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Herb Wright’s contributions to archaeology

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Despite the fact that Herb Wright was a geologist, it can be argued that few individuals have made greater contributions to Plains and Midwestern archaeology. The necessity of Wright’s work for midcontinental archaeology is well demonstrated and is a testament to the enduring value of his interdisciplinary approach. Wright’s three main areas of contributions to archaeology were: (1) assisting in answering archaeological research questions, (2) providing the environmental context for past cultures, and (3) assisting students of archaeology.

KEYWORDS Herbert Wright, Plains Archaeology, Midwestern archaeology, paleoecology, climate change

Herbert E. Wright, Jr. died on 12 November 2015 in St. Paul, Minnesota at the age of 98. He was born in Malden, Massachusetts on 13 September 1917. He attended Harvard University for his BA (1939), MA (1941), and PhD (1943) degrees in geology. His advisor at Harvard was Kirk Bryan. Bryan was a geomorphologist who developed a great interest in the Early Man in North America debate in the late 1920s (Bryan 1929, 1938, 1941). Wright’s dissertation topic was the geomorphology of the Chuska Mountains area in northeastern New Mexico.

Wright was just finishing his dissertation when the United States entered World War II. He joined the Army Air Corp and received his PhD in 1943 while serving as a B-17 pilot in the 8th Air Force in England. He completed two tours of duty, flying 44 missions. He finished the war as a highly decorated Major and a Command Pilot. His 95th Bomb Group was the most decorated group in the 8th Air Force.

The following brief summary of Herb Wright’s accomplishments focuses on his contributions to archaeology. Although these contributions are highly significant, they appear minor next to his contributions to glacial geology, paleoecology, and climatology. Others have summarized his contributions to quaternary science (Birks et al. 2016; Bjorck 2016; Engstrom et al. 2016; Whitlock et al. 2016).
Early archaeological interests

In 1946, Herb Wright joined the geology faculty at Brown University. Hallam Movius, a Harvard Paleolithic archaeologist and colleague of Kirk Bryan, suggested that Wright assist with interpreting the stratigraphy at Ksar Akil Cave, an Upper Paleolithic site in Lebanon. This led to Wright’s 25-year association with Robert Braidwood of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.

Wright became a faculty member with the University of Minnesota Geology Department in 1948 (Figure 1). Working with Braidwood in 1951, he investigated the Middle Paleolithic site of Barda Barka in Iraq working on the geomorphology. In 1954–1955 he was involved with Braidwood’s Jarmo project in Iraq, looking at Neolithic sites. In 1960, he was back in the Near East with Braidwood at Lake Zeribar, Iran interpreting the regional surficial geology and paleoecology.

Wright was directly exposed to American archaeology in March 1956 when Braidwood invited him to a conference at the University of Chicago on the interpretation of non-archaeological materials from sites. The conference was sponsored by the National Science Foundation. Wright spoke on Geology and his comments were published in 1957 in a volume edited by Walter Taylor. Midwestern archaeologists of note at the conference included John Champe (University of Nebraska), James Griffin and Volney Jones (University of Michigan), Richard MacNeish (National Museum of Canada), Paul Martin (Chicago Natural History Museum), and Paul Parmalee (Illinois State Museum).

After an eight-year Near Eastern field hiatus, in 1968 and 1970 Wright rejoined Braidwood at Cayonu, Turkey for further work on the environmental background to the Neolithic revolution. This was Wright’s last hands-on involvement in a Near Eastern archaeological project, as by the mid-1960s he had turned his attention to reconstructing glacial and post-glacial landscapes, environments, and climates both in Minnesota and elsewhere in the world. Wright remained involved in Near Eastern archaeology, however, especially issues concerning the Zagros Mountains environment and the development of early agriculture.

Wright established a Pollen Laboratory at the University of Minnesota in 1956, recognizing the great potential of pollen in lake sediment cores to help reconstruct ancient regional environments and past climates. Wright had taken some of his earliest sediment cores from lakes in Iran and Israel in 1960 to assist Braidwood with his Neolithic work. Wright soon became an expert on core removal, but he did not do any of the pollen identification work as he always had students and colleagues to do it. Soon recognizing that the study of lakes had paleo-environmental research potential beyond pollen, Wright established the Limnological Research Center (LRC) at the University of Minnesota in 1959.

Through his association with Braidwood at the University of Chicago, Wright also had early access to radiocarbon dating, which had been developed in the late 1940s by Willard Libby at that institution. By combining pollen and other biological analysis of the stratified material in sediment cores and then radiocarbon dating levels in the cores, he could build an absolute chronology for local and regional environmental reconstruction.
Quaternary environments of the Midwest and the world

At Harvard, Herb Wright had been trained as a glacial geologist and geomorphologist, describing the Cenozoic surficial geology of northwestern New Mexico in his 1943 dissertation. In 1953, five years after coming to the University of Minnesota, he published his first study of Minnesota glacial geology. For the next 10 years, he...
was almost exclusively involved with glacial geology both in Minnesota and elsewhere, as well as his archaeological projects in the Near East.

In 1961, Wright published his first paleoecological study concerning Minnesota, an examination with visiting Swedish scholar Magnus Fries of a buried peat deposit north of the Twin Cities. In 1963 he co-authored a study of two pollen cores from southeastern Minnesota (Wright et al. 1963). The 1963 study established, for the first time, the basic post-glacial vegetational sequence for the northern edge of the prairie peninsula. For archaeologists, it meant that prehistoric cultures could finally be fit into their environmental context, allowing for a tremendous expansion in the potential for understanding prehistoric lifeways over the last 14,000 years. This benchmark study as well as the first published set of radiocarbon dates from Minnesota sites by University of Minnesota archaeologist Elden Johnson in 1964 was the beginning of a new age for Minnesota archaeology.

By the mid-1960s, Herb Wright had perfected a technique for obtaining pollen cores from lacustrine settings and had also described how they should be interpreted. Wright also continued his studies of glacial landscapes in the Midwest. With David Frey in 1965, he edited his first major volume on the Quaternary of North America.

Answering archaeological research questions

Besides assisting Bob Braidwood with understanding the timing and reasons for the Neolithic agricultural revolution in the eastern Mediterranean, by the mid-1960s Herb’s contributions and skills were beginning to get noticed by other prominent archaeologists. He was contacted by a number of American archaeologists to assist them with answering particular research questions.

In 1966, Wright joined the University of Minnesota Messenia expedition in Greece led by William McDonald of the Classics Department. Other University of Minnesota faculty involved with the project included historian Carl Blegen, geographer Fred Lukkerman, geologist Rip Rapp, anthropologist Stan Aschenbrenner, and classical archaeologist Sheila McNally, as well as Carleton College archaeologist Nancy Wilkie. Wright was on the team to help reconstruct the Bronze Age environment and to describe the physiography of western Greece. He wrote two chapters in the 1972 volume summarizing the Minnesota Messenia expedition.

In the early 1960s, Paul Martin of the University of Arizona asked for Herb’s assistance in explaining late Pleistocene extinctions of megafauna. A 1965 session at the VIIth Congress of the International Association for Quaternary Research (INQUA) held in Boulder, Colorado addressed the topic. Herb co-edited with Martin the publication that came out of the INQUA session. Herb remained interested in the Pleistocene extinction issue and moderated a symposium on the topic at the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) annual meeting in 1982. When Martin decided to issue an updated volume on Quaternary extinctions in 1984, Wright declined to be co-editor as he was involved in too many other projects.

In the early-1970s, University of Minnesota anthropology graduate student Richard Jordan was working with Smithsonian archaeologist William Fitzhugh in
Labrador, with Jordan eventually writing his PhD dissertation on his Labrador work. Fitzhugh thought the movement of prehistoric peoples in Labrador was related to caribou migrations and these migrations were affected by forest fires. Jordan was aware of Wright’s research on the ecological role of fire in northern forests, so they asked for Wright’s assistance with reconstructing the environmental and fire history of Labrador. Herb took his first field crew there in the summer of 1975 and spent portions of the subsequent five summers there with graduate students, coring lakes and examining the modern vegetation. While they were not able to directly address Fitzhugh’s people-caribou-fire hypothesis, the research produced considerable insight into the vegetation history of Labrador, fire ecology, lake development, and peatlands. Fitzhugh and one of Herb’s Labrador grad students, Henry Lamb, wrote an article together entitled *Vegetation History and Culture in Labrador Prehistory* (1985).

In 1971, Kent Flannery (University of Michigan) went to the Andes Mountains in Peru to visit one of his Michigan graduate students, John Rick. Flannery later contacted Herb Wright, who he knew from Near Eastern days, to see if he could help with environmental reconstruction in the area. Wright was ready to move on from Labrador to a new external research area, so beginning in 1978 he spent parts of six summers in the Andes working with John Rick (Stanford University) as well as Christine Hastdorf and Julie Stein of the University of Minnesota reconstructing the glacial geology and past environment. Wright wrote a chapter on environmental history in Rick’s book *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Andes* (1980).

While Herb assisted with many Minnesota archaeological research questions, most notably Tom Shay’s work on the Early Archaic Itasca Bison site, he apparently had no long term, direct involvement with archaeological research projects in Minnesota other than Shay’s. There is no evidence he and Department of Anthropology archaeologist Lloyd Wilford interacted during their shared 10 years as University of Minnesota faculty, but Wright was involved with his Near Eastern work during these years and had not begun his Minnesota paleoecological work. Wilford retired the same year (1959) that Wright started the LRC at the University of Minnesota.

Wilford’s archaeological successor in the University of Minnesota Anthropology Department was Elden Johnson. Johnson was initially interested in early prehistoric occupations on Lake Agassiz in northwestern Minnesota. He received an NSF grant in 1959 to undertake field survey and analysis. The purpose of the research was to determine the nature and sequence of human occupation with Glacial Lake Agassiz and to analyze the resulting record of human occupation in its relation to the changing environmental conditions (Johnson 1960). Johnson noted recent glacial geology work by Herb Wright (1955) and John Elson (1957) concerning new interpretations of the history of Lake Agassiz. Johnson found over a hundred new sites around the margin of the Agassiz basin, although none of these sites, other than the already known Browns Valley Man site (21TR5), appeared to have been occupied when Lake Agassiz was there.

It is puzzling that Johnson’s initial Lake Agassiz research design (1960) cites Wright’s 1955 glacial geology article, but subsequent publications (1962, 1964) cite only Elson (1957). The 1964 Johnson article includes citations of Fries (1962)
and Winter (1962) concerning pollen work at Weber Lake in northeastern Minnesota and Kirchner Marsh in southeastern Minnesota done for Wright’s LRC. Johnson no doubt obtained the references from Tom Shay who was working at the LRC. Johnson’s (1964) article does not cite Wright et al. (1963), a more extensive discussion of Kirchner Marsh than the brief summary presented by Tom Winter in 1962.

While Johnson concentrated on field survey in northwestern Minnesota, his graduate student Tom Shay was assigned to reconstruct the paleoenvironment of the region. Shay obtained a Fulbright Scholarship to study palynology in Denmark in 1961–1962. This reconstruction was the subject of Shay’s (1965) Master’s thesis. Johnson must have discussed the Agassiz research with Herb Wright, and his student Tom Shay certainly developed a close working relationship with Wright in the early 1960s. Wright’s relationship with Shay continued with Shay’s work on the Itasca Bison Site for his 1970 dissertation. Wright also provided some insight to Elden Johnson on wild rice research, Johnson’s next big research interest, no doubt linking Johnson with his student Jock McAndrews (see McAndrews 1969).

In the 1980s, Herb Wright assisted Scott Anfinson with reconstructing the paleoenvironment of southwestern Minnesota, as well as providing writing critiques, references, and introductions to appropriate LRC students (see Anfinson 1987, 1997). In 1976 when Anfinson asked Wright for assistance with geomorphology at the Lake Bronson site (21KT1) on an Agassiz beach ridge, Wright advised hiring Julie Stein (see Anfinson, Michlovic, and Stein 1978). Stein went on to become a prominent American archaeologist based at the University of Washington.

### Providing the environmental context for past cultures

Although Wright played an important direct role in the lives and research of many archaeologists, most of Wright’s assistance to Midwestern and Plains archaeology is clearly with respect environmental reconstructions. At about the same time Wright quit directly participating in Mediterranean archaeological projects, he was “discovered” by Midwestern archaeologists.

In the 1930s, archaeologist Waldo Wedel of the University of Nebraska and later the Smithsonian Institution was made acutely aware of climatic effects on culture in the American Great Plains by the very evident ravages of the then-active drought (Wedel 1937). James Griffin of the University of Michigan speculated on the relationships of climate and prehistoric cultures in the Midwest in 1960.

Archaeologist David Baerreis and climatologist Reid Bryson of the University of Wisconsin began to investigate the climate–culture relationship in the Late Prehistoric Midwest in the mid-1960s, proposing a set of climatic periods based on reconstructed temperature and precipitation. The first detailed attempt to explore the culture–climatic period relationship was undertaken by the University of Wisconsin at the Mill Creek complex in northwestern Iowa beginning in 1963. The initial research was published in the *Journal of the Iowa Archaeological Society* in 1968–1969 in two volumes edited by Dale Henning. The volumes contain no
citations of Herb Wright, although the landmark studies of Kirchner Marsh were contemporaneous and published in major journals.

Herb Wright was first archaeologically noticed in the Midwest by University of Minnesota archaeological students who needed his assistance with their research, of which Tom Shay was the first. It was the 1971 publication of Shay’s Itasca Bison Kill study that Wright’s critical contributions to archaeology were first publicly recognized by Minnesota archaeologists. In that publication, Shay not only cited six of Wright’s publications, but acknowledged how much he owed Wright for his guidance and valuable opinions.

Wright was mentioned by University of Wisconsin archaeologist David Baerreis in 1971 in published comments on the papers from a 1970 Iowa archaeology Prairie Peninsula symposium, but Baerreis’ comments regarding Wright were not necessarily complimentary. He noted that Wright’s History of the Prairie Peninsula article (1968) was published “in a little volume” and he criticized Wright’s tendency to ignore the climatic episodes championed by Baerreis and Bryson. Wright would later directly challenge the accuracy and usefulness of these Late Prehistoric climatic periods (e.g., Anfinson and Wright 1990), a position now supported by most Plains and Midwestern archaeologists (e.g. Alex 2000:168–169; Tiffany 2007:10).

By the mid-1970s, Wright contributions to the understanding of the prehistoric period were becoming commonly cited by many prominent Midwestern archaeologists. His 1974 article in a volume honoring Lloyd Wilford, edited by Elden Johnson, was the first to provide an explicit overview of the environment of early man in the Great Lakes region. By then his work in the eastern Midwest was well known in quaternary studies, consisting of both examinations of glacial landforms and paleoenvironments.

Herb Wright first nibbled at the edges of the Great Plains while working with glacial and Lake Agassiz deposits in the Northeastern Subarea. In the mid-1960s, he entered the heart of Plains, undertaking paleoecological analysis in the Nebraska Sandhills (Watts and Wright 1966). In 1968, he published the article mentioned above on the history of the prairie peninsula, providing time depth beyond written records. This was expanded to include all of the central Plains in a 1971 article. Wright returned to the Nebraska Sandhills in the mid-1980s (Wright et al. 1985).

Wright’s articles on the post-glacial Plains and Midwest environment had a number of common themes: (1) A spruce forest occupied much of the northern and central Plains following the climatically controlled glacial retreat. (2) Continued warming and drying destroyed the spruce forest, leading to replacement first by various deciduous trees and/or pine and then grassland by 8,000 years ago. (3) Maximum dryness occurred about 7,000 years ago extending grassland to northern and eastern maximums. (4) After 7,000 years ago, increasing precipitation and decreasing temperature, lead to a westward grassland retreat and this climatic trend accelerated after 4,000 years ago. (5) The climatic conditions of the Midwest and Plains are not necessarily representative of contemporaneous conditions to the east. (6) The climatic trends are best represented by a single curve, not climatic periods. These conclusions have been substantiated by subsequent
research of Wright’s students and colleagues, although the regional details and timing are still improving.

Wright’s contributions to North American midcontinental archaeology fit into an interesting methodological and theoretical context. With the availability of radiocarbon dating in the 1950s, relative chronologies started to become absolute chronologies, allowing cultural horizons in sites to be temporally linked within regions and even between regions. It also allowed particular horizons at archaeological sites to be fit into particular environments. At this time, culture histories of specific groups in specific regions were the ultimate goal of most archaeological studies. This goal was challenged by the archaeological revolution that soon followed.

The new archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s was concerned with using an explicitly scientific approach to systematically look at cultural processes and ultimately find cultural laws. It encouraged interdisciplinary studies, something Herb Wright also promoted. This approach, however, was attractive to environmental determinism, a fact that was soon to become one of the greatest criticisms of new archaeology.

As the ultimate goal (but not the basic approach) of new archaeology proved unproductive by the 1980s, post-processual archaeologists began to emphasize the need to find the original meaning in archaeological materials by incorporating non-traditional viewpoints. This ultimate goal also proved largely unattainable, certainly for prehistoric archaeologists. What survived into the new millennium was an interdisciplinary scientific approach with a broader perspective on past human behavior.

Today, most Midwestern and Plains archaeologists do their work without overarching theoretical guidance. This is encouraged and supported by cultural resource management projects. The most pragmatic archaeologists are still concerned with answerable research questions involving prehistoric technologic and economic behavior. This research focuses on detailed artifact analyses, exploring subsistence-settlement patterns, and, to some degree, reconstructing a broad cultural history of past societies and regions. We rarely can provide unequivocal details or explanations about past socio-cultural behavior, but we can talk about ways of life and things that seem to be important to particular peoples at particular times in particular areas.

Understanding topography and paleoecology are essential to way of life questions because they provide the environmental context. Why did people live in a particular location? What did they do at that location? What is their seasonal round related to subsistence and settlement? How do we explain cultural change? Herb Wright’s glacial geology and paleoecological studies are essential to address these questions. We cannot understand cultures out of their environmental context both with regard to particular sites and particular regions. Done carefully, this is not environmental determinism, but the contextual placement of past cultures into their natural world, which aids archaeological understanding. Wright actually opposed environmental determinism for cultural change especially with regard to the origins of agriculture, even though his life’s work focused on environmental reconstruction (e.g. Wright 1977).
Assisting students of archaeology

As important as the work Wright did himself, he inspired many colleagues and guided a substantial number of students who have made major contributions to the fields of glacial geology, limnology, botany, ecology, paleoecology, and climatology. His academic success was demonstrated by the attendance and presentations at his retirement event in 1988 (see Shane and Cushing 1991) and at the celebration in his honor at the University of Minnesota on April 3, 2016. Many of his students are now or were senior professors at prominent universities and are world-renown scientists.

Herb mentored many archaeology students. As noted above, Tom Shay was one of Herb Wright’s first Minnesota archaeology students in the early 1960s. Wright helped establish the Center for Ancient Studies (CAS) at the University of Minnesota.

![Figure 2: Tom Shay (right) and Herb Wright (left) coring in northwestern Minnesota, January 1961. (Photograph courtesy of Tom Shay)]
in 1973, recognizing the need for interdisciplinary approaches in all studies of the past. Many of the students in CAS and its 1993 successor Interdisciplinary Archaeological Studies (IAS), as well as archaeological students in the Anthropology Department, took Wright’s classes in glacial geology and paleoecology.

Wright also served on their graduate committees and would even go into the field with them to gather data. He cored through the ice with Tom Shay on a bitter January day in 1961 in northwestern Minnesota (Figure 2). He went to Kentucky to assist Julie Stein with the geomorphology of shell mounds for her dissertation in CAS. He led a group of University of Minnesota archaeological personnel to St. Louis to assist Amy Ollendorf with pollen coring for her Cahokia research. He served on my PhD committee and assisted me with many research issues for my dissertation (Anfinson 1987). He also assisted Minnesota archaeologists Bill Yourd, Clark Dobbs, Brad Perkl, Frank Florin, and no doubt many others with their theses.

Archaeological awards and acknowledgement

Herb Wright received many prominent awards and honors during his career. In 1974, he became a Regents Professor of Geology, Ecology, and Biology at the University of Minnesota. He was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1977. With regard to awards specifically for archaeology, in 1984, he was given the Pomerance Award for Scientific Contributions to Archaeology by the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA). In 1989, he was given the Archaeological Geology Award from the Geological Society of America (GSA). In 1993, the SAA gave him the Fryxell Award for Interdisciplinary Research.

Wright also has been praised in books and articles that are too numerous to mention so only a few must suffice here. Haynes (1990:62) noted that if there was a Who’s Who of American Geomorphology, especially those who worked on archaeological projects, Herb Wright would be prominently listed. Patty Jo Watson first worked with Herb in 1954 on the Jarmo project and in her talk at his retirement celebration in 1988 she noted “Herb’s subtle precept-and-example instruction” helped shape her career (Watson 1991:2). Gibbon (2012:206) recently stated in his book on Minnesota archaeology: “Through the efforts of the University of Minnesota’s Herbert E. Wright, Jr. and his students and colleagues, Minnesota’s Holocene environment is as well-known as that of any other state or province in North America.” Wright contributed six encyclopedia entries for Gibbon’s *Archaeology of Prehistoric North America* (1998): Holocene, Hypsithermal/Altithermal, Ice-Free Corridor, Late Wisconsin, Laurentide Ice Sheet, and Little Ice Age.

Perhaps the most telling praise for Herb comes from Robert and Linda Braidwood, his original archaeological mentors (and he their original geomorphologist and paleoecologist). In a brief summary of their projects in Iraq (1976), much of the text describes Herb’s tenacity in the field and his contributions beyond his specific fields of expertise. He cautioned about putting too much emphasis on climatic change for explaining cultural change, yet he was constantly trying to provide details of environmental change. In 1960, he convinced the Braidwoods
that palynology was the best route to environmental reconstruction. They were startled to find out the necessary work would require “a modest naval operation.” (All of Herb’s vessels from then on were apparently modest.)

Conclusions

Two of the most significant contributors to Minnesota archaeology have been geologists. Newton Winchell gave us *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (1911), which organized the pioneering survey work of Theodore Lewis and Jacob Brower, as well as summarizing what was known about Minnesota archaeological manifestations and Minnesota Ojibwe and Dakota ethnography at the beginning of the twentieth century. Unfortunately, Winchell’s archaeological record is marred by both his acceptance of the Kensington Runestone as real and his disastrous attempt at interpreting what he thought were prehistoric stone tools in Kansas. Winchell died in 1914, three years before Herb Wright was born.

Wright’s record of helping archaeology is not only unblemished by inappropriate dabbling, but is marked by almost 70 years of continuous and substantial contributions. Herb never dabbled in anything. The first 30 years were focused on the eastern Mediterranean, but he gradually came closer to home. Although Wright’s seminal paleoecological work at Kirchner Marsh and Lake Carlson published in 1963 initially went unnoticed by Midwestern archaeologists, within a decade archaeologists began to recognize the necessity of Wright’s work for understanding regional prehistory. Once his work was recognized, it became almost impossible to write about Midwestern prehistory without citing Herb Wright.

Having initially done archaeology with Robert Braidwood, it is not surprising that Wright was a promoter and example of the value of an interdisciplinary approach. Herb could do an interdisciplinary project all by himself. He could be the glacial geologist, geomorphologist, limnologist, climatologist, paleoecologist, and botanist. He not only was published in most of the major limnology, quaternary studies, ecology, and geology journals, but in many major archaeology journals such as *Antiquity, American Anthropologist, Archaeology, Bulletin of the American School Oriental Research, Reviews in Anthropology*, and *Current Anthropology*. He also participated in major archaeological conferences. His archaeological bibliography is more impressive than those of many archaeologists.

Unlike me and thousands of other Minnesotans, Herb did not need a cabin at a lake to get away now and then. He had a world of lakes to enjoy. Instead of replacing siding and putting out the dock, Herb pushed core rods into the lake sediments, retrieving millennia of vegetational and climatic history. His idea of a peaceful evening at the lake was editing a manuscript in his tent or talking with students around a campfire.

Herb Wright set a high standard for a life well lived. He was a beloved teacher, a dedicated scientist, a model citizen, and a good friend and father. He brought fame to his university, fulfillment to his students, and rigor to all the sciences he practiced. His students and grandstudents will continue his legacy, but they will be hard-pressed to match it. Midwestern and Plains archaeologists owe him a great
debt. We can pay him back by following his example: continuing to work with scientists from other fields, publishing our findings, and never retiring from our profession.

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Tom Shay read a draft of this document providing helpful comments and provided the photograph in Figure 2.

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**Notes on contributor**

Scott Anfinson retired as Minnesota State Archaeologist in 2016 after working as an archaeologist for the state of Minnesota for 40 years. He is currently completing a book on heritage management.

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