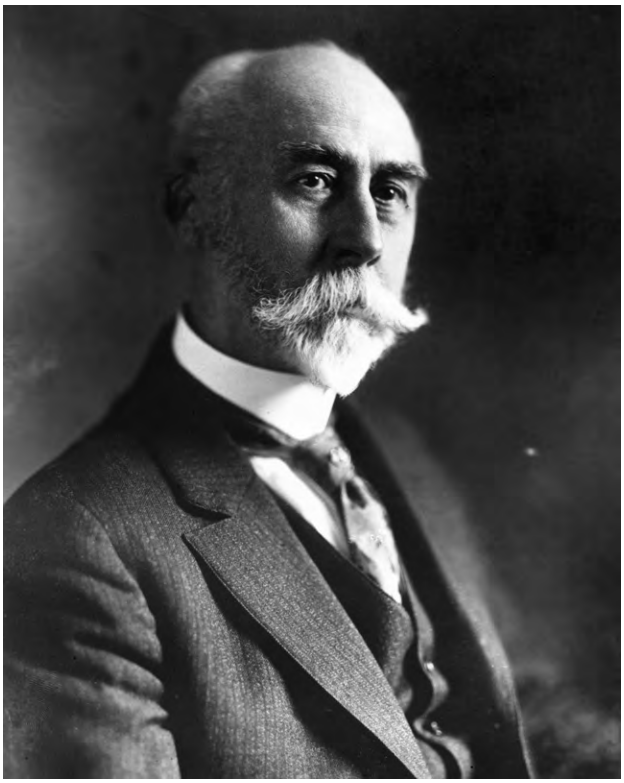
detailed descriptions of all major Native American linguistic "stocks" (families). In 1902, Franz Boas (fig. 6), then at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York, was appointed as an "honorary philologist" at BAE to oversee the preparation of manuscripts for a "handbook" of the American (Indian) languages (Holmes 1907b:xxiii) (fig. 6). The work continued for a decade (Holmes 1907b:x; 1908:xxi); the first volume appeared in 1911.

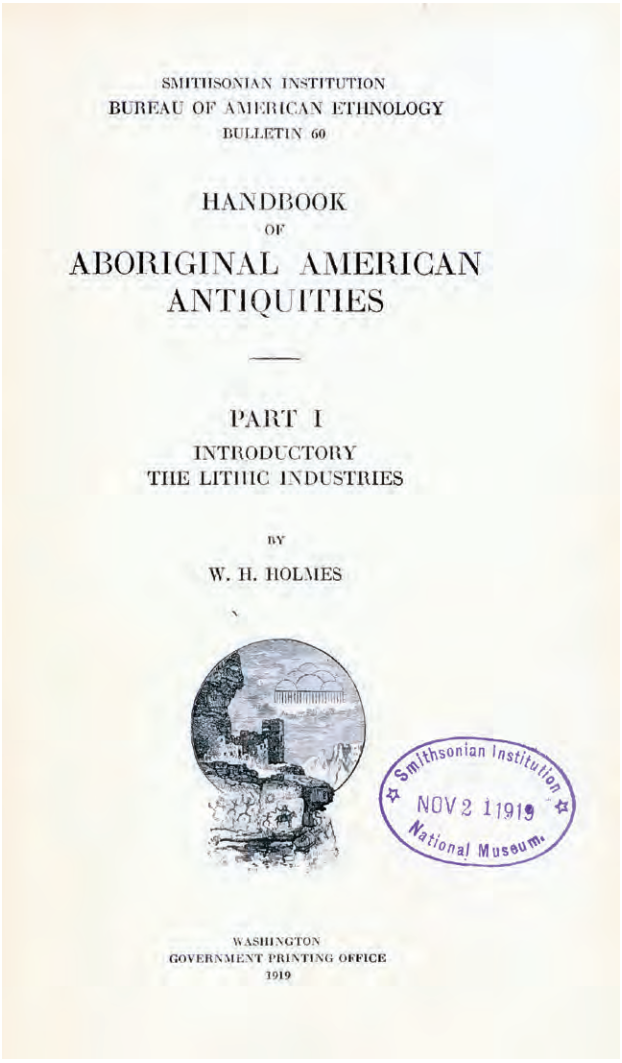
The new *Handbook* could not be more different from *HAINM*. It had a long introduction by Boas, with Powell's language stocks barely listed at its very conclusion (Boas 1911; Silverstein 2017). The 10 following sketches of individual Native American languages were detailed, technical, and hardly suitable for nonspecialists. The volume had no index or maps. The second volume (part 2), published in 1922 (Boas 1911–1941), contained four additional long descriptions of individual Native languages, including that of the Chukchi people on the Asian side of the Bering Strait (Bogoras 1922). By that time, Boas' affiliation with BAE was terminated (Judd 1967:45). Several years later, he released two more volumes (Boas 1911–1941, Pts. 3 and 4) published at Columbia University; the use of the title "handbook" was but a passing tribute to its BAE original.

Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities

Another BAE initiative, the *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities* was conceived by a single author, BAE archaeologist William H. Holmes (fig. 7). The plan was to publish an archaeological synthesis in several volumes, with both thematic and geographic coverage on a large scale. Only the first volume (Holmes 1919), *Introductory: The Lithic Industries*, appeared in the BAE Bulletin series. It covered the entire New World, with brief overviews of 22 "areas" from the Arctic to the southern tip of South America, with 223 illustrations. It was highly praised by contemporary scholars (McCurdy 1920; Nuttall 1920; Swanton 1935:229).

Holmes's planned second volume was a similar encyclopedic treatise on stone artifacts; subsequent





top, National Museum of American History (MAH-4986A).

Fig. 7. top, William H. Holmes (1846–1933) MAH-4986A. right, *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities*, vol. 1 (Holmes 1919), title page, BAE Bulletin 60.

volumes were to be dedicated to other materials, such as mineral, animal, and vegetable, as well as the arts and industries of Native Americans (Holmes 1919: xiv). Yet the project was put on hold after 1920 (Swanton 1935:232–233), and the announced antiquities "handbook" series never materialized.

Native American Contribution to Early Scholarship

With contributions by Ives Goddard

The European and Euro-American exploration and colonial expansion in North America could never have succeeded without the knowledge shared by the Indigenous inhabitants of the land. Besides the "iconic" American stories of Pocahontas (Matoaka, known as Amonute and eventually Rebecca Rolfe, b. 1596, d. 1617) and Sacagawea (b. circa 1788, d. 1812) assisting the Lewis and Clark Expedition, numerous other Native American/First Nations people served as guides, mapmakers, cultural mediators, and sources of information. They were rarely acknowledged in their day and hardly viewed as contributors to "scholarly knowledge."

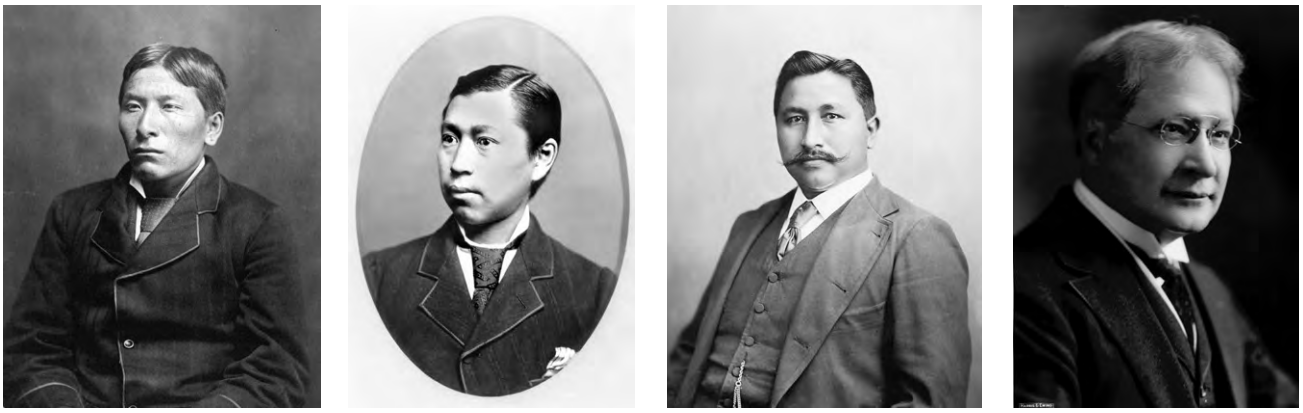
Besides explorers, government administrators, missionaries, and naturalists, who relied on Indigenous knowledge holders, there was another notable group of experts, who generated a more in-depth information. These were White men married to Native women who relied on their Native kin as mentors, storytellers, language teachers, and conduits to Indigenous cultures. Henry Schoolcraft's introduction to the Ojibwe way of life as an Indian agent in Sault Ste. Marie was greatly facilitated by his marriage to Jane Johnston, the mixed-blood daughter of a local merchant, John Johnston (Bieder 1986:148–151); her entire family assisted Schoolcraft in his work (Johnston Schoolcraft 2008). Another notable example, Scotsman James A. Teit (b. 1864, d. 1922), in 1884, moved to Spences Bridge, British Columbia, and married a local Nlaka'pamux (Thompson Indian) woman, Susannah Lucy Antko (Wickwire 1993, 2003). He became a prolific writer of local ethnography relying on the knowledge of his relatives. After meeting Franz Boas in 1894, Teit produced 42 publications and over 5,000 pages of unpublished records on the First Nations of British Columbia (Sprague 1991).

Perhaps the best-known case of Native Americans' role in early scholarly work was the partnership between Ely S. Parker (b.1828, d.1881, Seneca) and Lewis Henry Morgan (see above) in research on the Iroquois social system and history (C. Marino 2015; Michaelsen 1996; A.C. Parker 1919; Tooker 1978, 1984). Morgan's first book, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (Morgan 1851) opened with a dedication to "Ha-sa-no-an-da (Ely S. Parker), a Seneca Indian, this work the materials of which are the fruit of our joint researches." It was the first acknowledgment of a joint authorship in a science publication on Native Americans.

The Smithsonian Institution, particularly the BAE, was at the forefront of the engagement of Native Americans in research and the dissemination of knowledge about Native cultures. In 1878, the Smithsonian formally employed two Native Americans, a Cheyenne man named Tichkematse (also called Squint Eyes or Quchkeimus, b. 1857, d. 1932), and a young, educated Aleut from Unalaska, George Tsaroff (b. 1857?, d. 1880) (fig. 8). They worked as "guides to the public" in the ethnological hall at the U.S. National Museum (Annual Report 1883:40, 291). Tsaroff was an orphan boy adopted by Smithsonian naturalist William H. Dall (b. 1845, d. 1927) during his fieldwork in Alaska. Educated at the University of Michigan, Tsaroff was hired by the Smithsonian to provide services to the public (Loring and Veltre 2003:309). Unfortunately, Tsaroff died at an early age. Tichkematse, a gifted artist (Greene 2013), soon returned to the Indian Territory and continued working for the Smithsonian as taxidermist, collector, and assistant to BAE ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing (b. 1857, d. 1900).

Far more extensive was the contribution by Francis La Flesche (b. 1857, d. 1932) (fig. 8), son of Omaha chief Joseph "Estamaza" (Iron Eye) La Flesche, a Métis of French and Ponca descent (C. Marino 2015:125). Fully bilingual and educated in a Presbyterian mission school, La Flesche collaborated with BAE anthropologist Alice C. Fletcher (b. 1838, d. 1923) on her field trip to the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota in 1881 (DeMallie 2001a; C. Marino 2015; Mark 1982). Fletcher encouraged La Flesche to come to Washington, DC, where he was hired by the BAE to work as copyist, translator, and collection assistant. He earned a master's degree from the National University Law School, now George Washington University. He worked as a BAE ethnologist from 1910 to 1929 and produced several books and papers with Fletcher (Fletcher and La Flesche 1893, 1911), as well as many seminal works of his own on Osage religion, mythology, and language (La Flesche 1921, 1925, 1932, 1939; Hartley 1933).

In 1886, another educated Native American of mixed descent, John N.B. Hewitt (b. 1859, d. 1937) (fig. 8) was hired by the BAE, for what would become a lifelong research career. Hewitt's mother was of French, English, and Tuscarora descent, and he grew



National Anthropological Archives and Smithsonian Archives (left to right: NAA INV 00439500T; SIA Acc. 11-006, Box 001, MAH-1234; NAA INV 00688600; NAA INV 02858800).

Fig. 8. American Indian BAE staff and contributors to Smithsonian/BAE research. left to right, Tichkematse or "Squint Eyes" (1857–1932), Cheyenne; George Tsaroff (1857?–1880), Unangax̂-Aleut; Francis La Flesche (1857–1932), Omaha; John N.B. Hewitt (1859–1937), Tuscarora.

up on the Tuscarora Reservation in New York State (Tooker and Graymont 2007). Hewitt eventually became the prime BAE specialist on the Iroquois and perhaps the leading authority on the Iroquois League after the death of Morgan. He also worked on many other Native American groups, including Ojibwe, Ottawa, Delaware, Cherokee, several Yuman tribes, and others. He published extensively with the BAE (see Swanton 1938:289–290) and assembled a massive collection of manuscripts and data on catalog cards at the BAE archives, of which he was an official custodian. Both La Flesche and Hewitt contributed numerous entries to the BAE *Handbook* (Hodge 1907–1910) and were listed among its authors; Hewitt alone wrote over 100 entries. Hewitt also served on the United States Board on Geographical Names, was a founder and vice president of the American Anthropological Association, and the president of the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1932–1934.

Another Native contributor to the *HAINM* (Hodge 1907–1910) was William Jones (b.1871, b. 1909), the first Native American to receive a PhD in anthropology. Of Meskwaki (Fox)-White descent, he was raised by his Meskwaki paternal grandmother and was fluent in the Meskwaki language. He received a BA at Harvard and a PhD in linguistic anthropology under Boas at Columbia University (Hinsley 1996; C. Marino 2015; VanStone 1998). He became an acknowledged specialist in Algonquian linguistics and folklore (Jones 1904, 1907, 1939), conducted linguistic fieldwork among the Ojibwe of Canada and the United States (Jones and Michelson 1917, 1919) and was later an assistant curator at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. His dissertation on Meskwaki grammar, which expanded on the basis of his texts and other notes, was published as a chapter in Boas' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Jones 1911).

Several other bilingual and educated Native American/First Nations people achieved prominence working at museums or contributing to the collection of knowledge on Native cultures. Louis Shotridge (b. 1882, d. 1937) was a full-blood Tlingit born in the village of Klukwan, in southeast Alaska, whose anglicized last name derived from his paternal grandfather's name, Shaaduxisht or Shaadbaxhícht (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2003:166). In 1905, Shotridge and his Tlingit wife, Florence, encountered Dr. George Gordon of the University of Pennsylvania Museum (UPM), who invited them to come to the UPM in Philadelphia to work for the museum. At UPM, the Shotridges first conducted "show and tell" in the American Indian halls dressed in Native clothing, but in 1915, Louis received full-time employment as an assistant curator in the UPM North American section. During his 20-year tenure at UPM, Shotridge published articles in the University of Pennsylvania *Museum Journal* (Shotridge 1920, 1921, 1928; Shotridge and Shotridge 1913; see Milburn 1997:364–365) and was instrumental in securing numerous Northwest Coast objects and recordings of myths, songs, linguistic materials, and historical texts (Boas 1917; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2003; Durlach 1928; Mason 1960; Milburn 1986, 1994, 1997).

The first Native American to achieve a position of administrative leadership in heritage research was Arthur C. Parker (b. 1881, d. 1955), grandnephew of Ely S. Parker (Bruchac 2018b). Born on the Cattaraugus Reservation of the Seneca Nation of New York,

of Seneca and Scots-English descent, he became the first trained Native American archaeologist, the director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences (1924–1945), the first president of the Society for American Archaeology (1935), and one of the founding members of the National Congress of American Indians in 1944 (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; Hertzberg 1979; Parker 1968; Porter 2001). His daughter, Bertha ("Birdie") Parker Cody (b. 1907, d. 1978) of Abenaki-Seneca-White descent, became the first Indigenous female archaeologist; she later worked at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles and published science articles in the museum's journal (Bruchac 2018b; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.).

In British Columbia, William Beynon (b. 1888, d. 1958), of mixed Tsimshian and Welsh descent, was a highly respected oral historian of the Tsimshian nation and the hereditary chief of the Gitlaan tribe. He served as ethnographer, translator, and consultant to anthropologists C. Marius Barbeau (b. 1883, d. 1969), from the Geological Survey of Canada, also to Boas, Viola Garfield (b. 1899, d. 1993), and others. Beynon and Barbeau's partnership resulted in thousands of pages of correspondence and field notes, now housed at the Canadian Museum of History (MacDonald and Cove 1987) and called "the most complete body of information on the social organization of any Indian nation" (Duff 1964; see also Beynon 1941; Halpin 1978).

Perhaps no anthropologist encouraged Native Americans' contributions to the study of Indigenous cultures and languages more than Franz Boas (b. 1858, d. 1942). Boas' 40-year long partnership with George Hunt (b. 1854, d. 1933), of mixed Tlingit-English descent and an expert on Kwakwaka'wakw traditions, language, and mythology resulted in several coauthored publications (see J. Berman 1994, 1996, 2001; Bruchac 2018b; Codere 1966; Jacknis 1991; Jonaitis 1991). Through Hunt, Boas established communication with an educated Tsimshian man, Henry W. Tate (b. circa 1860, d. 1914), who contributed his knowledge and writing skills to the collection of Tsimshian myths and oratories published by Boas, with a full acknowledgment of Tate's critical contribution (Boas 1916: 31–32; Barbeau 1917; Maud 2000). Besides Hunt, Jones, and Shotridge, Boas engaged other Native Americans in the collection of objects, myths, music, and language texts and in the pursuit of higher education and professional careers. He mentored Ella Deloria (b. 1889, d. 1979, Yankton Sioux) in the field of anthropology (C. Marino 2015:137–138), thus opening her long career as Native American scholar and cultural and political activist (Liberty 1978). Another Native American student of Boas at Columbia, Archie Phinney (b. 1904, d. 1949) of mixed Nez Perce–White origin, published a collection of 50 myths and stories he recorded from his Nez Perce mother in 1929–1930 on the Fort Lapwai Reservation in Idaho (Phinney 1934). Phinney later worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and was among the founders of the National Congress of American Indians (Willard 2000).

Whereas some U.S. and Canadian government agencies, museums, and individual anthropologists actively promoted Native American/First Nations contribution to the study and documentation of aboriginal cultures starting in the mid-late 1800s, these relationships were never a harmonious "symbiosis" as once portrayed (Lurie 1988; see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). It by no means could have offset the oppressive impact of government-induced relocations, appropriation of tribal lands, "English only" education policies, and the imposed bans on Native cultural practices. Yet the Americanist scholarly tradition differed from the studies of Indigenous peoples elsewhere in the colonial world of the 1800s and 1900s, such as by British, French, German, and other European anthropologists, in that it encouraged educated bilingual Native Americans, commonly of mixed descent, to contribute to the study of their peoples.

It comes as no surprise that so many followers of this tradition were politically active on behalf of Native American tribes and cultural practices, starting from Morgan's effort on behalf of the Tonawanda Senecas (Armstrong 1978; Tooker 1984) and Boas' vocal opposition to the Canadian "potlatch ban" of 1885. In 1918, BAE employees, ethnologist James Mooney, linguist Truman Michelson, and Native anthropologist Francis La Flesche testified together at the U.S. congressional hearings in defense of the ritual use of peyote in the Ghost Dance Movement (Baker 2006; C. Marino 2015; Mooney 1896; Stewart 1987). This activist streak of the BAE and, generally, Americanist anthropology surfaced many decades later during the preparation of the Smithsonian *HNAI* series (see "Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

Other Formats of Early Ethnographic Syntheses

Beyond the BAE handbooks, several competing regional and continental syntheses were published in the same and later decades of the twentieth century. The growing diversity of styles and formats reflected the expansion of knowledge about Native American soci-

eties and the gradual advancement of research beyond the BAE and the Smithsonian (Darnell 1969, 1998, 1999b, 2001; Hinsley 1994; Jacknis 2015a; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999).

Edward Curtis and "The North American Indian" (1907–1930)

Edward Sheriff Curtis (b. 1868, d. 1952), a professional photographer-turned-ethnologist, is best known for his 20-volume series *The North American Indian* and his lifelong passion for photographing Native Americans (Cardozo 2000; Egan 2012; Gidley 1998, 2003; Lawlor 1994; Scherer 2008). Curtis launched his series in 1907; its massive volumes included short ethnographic essays on individual Native American tribes in the continental United States and Alaska, illustrated with his stunning photographs. The full set took 23 years to produce; its 300 copies were sold primarily to libraries. In addition, Curtis amassed an archive of some 40,000 negatives, scores of ethnographic objects, and 10,000 wax-cylinder recordings of language, music, tribal lore, and histories collected over the years (Volpe 2018). The project engaged a team of ethnologists, photographic assistants, and informants, among them Curtis's assistant, journalist William E. Myers and BAE anthropologist Frederick Hodge, who served as the series editor till 1920 (Judd 1967). Curtis also credited his Native American collaborators, Alexander B. Upshaw (Crow), George Hunt (see above), Sojero (Tewa-speaking Pueblo), and Paul Ivanoff (Russian-Inupiat assistant in his Alaskan research). Many of Curtis's beautiful photographs were later used as illustrations to the *HNAI* series.

Handbooks of the American Museum of Natural History (1912 to circa 1960s)

Soon after the release of the *HAINM*, the AMNH in New York launched a handbook series of its own made of small, almost pocket-sized, popular guidebooks. Unlike the BAE works, the AMNH handbooks were slim publications of 100–200 pages, written in plain language mostly by AMNH curators. The AMNH handbooks were not intended to be scholarly publications; they often covered individual museum halls with an introductory map of the gallery. The first AMNH handbook, *North American Indians of the Plains* (Wissler 1912), was followed by those featuring the Southwest and the Northwest Coast Native people (P. Goddard 1913, 1924), peoples of the Philippines (Kroeber 1919), and the ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru (Bennett and Bird 1949; Mead 1924; Spinden 1917). The series quickly expanded beyond anthropology (e.g., Griscom 1923; Lucas 1901/1913; Matthew 1915; Winslow 1917).

Alfred L. Kroeber and the Handbook of the Indians of California (1925)

A 1,000-page volume by Alfred L. Kroeber (b. 1876, d. 1960) (fig. 9) was a genuine West Coast intellectual product under the BAE Bulletin series (Driver 1962:3; Kroeber 1925). Although Kroeber offered thanks to Frederick Hodge, the head of the BAE, for his encouragement, he developed his own innovative structure, dedicating 53 of the book's 60 chapters to individual Californian Native groups, covering their geography, social institutions, arts, and religion. Because of its structure of geographically arranged tribal chapters organized in "culture provinces" within large continental "culture areas" (Driver 1962; Kroeber 1920:151–153), the California handbook was an influential model for the regional volumes in the Smithsonian *HNAI* series (see "California," this vol.).

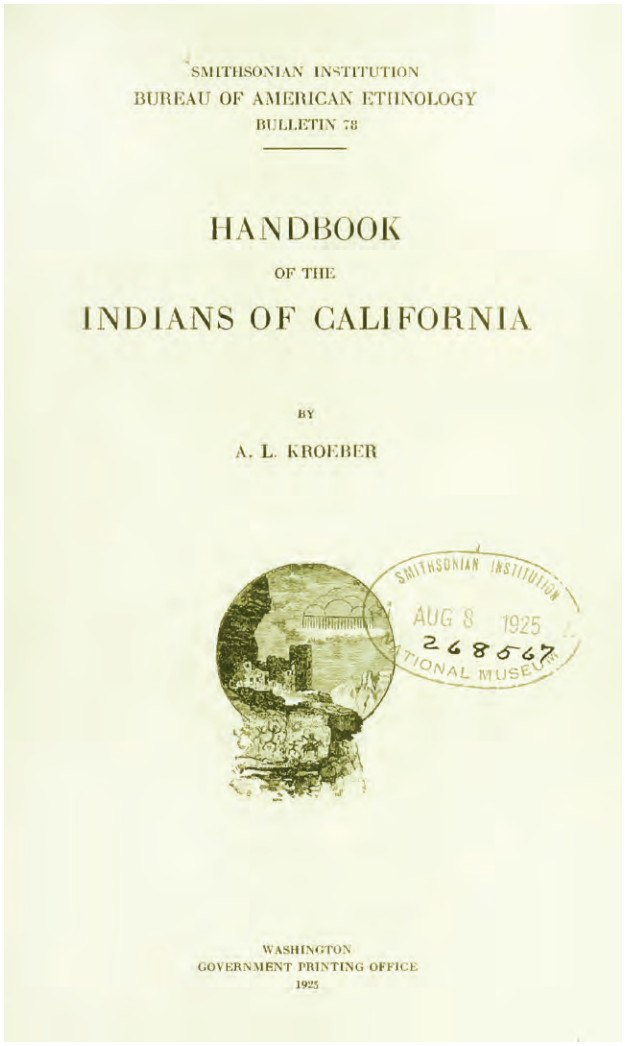
Felix S. Cohen and the Handbook of Federal Indian Law (1942)

Contributed by Cesare Marino

The "New Deal" in U.S. Indian policy was inaugurated in 1934 by the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) under commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (b. 1884, d. 1968) Kelly 1983, 1988). Assisting Collier was New York lawyer Felix S. Cohen (b. 1907, d. 1953), who was also trained in anthropology. In 1942, Cohen published the first comprehensive *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, a practical, thematically organized 650-page volume aimed at people involved in Indian affairs, both Native and not. Its primary purpose was not scholarly but legally practical, with 23 thematic chapters on treaties, federal and state powers over Indian affairs, individual and tribal rights, taxation, and criminal and civil jurisdiction (Cohen 1942). This *Handbook* saw numerous reprints, including one curated by Rennard Strickland (Osage/Cherokee) (Cohen 1942; also Newton et al. 2012).

The Handbook of South American Indians (1946–1959)

The seven-volume *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–1959) was a product of an alliance



between the National Research Council (NRC) of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the Smithsonian. It was proposed in 1932, as a match to the BAE North American counterpart (Faulhaber 2012; Steward 1941b:48, 1946:1–2). BAE anthropologist Julian H. Steward (b. 1902, d. 1972) (fig. 10) served as its general editor. All seven volumes appeared as independent issues of the BAE Bulletin 143.

Unlike the two-volume *HNAIM* with its alphabetical order, the first four volumes of Steward's *Handbook* followed four major "culture areas" of South America established by American anthropologist John M. Cooper (b. 1881, d. 1949) (Cooper 1925, 1941, 1942). Volume 5 contained comparative ethnology of South American Indians; volume 6 covered physical anthropology, linguistics, and cultural geography; and volume 7 was a general index to the series. The South American handbook anticipated many principles of the *HNAI* series: the organization by culture areas, broad use of photographs and maps, a large index, and a diverse list of authors from many nations, though no Indigenous contributions.

Robert Wauchope and the Handbook of Middle American Indians (1964–1975)

The next major synthetic venture, the 16-volume *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, was produced right before the start of the *HNAI* series under the editorship of archaeologist Robert Wauchope (b. 1909, d. 1979). It was advocated in 1956 to match the *HAINM* and Steward's South American handbook. The original series outline listed 11 volumes (Wauchope 1960); it eventually grew to 16. NRC, again, asked the Smithsonian to host the project, but the Smithsonian administration refused. The National Science Foundation funded the production at Tulane University in New Orleans, Wauchope's home institution (Andrews and Harrison 1981; Evans 1966a; Marcus and Spores 1978).

Unlike the *HAINM* and the South American handbook, Wauchope's *Handbook* was organized by subdisciplines. It contained an introductory volume, three archaeological volumes (vols. 2–4), one on linguistics (vol. 5), three on ethnology and social anthropology (vols. 6–8), one on physical anthropology (vol. 9), two more on archaeology (vols. 10–11), and four on ethnohistorical sources (vols.12–15). The final volume

top, Smithsonian Archives (SIA2008-4745).

Fig. 9. top, Alfred L. Kroeber (1876–1960), editor of the *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925). bottom, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), title page, BAE Bulletin 78.

comprised lists of sources and artifacts used for illustrations. Six "Supplement" volumes were published between 1981 and 2000.

Major Single-Volume Cultural Syntheses

Livingston Farrand and The Basis of American History (1904)

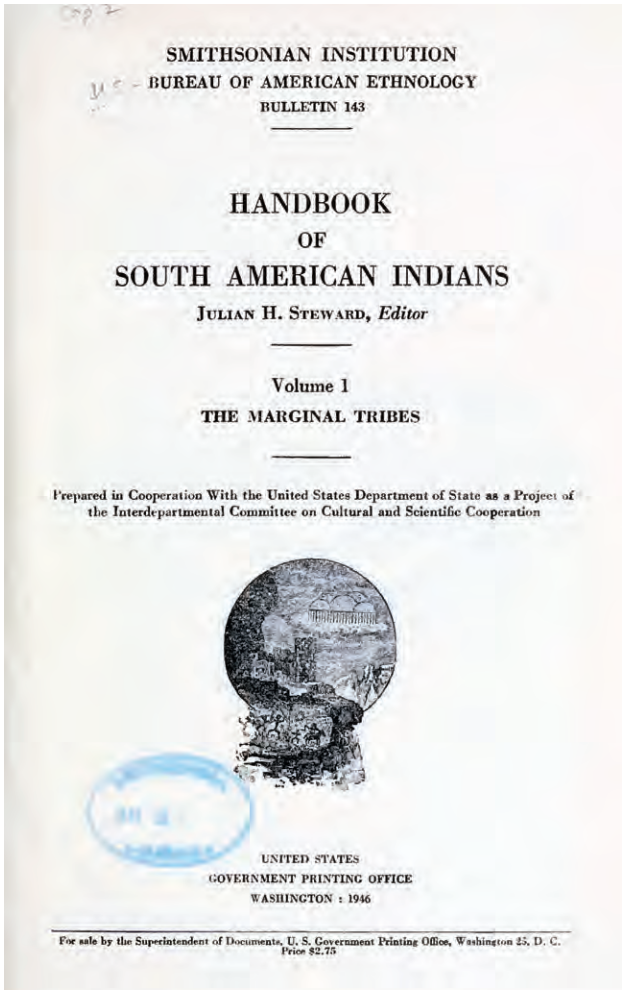
In 1903, historian Albert Bushnell Hart (b. 1854, d. 1943) launched the 27-volume series *The American Nation: A History* (Hart 1904–1908). For its second volume, Hart commissioned anthropologist Livingston Farrand (b. 1867, d. 1939), of Columbia University, to write a synthesis of North American Native peoples in the centuries since Columbus's arrival. The 300-page volume (Farrand 1904) offered a concise summary of the major developments that affected American Indian nations from 1500 to 1900. It combined scores of thematic chapters with regional overviews of tribes by seven large areas: Arctic, North Pacific Coast, Mackenzie River Basin, Columbia River and California, Plains, Eastern Woodlands, and the Southwest and northern Mexico. It preceded the "culture area" approach (see below) that was the key to the planning of the *HNAI* series in the 1960s.

Clark Wissler and The American Indian (1917)

Clark Wissler (b. 1870, d. 1947), an AMNH anthropology curator, produced perhaps the most ambitious single-authored counterpart to the BAE's *HAINM* set. His seminal tome, *The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World* (1917), covered a broad set of topics for both North and South America, from archaeology and architecture to physical anthropology, languages, ritualism, mythology, and social structure. The book contained more than 100 ethnographic photographs and maps and a detailed index. Wissler's volume pioneered the concept of "food areas" (Wissler 1917:7–10) and "culture areas" to describe the Native cultures of the Americas that provided the core organizational principle for the *HNAI* series five decades later (see below).

Diamond Jenness and the Indians of Canada (1932)

In 1932, New Zealand–born Canadian anthropologist Diamond Jenness (b. 1886, d. 1969) published *The Indians of Canada*, the first anthropological synthesis of the northern portion of the North American continent. Released jointly by the National Museum of Canada and the Canadian Department of Mines (Jenness



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1946

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
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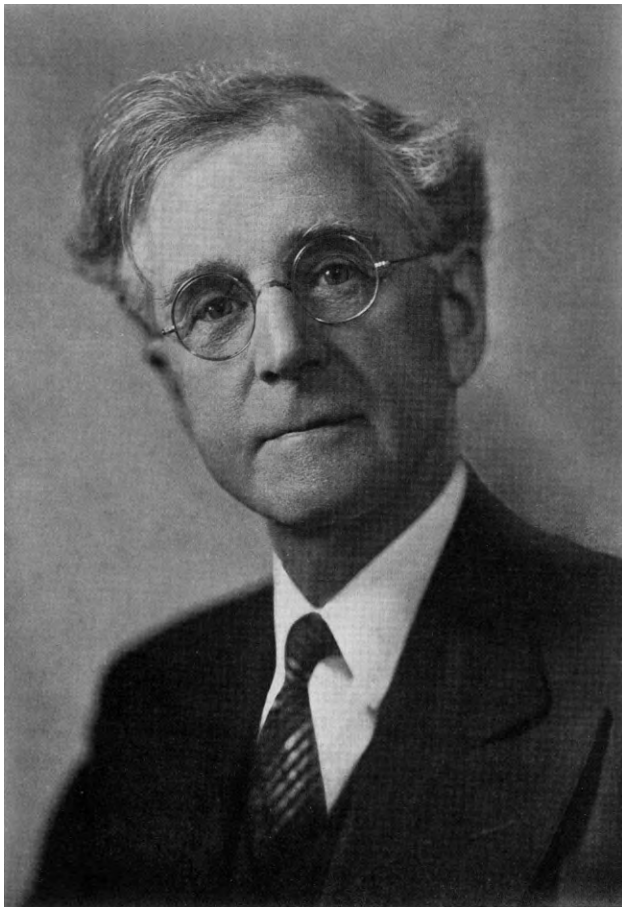
top, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (NAA INV 02871300).

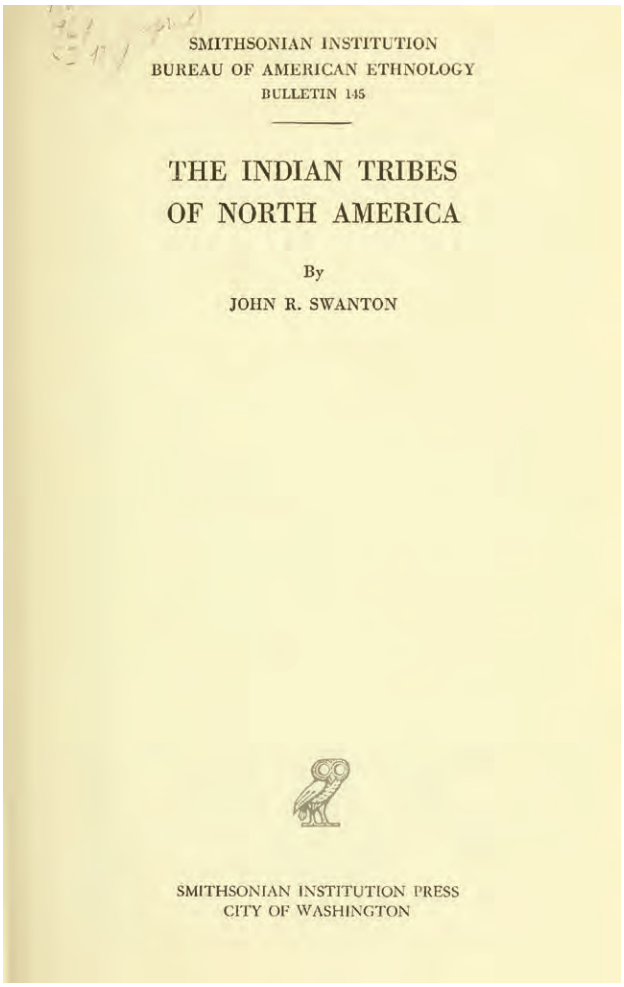
Fig. 10. top, Julian H. Steward (b. 1902, d. 1972) with Chief Louis Billy Prince (?), reportedly taken in 1940 when Steward was working among the Carrier (Dakelh) at Fort St. James, British Columbia. bottom, *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 1 (1946), title page, BAE Bulletin 143.

1932), it was written with a broad audience in mind. The 450-page book had 24 chapters in two large parts: the first part covered major categories of material and social culture, such as languages, economic conditions, dwellings, clothing, social life, religion, arts, and folklore; whereas, the second part featured the Native groups of Canada in seven major ecocultural divisions (analogous to the "culture areas"). It provided detailed treatment of more than 40 individual aboriginal nations of Canada. The tome was an inviting and user-friendly book and a valuable reference source, with many illustrations, in-text maps, and a larger folded pocket map of Canada

John R. Swanton and the Indian Tribes of North America (1952)

John R. Swanton (b. 1873, d. 1958) (fig. 11), lifelong BAE ethnologist (Steward 1960:331), singlehandedly produced two major syntheses: a 943-page regional overview of the Native tribes of the Southeastern United States (Swanton 1946) and the 726-page continental treatment of all Native groups of North America covering the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Central America (Swanton 1952) (fig. 11). Neither was named a handbook, though Swanton certainly followed the *HAINM* format, particularly for his second book. It was structured around the then-48 states of the United States, followed by Alaska, Canada, the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America. Each state section (chapter) provided an alphabetical list of major Indian tribes, their location, major subdivisions, brief history, and early contact population estimates taken from James Mooney's compilations made for the *HAINM* some 40 years prior (Mooney 1928; Ubelaker [1976] 1992). Entries on Native groups south of the U.S.-Mexican border were rudimentary. The volume included four folded regional maps of North American tribal areas and a 47-page index with hundreds of names of Native groups and their historic subunits, another legacy of the BAE *HAINM* tradition.

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THE INDIAN TRIBES
OF NORTH AMERICA

By
JOHN R. SWANTON

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION PRESS
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top, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (NAA INV 02871900).

Fig. 11. top, John R. Swanton (1873–1958). right, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (1952), title page, BAE Bulletin 145.

Harold E. Driver and Indians of North America (1961)

Indians of North America was a 650-page volume by Harold E. Driver (b. 1907, d. 1982), a student of Kroeber, who published scores of books and essays on the continental distribution of Native American cultural elements between the 1930s and the 1970s (e.g., Driver and Massey 1957; see below). It was an ambitious summary of Native North American cultures, including economies, languages, religion, and personality, though Driver's scholarly style appealed primarily to anthropology students and teachers.

The Native Americans (1965)

The Native Americans (Spencer et al. 1965) was a single-volume textbook written by a team of seven American anthropologists, with Robert F. Spencer and Jesse D. Jennings as principal contributors. It featured a broad range of topics in short chapters, including archaeology, languages, and modern urban Native communities. Its 11 core chapters described the main "culture areas" of North America, from the Arctic to Mesoamerica (see below), covering the local environment, main tribal groups featured on regional maps, economy and technology, social organization, arts and religion. The 600-page synthesis, filled with illustrations, extensive bibliography, and alphabetical list of tribes, was close in scope to the future *HNAI* series, except for its single-volume format and more popular style.

The "Culture Areas": Mapping and Classification of Native Cultures

The final essential element of any continental treatment of cultures is their classification and mapping. *HAINM* two-volume set (Hodge 1907–1910) used an alphabetical order for "tribes" and tribal names (compared to Gallatin's language families and Powell's "linguistic stocks"), evidently for easy practical use. Yet another concept of classifying Native American/First Nations groups by "culture areas" was already in the making.

Its origin was associated with the famed debate in 1887 among Franz Boas and Otis T. Mason, John W. Powell, and William H. Dall, of the Smithsonian, about the similarities in human cultures and their representation in museums and ethnographic classifications (Boas 1887a, 1887b, 1987c; Buettner-Janush 1957; Dall 1887; Driver 1962; Hinsley 1981:98–100; Jacknis 1985; Mason 1887; Powell 1887; Stocking 1974:61–67, 1974). Both Boas and Mason soon had a chance to implement their vision in Native American ethnological displays at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (also known as the Chicago World's Fair (Hinsley and Wilcox 2016; Jacknis 2016; Rydell 1987). Mason used Powell's map of "linguistic families" (Powell 1891) for a display of 16 selected "families" represented by life groups of costumed mannequins of Native people from each family (Mason 1894:211; DeMallie 2001b:2). After the exposition, the mannequins were transferred to the U.S. National Museum, where Mason reinstalled them using another framework he called "culture areas" or "environments." Mason distinguished 10 "culture areas" within North America (18 altogether for the Western Hemisphere) and penned their names, a combination of geography and linguistics: Arctic, Athapscan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, Plains, North Pacific Coast, Columbia Drainage, and so on (Mason 1896:647–652).

Ten years later, for the *HAINM* entry on "Environment," Mason (1907:427–430) used a slightly modified set of 12 "ethnic environments" in North America. A map was produced by his BAE colleague William Holmes that featured 23 "geo-ethnic groups" or "geographical culture provinces" for North and Central America, including 12 to the north of the U.S.-Mexican border (Holmes 1903:269; 1914) (fig. 12a). Holmes's map became the basis for Native American ethnological displays at the U.S. National Museum, later the NMNH, until the 1990s (Fitzhugh 1997a; U.S. National Museum 1967) ("Code of Ethics," this vol., fig. 3).

Boas at AMNH in New York pioneered his own vision in 1900, when he created the first true North American "culture area" hall of the Northwest Coast cultures (Freed 2012:402–403; Jacknis 2004a). Three other "culture area" halls at AMNH for Plains, Southwest, and Eastern Woodland were built by Boas' successor, Clark Wissler (Freed 2012:402–422; Jacknis 1985, 2015a, 2015b). Wissler advanced the "culture area" concept (Wissler 1906, 1914) in his treatment of nine culture areas of North America: Southwest, California, Plateau, Plains, Southeast, Eastern Woodland, Mackenzie, North Pacific Coast, and the Arctic (Wissler 1914) (fig. 12b), accompanied by a large map featuring more than 200 Native tribes in these areas. Later, Wissler (1917) added six more "culture areas" for Central and South America (see Driver and Coffin 1973; Freed and Freed 1983; Kroeber 1918; Murdock 1948; Woods 1934). Wissler's "culture area" classification (which was close to that of Mason and Holmes at the U.S. National Museum) was eventually used for Native American ethnographic displays in all major museums in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

Alfred L. Kroeber, another leading proponent of the "culture area" concept (Driver 1962:1; Kroeber 1904,

Redrawn by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 12. Early maps of "culture areas" of North America. Created by: a, William H. Holmes (1914); b, Clark Wissler (1914); c, Alfred L. Kroeber (1939); d, Harold Driver (1961).

1908, 1920, 1923b, 1925) produced a new continental map of culture areas of North America (Kroeber 1923a:337) (fig. 12c). Kroeber's major contribution was his seminal overview of the cultural and natural areas of North America (Kroeber 1939), accompanied by a large map featuring 6 grand areas, 56 smaller areas, and 43 subareas, a major advancement compared to the much shorter typologies of Mason, Holmes, and Wissler.

During the same decade, Diamond Jenness at the National Museum of Canada published the first map of culture areas of Canada—seven total (Jenness 1932:11), while geographer Carl Sauer (b. 1889, d. 1975) introduced a similar system of 14 historical culture areas of North America in an influential children's textbook (Sauer 1939). Anthropologist George P. Murdock (b. 1897, d. 1986) used his classification of 15 culture areas in North America for the multivolume "Ethnographic Bibliography" series (Murdock 1941, 1953, 1960). Harold Driver, another active proponent of "culture areas" identified 11 large "areas" to the north of the U.S.-Mexican border, plus three areas across Mexico, Mesoamerica, and the Caribbean (fig. 12d**)** (Driver et al., 1953:4–7; Driver and Massey 1957:172–173; Driver 1961:12–20; Vogt 1962).

Lastly, Sturtevant, the future *HNAI* general editor, created a new map of North American "culture areas" in 1965 for the *National Atlas of the United States* published by the U.S. Department of the Interior (Sturtevant 1967c, 1970c) (fig. 13). Originally asked to compile a map of what was called "Indian Tribes, Cultures, and Languages," Sturtevant mailed copies of available maps of Indian tribal areas (like those of Swanton, Driver, and others) to a number of his peers and invited them to draw in boundaries for key culture areas (Driver and Coffin 1973:16). The *National Geographic Magazine* printed a large continental version of Sturtevant's map under the title "Indians of North America" (1972) and issued it as a wall map in 1979 that went through several later reprints (in 2000, 2004, and 2009 – National Geographic Society n.d.).

By the 1950s and 1960s, the concept of "culture areas" had become a basic tool in North American anthropology, so that in Steward's (1955:79) words "to question it might seem to throw doubt on anthropology itself." Sturtevant's map, in particular, served as the basis for all subsequent maps and classifications of Native American societies for general public (Waldman 1985:30–43), including for the *HNAI* series.

Conclusion

In 1966, when members of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA) debated the organization of the *HNAI* series (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.), the concept of the anthropological "handbook" pioneered by the BAE was a time-honored format that influenced generations of Americanist scholars. Sturtevant (1985) argued for keeping the term *handbook* for the *HNAI* project in his memo to the Smithsonian officials:

> There are good reasons for retaining *Handbook of North American Indians* as the title for (this) work. This is the fourth work in a series [of similar publications], and will return that series to S.I. auspices:
>
> 1. *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* published by the S.I. in 1907–1910. . . .
> 2. *Handbook of South American Indians* published by the S.I. in 1946–1959. . . .
> 3. *Handbook of Middle American Indians* published by the University of Texas. . . .
>
> Our present one is designed as a replacement and updating for the first of these, and the title was chosen both to reflect that fact and to conform to the style of the South American and Middle American Handbooks. We thereby keep a form of the title that is well recognized by scholars, librarians, teachers, and others. . . .

By the 1960s, the prevailing format for a *large-scale* encyclopedic synthesis was a set of many volumes. In addition to the ongoing handbook of Middle American Indians of 16 volumes, the *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, in its fourth edition, had expanded to five volumes plus three volumes of supplements (Murdock and O'Leary 1975 [1990]). In the same decade, the *Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians* appeared in eight volumes (U.S. Department of the Interior 1966), and the new edition of the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, in 17 volumes (Sills and Merton 1968; Rosen 1968).

The organization and mapping of Native American/First Nations societies by "culture areas" was another crucial element established in the mid-twentieth century as the basis for continental syntheses (Driver and Massey 1957; Kroeber 1925, 1939; Swanton 1946), museum ethnographic displays, including at the Smithsonian (Smith 1988; U.S. National Museum 1967, 1970; Yochelson 1985), college course packs (Spencer 1956), and maps for public use (National Geographic Magazine 1972; Sturtevant 1967c). The then-dominant Americanist scholarly tradition was rooted since its early years to reach out to diverse readership, including people in government agencies, federal and local legislators, teachers, students, and a growing cohort of American Indian intellectuals, who increasingly participated in this production of published cultural knowledge (Liberty 1978).

These and other "antecedent" factors helped shape the vision on the format and prospective audience of

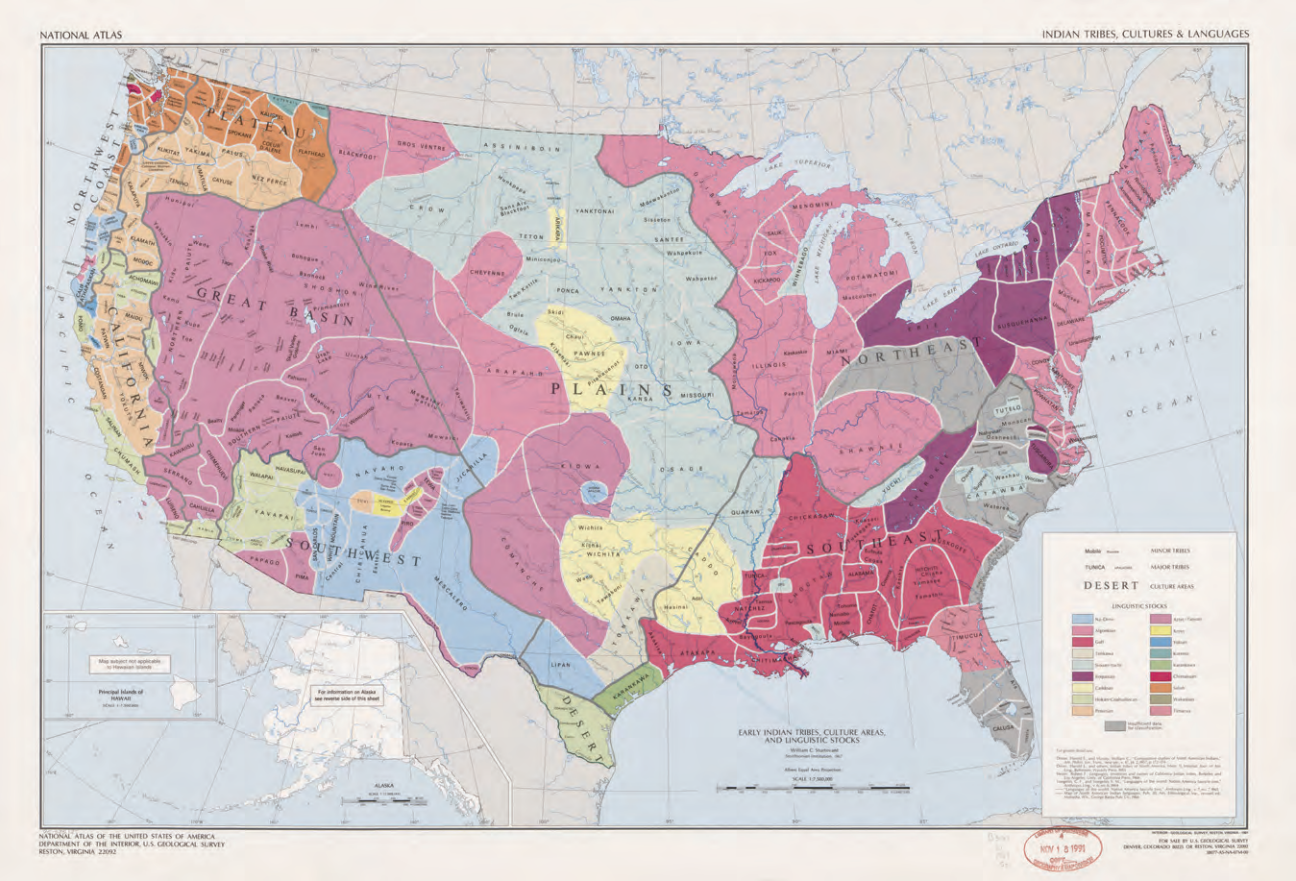

Fig. 13. Map of culture areas of the United States (originally called "Indian Tribes, Cultures and Languages"), by William C. Sturtevant. top, Continental United States. opposite page, Alaska. (Sturtevant 1967c; https://www.loc.gov/item/95682185/)

the Smithsonian *HNAI* series (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" this vol.). Planned almost simultaneously with the rise of the American Indian Movement (Deloria 2008; Hertzberg 1988), the new series was expected to offer *modern* perspectives on Native American societies and sociopolitical developments. The Smithsonian Institution had the required name recognition, honored history of scholarship, and tradition of partnering with Native American knowledge holders to lead such a project.

Additional Readings

With Cesare Marino

Concise summaries of the early era of anthropological research on Native North Americans are available in Bieder (1986), Hallowell (1960), and Whiteley (2004b). All regional volumes of the *HNAI* series contain special chapters on the history of anthropological research in respective areas, with a multitude of references, including the most detailed for Plains (DeMallie and Ewers 2001), Northeast (Tooker 1978), Southwest (Basso 1979a), and Southeast (Jackson et al. 2004). For specific topics or areas, see Trigger (1989) and Zimmerman (2004) for archaeology; Campbell (1997) and Tooker (2002) for linguistics, also I. Goddard (1996a, 1996b) and Mithun (1996a) in *Handbook* volume 17, *Languages* (Goddard 1996c), including on Powell, Boas, the BAE, and its *Handbook*; Morse (1822), Sanford (1819), Drake (1833), and Thwaites (1904–1907) for early historical sources on the Indian country; and Kan (2018).

Many topics addressed in this chapter are also covered at length in *Handbook* volume 4, *History of Indian–White Relations* (Washburn 1988a), particularly in Feest (1988), Fiedler (1988), Hagan (1988), Horsman (1988), Prucha (1988), and Surtees (1988a). A useful compilation of "Non-Indian Biographies" (Washburn 1988a:617–699) offers information on many historical figures listed here. The best resources on the history of the U.S. National Museum and BAE anthropology are monographs by Hinsley (1981, 1994) and Darnell (1998, based on her PhD dissertation: Darnell [1969]), as well as the annual reports of

EARLY INDIAN TRIBES, CULTURE AREAS, AND LINGUISTIC STOCKS

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTIONS

Tribal distributions depicted on these maps (and on all other tribal maps covering a comparable area) are arbitrary at many points. Detailed knowledge of tribal areas was acquired at different times in different regions. For example, by the time knowledge was gained of the areas occupied by Plains tribes, many groups in the East had become extinct or had moved from their aboriginal locations. Some of these movements ultimately affected distributions on the Plains prior to reasonably detailed knowledge of Plains occupancy. Hence, it is not possible to approximate aboriginal areas of occupancy on a single map of continental scope. Furthermore, most groups did not occupy sharply defined areas, so that the delineation of territories is misleading.

Distributions were derived, with slight modifications, from *Indian tribes of North America* (Driver and others, 1953), and boundaries within California were simplified after *Languages, territories, and names of California Indian tribes* (Heizer, 1966). According to the authors of these publications, the boundaries shown are those of the mid-17th century in the Southeast and the eastern part of the Northeast, the late 17th and early 18th centuries farther west in the Northeast, the late 18th and early 19th centuries in the Plains, the late 18th century in California, and the middle-to-late 19th century elsewhere. Even so, many compromises had to be made.

CULTURE AREAS

Culture areas, which indicate groupings of tribes of similar cultural type, are after "Comparative studies of North American Indians" (Driver and Massey, 1957), with revisions by William C. Sturtevant in consultation with John C. Ewers, Smithsonian Institution. Boundaries are arbitrary in many places because the basis of classification is vague and distributions of most cultural traits do not coincide. The groupings shown are fairly representative of classifications found useful by several generations of anthropologists.

LINGUISTIC STOCKS

Genetic relationships between Indian languages are shown on these maps. Subgroupings of more closely related languages and several remote relationships are omitted. The linguistic stocks are based on "Languages of the world: Native America fascicle one" and "Languages of the world: Native America fascicle two" (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1964 and 1965), and *Map of North American Indian languages* (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1966). A few modifications and corrections were made by the present author (partly following suggestions by Ives Goddard, Harvard University, and Dell Hymes, University of Pennsylvania).

Research on this subject is advancing rapidly. These maps try to give a reasonable balance between fact, probable fact, and probable future opinion and take into account some of the unevenness of data and of research in different regions and different stocks.

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the BAE director (later, chief) for 1880–1920. Other notable sources on anthropology at the Smithsonian include Darnell (1999b, 2001); Ewers (1959); Goode (1897); Hanson (2004); Judd (1967); Meltzer (1983); Meltzer and Dunnell (1992); Oehser (1949); Rivinus and Youssef (1992); Trigger (1989); Washburn (1967); Woodbury and Woodbury (1999); and Yochelson (1985, 2004). Most useful brief summaries on the history of research on Indigenous peoples of North America are Kan (2018) and Whiteley (2004b) for the United States, Harrison and Darnell (2007) for Canada, and Liffman (2015) for Mexico.

Detailed entries on Native American contribution to the early studies of Indian cultures and languages are presented in Liberty (1978), including an expanded list of more than 100 individual names (Liberty and Sturtevant 1978), also in Bruchac (2018b), Kan (2003), C. Marino (2015), and Hoxie (1996). Hinsley 1981[1994] and Darnell (1998) remain the best sources regarding the BAE/Smithsonian engagement of Native American/First Nations knowledge experts in research and publications.

For "culture areas," valuable overviews include Ehrich and Henderson (1968); Spencer et al. (1965); Freed (2012); Freed and Freed (1983, on Wissler); and Driver (1962, on Kroeber), also the unpublished chapter by Driver and Coffin (1973) prepared for *Handbook*, vol. 1.

Later publications blurred again the distinction between a thematic anthropological handbook and an alphabetically-arranged encyclopedia (Lee and Daly 1999; Levinson 1991–1996; Nuttall 2004; Peregrine and Embler 2001–2003). The smaller one- or two-volume handbooks and encyclopedias made a return in the 2000s, thanks to the prestigious Oxford *Handbooks* series that produced several hundred single-volume handbooks in many fields, including 18 handbooks in anthropology, and several in Native American cultures and history (Cox and Justice 2014; Hoxie 2016; Pauketat 2012).

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