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## Anthropology at UNM, 1928-1968: A Trial Formulation

Philip K. Bock

In his influential article on the development of complex societies, the eminent American anthropologist Julian Steward (1949) suggested that all civilizations pass through a series of similar developmental stages from an early Formative era through Regional Florescence to Empire, Dark Ages and (often) an era of Cyclical Conquests. Although this evolutionary sequence has been questioned for certain civilizations, it provides a useful framework for considering the history of the UNM Department of Anthropology, which may be viewed as a microcosm of societal development.

This essay will focus on sixty years of anthropology at UNM, but it should be remembered that the story of anthropology in New Mexico is a much longer one, involving many outstanding individuals and institutions. No invidious comparison is intended; however, the larger story will have to be told elsewhere. In addition to consulting the usual documents, I have talked with many of the “old timers” with clear memories of the early days of the department. Occasional quotations will be included, and the original recordings of these interviews will be deposited in the Clark Field Archive of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology.

### Formative Era (A.D. 1928-37)

It is often difficult to date the beginnings of an institution or society since early evidence is usually ambiguous. However, one can say with confidence that there was no teaching of anthropology at UNM in 1924 but that by 1928 a program had been established. The key to this change was the selection of J.F. Zimmerman as acting President in 1927 and his confirmation as President the following year. Zimmerman’s PhD was in political science from Columbia University, and he brought to UNM a fascination with anthropology.

The “Formative,” according to Steward, is the era during which the major patterns of a community’s culture take form and its principle technologies appear. It is thus significant that President Zimmerman chose as the first professor of anthropology Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett (1865-1946), an energetic and controversial figure who was also Director of the School of American Research (S.A.R.) in Santa Fe. By 1928-29, Hewett – one of 43 faculty members at UNM — had established a Department of Anthropology that offered three courses: General Anthropology; American Archaeology; and Social Anthropology.

Students also had opportunities to gain practical experience by working with the State Archaeological Survey. The first archaeology field school was held in the summer of 1928 in the Jemez Mountains. A line in the Biennial Report of the University indicates that between 1927 and 1929, joint use of the printing press of the S.A.R. was begun, initiating the long, cooperative relationship between the S.A.R. and the University Press.

Another Hewett protégé, Paul Walter, Jr., soon became Editor of University Publications. (Walter later received his PhD from Stanford University, based on his ethnographic studies of three New Mexico villages, and was the founder of the UNM Department of Sociology.)

Zimmerman, Hewett, and H.L. Kent (President of what is now NMSU) formed a committee that called for the conservation of the state's rich "scientific resources," including "Ruins of Ancient Civilizations" (e.g., Rio Grande, San Juan, and Mimbres Valley pueblos), and extensive "Fossil Fields" (e.g., between Santa Fe and Espanola, and between Cuba and Farmington). These are areas that sixty years of research have shown to be of inestimable scientific value.

By 1929-30, offerings in anthropology had grown to seven regular classes plus two "graduate research" courses. The department was now located in the second story of Hodgkin Hall, and Hewett was joined by Mamie Tanquist (Miller) as Instructor and Reginald Fisher, graduate assistant. The following year Tanquist became Assistant Professor and Fisher received an MA, writing a thesis on "A Plan for an Archaeological Survey of the Pueblo Plateau." A second MA went to Blanche Harper for her "Notes on the Documentary History, the Language, and the Rituals and Customs of Jemez Pueblo." Thus, from the very beginning, the UNM program emphasized graduate training and firsthand research in both archaeology and ethnology. (Succeeding theses dealt with Zuni language and with Pueblo art.)

The undergraduate program began to attract students and the first three BA degrees were awarded in 1931-32. Six more were given the following year, and Marjorie Ferguson, who had received one of them, became a part-time Instructor. Hewett's strategy for building the department was clear: he used his connections with the S.A.R. and throughout the Southwest to recruit students and faculty both for classes and field sessions. By 1935, the roster of faculty had grown to six full-time members and several part-time instructors, a level that was not to be exceeded for nearly 30 years! Besides Hewett, the regular faculty was composed of Mamie Tanquist Miller (now with a PhD from USC), Donald D. Brand (PhD, UC-Berkeley), Reginald Fisher, Florence Hawley (PhD, University of Chicago), and Clyde Kluckhohn (on leave, 1934-35). Instructors included Kenneth Chapman (S.A.R.), Marjorie Ferguson Tichy, and Paul F. Walter, Jr. Prof. E.F. Casterter, then Head of Biology at UNM was also listed, due to his interests in ethnobiology, as was historian Lansing Bloom.

Florence Hawley Ellis recalled the atmosphere of the Department during this era in the following words:

Dr. Hewett [ contact with the Pueblo people that was far beyond what most people had. [ many things he had his fingers in kept him ultra busy, and he couldn't do very much in research.... To help cut the problem of time, he had Paul Reiter driving him to and from Santa Fe, and thus he could think of his lectures or nap on the way down or back. This kept Paul in on all that was going on at the time. [ also favored) Reginald Fisher, an

engineering student. Reg helped in the museums and also in the department. [ was a very jolly soul. He was energetic. He worked in the field schools as Paul did, with Hewett, and was always in charge of the engineering end of things.

Field sessions were held during the summer of 1935 at both Chaco Canyon and in the Jemez, with many notable visiting instructors, including some who would later become UNM Faculty (e.g., Hubert Alexander, Howard Dittmer, Paul Reiter) or, like Bertha Dutton, part of the NM museum system. Clyde Kluckhohn, whose academic career finally took him to Harvard, was particularly enthusiastic about New Mexico as a living laboratory for anthropology, and had strong views on the role of environmental and multi-cultural studies at UNM (see Kluckhohn 1937).

By the end of the Formative era, the basic cultural patterns of the department were established and its future direction foreshadowed in the strong emphasis on Southwestern studies, the forging of interdepartmental ties, and the attraction of talented students, many of whom would become leaders in the field. In 1936-37, Hewett stepped aside and Donald Brand became Head of the department. Three Arthur N. Pack Scholarships went during that year to Robert Uster, Douglas Osborne, and Joseph Toulouse, while the seven BAs granted in anthropology included Bertha Dutton and Donovan Senter. Also in that year, sociology courses were dropped from the anthropology curriculum as a separate department was established under Paul Walter, Jr., and a young research assistant in archaeology named Frank Hibben first joined the program. Recalling those years, Frank Hibben said,

[He] was older than I thought, and yet he was doing the work of a dynamo. He was a very hospitable, wonderful guy who certainly treated me well, and he had great concern for the graduate students. . . . In the first class I taught was Bob Lister, Jim Spuhler, Al Hayes, Donovan Senter and J. Charles Kelly. . . . Dr. Hewett chose me and Bob Lister and Gordon Vivian to go out to Chaco. . . . he thought the ruins were being despoiled there, and of course they were [ compared to the pot hunting today it was nothing. . . . I still get letters from students who [ the Chaco field school] their most marvelous experience. And so many of the good ones became professionals, you'd be amazed.

#### Early Regional Florescence (A.D. 1938-47)

The succeeding era saw a loosening of Hewett's control over the department (he retired in 1939), though he remained active in writing until his death in 1946. Prof. Brand continued the Southwestern emphasis of the program, working regularly at Chaco Canyon but also expanding his own research into northern Mexico with pioneering studies in "anthropogeography." He and Prof. Hawley (during this era, married to O. Senter) were demanding teachers who insisted on the integration of archaeological and ethnological studies with one another and with a deep understanding of their environmental contexts. Their vision attracted many outstanding scholars and students.

Research in the Rio Grande valley and Chaco Canyon was now extended into other areas—a process of “regional florescence” made possible by the increased availability of research funds and growing numbers of graduate students. In 1937, Willard W. “Nibs” Hill, joined the department, bringing broad experience in North American ethnology and especially Navajo studies. Future anthropologists John Goggin and Wesley Hurt received their B.A.s in June of 1938. The following year we find the first mention of another influential future member of the department: a seminar in “Contemporary Anthropology” was offered by Dr. Leslie Spier. Spier, whose PhD was from Columbia under Franz Boas, was teaching at Berkeley, but he managed, over the next 15 years, to spend at least one semester each year at UNM where he was highly regarded as a teacher, researcher, and editor.

An important pattern established in these early years (and continuing to the present) was the recruitment of a permanent faculty whose graduate training had been received at many different, high quality institutions, and a virtually complete absence of “academic inbreeding.” Although many people who had been undergraduates at UNM ultimately returned to teach here, in its sixty year history only one individual (W. James Judge) who received a doctorate at UNM has ever become a regular faculty member and then only after having served his teaching apprenticeship elsewhere! Thus, Spier had trained at Columbia, Brand at Berkeley, Hawley at Chicago, Hill at Yale, and Hibben at Harvard. Marjorie Ferguson Tichy got her doctorate at USC (where Hewett was also Chair). Together with Paul Reiter (who was pursuing his doctoral studies in physical anthropology at Harvard), these people formed the core of the anthropology faculty into the early 1940s, training such well-known scholars as Robert F. Spencer, Alden Hayes, and Douglas Osborne. Despite wartime duties and austerities, between 1941 and 1943, 8 BAs and 3 MAs were awarded. One of the BAs went to James N. Spuhier who was to return, more than 25 years later, as the first UNM Distinguished Professor of Anthropology.

Research interests during this era are documented in *The New Mexican Anthropologist*, a series published irregularly at UNM between 1936 and 1944, edited by Professors Brand and Hill. At the end of 1944, this series was succeeded by the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, a new publication, which, under the editorship of Leslie Spier, was soon acknowledged to be one of the finest such serials in the country. (Unconfirmed information suggests that Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons provided financial backing for the Journal in its early years.)

During most of this period, anthropology offices were housed in the Administration Building (now Scholes Hall), together with a growing collection of ethnological and archaeological materials, some of which were displayed in hallway cases. Relations between professors and students were close and informal, with many weekend field trips to Southwestern sites and ceremonies as well as club meetings (Mu Alpha Nu, or MAN) and parties. The eight MA theses completed during this (wartime) era centered on Pueblo archaeology but some explored ethnological and linguistic topics

throughout the greater Southwest. Speaking of the atmosphere of these years, Dr. Hawley Ellis recalled that

I had more classes than anybody else did in the department, and this was an Inheritance from World War II. So many men were gone, and those of us who were left had to pile up things. I even taught physical anthropology which was not my line. . . . Leslie Spier was a person who believed... you should have your data exactly. . . . He wanted to know where things came from... He made students learn those [ things, a little in the way Brand made students learn his (geographic) things.

Following Julian Steward, we may say that the early Florescent era fulfilled many of the potentialities of the Formative era and that “intellectual trends,” if not fulfilled, were at least well established.

#### Late Regional Florescence (A.D. 1948-57)

During World War II, several anthropology faculty members became involved in government- sponsored activities (e.g., Brand in Mexico for the Smithsonian Institution and Hill on campus with the Navy V12 Program). After the war, the University braced itself for an influx of students, many under the GI Bill, and anthropology underwent a number of significant changes. In 1947, Donald Brand left UNM, first for the University of Michigan and, two years later, to the University of Texas, Austin, where he spent the remainder of a long and distinguished career as Latin American scholar and founded the UT program in Geography. Dr. Brand died in 1984, but his widow, Joy E. Brand, provided the following reminiscence:

The department was small, but... everybody at the University was so enthusiastic, I really enjoyed it. And the students. .. In anthropology. . . were just in love with archaeology, and they also affected a lot of the Indian attire. .. moccasins and silver jewelry, and concho belts. . . but they were serious about their work and they later distinguished themselves in various capacities.

“Nibs” Hill became Chair of anthropology in 1947, a position he would hold for the next 15 years. According to Florence Hawley Ellis, Hill wanted to model UNM anthropology on the Yale program; I.e., while retaining strength in all four fields (ethnology, archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics), and maintaining the Southwestern emphasis, Hill wanted greater specialization and also some geographic diversification. His close friendship with members of the central administration, especially with President Tom Popejoy and Academic Vice President France Scholes, assured continuing support for anthropology and made possible the gradual development of a doctoral program (one of the few in the country at that time). The department continued to produce mainly “comprehensive MAs,” but a PhD was awarded for the first time to John Adair in 1948, for his study of returning war veterans at Zuni Pueblo. Adair recalled the postwar era at UNM in the following words:

I came because I loved the Southwest and had had years of experience on the Navajo... That was the Fall of 1945 and... then I went out to Zuni to do my field research and dissertation. Those present as I recall were Donald Brand, a cultural geographer... Florence Hawley, Leslie Spier, who was wonderful in the classroom, but a little on the shy side, and Paul Reiter, who was delegated the job of prepping all of us for our orals. ... I was one of two people to get out of this place alive with a PhD, doing my dissertation on Zuni veterans of the second World War. . . . unfortunately did not have any classes with Nibs but I used to go over to Nibs' house: everyone was so receptive to students at that time. The world wasn't as frantic and crazy. [ for the program] everyone had to know a good bit of physical anthropology and linguistics and archaeology. . . . There was an emphasis on a rounded education in anthropology

The second PhD went in 1951 to Charles Lange for his study of Cochiti Pueblo. Other distinguished graduate students of this era include H. Amoss, J. Brody, W. Buskirk, A. Dittert, E. Dozier, H. Naylor, C. Riley, H. McClay, E. Rogers, W. Roosa, and M. Sloan. John M. Campbell was also a graduate student during that era, coming to UNM in 1950, and he told of the experience in his usual colorful manner:

In those days there were only two courses taught in the graduate program that separated the sheep from the goats One was a course in anthropological theory taught by Nibs and the other was a course taught by Paul Reiter on professional writing. . . . Because of my performance in his course, Paul took a special liking to me and asked me if I would be his chief foreman for the upcoming UNM field school in archaeology which was to be held in the Fort Stanton reservation in Lincoln County.... Of the 24 students on that dig, 8 or 10 of us went on to get PhDs either in anthropology or geology. [ Spier] was. . . the most impeccable classroom teacher I've ever known. . . Every day he came to class carrying charts or maps he'd made on butcher paper. He was a very private person. . . an extremely formal man, almost Victorian. . . . Nibs didn't horse around with Leslie Spier the way he did with everybody else.

“Jack” Campbell went on to get his PhD at Yale, but he was to return to UNM and guide its growth in a later era.

Two important additions to the faculty were made during this era. In 1949, Stanley S. Newman (a student of Edward Sapir's at Yale) who had been working in Mexico for the Smithsonian Institution, was hired to teach anthropological linguistics (see Bock and Basehart 1985). Newman was to spend the remainder of his life in Albuquerque. Like Leslie Spier, he had a quiet but authoritative manner that kept many people in awe of his analytic abilities and he was an influential teacher. Then, in 1953, Harry W. Basehart, a social anthropologist with his degree from Harvard, joined the department, bringing a rich background in African and Iroquoian studies as well as solid

training in British-style social anthropology. Both men soon became involved in Southwestern field research, Newman concentrating on Zuni grammar while Basehart studied Apache social structure and personality. Basehart remembered that

By the time I arrived at UNM there was already a full scale graduate program with the major activity concentrating on the MA rather than the PhD; but the whole program was there. I taught the physical courses [somatology] and introductory courses, both. . . physical and archaeology and the one in cultural anthropology. And more advanced courses in areas like kinship and Africa, but not every semester obviously. (PKB: At what point did you get involved in Apache research?) Right from the start almost. After the first summer, I'd work on my own without any money. . . at Jicarilla. Then the Mescalero had problems in connection with land claims and they needed research done there [ I went to Mescalero where there was the possibility of financial support.

Leslie Spier retired in 1955 but he continued to edit the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology until 1961. (See Basehart and Hill, 1965.) At that time, Basehart, assisted by Newman, took over the editorial duties for the Journal, which had by then acquired an international reputation and readership, devoting nearly twenty years of their academic careers to its production.

During the late 1950s, the faculty stabilized around five core members (Hill, Ellis, Hibben, Newman, and Basehart) with occasional visitors teaching specialized courses and participating in summer field sessions. Ellis headed field sessions alternating with Hibben's sessions. Through his popular writings and his statewide appearances as a public speaker, Frank Hibben became known as the traveling spokesman of anthropology at UNM. He was also instrumental in adding to the anthropology "museum" by encouraging donations as well as making his own contributions. This burgeoning collection together with the growing doctoral program (nine PhDs were awarded during this era) were the two major forces that produced phenomenal growth and change in the program during the succeeding decade.

#### Initial Empire (A.D. 1958-67)

By the late 1950s, the five regular faculty members (poorly paid by national standards) were teaching heavy loads while carrying out administration, research, editing and museum duties without extra compensation. Enrollments in undergraduate courses and the graduate program were on the rise, but few would have predicted the tremendous increase in student demand and in national support for anthropology that would fuel growth at UNM, tripling the size of the faculty within this decade. Requests for additional faculty were finally granted in 1960 and Eugene Hammel (PhD, UC-Berkeley) was added to the roster. During this period, the department offices were moved to the former Student Union (now the Anthropology Building), and space was made available for artifact collections and displays.

When Hammel left, returning to Berkeley as a professor in 1962, Philip Bock, a new PhD from Harvard with interests in American Indians and psychological anthropology was recruited. The same year, J.J. Brady (a former UNM undergraduate) was brought in as curator of exhibits—the first museum professional at UNM. Two more ethnologists were added in the following year: Karl Schwerin, a Latin Americanist with his doctorate from UCLA, and James Sebring, a South Asia specialist with his degree from UC-Berkeley. These four men were all to remain at UNM for over 25 years.

In 1964, Jack Campbell (now with his PhD from Yale and several years experience at George Washington University) was brought to UNM to succeed Hill as chair:

When I arrived here, Hoyt Trowbridge [of Arts and Sciences] made it very clear to me that my Job was to put new life into the department. I had a lot of encouragement [and] over a period of eight years I added about two people a year, so we started out with seven faculty members and wound up with twenty-three when I quit... After I'd been here a couple years it became apparent we needed more space, so Jerry Brody and I put together a scheme to convince [Trowbridge] we needed a substantial addition to the museum... Dorothy and Gilbert Maxwell gave us a handsome bunch of money. . . all earmarked for the museum.... When I went over and told Sherman Smith and John Perovich.. . that money was coming in the next week, we jumped from last place on the [list to the second... . Then Jerry and I wrote a long proposal and we had our new museum and our new faculty offices.

Nancie S. Gonzalez, a medical anthropologist and Caribbean specialist with her doctorate from Michigan, was hired In 196; and, with the other permanent faculty (now numbering nine), lectured to growing crowds In what had formerly been the Student Union Ballroom, now equipped for introductory classes of up to 600 students.

Ethnology had been strengthened by these hirings, but future growth was also to include the other sub-fields. With the support of the University administration, Campbell was able to recruit outstanding scholars and teachers such as Bruce Rigsby (linguistics), James Spuhler (human genetics), and Lewis Binford (archaeological theory). Research interests of both faculty and students diversified and, with support from the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and other funding agencies, major projects were undertaken in various parts of the world, including Africa, India, Canada, Alaska, and the Caribbean. Summer field sessions during this era were held at various sites in northern New Mexico, directed by Ellis and by Brody. Campbell traveled widely, recruiting good graduate students and spreading the word about educational and research opportunities at UNM.

Six PhDs and 27 MAs were awarded during this era. Course offerings were greatly expanded though with a relative de-emphasis on the Southwest due to the retirement of professors Hill and Ellis. Many new topics were added. For example,

William Stuart (PhD, Oregon) introduced courses on applied anthropology and on Pacific ethnology during his time here in the late 1960s. George Springer, a linguist who came to UNM as Dean of the Graduate School also had an appointment in anthropology where he taught a course on ethnomusicology. Other visitors, such as senior archaeologist Erik Reed, taught occasional courses in areas not covered by the regular faculty, and museology courses were given by Brody. Increasing staff support was clearly required and the anthropology office staff grew to two and then three full-time secretaries plus various work-study helpers.

The generosity of Gilbert and Dorothy Maxwell (the latter a UNM graduate) as well as other contributors made possible the renovation and expansion of the anthropology museum. Gifts and loans of Southwestern, Latin American, and Pacific artifacts (especially Navajo rugs and Hopi kachina dolls) added to the holdings and, with the growth of the professional staff, collections management became more systematic. A large cash gift by the Maxwells, plus donations by Ed Kennedy and Ethel-Jane Bunting brought matching funds from the State and from NSF. Stanley Rhine, a new faculty member from the University of Colorado, became curator of physical anthropology and, in 1972, an expanded facility with a volunteer program running a small gift shop was reopened as the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology. This increasingly professional institution attracted still other collections from donors such as Ed Kennedy and Mort Sachs. "Nibs" Hill, now retired, was able to complete his major studies of Navajo material culture and of Santa Clara Pueblo before his untimely death.

#### The Dark Ages (A.D. 1968-78)

Steward lists a "time of troubles" as a frequent (though not inevitable) era in the development of a civilization. While some might contest the application of this label to the era in question, the late sixties and early seventies were times when student radicalism, the CMI rights movement, and protests against the Vietnam war certainly upset the normal functioning of the University (as they did other Institutions, for better or worse). There were divisions within the faculty and the student body over many issues, but these were less disabling in anthropology than in some departments. University president Ferrel Heady handled many explosive situations with calm and grace; in retrospect, his moderate policies and willingness to listen to all sides saved the institution from more serious disruptions. Although legislative and public displeasure with the University increased during this era, basic rights of free speech and academic freedom were preserved.

Heady and, later, Provost MacAllister Hull supported the anthropology program, almost viewing it as the "jewel in the crown" of Arts and Sciences, and Dean Nat Wollman, somewhat more skeptical, also helped to sustain faculty growth. Between 1969 and 1974, there were numerous changes in personnel and organization. Stanley Newman retired and William Stuart departed. John Campbell became Director of the museum. Accessibility of the collections was steadily increased and, when J.J. Brody became museum Director in 1973, computerized data management was begun. Harry Basehart, approaching retirement, devoted three years to the Chairmanship while he continued

teaching, and editing, changing the name of the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology to the Journal of Anthropological Research.

The early seventies was a time of growth for anthropology nationwide and a certain amount of “turnover” was to be expected as faculty maneuvered for better career opportunities and students had a wider choice of graduate programs. UNM more than held its own, suffering relatively few losses (Gonzalez, Stuart, and through retirement, Basehart, Newman, and Hibben) while recruiting some very promising replacements. (Hereafter, only faculty who remained for three or more years will be mentioned.) In addition to Binford who had brought several students with him from UC-Santa Barbara, by 1976 the department had added Richard Barrett (PhD, Michigan), Linda Corded (UC Santa Barbara), Anita Alvarado (Arizona), and W.J. Judge (UNM); Lawrence Straus and Alfonso Ortiz (both of Chicago); Patricia Draper, Henry Harpending, and Jeff Froehlich (all of Harvard), and Larry Gorbet (UC-San Diego). Part-time faculty included Bernard Spolsky (another linguist who was Dean of the Graduate School), Robert Lister (also head of the National Park Service project on Chaco Canyon), and Marta Weigle (a folklorist whose primary appointment was in English but who increasingly taught courses in anthropology). The department now had considerable depth in all sub-fields and most regions of the world, and its offerings compared favorably with those of major institutions elsewhere in the country.

The surprising selection of Peter Workman (PhD, UC-Davis), a human geneticist from the University of Massachusetts, to succeed Basehart as Chairman in 1974 led to a period of lively debate on department organization, policy, and curriculum. Campbell had begun the policy of appointing assistant chairs (e.g., Sebring and Cordell) to help in the routine administration of the department and to act in his absence during summer session, but Workman carried this delegation of authority much further. Undergraduate course offerings were completely reshaped, partly in an attempt to restore enrollments, which were clearly dwindling. (This later turned out to be a national trend so that changing courses and schedules had little effect.) New emphasis was placed on graduate offerings in biological anthropology and there was considerable decentralization of departmental decision making: each sub-field was given autonomy and an elaborate committee system was instituted with only intermittent guidance from the chair.

Workman’s confrontational style did not endear him to the college administration (or to some department faculty) and he abruptly resigned the chair after two years, remaining at UNM only long enough to see several graduate students through their doctorates. Some people would consider the “Workman years” to be the depth of the Dark Ages, but he did succeed in shaking up a system that had been run on traditional lines for two generations, and some of the organizational and curricular changes that he instituted are still with us. (Decentralization is, after all, both a characteristic of feudal and of democratic structures.)

With the early resignation of Workman, Philip Bock was selected in 1976 to chair the department for what had become a rotating term of three years. The Dark Ages (which some would see as a Renaissance) were coming to a close and stability was

restored. Despite falling undergraduate enrollments, the graduate program had flourished: 28 PhDs were awarded during this era. The MA program had changed in two ways: each sub-field was responsible entirely for its own students at this level so the examinations soon became specialized rather than “comprehensive.” It was still possible to write an MA thesis, but the vast majority of candidates elected not to do so. This change accelerated Master’s studies and more than 80 MAs were awarded between 1968 and 1978.

Also starting in 1975, a grant from Byron Harvey III made it possible for the department to bring in a number of distinguished anthropologists for several days at a time. Each “Harvey Fellow” would deliver a public lecture, a limited seminar, and would meet informally with faculty and graduate students. In some cases, the public lecture would later be published in the *Journal of Anthropological Research*. Among the early Harvey Fellows were such well-known anthropologists as: David Schneider, Richard N. Adams, Robin Fox, Albert Spaulding, Clifford Geertz, Fred Eggan, Victor Turner, Sir Edmund Leach, Elizabeth Colson, Scarlett Epstein, Dennis Tedlock, and Mary Douglas. As the endowment was used up, a few “Special Harvey Lectures” were funded each year (through 1985) to take advantage of the presence of anthropologists who were in New Mexico for other purposes.

During Bock’s chairmanship the number of permanent faculty reached its maximum with the appointments of two distinguished scholars, Louise Lamphere, (a Navajo specialist from Brown University) and Jeremy Sabloff (a Harvard-trained Mayan archaeologist from Utah), as well as a number of promising younger anthropologists: Caroline Bledsoe (PhD, Stanford), Robert Santley (Ph.D., Penn State), and Man Lyn Salvador (PhD, UC-Berkeley, with major duties in the Maxwell Museum). The Chaco Center (located in the Anthropology Building), directed first by Lister and then by Judge, provided continuing employment and research opportunities for some anthropology students. The greatest support for local research was developed by the new Office of Contract Archaeology (O.C.A.). This agency of the anthropology department soon grew from a small-scale “salvage” operation to a million dollar per year service to business and government. The sudden death of its first director, Frank Broilo, was a serious setback, but within a few years the newly constituted Board of Archaeologists and succeeding directors Mark Harlan and Joseph Winter built a sustaining operation that could rapidly and effectively respond to contract opportunities and produce high quality research reports while providing learning experiences for archaeologists and ethnologists. Before the end of his term, Bock got a commitment from the University administration that made possible the centralization of O.C.A. and departmental archaeology programs in the former State Health Laboratory (now the Anthropology Annex).

Under Brody’s direction, the Maxwell Museum instituted numerous public programs and mounted a series of memorable exhibitions (e.g., on Navajo textiles, Pueblo pottery, and musical instruments). Additional courses in museology were offered and improved collections management allowed access for significant research by museum staff and visiting scholars. At the end of this era, there was a move toward

renewed integration among the sub-fields and, surprisingly, a return to emphasis on teaching and research in the Southwest.

The Mimbres Valley Project, headed by Dr. Steven LeBlanc, contributed to the understanding of this important area and, eventually, to a major museum show — one of the first Maxwell exhibitions to tour nationally. The (temporary) loss of professor Lamphere permitted the hiring of James Chisholm (PhD, Rutgers), whose appointment helped to “bridge” the sub-fields of ethnology and biological anthropology. Chisholm’s wife, Vicki Burbank, like Paula Sabloff, held a PhD in anthropology and they became adjunct members of the department, as did Bledsoe’s husband, William Murphy. But the end of Ferrel Heady’s presidency brought a changed atmosphere at UNM and it became clear that academic programs would have to justify themselves on different grounds in the future.

#### Cyclical Conquests (A.D. 1979-88)

The final era covered by this history is characterized by cycles of losses followed by gains, accompanied by increasing national and international recognition of the department. Major research projects that had been undertaken in various parts of the world during the preceding era now came to fruition. Most notable among these was the work of Lewis Binford in Paleolithic Europe, Africa, and the Arctic: a cascade of prizewinning books, monographs, articles, and doctoral dissertations by Binford and his students called attention to UNM as one of the top anthropology departments in the country. Binford received an honorary degree from Cambridge University and a Distinguished Professorship at UNM. He also delivered the prestigious Annual Research Lectureship, an honor previously bestowed on anthropologists Leslie Spier and Stanley Newman in recognition of their scholarly achievements.

Other archaeologists were similarly productive. Lawrence Straus’s long commitment to research in France and Spain resulted in dozens of articles and several major publications, as did Jeremy Sabloff’s work in the Maya region, Robert Santley’s Mexican studies, Jerry Brody’s investigations of Mimbres iconography, and Linda Cordell’s summer excavations in ancient pueblos. O.C.A. had its cycles as well, but under the leadership of Joseph Winter and Richard Chapman it achieved a high degree of integration with the department as well as continuity of financial support. The growing importance of “ethnoarchaeology” made for closer relations between the respective sub-fields.

Sabloff spoke of this era in the following terms:

The significant thing about my nine years at UNM was that it was the most stimulating intellectual environment I had ever been a part of. A number of diverse people were willing to talk, both in and outside of classrooms. We were able to attract top graduate students from all over. My perspective was more from archaeology, but we had the best students I’ve ever taught. By the mid-1980s, UNM was clearly a “top ten”

department, and in archaeology one of the top two or three in the country. Also, due to the Harvey Lectures and the S.A.R. sessions (in Santa Fe) we probably saw more world-renowned anthropologists than they did on either coast.

(Telephone conversation, 5/6/88.)

Distinguished foreign visitors during this era included Nick Peterson (Australia), William McGrew (Scotland), Hitoshi Watanabe (Japan), and Jaime Litvak King (Mexico), all of whom taught special courses in the program.

Ethnological studies were similarly diversified, with faculty and doctoral students working in southern Africa, Spain, Mexico and South America, Alaska, Australia, and the greater Southwest. Major publications during this era by Chisholm (Navajo infancy), Ortiz (editor of several volumes on the Southwest), Bock (on psychological anthropology and on Elizabethan culture), Lamphere (on ethnicity and working women), Weigle (on Southwestern folklore), and Bledsoe (on African women) illustrate the diversity of research interests within the sub-field. Ortiz received a prestigious MacArthur Fellowship while others were awarded various research grants and fellowships. Prof. Spuhler had taken over the *Journal of Anthropological Research* in 1975. Harry Basehart, though retired, again became editor in 1981 -82, after which Philip Bock took charge, producing a number of special issues, including one celebrating the Journal's fortieth anniversary. Reduced funding of ethnological fieldwork abroad led more students to undertake research within the United States, while linguistic investigations centered on English and on American Indian languages.

Biological anthropology had done well under Workman and there was much ongoing research on genetics by Spuhler and Harpending; the osteological collection built by Rhine and the investigations of primate behavior and local paleontology by Froehlich also attracted many students, though laboratory facilities were below standard. Spuhler retired in 1984 and the following year the department suffered a major loss when professors Harpending and Draper moved to more attractive positions at Penn State. The search for replacements emphasized the department's desire for greater integration, i.e., for new persons who might "bridge" the divisions among sub-fields that had grown during the preceding eras. This led to the selection of paleoanthropologist Erik Trinkaus who combined physical anthropology with archaeology in his studies of Neanderthal man, and of cognitive anthropologist Chad McDaniel whose interests combined ethnology and linguistics. During the early 1980s, J. Sabloff and L Cordell alternated in the chair while maintaining their respective field programs; but in 1986, these two scholars left for positions in major research institutions; when both Bledsoe and McDaniel also departed, department morale reached an all-time low.

After many years of growth or, at least, stability, UNM was paying the price of its national reputation which, combined with low salaries and declining financial support from the State, made it vulnerable to "raiding" by better-endowed institutions. In 1987, Karl Schwerin became chair. Despite considerable instability in the University administration (e.g., three different presidents within four years and a new Dean of Arts

and Sciences) he was able to argue for anthropology's needs and achievements. Thus when Brody left the Maxwell Museum to teach in Art History, a new Director was found in Garth Bawden, an Andean archaeologist with curatorial experience at Harvard's Peabody Museum. The "biosocial" program was given new life with the hiring of Jane Lancaster (a primatologist and social biologist from the University of Oklahoma) and Hillard Kaplan (a social ecologist with ongoing research in South America), both of whom potentially "bridged" the gap between ethnology and biological anthropology.

Southwestern archaeology, too-long neglected, was strengthened by the recruitment of W. "Chip" Wills and Robert Leonard, both with strong research interests in the pueblo areas. James Boone was selected as a "bridge" between ethnology and archaeology, and Jeff Long, a human geneticist from Michigan, took the role vacated by Spuhler and Harpending. These new faculty members had been trained at a wide variety of institutions and they brought diverse skills and attitudes to the department. Southwestern ethnology was given a lift by the hiring of Keith Basso from Yale, whose Apache studies would complement the Pueblo studies of Ortiz (back from his MacArthur years) and the Navajo work of Lamphere (back at UNM after a second interlude at Brown). Lamphere's contributions were recognized when she became President of the American Ethnological Society in 1987 and a UNM Faculty Scholar in 1988.

Some increase in undergraduate enrollment was noted during the middle 1980s, aided by course offerings during the evening hours. The graduate program maintained its strength and increased its output, awarding 45 PhDs during this "era;" dozens of MAs were granted, including five explicitly "terminal" degrees in "general anthropology;" for the first time, seven Master of Science degrees were awarded, mainly to archaeologists with strong secondary work in geology or biology. Such "crossover" studies are essential to modern, ecologically-oriented archaeology, but few students realized that they were following in the pattern set by Hewett, Ellis, and Brand during the "Formative Era" of the department!

Belated academic recognition came to some of the "old timers." Shortly before his death in 1984, Stanley Newman had been elected President of the Linguistic Society of America. A newly renovated student lounge was named for "Nibs" Hill. Florence Ellis, whose research and teaching continued long after her retirement, was given an honorary degree by UNM in 1988. Frank Hibben, whose efforts at preserving the important site of Pottery Mound were partly rewarded, made a generous gift of collections and property to the University. And Philip Bock, now the senior member of the active faculty, was designated Presidential Professor of anthropology. (Lacking any significant property, he has deeded his mortal remains to the osteological collections of the museum!)

It would be ungrateful to close this account without acknowledging the importance of department staff members, including those in the main office, the museum, the Journal, and O.C.A., to the success of our programs. Working long hours for minimal pay, these people have kept the books, typed the letters, manuscripts, and grant applications, maintained the subscriptions, answered the phones, garbled the messages,

built the exhibits, and cleaned up after us without revealing too many “dark secrets.” Most of them deserve better treatment.

The “periodization” used in this essay labeling six decades of departmental growth with the names of Steward’s developmental eras helped me to organize the documentary materials, but it should not be taken too seriously. After all, what is called for in a Centenary volume like this one is neither a piece of public relations puffery nor a definitive, objective institutional analysis. Rather, I have presented a selective account of the origin, development, and achievements of the department, indicating ups and downs along with changes of direction, letting the voices of some of the founders be heard. The discipline of anthropology has become increasingly aware of the way its social and intellectual sources relate to its potential and limitations. This brief history is intended as a contribution to that awareness as well as a celebration of anthropology at UNM.