

# Improper Archeology, “Fabulous Saltville,”<sup>1</sup> and the Ancient History of Southwest Virginia\*

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History in the region west of the Virginia Blue Ridge has been profoundly influenced by the salt deposits that lie beneath Smyth and Washington counties in southwestern Virginia. Even before the arrival of humans (less than 20,000 years ago), salt licks attracted ice-age mammals to the site of modern-day Saltville, a town that straddles the two counties. Humans naturally followed, and arguably the first knowable fact of North American history is that a mastodon feast took place about 14,500 B.C. in Saltville. The appellation “fabulous” used in the title of this article is a professional acknowledgment of the richness of Saltville’s archeological endowment.

What follows is the story of Southwest Virginia up to the arrival of Europeans, with an emphasis on Saltville and Smyth County. The story is told using the combined evidence of the historical record, the professional archeological literature, and amateur archeology. The intent of this article is to focus attention on the archeology of Saltville and Smyth County and to encourage others either to present different views or extend the study of what is here called “improper archeology.”

## Introduction

In a previous article,<sup>2</sup> the author suggested that conquistadors attacked Saltville in 1567 — as described in contemporary Spanish documents and supported by recent excavations in North Carolina that revealed a contemporary Spanish base of operations near Morganton. Working on that article spurred his interest in the cul-

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ture of the people then living in Saltville and Smyth County, and more generally in the history of Southwest Virginia in the millennia before European contact.<sup>3</sup> A study of the archeological literature describing the region west of the Blue Ridge followed. It soon became apparent that Saltville and Smyth County archeology was a major part of the story and that much more archeological information about Saltville and Smyth County could be found in amateur records than in professional ones.

Amateur archeology, particularly relic collecting and excavating Native-American graves, has been a Smyth County tradition for a hundred years or more. In this article local relic collectors who dug Native-American graves will be called *tombaroli*.<sup>4</sup> Interviews with living, former *tombaroli*<sup>5</sup> and other investigations during the past twelve months have led to the recovery of many amateur records, some described here. The author has mixed feelings about the record of amateur archeology in Saltville. On one hand it was undertaken by some remarkable people and contains considerable, unique information that otherwise would have been lost. On the other hand, it destroyed large and important parts of the archeological record and was often undertaken for personal gain, not in the pursuit of knowledge. The record is, however, what it is.

As *Homo sapiens sapiens* spread out from Africa across the planet, modern humans reached the American continent very late in the human story.<sup>6</sup> The conventional view is that people finally crossed a land bridge from Siberia to Alaska about 20,000 years ago,<sup>7</sup> but modern scholarship is increasingly open to additional hypotheses such as direct ocean crossings from the Old World.<sup>8</sup>

The history of the early years of human occupation in southwestern Virginia can be incompletely reconstructed from archeology. Before that, the history of the region is geologic.<sup>9</sup> Saltville, in modern-day Smyth County, has been a locus of human activity in Southwest Virginia across a span of 15,000 years. The first human arrivals doubtless followed game trails<sup>10</sup> to the salt lick<sup>11</sup> at Saltville. Much later, as will be described, Native Americans operated a salt production and trading center there. For the period immediately prior to the time that Europeans came into the region, we have, in addition to archeological evidence, various written records that illuminate pre-contact Native-American cultures and their development.

Saltville has two major archeological claims to fame: (1) its international reputation as a site of a very early human occupation in the Americas<sup>12</sup> — one of just a handful of such sites. The evidence for this first claim has been widely recorded in the professional literature and will be described; and (2) for becoming a center of salt-making and -trading operations in the centuries prior to European contact. This second claim has been discussed in the professional archeological literature, but actual evidence for the claim comes only from historic records and the reports of *tombaroli*. Ironically, because of its ready solubility in water, salt itself is almost never found in the archeological record.<sup>13</sup>

The term "improper archeology"<sup>14</sup> refers to a study of any aspect of the activities of the *tombaroli* and relic hunters or collectors. The methods of improper archeology are primarily those of the historian and the detective. Improper archeology includes any historical aspect of archeology outside strict professional purview such as examining family and other records of amateur archeologists — including collecting pictures and records of artifacts they once possessed, reading local writings such as newspaper interviews, transcribing long-lost tape recordings, interviewing living former *tombaroli*, and studying the publications of relic collectors. Because of the important role of amateurs and former *tombaroli* in providing insight into the history of Southwest Virginia, their activities are examined in this article. Several new archeological conclusions are reached based on an analysis of recently gathered improper archeological evidence. The activities of three important amateurs — Nathan Brisco, Rufus Pickle, and Robey Maiden, all of whom opened many Native-American graves in and around Smyth County — are highlighted.<sup>15</sup>

Nathan M. Brisco (1900?–1955) was a school teacher who later worked in the insurance business. He was active in amateur archeology in the 1930s and published a six-part article in the Marion newspaper<sup>16</sup> in 1933. A previously unrecognized, undated report on the archeology of Smyth County<sup>17</sup> by Brisco was discovered in the files of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in Richmond during the summer of 2004. Based on internal evidence, the undated report must also have been prepared about 1933. In 1933 Brisco donated a number of Smyth County artifacts to the Smithsonian's National

Museum of Natural History (NMNH).<sup>18</sup> He is not known to have published in the professional archeological literature.

Rufus Wilson Pickle (1896–1975) was raised up in Saltville and later lived in Marion. He worked as a plumber and pipe fitter at the Mathieson Alkali Works in Saltville and later as a plumbing teacher at Washington County Technical Center. He maintained a large basement artifact museum and collaborated on amateur archeology for many years with Ralph Space, the developer and owner of the Space Farms tourist attraction<sup>19</sup> in New Jersey. By pre-agreement, Pickle's extensive artifact collection went to Space on Pickle's death. Pickle was a member of the Tennessee (but not the Virginia) Archeological Society and published three short articles in the *Tennessee Archaeologist* in the late 1940s.<sup>20</sup> A lengthy description of Pickle's archeological work was published as a series of articles by local Saltville historian Frank Sanders in the *Saltville Progress* in the summer of 1971.<sup>21</sup> Tom Totten taped an interview with Pickle in May 1975.<sup>22</sup> The interview has been recently transcribed and an excerpt from it is published for the first time in this article.

Robey G. Maiden (1911–1975) was for some time an Olin Corporation employee; later he became a semiprofessional relic collector. A newspaper biography of Maiden by Henry Diggs was published in 1949.<sup>23</sup> Maiden was occasionally quoted in the professional archeological literature<sup>24</sup> but never published independently. The chief record of his work is the six-part series of articles,<sup>25</sup> edited by Mack Blackwell, Jr.,<sup>26</sup> entitled "Tales That Dead Men Tell" and published in the *Saltville Progress* in January and February 1965. Robey's brother, Clarence Maiden, was an artifact dealer.

Regrettably, much improper archeology was relic hunting from Native-American graves — a practice that professional archeologists call looting. However, over the past twenty years, attitudes about the excavation of human burials, especially excavations conducted for profit, have altered dramatically, and changes in the law have outlawed the practice. In nearby Wythe County, active *tombaroli* have, in recent years, been prosecuted. Changes in the law and changes in social and professional attitudes toward indigenous peoples of America and their graves are described in this article.

This study is particularly appropriate for *The Smithfield Review*: On January 10, 1793, General Francis Smith Preston (1765–1835) of

Smithfield married Sarah Buchanan Campbell (1778–1846) of Saltville, the daughter of General William Campbell (1745–1781) and Elizabeth Henry (1749–1825) a sister of Patrick Henry.<sup>27</sup> After their marriage, Francis Preston assumed direction of the salt works in Saltville; several of the couple's fifteen children were born there before the family moved to Abingdon. "Smithfield," the Preston home in Blacksburg, and the later Preston family residence in Abingdon (now the Martha Washington Inn) stand at the foci of a 130-odd-mile-long ellipse that covers the area examined in this article. Figure 1 shows the counties of Southwest Virginia in our designated study area.

### Conventional Time Periods

Archeologists and anthropologists conventionally divide prehistoric time into conventional time periods.<sup>28</sup> To set the stage for what follows, such periods are first summarized for Southwest Virginia in Table 1. In the sections that follow each period is briefly described and includes the main human activities characterizing the period and its material culture (the typical objects and other evidence found in the archeological record by excavation). The dates of archeological time periods in Virginia cited in Table 1 are those adopted by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR).

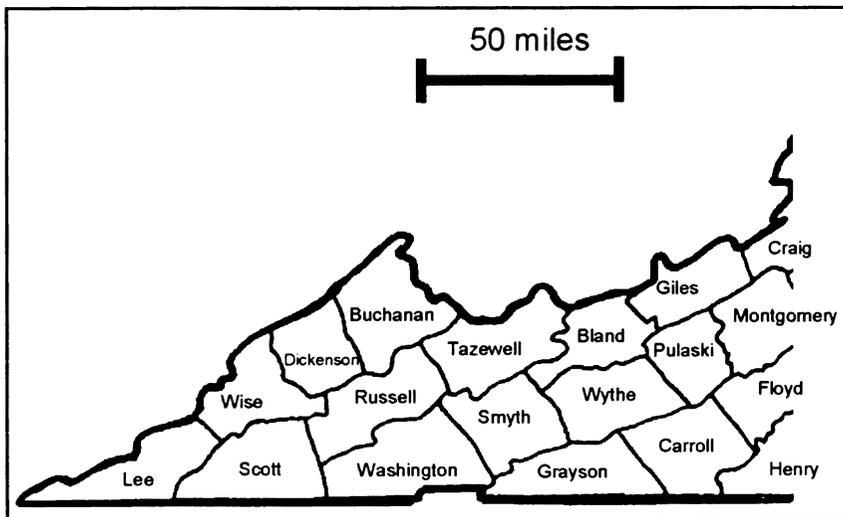


Figure 1. The counties of Southwest Virginia.

**Table 1. Archeological Time Periods in Virginia**

Period	Lifestyle of the people	Conventional Date Ranges <sup>29</sup>
Paleoindian	Nomadic hunter-gatherers	15,000-8,000 B.C.
Early Archaic	Territorial hunter-gatherers	8,000-6,000 B.C.
Middle Archaic	Territorial hunter-gatherers	6,000-2,500 B.C.
Late Archaic	Territorial hunter-gatherers	2,500-1,200 B.C.
Early Woodland	Partly sedentary hunter-gatherers	1,200-500 B.C.
Middle Woodland*	Sedentary hunter-gatherers	500 B.C.-A.D. 900
Late Woodland	Horticulturalists/Farmers	A.D. 900-1600
Contact	Horticulturalists/Farmers	A.D. 1600-1800

\*Terminology is a potential minefield for the lay person. Middle Woodland as used in Southwest Virginia extends through what is called Late Woodland (*i.e.*, A.D. 500–900) in many other regions of North America. Late Woodland (as used by people in the Northeast especially) is contemporary with Mississippian (A.D. 900–1600) on the Ohio River and downstream from Southwest Virginia on the Tennessee River.

The various time period summaries derive from many sources: The VDHR publication by Egloff and Woodward and its associated website,<sup>30</sup> a very recent list of periods specific to Southwest Virginia published by Stanyard,<sup>31</sup> an earlier VDHR paper by Hodges,<sup>32</sup> an older summary by Hranicky,<sup>33</sup> a pamphlet published by the Roanoke Chapter of the Archeological Society of Virginia,<sup>34</sup> a discussion of time periods from a Virginia Native-American perspective,<sup>35</sup> a recently published regional cultural history for Lee County,<sup>36</sup> and an article describing the archeological time periods of the nearby Blue Ridge to the east.<sup>37</sup> To keep Southwest Virginia's prehistory in a regional perspective, time periods for neighboring states have been included. North Carolina time periods have been described by Claggett,<sup>38</sup> Tennessee time periods are described at a state museum web site,<sup>39</sup> Kentucky time periods are listed at the official state archeology website,<sup>40</sup> and West Virginia time periods have been described by Solecki<sup>41</sup> and McMichael.<sup>42</sup> Information about probable plant foods available during each period has been derived principally from Chapman and Watson<sup>43</sup> by extrapolation from eastern Tennessee sites. Pictures of many of the numerous plants used by Native Americans over archeological time are provided by Wagner and Civitello.<sup>44</sup>

A number of studies have covered multiple archeological periods in Southwest Virginia. Among these, the single most important is Holland's 1970 regional survey conducted on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>45</sup> A reconnaissance in 1979 for a proposed, but never built, dam in Washington County surveyed Southwest Virginia's history and noted the attraction of the region's salt for mastodons, woolly mammoths, moose, bison, woodland musk ox, etc., and that "the aboriginal populations also utilized the salt resources at Saltville."<sup>46</sup> Two now somewhat-dated ethnographic studies of the region are Bushnell's short article from 1926,<sup>47</sup> and Ellen Copenhaver's 1933 thesis.<sup>48</sup> Native-American use of caves across the whole archeological record in Virginia has been reviewed by Barber and Hubbard.<sup>49</sup> An environmental history of the nearby Shenandoah Valley is in the thesis by Carbone,<sup>50</sup> and many older literature references for southwestern Virginia archeology are given in the standard, but now outdated, bibliography of Virginia Indians.<sup>51</sup> By way of comparison, it is interesting to read Mike Johnson's long-term history of Fairfax County covering roughly the same period as in this article.<sup>52</sup>

For synoptic coverage of Saltville and Smyth County there is MacCord's brief review article in the county's standard history<sup>53</sup> and MacDonald's 1984 comprehensive bibliography of Saltville archeology.<sup>54</sup> Vegetation changes across the entire time period have been studied using microscopic examination of plant remains from a site in the Saltville Valley,<sup>55</sup> and at least one site in the valley has been shown to have a long occupational history traversing many archeological periods.<sup>56</sup>

Although Virginia archeologists generally agree about the date ranges of Virginia's archeological periods, disagreements continue about the period in which particular events occurred in Southwest Virginia. For example, professionals continue to disagree about the period during which beans entered Southwest Virginia and the period during which large villages were established.

### The Paleoindian Period

The Paleoindian period, which ranges from 15,000 to 8,000 B.C., is sometimes divided before and after 9,500 B.C., with the range 15,000 to 9,500 B.C. called pre-Clovis.<sup>57</sup> Overall, direct evidence from the

Paleoindian period in Virginia is sparse because few permanent human habitation sites are known, and many of those have been disturbed.<sup>58</sup> However, basic occupation patterns can be sketched with the help of information from other regions. The climate during this period was generally cold and moist. Extensive areas of open uplands covered with sedges and grasses developed above the flood plains, which probably resembled today's Arctic tundra. Stands of spruce, fir, and pine covered the mountains, whose tops were likely snow-covered yearlong. Humans lived as nomadic hunter-gatherers (foragers and scavengers) at a low population density and ranged over wide territories. They probably established temporary camps at places where animals passed along game trails or where animals congregated, such as at watering holes and salt licks. Because most of the plant species in spruce woodlands yield little food, humans hunted large animals such as mastodon, woolly mammoth, musk ox, camel, bison, caribou, and white-tailed deer. Artifacts recovered from this period are made of chipped stone and include projectile points and other tools variously described as scrapers, graters, wedges, drills, and hammerstones.<sup>59</sup> Because they are abundant in the archeological record and extremely well-catalogued, projectile points are used as "time-markers" or "cultural identifiers." Paleoindian projectile points from the Saltville vicinity have been described by Barfield.<sup>60</sup> Also found from this period is evidence of tool making, such as the presence of debitage (stone waste from artifact manufacture) at tool quarrying and making sites. Logic suggests that paleoindians also made tools from wood, animal bones, tortoiseshell, etc.; however, these and other organic materials almost inevitably fail to survive in the archeological record. The latter part of the Paleoindian period is characterized by fluted stone points known as Clovis points. In Virginia, major concentrations of Clovis points occur in Dinwiddie County, in Warren County, and in the Saltville valley in Smyth County. Randy Turner<sup>61</sup> has written that the Smyth County-centered concentration of Clovis points "undoubtedly is related to the presence of salt deposits at Saltville, creating a particularly attractive environment for the attraction and exploitation of Late Pleistocene fauna."

## Saltville in the pre-Clovis period

Since the 1930s, and until a few years ago, the prevailing scientific view was that humans entered an unpopulated North America in a single wave around 11,000 years ago, quickly spread continent-wide, and established a widely dispersed Clovis culture. In this view, there was not and could not be any pre-Clovis culture. But the gradual accumulation of evidence from various pre-Clovis sites led to a re-thinking; Saltville is one of a number of probable pre-Clovis sites.<sup>62</sup> As a probable pre-Clovis site, Saltville regularly appears in the columns of the national press.<sup>63</sup>

Given the elusiveness and scarcity of evidence from the Paleoindian period, proving the presence of humans anywhere and deducing anything about their activities are enormous challenges. Finding marks of human handiwork on ancient bones is one of the few means of proof. Saltville provides such evidence.

That the Saltville Valley is a repository of fossilized big mammal bones has been known since the earliest days of Euroamerican salt making and was communicated to Thomas Jefferson in 1782 in a well-known letter from resident Arthur Campbell.<sup>64</sup> Later, in 1848, when workers opened the railroad cut in the west end of the Valley, large numbers of fossilized ice-age bones were uncovered.<sup>65</sup> Scientific study of the bones began in 1917 when William Dye Mount (at the time the superintendent of the Mathieson Alkali Works) sent specimens uncovered during work on the well fields<sup>66</sup> to the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh.<sup>67</sup> Subsequently, fossilized bones from Saltville received considerable scientific scrutiny from Virginia Tech geologists,<sup>68</sup> Smithsonian Institution scientists,<sup>69</sup> and others.<sup>70</sup> It was the Saltville amateur archeologist Rufus Pickle who first wrote in 1946 of finding mastodon bones that displayed "indications of human handiwork"<sup>71</sup> in a sink hole in the well field area. Pickle's work, though occasionally acknowledged<sup>72</sup> and praised,<sup>73</sup> was not sufficient in itself to establish a solid claim for a pre-Clovis site at Saltville.

Almost exactly fifty years after Pickle, Jerry McDonald made a full-scale claim for pre-Clovis humans at Saltville. McDonald had spent over ten years working in Saltville<sup>74</sup> when he announced in 1996 that "archeological evidence shows that humans killed and cooked a mastodon" at a "14,000-year-old research dig site in Saltville."<sup>75</sup> News

of the claim quickly circulated in the archeological community and became widely acknowledged.<sup>76</sup> However, when formal publication of McDonald's work was rejected by *Nature* (perhaps the most prestigious of all scientific journals) the appearance of a detailed scientific report on the Saltville pre-Clovis site was delayed for about five years.<sup>77</sup>

Further information about the Paleoindian period in the Southeast can be found at the U.S. National Park Service's useful and extensive websites<sup>78</sup> and in professional surveys devoted to Paleoindian period occupations of the Southern Appalachians<sup>79</sup> and Virginia.<sup>80</sup>

### The Early Archaic Period

The Early Archaic period, which ranges from 8,000 to 6,000 B.C., is characterized by the slow development of human lifestyle from the preceding period. Nomadic hunting and gathering continued as the main way of life with a substantially increased population density (more known sites). Still large, but better defined hunting territories emerged, and hunting for white-tail deer increased as the megafauna (mastodon, woolly mammoth, bison, caribou, etc.) either became extinct or migrated north with changing local climate. The question continues to be hotly debated as to whether humans were the prime cause of megafaunal extinction or if extinction was primarily induced by climate change.<sup>81</sup> The mastodon kill site in Saltville plays a role in this debate. The climate during this period grew warmer and drier, and the forests were composed of pine, spruce, fir, oak, birch, and beech. Southwest Virginians at this time were generalized hunters and gatherers who, in addition to deer hunting, collected a wide array of plant materials, river foods, and small game for their subsistence. Plant foods likely included hickory nuts, chestnuts, acorns, grapes, and honeylocust pods. During this period, archeological sites begin to show functional variations: some are classed as base camps and others as transient hunting or collecting camps. Projectile points from this period show the addition of characteristic side and corner notches and are given region type names such as Kirk, Hardaway, St. Albans, and LeCroy. The use of spear throwers (*atlatls*) probably began during this period.

The standard professional work for this period (as well as the following one) is the 1990 synthesis edited by Reinhart and Hodges.<sup>82</sup>

It includes chapters describing the chronology of the periods,<sup>83</sup> the material culture and technology of the period,<sup>84</sup> settlement patterns of the period,<sup>85</sup> and a discussion of the means of human subsistence during the period.<sup>86</sup>

### **The Middle Archaic Period**

Ranging from 6,000 to 2,500 B.C., the Middle Archaic period saw the continuation of foraging as the major human lifestyle; caves and rock shelters became places where people left evidence of their visits. The climate during this period continued to grow warmer and moister; oak, pine, and hemlock were abundant forest species. By this time, humans were probably living in small bands and making increasing use of uplands and marginal areas. Bands probably moved with the seasons. Their camps and settlements, as revealed by archeological sites, were located both high in the mountains and in river bottoms. Hunting continued to focus on white-tail deer. Near rivers, fish, waterfowl, and possibly shellfish were exploited. Fish weirs may have developed during this period.<sup>87</sup> Plant foods in this period continued to be primarily nut crops derived from the oak-hickory-chestnut forest that replaced the conifers of earlier time, but human diets toward the end of this period probably began to include both wild and cultivated curcubits (squashes, gourds, and melons). Stone tool technology continued to evolve, and large artifacts such as axes, adzes, and celts appeared; these types of tools suggest the beginning of working the land. The characteristic chipped stone points from this period are given type names such as Big Sandy, Kanawha, Morrow Mountain, Guilford, and Halifax. Regional exchange networks appear to have been established during this period.\*

### **The Late Archaic Period**

The Late Archaic period ranges from 2,500 to 1,200 B.C. Foraging continued to be the major human lifestyle, but the period is characterized by the beginning of horticulture.<sup>88</sup> Larger and more permanent settlements were established as storage and cooking technology improved with the development of steatite (soapstone) bowls that

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\*The references cited at the end of the preceding section (The Early Archaic Period) are also appropriate for the Middle Archaic period.

begin to show up in the archeological record of the period. A growing population during this period is indicated by the increased density of known archeological sites compared to earlier periods. During most of this period, the climate was very warm and dry; the oak-hickory-chestnut forest reached its ecological climax and provided many plant and animal resources for humans, who also hunted deer, bear, and turkeys. Evidence exists that riverine environments were becoming favored locations for settlements in Southwest Virginia. Squash and starchy seed plants began to be cultivated. Indeed, by this period plant foods were becoming abundant and diverse; domesticated squashes, gourds, and melons became established sometime after 2000 B.C. Cultivated chenopods (the most common chenopod is lamb's-quarters or "pigweed," a spinach-like plant valued primarily for its seeds) were added to the human diet around the end of this period. Projectile points from this period are given such type names as Lamoka, Perkiomen, Savannah River, and Guilford. Exchange networks probably continued to operate on local and regional scales.

The Late Archaic period (and the subsequent Early Woodland period) — including descriptions of the increasingly sedentary, village-dwelling societies and the Late Archaic and Early Woodland period material culture, demography, and settlement patterns — are all detailed in the standard professional work for Virginia covering these time ranges.<sup>89</sup> Vegetation exploited in Virginia during the Late Archaic and Early Woodland periods, along with the horticultural practices of the periods, have been surveyed by Stevens.<sup>90</sup>

### The Early Woodland Period

Ranging from 1,200 to 500 B.C., the Early Woodland period is marked by the first appearance of fired clay (pottery) cooking and storage vessels, and the widespread adoption of ceramic technology. It is believed that pottery diffused into southwestern Virginia from cultures to the southeast. Because pottery and pottery fragments (shards or sherds) endure in the archeological record, often in abundance, their collection and statistical analysis is one of the most important methods of assessing Native-American cultural history.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, because paddles wrapped in fibrous materials were used to beat together the pottery coils from which the vessels were made,

inadvertent evidence for textiles from the period comes in the form of pottery markings. By this time, the hunter-gatherers had become at least partially sedentary, and semi-permanent settlements in villages and hamlets had been established. Seasonal movement continued; hunting, gathering, and fishing remained the primary mode of subsistence. Land working and a focus on specific plant foods suggest increasingly sophisticated horticulture. Soon after the beginning of this period, the cultivation of sunflower probably began, adding to the squash and starchy-seed horticulture developed during the Archaic period. Exchange networks during this period became more localized.\*

### The Middle Woodland Period

The Middle Woodland period lasted from 500 B.C. to A.D. 900. During this time the climate became cooler and moister, and pine trees reappeared beside the existing oak, chestnut, and hickory. Humans became sedentary hunter-gatherers and continued to establish large semi-permanent settlements, but seasonal movement also went on.<sup>92</sup> Humans probably began to cultivate corn (maize), beans, and squash in some areas<sup>93</sup>; but hunting, gathering, and fishing likely remained their most important methods of obtaining food. Particularly in far Southwest Virginia, in Lee and Scott Counties, mound construction became an important aspect of political, social, and religious life. Meyers has inventoried the six so-far identified mound sites in Southwest Virginia,<sup>94</sup> and other mound sites probably existed in the region.<sup>95</sup> During this Middle Woodland period, the bow and arrow replaced the spear as a hunting weapon — a development heralded by the appearance of small, true arrowheads. No one knows exactly when the bow was introduced, but in eastern North America evidence at many places suggests A.D. 600 to 800.<sup>96</sup> Well-made tobacco pipes made their first appearance; early specimens resemble large, straight cigars. Tobacco arrived in Southwest Virginia, perhaps around A.D. 200 to 400.<sup>97</sup> Plant remains from this period in Saltville suggest that the local landscape consisted of forested areas interspersed with gardens.<sup>98</sup>

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\*The references cited at the end of the preceding section (the Late Archaic Period) are also appropriate for the Early Woodland period.

During this period Native-American culture in the southwestern part of Virginia was clearly adopting a character different from that of other regions of the state. The emergence of this distinctive regional flavor has been described by McLearen,<sup>99</sup> who noted, for example, that the probably-indigenous ceramics found in Southwest Virginia during this period differ from those in the Shenandoah Valley and other regions of the state. Furthermore, outside influences on the region become discernible with the appearance of stone gorgets from eastern Tennessee, sheet mica from North Carolina, and artifacts and ceramics of the Fort Ancient culture<sup>100</sup> from West Virginia. The pattern of cultural diffusion that becomes evident in this time period was no doubt facilitated by the river valleys and drainage patterns of the region. It has been estimated that 80% of the archeological remains in the United States occur only within the 2% of its land area situated along river valleys.<sup>101</sup> The connection between river valleys and the cultural diffusion evidenced in the archeological record for Southwest Virginia is immediately apparent in the region's watershed map (Figure 2).<sup>102</sup>

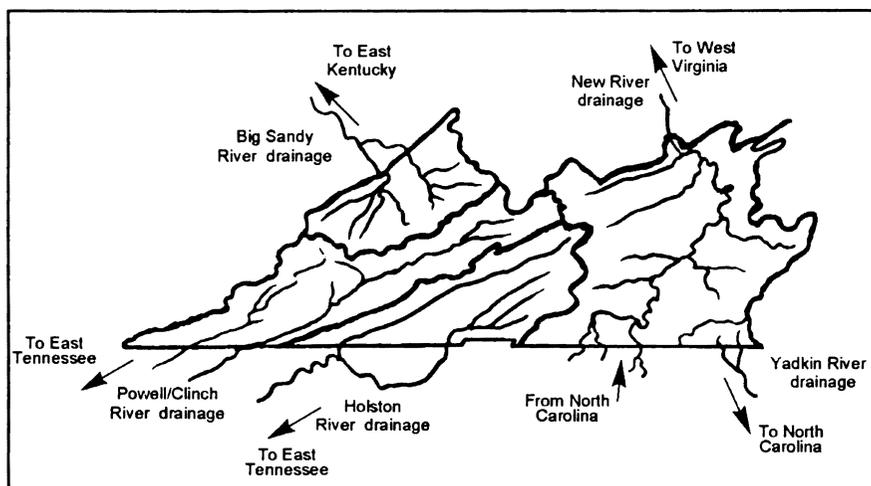


Figure 2. Watersheds of southwestern Virginia. By the Middle Woodland period, when the archeological evidence becomes sufficient to reveal outside cultural influences, it is apparent that southwestern Virginians were in contact with their neighbors in all directions. Sketch based on the watershed map of Virginia prepared by the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation.

A somewhat different picture of cultural diffusion during the woodland period is offered by Egloff,<sup>103</sup> who tells that the ceramic record reveals that humans lived in rock shelters and in hamlet and village settlements on ridges, hilltops, and upland valleys, as well as on the flood plains, and that travel across mountain ranges was common. Long-distance communication by a variety of routes apparently became well-developed during the Middle Woodland period.

A summary of the Middle Woodland settlements in Southwest Virginia has been provided by Blanton.<sup>104</sup>

### The Late Woodland and Contact Periods

We come now to the time when both the archeological record and the historical record become extensive. For Smyth County, this is the time frame when the record of improper archeology becomes a crucial supplement to the record of proper archeology.

The term "protohistoric" refers to a period that immediately antedates recorded history. For convenience, and for our purposes here, in Southwest Virginia we will arbitrarily designate the protohistoric period to range from A.D. 1400 to A.D. 1670. The former date is the earliest known time<sup>105</sup> for any of the Native-American shell gorgets that are so abundant and so characteristic of Saltville and Smyth County in the Late Woodland period.<sup>106</sup> The latter date marks the arrival of the first English-speaking explorers in Southwest Virginia. A discussion of protohistoric Southwest Virginia follows the "Overview."

#### Overview

The Late Woodland<sup>107</sup> period ranges from A.D. 900 to 1600, overlapping our specified protohistoric period from 1400 A.D. to 1670 A.D. By now the climate had become essentially modern, and horticulture had assumed a major importance following the arrival of cultivated plants from their centers of domestication in meso-America. Varieties of squash came first, followed by corn (maize) and beans. Based on the information of MacNeish<sup>108</sup> and Milner<sup>109</sup> we can make an informed judgment that full Late Woodland period cultural characteristics were established in Southwest Virginia by around 1150 ( $\pm$  100 years) A.D. A growing population established large permanent

villages in the rich-soil regions of the river bottoms. High in the mountains, small encampment sites testify to the continuation of hunting and gathering activities. In Lee County, mound sites were used as political centers, and here (and perhaps at other places) political power became institutionalized and inherited rather than achieved. During the later part of the period, many villages were fortified or palisaded, suggesting increased conflict. Bow-and-arrow technology became widespread and the stone digging hoe was introduced. Tobacco pipes took more elaborate forms. Southwest Virginia during this period enjoyed ample contacts with peoples and cultures of neighboring regions. As Mary Ellen Hodges has stated: "Our knowledge of the Indians of Southwest Virginia at this time indicates that these people were strongly influenced by other cultures outside the state."<sup>110</sup> Pottery types from this period in Southwest Virginia along with types from nearby Tennessee and Kentucky have been tabulated by Jefferies<sup>111</sup> and include such classifications as Dallas, Pisgah, Radford, and gastropod.

Toward the end of this period, diet and subsistence strategies of southwestern Virginians had become extremely varied, and we know a good deal about them from the written records of Europeans who entered the southern Appalachian region beginning with the De Soto *entrada* in 1540. Davis<sup>112</sup> recently surveyed what Native Americans were eating at that time, and has described the widespread use of controlled burning as an horticultural practice. Note, however, that much of the modern-day plant life of southwestern Virginia dates from the much later period of Euroamerican settlement of the region, when pioneers and settlers introduced many nonnative species.<sup>113</sup> Clover, common grass varieties, chicory, cress, dandelion, and many other common regional species are all of European origin.

During the Late Woodland period Saltville and Smyth County populations increased to become the largest centers in the region. These populations were present when the Europeans arrived. The first European contact in Southwest Virginia came in the sixteenth century, as the historian Summers<sup>114</sup> and the amateur archeologist Brisco<sup>115</sup> long ago noted. In 1540 the De Soto *entrada* passed through North Carolina, and two of its members briefly visited Lee County. Twenty-seven years later a second Spanish *entrada* reached Smyth County.<sup>116</sup> After a hiatus of more than 100 years, English-speaking Euroamericans reached Southwest Virginia around 1670. Archeologi-

cal evidence — of both proper and improper variety — as well as historic records, illuminate this period. Assessing the interplay of evidence from these three very different sources as applied to the protohistoric period forms the basis of much of what follows.

### **Protohistoric Settlement in Southwest Virginia**

An authoritative and comprehensive view of protohistoric Southwest Virginia as it is presently conceived in the proper archeological literature is summarized in the three reports described immediately below. However, in addition to the sites described in these reports many additional Saltville and Smyth County sites are known.<sup>117</sup>

The first report includes three recent shaded and annotated maps<sup>118</sup> that illustrate the archeological phases and cultural affiliations in the eastern half of North America for A.D. 1400–1450, A.D. 1500–1550, and A.D. 1600–1650. For Southwest Virginia the map sequence is ambiguous and confusing. In 1400–1450 A.D., Southwest Virginia is vacant, bordered to the southwest by the Rapidan/Pisgah culture. In 1500–1550 A.D., Southwest Virginia is shaded as the Radford culture with the also-shaded full intermontane culture occupying the New River Valley to the northeast. In 1600–1650 A.D., no cultural affiliation is shown, but the Trigg site in Radford and the Smyth County Chilhowie High School site (labeled Sm8 on the map) are pinpointed.

The second report is a synthesis of the Late Woodland and protohistory of Southwest Virginia by MacCord,<sup>119</sup> who defined the "Intermontane Culture" as existing from 1200 to 1600 A.D. and being characterized by the use of limestone-tempered pottery, flexed-human burials oriented in an easterly direction, palisaded villages enclosing round or ovate wigwams, and a well-developed trade with the Atlantic coast region. MacCord based his arguments on the reports of excavations from twenty-nine sites in the region, only one of which, the Fox site<sup>120</sup> in Chilhowie, was in Smyth County.

The third report is another synthesis of the Late Woodland and protohistory of Southwest Virginia by Egloff,<sup>121</sup> who based his assessment on twenty-five sites in the region (and seven more from nearby Roanoke and Botetourt Counties). Twenty of his sites duplicated those of MacCord, but Egloff added several sites — including, in addition to the Fox site, a second site at Chilhowie in Smyth County, the

Bonham site.<sup>122</sup> Egloff stated that the region showed “a great variation in house shape and size not only between sites but also within them” and noted that the land along the three forks of the Holston River that traverse Smyth and Washington Counties contains much “first class” agricultural soil.

Examples of significant Late Woodland sites in Southwest Virginia not mentioned in any of the three professional reports above are the Mendota site in Washington County and the Smyth County sites at Chilhowie, Broadford, and Buchanan. Each of these four sites (shown in Figure 3) has yielded numerous Late Woodland period shell gorgets as catalogued in *Shell Gorgets*, the standard work on the subject.<sup>123</sup> Shell gorgets are a generally important class of artifacts for understanding exchange and trade patterns everywhere in the Late Woodland period. One important class of shell gorgets, with a stylized

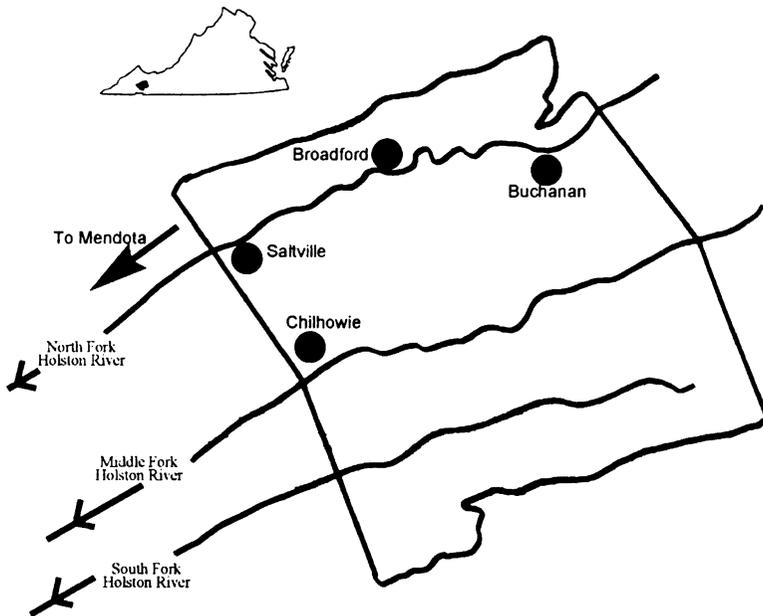


Figure 3. Sites in Smyth County that have yielded numerous Late Woodland period shell gorgets. The locations of the Buchanan, Broadford, and Mendota sites along the North Fork of the Holston River hint at the former existence of a delocalized salt-making industry based on the transportation of high strength brine from Saltville to wood-rich outlying sites for evaporation into dry salt.



*Figure 4. A rattlesnake gorget believed to have been collected in Saltville in the 1930s. Photograph in author's files.*

rattlesnake motif, has been designated the "Saltville Style"<sup>124</sup> and originates in Southwest Virginia. Achieving an understanding of the distribution pattern and political economy of Saltville style gorgets must surely be one key to unlocking the protohistory of Late Woodland Southwest Virginia. Figure 4 illustrates a rattlesnake gorget from the (now dispersed) Ed Sanders' collection; it is believed to have been collected in Saltville in the 1930s.<sup>125</sup> Until recently, this particular gorget (identified by improper archeology) was unknown to the specialists.<sup>126</sup>

Considering the evidence of improper archeology, any discussion of the Late Woodland and protohistory of Southwest Virginia that fails to examine Saltville ignores the mastodon in the living room.

## Protohistoric Salt Making in Smyth County

This section reviews protohistoric salt making and trading as a basis for the large quantity of regionally unique grave goods recovered from Saltville and other Smyth County sites.

Salt is a universal article of trade,<sup>127</sup> and salt making and salt trading have been important in many cultures throughout both prehistoric and historic times, for example in Africa,<sup>128</sup> China, and Europe.<sup>129</sup> Historian Norman Davies has written that by the time of the Iron Age in Europe, salt was a staple necessity and salt trading had become a “continent-wide business.”<sup>130</sup> The discovery in 1846 of richly filled graves dating from about 500 B.C. at Hallstadt (near Salzburg)<sup>131</sup> revealed a wealthy Celtic salt trading center so important that it gave its name to the entire Hallstadt Culture that lasted for hundreds of years. Incidentally, “Hallstadt” loosely translates from Celtic to English as “Saltville.”

The existence of long-distance salt trading from Saltville and the development there of a centralized society were first proposed by Gardner about 25 years ago.<sup>132</sup> Somewhat later it was suggested that the large Mendota site, down river from Saltville in Washington County, might have been the capital village of a southwestern Virginia chiefdom.<sup>133</sup> Archeologists use “chiefdom” in a specialized sense to characterize a particular type of society. Some archeologists think the salt-making society that developed in Saltville was not a chiefdom.<sup>134</sup> However, the word is frequently applied to Southwest Virginia, and so, noting a reservation, we will use it here. In 1991, a long car ride to a conference gave the archeologists Mike Barber and Gene Barfield time to discuss<sup>135</sup> why Saltville has yielded so many grave goods. Shortly after, they proposed that the goods derived from a salt-based economy<sup>136</sup> that they labeled a “salt powered chiefdom.”<sup>137</sup> Later, they published a refined and extended argument.<sup>138</sup> In the interim, the discovery in the Spanish archives of documentary evidence that Spaniards had attacked a town with a salt spring in 1567 led Robin Beck<sup>139</sup> to conclude that the attack took place where Barber and Barfield had placed “a chiefdom level society along the Holston River drainage.” Beck and Moore later seated the Chiscas<sup>140</sup> in Saltville and suggested that they were trading salt along native trails in all directions.<sup>141</sup> Meyers<sup>142</sup> has summarized the arguments for Saltville

and Smyth County as the center of a salt-economy. However, despite the numerous literature discussions of salt trading from Saltville, there is no direct archeological evidence for Native-American salt making, only extensive circumstantial evidence.<sup>143</sup> An analysis of the amount of fuel wood needed to boil brine to make salt proposes that Saltville brine was transported to various woodland sites (including by water via the north fork of the Holston River) such as those shown in Figure 3.<sup>144</sup> The occurrence of shell gorgets and large quantities of pottery sherds at these sites adds support to the analysis.

### The Evidence from Improper Archeology

Nathan Brisco made first descriptions of Late Woodland period Smyth County archeology in 1933 in a newly recognized report<sup>145</sup> and in a series of newspaper articles.<sup>146</sup> He described many excavations of Native-American burials and noted that in Saltville "Indian remains are far thicker than ... in any other part of this section." His description of the stone-lined grave he found between Saltville and Glade Spring<sup>147</sup> indicates that the grave belonged to the stone box type "so typically associated with the Mississippian cultural tradition."<sup>148</sup> Finally recognized as such 70 years after its excavation, Brisco's find seems to be the only authentic example of this mortuary practice discovered in Virginia.<sup>149</sup>

Brisco's multiple-artifact donations to the Smithsonian (highly unusual in the 1930s) and formal reports mark him as the pioneer of Smyth County archeology. He had a passion for the careful recording of archeological evidence and wrote that graves should be "investigated only by those persons filled with the scientific spirit whose sole aim is the advancement of knowledge."<sup>150</sup> Sadly, very few residents of Smyth County are familiar with him,<sup>151</sup> and his personal records have been lost.

Modern, professional Woodland period archeology in Saltville began in 1940 with correspondence between Robey Maiden and the staff of the U.S. National Museum.<sup>152</sup> As a consequence, Waldo Wedel visited ten village sites and a number of caves in Saltville. Wedel described the archeological prospects of Saltville as "most promising," and learned from Maiden that at least "several hundred" graves had been dug at Broadford and Saltville. Thirty-five years later, Maiden

received a visit from the archeologist Michael Michlovic,<sup>153</sup> who reported that industrial activity and the activities of local collectors made the search for worthwhile sites “less than promising,” but added that he did not wish to “find fault with any of the parties involved,” a reference no doubt to Maiden’s selling of relics. As previously noted, Maiden’s work was summarized in a series of *Saltville Progress* newspaper articles in 1965.<sup>154</sup> By the time Maiden’s work was described in the newspaper, he had excavated many more graves, and wrote of “the silent testimony given by several thousand of these ancient dead men.”<sup>155</sup> Particularly noteworthy of Maiden’s career is his correspondence with the preeminent American Indian-artifact collector George Heye<sup>156</sup> concerning the sale of a ceremonial pipe. That pipe was probably not the one shown in Figure 5, but was similar to it. The letter,<sup>157</sup> reproduced below, makes its first-ever appearance in this article.

Saltville, Virginia, May 17, 1940: “Mr. George G Heye, N.Y.C. New York. Dear Sir: I received your check and the cast several days ago. The bowl of this cast was broken from the stem and also a piece about an inch and a half long was broken off alongside this break. Otherwise I like the reproduction very much. I have mended it myself and decided to keep it as it is. Below you will find my receipt. Received from George G. Heye, \$40.00 for large Indian pipe and cast of same. Sincerely, Robey G. Maiden.”

Maiden was the first person to understand the mixed cultural influences found in Native-American Southwest Virginia. His remark in 1947 that “in addition to the Eastern Woodland Indian type found here there is also present a trace of the Middle Mississippian and Mound Builder culture”<sup>158</sup> is the first statement of this fact by any archeologist — amateur or professional.

It is impossible to know how many Native-American graves Maiden opened in Saltville and Smyth County — primarily with the objective of recovering grave goods such as shell gorgets and shell necklaces, along with obtaining skeletal remains for medical schools. Over the years he was active, he probably opened several thousand.

From the 1965 series of newspaper articles that Maiden wrote in collaboration with Mack Blackwell, Jr.<sup>159</sup> we learn that native copper beads were found at the Saltville High School site<sup>160</sup> but that no European trade goods of any kind were ever found there. He detailed a

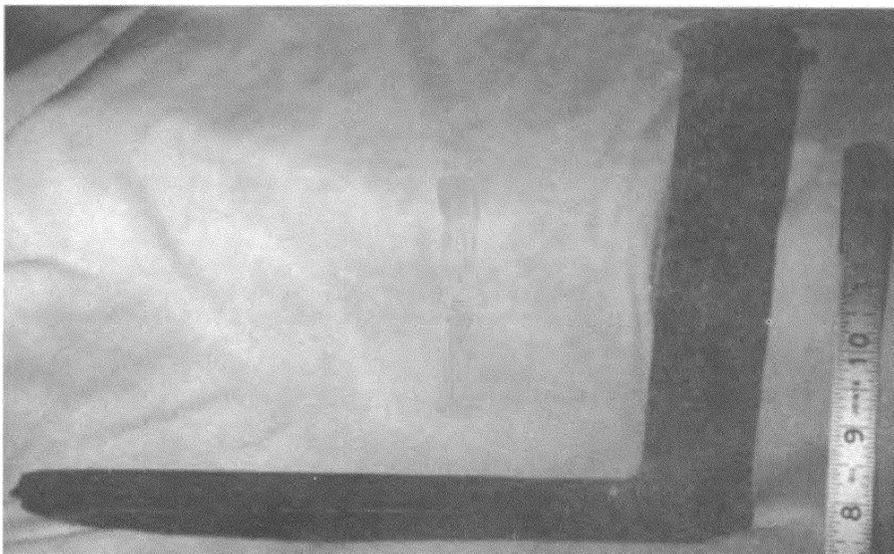


Figure 5. A large ceremonial pipe collected by Robey Maiden. Photograph in author's files.

wide variety of burial practices in the newspaper — supplementing and amplifying earlier reports by Brisco. Of particular interest is Maiden's comment that "post molds, which delineate the houses lived in by the Indians on the Saltville village site, show most of the dwellings to have been rectangular in floor plan with two to three fire pits in each." This report of rectangular floor plans contrasts sharply with MacCord,<sup>161</sup> who selected "round or ovate wigwams" as one of the defining characteristics of his "Intermontane Culture." Maiden's contributions clearly deserve a close examination and appraisal by professional archeologists.

In 1955 Ben McCary, who had corresponded with Maiden for a number of years, wrote an article<sup>162</sup> based entirely on Maiden's activities. This report describes the typical grave goods being routinely collected by Maiden, such as olivella shell beads, large discoidal shell beads, bone awls, polished bone beads, a variety of shell ornaments, etc. McCary observed that information of this type would "throw a faint light on the life of the Indians of that region until scientific and systematic investigations can be carried out." Fifty years later, we await those scientific and systematic investigations.

Rufus Pickle was a dedicated lifelong collector of artifacts and relics. Part of his large basement museum is shown in Figure 6. Pickle's "almost" find<sup>163</sup> of evidence of pre-Clovis occupation in Saltville was described earlier. In addition to his previously cited three short published papers and the recently transcribed tape-recorded interview, Pickle gave an extended interview to Frank Sanders that was published in the *Saltville Progress*.<sup>164</sup>

In the 1975 interview, recorded just a few months before Pickle's death, he provides some sense of how amateur archeology was practiced before indiscriminate digging became illegal, as well as a sense of how much has been lost of the archeological record in Saltville. Responding to Helen Totten's question, "Mr. Pickle, did you dig where they excavated at the school house? Did you dig there?" the tape records that he stated:

Yeah, I dug quite a lot there. In fact of the matter I dug a long time before they ever built the school house. I would

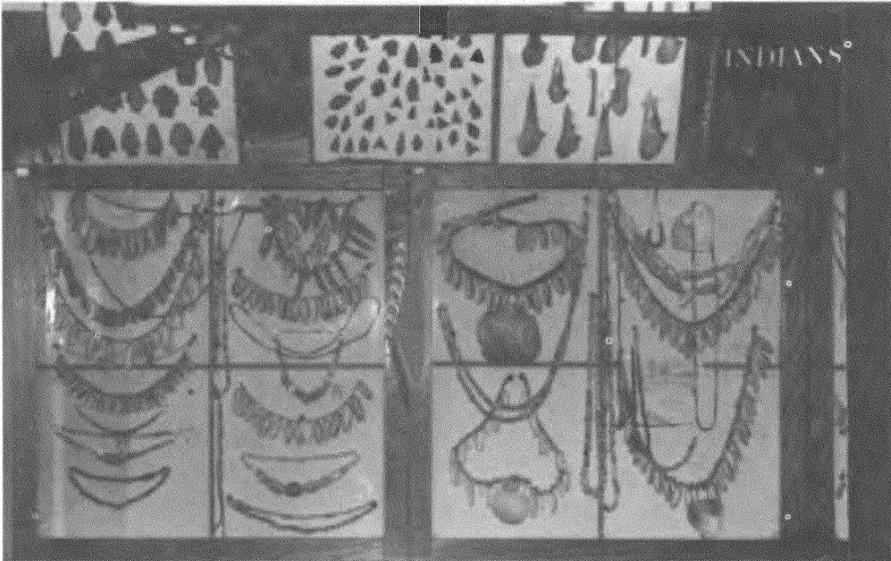


Figure 6. Part of Rufus W. Pickle's basement collection. Four gorgets appear to be shown. Many Saltville and Smyth County residents tell of visiting the Pickle museum as children. Pickle had a long-standing agreement with the New Jersey relic collector Ralph Space that the survivor of the two would purchase the entire collection of whoever died first. Space outlived Pickle. Photograph in author's files.

go over there and dig me a ditch, just sit there and dig me a ditch, just after dark, and then I'd get my lantern down in the ground, you see, and then I could get down in there with that and they couldn't run me out, they couldn't even see me, you see. I'd dig there many a night. That's about by [here Pickle indicated a specific location behind the schoolhouse where at the time he believed a number of undisturbed graves might be found]. And that's where the temple house was.<sup>165</sup> They had a big temple house there. It was about, I guess, it was about fifteen foot in diameter, and hit [sic] was made in a circle, it was a complete circle, and hit [sic] had been put down out of clay, the bottom of it, the floor had, and it must have been about six inches thick that floor. It had been tamped and burnt and tamped. And it stood up around the edges about eight inches. And right in the middle of it was a big center pole, you know, where they had the teepee over that — they had it enclosed — and that would hold water, that was holding water in there. But they tore that all to pieces, and I don't know if anybody ever made a photograph of it. But that's the most beautiful thing at all for the Indians to have there.

The "big center pole" structure that Pickle described (and without his description we would have nothing) sounds like a Mississippian-style feature. Meyers, for example, tells of a Lee County site that has the remains of a "single-set post structure similar to those found at Dallas phase occupations in eastern Tennessee."<sup>166</sup> Such evidence suggests that specialists would benefit from a review of Pickle's work along with the other evidence developed from improper archeology.

Very little of the rich treasure of Late Woodland period Saltville and Smyth County artifacts can now be traced, and even less can be assigned a provenance. The only public collection is the Pat Bass Collection curated at the Museum of the Middle Appalachians in Saltville; about half of this collection is Late Woodland period material. A few items have been recently identified as being in the collections at the National Museum of the American Indian and the National Museum of Natural History, and there are gorgets at the Peabody Museum. Some artifacts from the Hatfield<sup>167</sup> collection were exhibited in Saltville several years ago, but the vast bulk of the material is in private collections, such as the artifacts described and pictured in

the relic collector literature.<sup>168</sup> Private collecting of Native-American artifacts is a significant hobby<sup>169</sup> and also the basis for a considerable dealing business.

It is hoped that the publication of this article will lead to the discovery of additional historical improper archeological evidence and that others will be challenged to reconstruct more of the story.

### **Grave Goods and Native-American Remains: Changing Attitudes**

This section briefly considers changes in social attitudes and changes in the law toward the disturbance of Native-American graves and the removal of goods found in those graves, such as shell gorgets.

By the late 1980s a significant attitude shift was apparent, and the “often cavalier attitude towards native American remains that dominated earlier archeology [was] beginning to give way.”<sup>170</sup> For example, the practice of skull collecting in the name of science has ended; the long history of this gruesome practice has been well-described by Gould.<sup>171</sup> New codes of ethics were drawn up by professional anthropological and archeological associations, codes that reflected an increased sensitivity within American society to Native-American sensibilities. Museums began to reject earlier practices in which they “actually competed with each other and hired people to rob graves of Native American people.”<sup>172</sup> Compounding the latter activity, artifacts that did reach museums have frequently been lost or misplaced.<sup>173</sup>

In 1990 the Native-American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was signed into law, culminating “decades of struggle by Native American tribal governments and people to repatriate thousands of dead relatives or ancestors.”<sup>174</sup> An accurate count of the total numbers of Native-American graves opened by grave robbers in the United States is impossible, but the practice was widespread and estimates range from one hundred thousand to two million dead disturbed for storage or display by government agencies, museums, universities, and tourist attractions — or simply to loot the artifacts buried with them.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, no published estimate has been made of the number of Native-American graves disturbed in Southwest Virginia.<sup>176</sup>

In Virginia, there have been a number of recent criminal investigations of persons who conducted illegal excavations.<sup>177</sup> In July 1999, a two-year investigation ended in the conviction of three members of the Reed Creek Archeological Society for illegally excavating Native-American burials from the Jones site near Austinville in Wythe County.<sup>178</sup> Globally, the looting of ancient sites for artifacts for the international collectors' market is currently a huge problem.<sup>179</sup>

### Fakes and Frauds

One of the great limitations and pities of improper archeology is that an artifact or relic taken from its context loses much, or possibly all, of its significance for the archeological record. As bad as loss of provenance is, worse is the problem of fake artifacts and outright fraud. Serious relic collectors have long been aware of this long-standing practice and know that "there are modern artificers who can duplicate almost any Indian relic you want."<sup>180</sup> In Southwest Virginia the author has been shown reproductions of artifacts by their actual makers, and has been told in some cases the precise details of how particular reproductions were manufactured. The existence of fakes and frauds is a complicating factor for improper archeology.

### Summary and Conclusions

In terms of continent-wide pre-contact history, Southwest Virginia is a backwater. No strongly distinctive Native-American cultures developed at any time in the region. In the years following Spanish contact, Southwest Virginia became depopulated.<sup>181</sup> When English-speaking frontiersmen and land speculators arrived during the 1750s, only the ruins of previous Native-American occupation were found. However, within an otherwise unremarkable region, Saltville in modern-day Smyth County stands out as a uniquely important site and has earned a national reputation. Its salt made it unique. Late Pleistocene mammals left many bones at the salt lick, and recent research connecting early human activities with those bones makes Saltville an outstanding candidate to be one of a handful of pre-Clovis sites in all of the Americas. We can plausibly argue that the first ascertainable fact of North-American history was a mastodon feast in the Saltville valley about 14,500 B.C.

The reports of amateur archeologists and former *tomboroli* are indispensable in assessing the significance of Saltville and Smyth County. They deserve a careful examination and appraisal by professional archeologists. The first clear indication of pre-Clovis occupation in the region was reported by an amateur. In addition to confirming the importance of Smyth County as a regional center during Late Woodland and protohistoric times, amateur reports considerably extend our knowledge of Mississippian cultural influence in Southwest Virginia. For example, the only extant case of a stone box grave in Virginia derives from its description in an amateur report written 70 years ago in Smyth County.

Aided by the evidence of “improper archeology,” we can confirm professional reports that protohistoric Smyth County developed as a salt production center. It is perhaps no coincidence that the river sites of Broadford, Buchanan, and Mendota, which may have been delocalized centers for brine boiling, are also principal sites at which many shell gorgets have been found. Saltville-style gorgets are an important class of artifacts whose significance for understanding Virginia archeology has yet to be properly assessed.

Considering the evidence uncovered by “improper archeology,” it is important for professionals to conduct investigations of the Late Woodland archeology of Smyth County and Saltville, using the best modern practices and techniques.

### Acknowledgments

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plying copies of the Brisco newspaper articles. Thanks to Roger Allison, who granted unlimited access to microfilm copies of the *Saltville Progress* and called attention to the Pickle interviews. Thanks to Howard MacCord for several courtesies. Thanks to Fred DeBusk, who allowed access to his important collection of memorabilia. For help in various ways, thanks to Chub Arnold, Helen Barbrow, Jim Bordwine, Jerry Catron, Dr. Ralph Eshelman, Jimmy Hatfield, Margaret Maiden, Dr. Jerry McDonald, June Stubbs, Dr. Kay Simpson, and Jeff Weaver. Grateful thanks to all the many anonymous informants and former *tombaroli* who shared personal stories of "improper archeology"; some of their stories may yet be told elsewhere. Thanks to Dr. Michael Barber, Forest Archeologist of the George Washington & Jefferson National Forests, and Dr. Jon Muller, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University, both of whom kindly reviewed an earlier draft of this article; neither is in any way responsible for any errors or misconceptions that remain. Dr. Patricia Nietfeld at the National Museum of the American Indian and Dr. James Krakker at the National Museum of Natural History provided information about their respective collections. At the Interlibrary Loan Office at Newman Library (Virginia Tech) Robert Kelly, Lucy Cox, Sharon Gotkiewicz, Janet Bland, Harry Kriz, and other staff members provided quick and responsive service. Responsive service was also provided by Rita Copenhaver, Sharon Dempsey, Pat Hatfield, and Tod Owens at the Smyth-Bland Regional Library in Marion. Tara C. Craig at the Butler Library (Columbia University) kindly arranged for the Copenhaver thesis to be microfilmed. At the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in Richmond, Ariel Lambert and Quatro Hubbard provided ready access to their files. Finally, thanks are due to several anonymous reviewers who have aided the author in substantially strengthening this article and improving its logic. All the mistakes, infelicities, and embarrassments that remain are the sole responsibility of the author.

## Endnotes

1. C. G. Holland, "Touching the History and Archeology of Southwest Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 3(1): 20-28 (1948). Holland was then the *Bulletin's* editor and in this editorial wrote: "One hears of fabulous Saltville with its cemeteries and of rude men who go around that re-

- gion with their noses to the ground smelling out dollars in Indian pots and spelling out loss to some greater advantage than just their own.”
2. Jim Glanville, “Conquistadors at Saltville in 1567? A Review of the Archeological and Documentary Evidence,” *The Smithfield Review*, 8 (2004): 70-108. Hereafter “Conquistadors at Saltville?”
  3. Will Sarvis, “Prehistoric Southwest Virginia: Aboriginal Occupation, Land Use, and Environmental Worldview,” *The Smithfield Review*, 4 (2000): 125-151.
  4. The Italian masculine noun *tombarolo* (singular) and *tombaroli* (plural) is a combination of *tomb* and *cheat* (as in a card sharp). Originating with Etruscan burials, it well describes the unofficial, amateur archeologists who surreptitiously removed artifacts from the Native-American burials of Saltville and Smyth County before such activities became illegal. See Rory Carroll, “Tomb raiding’s no game,” *Guardian*, Wednesday April 18, 2001, and, also by Rory Carroll, “Loot,” *Guardian*, Saturday May 4, 2002. See also Dora Jane Hamblin, *Pots and Robbers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), pp. 73-90. The present article tells the story of the *tombaroli* of Smyth County.
  5. While the professional archeologists condemn the *tombaroli*, the *tombaroli* for their part have little good to say about the professionals. “Square diggers” was the contemptuous judgment of professional archeologists recently offered by one former *tombarolo*. Little love is lost on either side.
  6. Brian M. Fagan, *People of the Earth — An Introduction to World Prehistory*, 10th ed. (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 2001). Figure 4.1 on page 121 of this widely adopted college-level text book shows a map of the settlement of the world by *Homo sapiens sapiens* (modern humans) beginning around 150,000 years ago. In the Figure, an arrow in North America points more or less directly at Saltville and gives the date of human arrival as 13,000 B.C. Only New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific Ocean have a later human arrival date. Fagan in his recent popular book, *The Long Summer: How Climate Changed Civilization* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), shows in the map on page 44 all of North and South America and much of Greenland superimposed by the routes of human settlement. Only five places are identified on the map: Clovis, New Mexico; Folsom, New Mexico; Meadowcroft, Pennsylvania; Monte Verde, Chile; and Saltville.
  7. The arrival of modern humans across the Arctic land bridge is told in many places. See, for example, the popular treatment by J. M. Adovasio (with Jake Page) in *The First Americans — In Pursuit of Archaeology’s Greatest Mystery* (New York: Random House, 2002).
  8. Thomas D. Dillehay, *The Settlement of the Americas — A New Prehistory* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
  9. James R. Craig, *Geologic Evaluation of the Saltville Area, Smyth County, Virginia* (Saltville: Saltville Planning Commission and Tennessee Valley Authority, 1973). See also Fred Webb, Jr., “The Geologic History of Smyth County, Virginia,” in *Smyth County, Virginia, Volume 1, Pathfinders and Patriots: Prehistory to 1832*, ed. Joan Tracy Armstrong (Marion, Virginia: Smyth County Museum and Historical Society, Inc., 1983).

10. Southwest Virginia was heavily traveled by Native Americans. William M. Myer (*Indian Trails of the Southeast* [Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology and the U.S. Government Printing Office, 1925; reprinted, Nashville: Blue and Gray Press, 1971]) in his landmark study of Native-American trails in the Southeast describes Saltville as an important convergence point. From Saltville, two branches of the Ohio Prong of the Great Indian Warpath diverge in a generally northeasterly direction, the upper toward Hinton, West Virginia, and the lower toward Bland, Virginia; to the southwest the Ohio Prong led to Long Island, Tennessee, and beyond, while to the south the Old Cherokee Path — after crossing the Chesapeake branch of the Great Indian Warpath (modern day Interstate 81) at Glade Spring just six miles from Saltville — led to Morganton, North Carolina, and beyond.
11. Elizabeth Lemmon Sayers, *Smyth County, Virginia, Volume 1, Pathfinders and Patriots: Prehistory to 1832*, ed. Joan Tracy Armstrong (Marion, Virginia: Smyth County Museum and Historical Society, Inc., 1983). "In 1753 a grant had been made to Charles Campbell under the auspices of Augusta County and in the name of King George III. This grant was known as Buffalo or Salt Lick and its descriptive name indicates that it was a gathering place for the animals who roamed the area." (p. 199). The lick was also a gathering place for the Native Americans who hunted the game.
12. David J. Meltzer, "Peopling of America," *Developments in Quaternary Science* 1: 539-563, 2003. On line at [www.smu.edu/anthro/faculty/dMeltzer/pdf%20files/QUS\\_2004\\_Peopling\\_of\\_North\\_America.PDF](http://www.smu.edu/anthro/faculty/dMeltzer/pdf%20files/QUS_2004_Peopling_of_North_America.PDF), this lengthy, up-to-date review includes a discussion of the importance of Saltville. Hereafter cited as "Peopling of America." See also Saltville's recent appearance in the 2004 *Encyclopedia Britannica*: Brian Fagan, "Anthropology and Archaeology" from *Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service*. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=232714> Describing the work of Jerry McDonald, discussed in the present article, Fagan writes: "At Saltville MacDonald [sic] discovered that early Americans skinned and cut up a mammoth carcass."
13. Heather McKillop, author of *Salt: White Gold of the Ancient Maya* (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 2002), made, in a recent discussion with the author, the interesting remark that archeologists who study salt are in the very unusual position of not having anything tangible to study. Most archeology is precisely the study of artifacts. But archeological salt was either consumed or washed away by the first rain.
14. In the Spring of 2004 the author was invited to a private home in Saltville to view an impressive museum of Native-American artifacts. Frustrated by the richness of the collection, and by its simultaneous total lack of scientific documentation, he expostulated in frustration: "We're never going to get a proper archeology of Saltville, but that shouldn't stop us from trying to get the best possible improper archeology." This article is in part an effort toward documenting for the first time the improper archeology of Saltville and Smyth County.
15. The author is preparing for publication an anthology of the work of Brisco, Maiden, Pickle, and others.

16. Nathan Brisco, "Archaeological Notes on Smyth County," *Marion Democrat*. Six articles all with same title: June 6, June 13, June 20, June 26, July 4, and July 11, 1933. Hereafter cited as "Archaeological Notes."
17. Nathan M. Brisco, *Indian Remains of Smyth County, Virginia*. 40 pages, maps missing. Manuscript on file at Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond. Hereafter cited as *Indian Remains*.
18. Artifacts donated to the Smithsonian by Brisco include a discoid-shaped stone, an earthen jar, and various projectile points from the Broadford vicinity of Smyth County and potsherds from the Gwyn Site (artifact information from James Kraker, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, 2004).
19. <http://www.spacefarms.com/aboutus.htm>
20. Rufus W. Pickle, "Discovery of Folsom-like arrowpoint and artifacts of mastodon bone in southwest Virginia," *Tennessee Archaeologist*, 3(1) (1946): 3-7; "Regarding some interesting artifacts," *Tennessee Archaeologist*, 3(2) (1947): 23-24; "An Indian burial cave near Saltville, Virginia," *Tennessee Archaeologist*, 5(1) (1949): p. 6.
21. Frank B. Sanders, an eight-part series of newspaper articles in the *Saltville Progress*, featuring Rufus Pickle and his private relic collection: "Part 1: A Visit To a Fine Private Museum," July 8, 1971; "Part 2: Visiting a Fine Private Museum" July 15, 1971; "Part 3: A Visit to a Private Museum — Gorgets and Beads," July 22, 1971; "Part 4: A Visit to a Private Museum — Huge Fossil Bones," July 29, 1971; "Part 5: A Visit to a Private Museum — Old Relics and a Hunk of Pure Silver," August 5, 1971; "Part 6: Arrow Heads, Battle Axes, and Peace Pipes," August 12, 1971; "Part 7: Folsom Man at Saltville," August 19, 1971; "Part 8: Another Visit to the Pickle Museum," August 26, 1971. Hereafter cited as "Pickle's Private Collection." Sanders was an avocational historian who wrote a regular column about local history that appeared for many years in the *Saltville Progress*.
22. Rufus W. Pickle, a taped interview conducted by Thomas Warden Totten and Helen Virginia McCready Totten on 21 May 1975, original tape and transcript in author's files.
23. Henry E. Diggs, "Saltville's Robey Maiden Has Collected Some Fame, Along With Indian Relics," *Bristol Herald Courier*, April 10, 1949, p. 3A. Hereafter cited as "Saltville's Robey Maiden."
24. Waldo Wedel, "Archeological Reconnaissance near Saltville, Virginia, in 1940." *Archeological Society of Virginia's Quarterly Bulletin*, 45(3) (1990): 114-122. Hereafter cited as "Archeological Reconnaissance." Ben McCary, "Additional Information on the Archaeology of the Saltville Area as Reported by Mr. Robey Maiden," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 9(3) (1955): 7-11. Hereafter cited as "Reported by Robey Maiden."
25. Robey Maiden, "Tales That Dead Men Tell" (with Mack Blackwell, Jr.), a six-part series of articles with various subtitles. *Saltville: The Saltville Progress*, January 14, January 21, January 28, February 4, February 11, and February 18, 1965. Hereafter cited as "Tales That Dead Men Tell."

26. Mack Blackwell, Jr. was in the 1960s Chief Engineer of the Mathieson Alkali Works (see Tom Mahr, "Salt of the Earth," *Esso Oilways* [Houston: Humble Oil & Refining Company, July 1966], pp. 14-19). Blackwell wrote extensively about Saltville history and published regularly in *The Saltville Progress*, but his long-planned book was unfortunately never published.
27. See the website <http://members.fortunecity.com/fpreston/prsfrrsm.htm>  
See also Patricia Johnson Givens, *William Preston and the Allegheny Patriots* (Blacksburg, Virginia: Walpa Publishing, 1976), p. 310.
28. See, for example, Brian M. Fagan, *World Prehistory—A Brief Introduction*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 2002). Chronological Table B (p. 123) shows cultural periods on five continents between 50,000 B.C. and 3,000 B.C. Chronological Table C (p. 195) continues from 3,000 B.C. to 1500 A.D.
29. Of course, picking a year to mark the beginning or end of a period does not impart any special significance to that particular year. Archeological periods blend smoothly and seamlessly one into the next, and ways of life change only slowly. But we humans find markers convenient as an aid in organizing our thinking and in cataloging our ideas.
30. Keith Egloff and Deborah Woodward, *First People: The Early Indians of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1992). Hereafter cited as *First People*. Produced by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Excerpts from this book are on line at [http://state.vipnet.org/dhr/arch\\_NET/timeline/time-line.htm](http://state.vipnet.org/dhr/arch_NET/timeline/time-line.htm)
31. William F. Stanyard, *Archaeological Investigations at Sites 44WG281 and 44WY25 in Washington and Wythe Counties, Virginia* (Atlanta: TRC Company, 2004). Hereafter cited as *Archaeological Investigations*.
32. Mary Ellen N. Hodges, *A Brief Relation of Virginia Prehistory: A Summary of Current Ideas on the Cultural History of the Native Inhabitants of Virginia, ca. 10,000 B.C. to the Present* (Richmond: Department of Conservation and Historic Resources, Division of Historic Landmarks, 1981). Hereafter cited as *A Brief Relation*.
33. William J. Hranicky, "Survey of the Prehistory of Virginia," *Chesopiean*, 11 (4): 76-94, 1973. Hereafter cited as "Survey."
34. Anonymous, *The Archeology of Southwest Virginia* (Roanoke, Virginia: The Archeological Society of Virginia, Roanoke Chapter, 1992). A 16-page booklet published in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, United States Forest Service, prepared under the editorship of Thomas Klatka.
35. *Running Deer. The Settlement of Virginia, 12,000 BP to 1600 AD*. Published on line at <http://www.runningdeerslonghouse.com/webdoc254.htm>
36. William H. Reid, *Prehistoric Settlement and Subsistence in the Cumberland Gap Region of Southwest Virginia*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Washington, D.C.: American University, 1966). Published in revised form as *Prehistoric Settlement and Subsistence in the Cumberland Gap Region of Southwest Virginia* (Occasional Publication No. 1. Richmond, Virginia: Cultural Resources Group, Louis Berger and Associates, 1997). The cultural history of the Cumberland gap region of Virginia (Lee County) is described on pages 28-40.

37. Michael Hoffmann and Robert Foss, "Blue Ridge Prehistory: A General Perspective," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 34 (1980): 185-210.
38. Stephen R. Claggett, "North Carolina's First Colonists: 12,000 Years Before Roanoke," Originally published in *The Ligature*. (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1986). Revised 15 March 1996 and republished on line at <http://www.arch.dcr.state.nc.us/1stcolo.htm>
39. Anonymous, *Archaeology and the Native Peoples of Tennessee*, an online summary of time periods and the human activities therein. On line at <http://mcclungmuseum.utk.edu/permex/archaeol/archaeol.htm#Periods>
40. Anonymous, *The Archaeological Heritage of Kentucky*, on line at: <http://www.state.ky.us/agencies/khc/cult1.htm>
41. Ralph Solecki, "An Archaeological Survey of Two River Basins in West Virginia," *West Virginia History*. In two parts, volume 10 (1949): Part 1: "Introduction," pp. 189-212; Part 2: "The Bluestone Reservoir Survey," pp. 319-432.
42. Edward V. McMichael, *Introduction to West Virginia Archaeology*, 2nd revised edition. Morgantown: West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, 1968. Hereafter cited as *WV Archaeology*.
43. Jefferson Chapman and Patty Jo Watson, "The Archaic Period and the Flotation Revolution," pp. 27-38 in *Foraging and Farming in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. C. Margaret Scarry (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993). The term flotation refers to the relatively recent and highly effective technique of the discipline called paleoethnobotany. Soil samples from excavated sites are agitated in water, enabling contained organic materials to float to the surface. So doing allows microscopic plant remains to be recovered, analyzed, and identified. Flotation is followed by statistical analysis to provide archeological evidence of the plants present at the site and their possible uses. Pictures of flotation in action can be seen at the website cited in the following footnote. Although dated, still useful is the classic work by John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bulletin 137 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946). Swanton discusses food and food preparation on pages 265-380.
44. Gail E. Wagner and Jamie Civitello, *Ancient Gardening in South Carolina: 10,000 B. C. – A.D. 1700*, an on-line paper written in celebration of South Carolina Archaeology Month, September 8 – October 7, 2000. Available on line at <http://www.cla.sc.edu/ANTH/gardening/ancientgardening.htm> This web site also shows pictures of a flotation operation operating as described in the preceding footnote.
45. C. G. Holland, *An Archeological Survey of Southwest Virginia: Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Number 12* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970). Hereafter cited as *Archeological Survey*.
46. William M. Gardner, *A Phase I Archeological Resources Reconnaissance of the Proposed Appalachian Power Company Hydroelectric Project in Poor Valley and Hidden Valley, Washington County, Virginia* (Thunderbird Research Corporation, February 1979). Report on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources,

- Richmond. Hereafter cited as *Appalachian Reconnaissance*. The cited quotation comes from p. 33. The many animal species that frequented the salt lick are listed on p. 15. On p. 17 Gardner remarks that "It is doubtful if any other area of Virginia [compared with southwestern Virginia] has been subjected to such a rape of its cultural resources."
47. David I. Bushnell, "The Indian Inhabitants of the Valley of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 34(4) (1926): 295-298.
  48. Ellen G. Copenhaver, *Life and Culture of the Indians of Southwest Virginia* (Columbia University, M.A. Thesis, 1933). Handwritten. Both Ellen Copenhaver and Nathan Brisco were Marion residents, writing about the history of southwest Virginia at the same time. When the author ordered a copy of this thesis, he was hoping that it might shed more light on Brisco's work. However the internal evidence is that Copenhaver and Brisco never communicated.
  49. Michael B. Barber and David A. Hubbard, Jr., "Overview of the Human Use of Caves in Virginia: A 10,500 Year History," *Journal of Cave and Karst Studies*, 59(3) (1997): 132-136.
  50. Victor A. Carbone, *Environment and Prehistory in the Shenandoah Valley* (Ph. D. dissertation, Catholic University, Washington, D.C., 1976). The environmental history of Virginia is recounted on pp. 45-56.
  51. Lynn E. Kauffman, James C. O'Neill, and Patricia A. Jehle, eds. and compilers, *Bibliography of the Virginia Indians* (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1976). Special Publication Number 2.
  52. Michael F. Johnson, *American Indian Life in Fairfax County, 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1650* (Falls Church, Virginia: Heritage Resources Branch, Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax County, Virginia, 1996).
  53. Howard A. MacCord, Sr., "Archaeological Indian Study," in *Smyth County, Virginia, Volume 1. Pathfinders and Patriots: Prehistory to 1832*, ed. Joan Tracy Armstrong (Marion, Virginia: Smyth County Museum and Historical Society, Inc., 1983).
  54. Jerry N. McDonald, *A Survey and Inventory of Archeological Resources of the Town of Saltville, Virginia. A Report of Activities and Results*, Report submitted to the Town of Saltville, August 28, 1985, on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.
  55. Hazel R. Delacourt and Paul A. Delacourt, "Late Quaternary Vegetational Change in the Central Atlantic States," pp. 23-35 in *The Quaternary of Virginia — A Symposium Volume*, ed. J. N. McDonald and S. O. Bird of the Virginia Division of Minerals. Publication 75, 1986.
  56. Ellen H. White, "Projectile points from a multicomponent site (44Sm51) in the Saltville Valley," pp. 132-133; Eugene Barfield, "Tools and debitage: Cultural debris from a multicomponent site (44Sm51) in the Saltville Valley," pp. 133-135. Both in *The Quaternary of Virginia — A Symposium Volume*, ed. J. N. McDonald and S. O. Bird of the Virginia Division of Minerals. Publication 75, 1986.

57. Clovis is an archeological site in New Mexico where spear projectile points of a distinctive type were first found. The date 9,500 B.C. marks the end of the last period of North American glaciation — the Wisconsin glaciation.
58. C. Clifford Boyd, Jr., "Paleoindian paleoecology and subsistence in Virginia," pp. 141-148 in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. J. Mark Wittkofski and Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 19, second edition, 1994).
59. The much older stone tool industries of Europe are well described in the classic book by Henri Breuil and Raymond Lantier, *The Men of the Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic & Mesolithic)*, 2nd ed., translated by B. B. Rafter (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965). The collecting, analyzing, cataloging, and trading, of stone artifacts from this, and indeed all, archeological periods is an important aspect of both professional and amateur archeology. The extent of professional interest in stone points can be understood and appreciated by the lifetime of work of Ben C. McCary, a former professor of languages at the College of William and Mary, whose publications were aggregated in *Survey of Virginia Fluted Points* (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, Special Publication Number 12, 1984). McCary's work has been continued and extended by William Jack Hranicky of Alexandria in works such as *Prehistoric Projectile Points Found Along the Atlantic Coastal Plain* (Boca Raton: Universal Publishers, 2003). The enormous extent of amateur interest in collecting stone points can be understood and appreciated by an examination of publications such as Robert M. Overstreet's *Official Overstreet Indian Arrowheads Identification and Price Guide* (New York: Random House Information Group, 2003), which is now in its eighth edition.
60. Eugene B. Barfield, "Paleoindians, Megafauna and Salt: The Earliest Aboriginal Culture of the Saltville Valley in Virginia," pp. 12-28 in *Upland Archeology in the East: Symposium Number Five*, ed. Eugene B. Barfield and Michael B. Barber (Richmond, Virginia: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1996).
61. Randolph E. Turner, III, "Paleoindian Settlement Patterns and Population Distribution in Virginia," p. 81 in *Paleoindian Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. J. Mark Wittkofski and Theodore R. Reinhart (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia Special Publication No. 19, second edition, 1994). Hereafter cited as Turner, "Paleoindian settlement."
62. Robson Bonnichsen and Karen Turnmire, "An Introduction to the Peopling of the Americas." Pages 1-26 in *Ice Age People of North America: Environments, Origins, and Adaptations*, ed. Robson Bonnichsen and Karen Turnmire (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press and the Center for the Study of the First Americans, 1999). See also Meltzer, "Peopling of America."
63. For example, John Noble Wilford, "The Oldest Americans May Prove Even Older," *The New York Times*, June 29, 2004.
64. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: John Stockdale, 1787). Reprint edition with an introduction and notes by William Peden (1955), pp. 43-44.

65. Wyndham Robertson, "Some notes on the Holstein (Va.) salt and gypsum," *The Virginias*, 3(2): 20-21, and 3(3): 42 (1882).
66. For about 75 years, from 1895 to 1970, the Mathieson Alkali Works (later Olin-Mathieson Corporation and still later Olin Corporation) extracted salt from beneath Saltville by injecting fresh water deep underground where the water dissolved solid salt, making a liquid brine that was pumped to the surface and thence to the company's chemical plant. The discovery of fossil bones was a frequent industrial event, and no doubt stimulated the passion for relic collecting that captivated many Saltville residents.
67. O. A. Peterson, "A fossil bearing alluvial deposit in Saltville Valley, Virginia," *Annals of the Carnegie Museum*, 11(3-4) (1917): 469-474.
68. Byron N. Cooper, "New Fossil Finds at Saltville, Virginia," *Mineral Industries Journal*, 10(4): 1-3, 1964. Incidentally, it is in this article that Cooper reports the chemical analysis of a modern salt spring at Saltville containing about 3% sodium chloride (salt).
69. Clayton E. Ray, Byron N. Cooper, and William S. Benninghof, "Fossil Mammals in a Late Pleistocene Deposit at Saltville, Virginia," *Journal of Paleontology*, 41 (1967): 608-622.
70. Jerry N. McDonald and Charles S. Bartlett, Jr., "An Associated Musk Ox Skeleton from Saltville, Virginia," *Journal of Vertebrate Paleontology*, 2(4) (1983): 453-470.
71. R. W. Pickle, "Discovery of Folsom-like arrowpoint and artifacts of mastodon bone in southwest Virginia," *Tennessee Archaeologist*, 3(1) (1946): 3-7. Like Clovis, Folsom is a site in New Mexico; projectile points from the two sites come from the same culture.
72. Howard A. MacCord, Sr., "Late Pleistocene Remains Found in Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 18 (1964): 61-62. Noting the mastodon bones and the nearby presence of a fluted projectile point, MacCord called this an "almost find" of a late Pleistocene association of man and artifact.
73. Ed Bottoms, "Notes on the Geology, Pleistocene Paleontology, and Archaeology of Saltville, Virginia," *The Chesopiean*, 7(4-5) (1969): 80-89.
74. A well illustrated, informal report describing his work on what he called "The Paleoindian Capital of Western Virginia" can be found in Jerry N. McDonald's "Saltville: A Window on the Ice Age of Southwestern Virginia," *Virginia Explorer*, 8(Spring/Summer) (1992): 8-15.
75. Edward N. Verner, "Earliest Evidence of Human Presence in North America Found in Saltville, Virginia" (press release dated 16th April 1996). The release cites a paper delivered by Jerry N. McDonald in Charlotte, N.C., on Thursday April 11, 1996 at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers.
76. George Wisner, "Saltville Site Has Evidence of 14,000-year-old Feasts," *Mammoth Trumpet*, 11(4): (1996) 18-20.
77. Jerry N. McDonald, "An Outline of the Pre-Clovis Archeology of SV-2, Saltville, Virginia, with Special Attention to a Bone Tool Dated 14,510 yr BP."

- Jeffersoniana*, No. 9, pp. 1-59, Virginia Museum of Natural History, 2000. The date specified in the title refers to radiocarbon dating using the  $^{14}\text{C}$  (carbon-14) isotope. BP stands for "before present." For technical reasons related to atmospheric changes beyond the scope of our discussion here, this date translates to about 14,500 B.C.
78. Anonymous, Staff of the U.S. National Park Service, *Southeastern Prehistory: Paleoindian Period* (Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. National Park Service). On line at: [www.cr.nps.gov/seac/outline/02-paleoindian/](http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/outline/02-paleoindian/); David G. Anderson, "Earliest Americans [In the Southeastern United States] Theme Study — Draft" (Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. National Park Service). On line at: [www.cr.nps.gov/seac/outline/02-paleoindian/se\\_paleo/01-intro.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/seac/outline/02-paleoindian/se_paleo/01-intro.htm)
  79. Leon Lane and David G. Anderson, "Paleoindian Occupations of the Southern Appalachians — A View from the Cumberland Plateau," pp. 88-102 in *Archaeology of the Appalachian Highlands*, ed. Lynne P. Sullivan and Susan C. Prezzano (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001).
  80. Turner, "Paleoindian settlement."
  81. Peter D. Ward, *The Call of the Distant Mammoth: Why the Ice Age Mammals Disappeared* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1997); Alexandra Witze, "Scientists question whether humans caused extinction of mammals," *Dallas Morning News*, Thursday September 25, 2003; Alexandra Witze, "The Mysteries of Megafauna: Who or what caused the extinction of the giant mammals that once inhabited the New World?" *American Archaeology*, Spring 2004, pages 16-25; Guy Gugliotta, "Suspects in Demise of Giant Mammals: Experts Debate Whether Humans or Climate Change — or Both — Helped Eliminate Such Creatures Eons Ago," *Washington Post*, Monday October 11, 2004, p. A9. In the scientific literature, the debate has reached serio-comic proportions, with one of the combatants invoking no less an authority than Monty Python: "This isn't an argument, it's just contradiction." See: Donald K. Grayson and David J. Meltzer, "A requiem for North American overkill," *Journal of Archeological Science*, 30 (2003): 585-593; the reply by Stuart Fiedel and Gary Haynes, "A premature burial: comments on Grayson and Meltzer's 'Requiem for overkill,'" *Journal of Archeological Science*, 31 (2004): 121-131; and the reply to the reply: Donald K. Grayson and David J. Meltzer, "North American overkill continued?" *Journal of Archeological Science*, 31(2004): 133-136.
  82. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges, eds., *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis* (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1990). Special Publication No. 22 of the Archeological Society of Virginia.
  83. Keith T. Egloff and Joseph M. McAvoy, pp. 61-80 in "Chronology of Virginia's Early and Middle Archaic Periods," *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1990). Special Publication No. 22 of the Archeological Society of Virginia.
  84. Clarence R. Geier, "The Early and Middle Archaic Periods: Material Culture and Technology," pp. 81-98 in *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A*

- Synthesis*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1990). Special Publication No. 22 of the Archeological Society of Virginia.
85. Scott K. Parker, "Early and Middle Archaic Settlement Patterns and Demography," Pages 99-120 in *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1990). Special Publication No. 22 of the Archeological Society of Virginia.
86. Thomas R. Whyte, "A Review of Evidence of Human Subsistence During the Early and Middle Archaic Periods in Virginia." in *Early and Middle Archaic Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen N. Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1990), Special Publication No. 22 of the Archeological Society of Virginia.
87. Hodges, *A Brief Relation*, p. 7.
88. Archeologists usually prefer to call Native-American plant cultivation "horticulture" or "gardening" rather than "agriculture," because Native Americans neither plowed the soil nor broadcast seeds. For example, "Even during the Late Woodland, we are never speaking to modern agriculture. We are talking intensive gardening using swidden or slash-and-burn means." Michael Barber, personal communication.
89. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen Hodges, eds., *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis* (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991). Special Publication No. 23 of the Archeological Society of Virginia.
90. J. Sanderson Stevens, "A Story of Plants, Fire, and People: The Paleoecology and Subsistence of the Late Archaic and Early Woodland People in Virginia," pp. 185-220 in *Late Archaic and Early Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. Theodore R. Reinhart and Mary Ellen Hodges (Richmond: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1991).
91. Works that describe pottery distributions and sequences in Southwest Virginia include Evans' pioneering study (Clifford Evans, *A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archeology*, with Appendix: "An Analysis of Projectile Points and Large Blades" by C. G. Holland [Bulletin 160, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1955]); Holland's important 1970 regional survey (Holland, *Archeological Survey*); Boyd's thesis (C. Clifford Boyd, Jr., *An Evolutionary Approach to the Prehistory of Upper East Tennessee and Adjacent Areas* [Doctoral thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1986]); and a review by Egloff that covers the counties of Lee, Russell, Scott, Tazewell, and Wise (Keith T. Egloff, *Ceramic Study of Woodland Occupation along the Clinch and Powell Rivers in Southwest Virginia* [Virginia Department of Historic Resources Research Report Series No. 3., 1987]). Hereafter cited as *Ceramic Study*.
92. Stanyard, *Archaeological Investigations*, p. 14.
93. *Ibid*.

94. Maureen S. Meyers, "The Mississippian Frontier in Southwestern Virginia," *Southeastern Archaeology*, 21(2) (2002): 178-191. See Figure 3, page 182. Hereafter cited as "Mississippian Frontier."
95. From local informants, the author has information he believes reliable about the locations of probable mound sites in both Montgomery and Tazewell Counties and has heard hints of a possible mound site in Smyth County.
96. Jon Muller, personal communication, 2005.
97. Gayle J. Fritze, "Early and Middle Woodland Period Paleoethnobotany," pp. 39-56 in *Foraging and Farming in the Eastern Woodlands*, ed. C. Margaret Scarry (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993), pp. 54-55. Determining the origin of tobacco and its diffusion in native America is a complex problem.
98. Justine Woodard McKnight, "Flotation-recovered Archeobotanical Remains from the R. B. Worthy High School Site, Smyth County, Virginia" (2004). Report on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond. Construction of R. B. Worthy began in fall 1955; the school opened in fall 1957. It was renamed Northwood High School in 1987.
99. Douglas C. McLearn, "Virginia's Middle Woodland Period: A Regional Perspective," pp. 39-64 in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. T. R. Reinhart and M. E. N. Hodges. Special Publication No. 29 (Richmond: Council of Virginia Archeologists, 1992).
100. Edward V. McMichael, "WV Archeology." Map 5 on page 36 shows the Fort Ancient culture located mainly in the west of modern-day West Virginia, but with an outlying group located on the modern-day Virginia-West Virginia border in Giles County. The Fort Ancient culture derived from Native Americans who originated in the St. Louis area (an important center of Mississippian culture).
101. William Duncan Strong, "The Coordinated River Valley Approach — A World Problem," in *Symposium of River Archeology*, J. O. Brew, chairman, *American Antiquity* 12(4) (1947): 210-212. Strong wrote "From time immemorial the river valleys of the world have been the trade routes and living centers of human society. It might be estimated, as it has for the region of the United States, that some eighty percent of all the all the archaeological remains in the world occur in only two percent of its area, that is bordering or in conjunction with its river valleys."
102. The sketch shown in Figure 2 is based on a portion of the *Map of Virginia's Watersheds* (Richmond: Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation, n. d., circa 2004). On-line version available at [www.dcr.state.va.us/sw/index.htm](http://www.dcr.state.va.us/sw/index.htm)
103. Egloff, *Ceramic Study*, pp. 48-49.
104. Dennis B. Blanton, "Middle Woodland Settlement Systems in Virginia," pp. 65-96 in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. T. R. Reinhart and M. E. N. Hodges. Special Publication No. 29. (Richmond: Council of Virginia Archeologists, 1992).
105. J. P. Brain and P. Phillips, *Shell Gorgets: Styles of the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Southeast* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 1996), p. 396. Hereafter cited as *Shell Gorgets*.

106. Brain and Phillips, *Shell Gorgets*, pp. 43, 84, 102-103 (the Saltville style section), 147, etc. Many of the photographs of gorgets in this book were taken by Jon Muller, who recounted to the author that in the summer of 1965 he traveled 25,000 miles through the South in a Dodge Dart collecting photographs for his Ph.D. thesis research (Jon David Muller, *An Experimental Theory of Stylistic Analysis* [Harvard University, Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. dissertation, 1967]). After he left Boston heading south, the first place Muller encountered gorgets was Saltville, where he met both Rufus Pickle and Robey Maiden. On page 183 of his thesis Muller tells of the "Maiden Collection" of gorgets in Saltville. It was Muller who originally designated the rattlesnake gorgets of Smyth County as belonging to the "Saltville style" (Muller, *Experimental Theory ...*, pp. 80, 149-166).
107. In Kentucky, this period is called Late Prehistoric; in Tennessee it is called Mississippian. Native Americans by the Late Woodland period developed in the vast middle of the United States — the Mississippi River drainage region — diverse and flourishing cultures, collectively called Mississippian, with long-range trade networks and impressive population centers focused on large mounds at locations such as Cahokia, Illinois, and Moundville, Alabama. Southwestern Virginia lies at the fringe of the Mississippian cultural world. See Meyers, "Mississippian Frontier."
108. Richard S. MacNeish, *The Origins of Agriculture and the Settled Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 230-252. Here is assembled and listed much of the data about the plants found at various sites and their associated arrival dates.
109. George R. Milner, *The Moundbuilders: Ancient Peoples of Eastern North America* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), pp. 86-87. Here are presented useful graphical summaries of the establishment dates of various plant foods in the eastern United States.
110. Hodges, *A Brief Relation*, p. 9.
111. Richard W. Jefferies, "Living on the Edge: Mississippian Settlement in the Cumberland Gap Vicinity," pp. 198-221 in *Archaeology of the Appalachian Highlands*, ed. Lynne P. Sullivan and Susan C. Prezzano (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), Table, p. 204.
112. Donald Edward Davis, *Where There Are Mountains: An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), pp. 27-34. Hereafter cited as *Where There Are Mountains*.
113. Davis, *Where There Are Mountains*, pp. 107-121. In a particularly poignant irony, Davis tells that the Cherokee rose, the state flower of Georgia, is a non-native Appalachian species introduced from China in 1757.
114. Lewis Preston Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786, Washington County, 1777-1870* (Johnson City, Tennessee: Overmountain Press, 1989), pp. 21-23. Originally published 1903.
115. Brisco, *Indian Remains*.
116. Glanville, "Conquistadors at Saltville?"

117. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources maintains a comprehensive list of archeological sites in Smyth County (and every other Virginia county). Of some 300 total Smyth County records, about 45 are assigned as "Woodland" period sites, and of those seven are more specifically designated as "Late Woodland sites." Sometimes, however, the only known information about a listed site is a sketchy, hand written, one-page "Site Survey Form." Still more sites are known only to the *tombaroli*.
118. George R. Milner, David G. Anderson, and Marvin T. Smith, "The Distribution of Eastern Woodlands Peoples at the Prehistoric and Historic Interface," pp. 9-18 in *Societies in Eclipse, Eastern North America at the Dawn of History*, ed. David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowan, and Robert C. Mainfort, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001). The maps in question are Figures 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, pp. 11-13.
119. Howard A. MacCord, Sr., "The Intermontane Culture: A Middle Appalachian Late Woodland Manifestation," *Archeology of Eastern North America*, 17(Fall) (1989): 89-108. Hereafter "Intermontane."
120. Howard A. MacCord, Sr., "The Fox Site, Smyth County, Va.," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 29(1) (1974):1-5. This is a very brief report.
121. Keith T. Egloff, "The Late Woodland Period in Southwestern Virginia," pp. 187-224 in *Middle and Late Woodland Research in Virginia: A Synthesis*, ed. T. R. Reinhart and M. E. N. Hodges. Special Publication No. 29 (Richmond: Council of Virginia Archeologists, 1992). Hereafter "Late Woodland in SW VA."
122. According to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources October 2004–September 2005 work plan, the Agency will soon prepare a "publication-suitable" manuscript reporting the Bonham Site excavation and also a complete final archeological report on the Fox site. See: [www.dhr.virginia.gov/pdf\\_files/DHR\\_WkPln-04-05-AugDRAFT.pdf](http://www.dhr.virginia.gov/pdf_files/DHR_WkPln-04-05-AugDRAFT.pdf)
123. Brain and Phillips, *Shell Gorgets*. These authors describe and picture many gorgets from the listed sites.
124. Jon Muller, *Mississippian Political Economy* (New York: Plenum Publishing Company, 1997). Shell gorgets (including those from Saltville) are discussed on pages 370-379.
125. Tom Totten and Charlie Bill Totten, personal communications, 2004.
126. Jon Muller, personal communication, 2004.
127. Harlan Gilmore, "The Role of Salt as an Element of Cultural Diffusion," *American Anthropologist*, 51(5) (1955): 1011-1015.
128. Paul E. Lovejoy, *Salt of the Desert Sun: A History of Salt Production and Trade in the Central Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
129. Robert P. Multhauf, *Neptune's Gift: A History of Common Salt* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 31-34 and 39-61.
130. Norman Davies, *The Isles — A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 30.
131. Gerhard Herm, *The Celts: The People Who Came Out of the Darkness* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975). On pages 100-103 Herm describes mining in-

- spector Georg Ramsauer's accidental discovery of the Hallstadt burial ground with its hundreds of richly endowed graves — the goods from which were eventually auctioned in New York. See also Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 64-67. The classic case for Hallstadt's wealth being a consequence of salt trading is made in Jacques A. E. Nenquin, "Salt, a Study in Economic Prehistory," *Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses*, 6 (1961): 9-162.
132. Gardner, *Appalachian Reconnaissance*.
  133. E. Randolph Turner, "The Archeological Identification of Chiefdom Societies in Southwestern Virginia," *Upland Archeology in the East: A Second Symposium*, 1983 (Atlanta: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southern Region).
  134. David Fuerst, Personal communication, 2004. Also, Jon Muller in a 2005 personal communication remarked "I remain very skeptical of chiefdom-level organization in Southwest Virginia, especially one based on salt exploitation and trade."
  135. Gene Barfield, personal communication, 2004.
  136. Michael B. Barber and Eugene B. Barfield, "A New Perspective on the Development of Chiefdoms in Southwest Virginia: Is it Worth Its Salt?" Paper presented at the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference, Ocean City, Maryland, April 7, 1991.
  137. Michael B. Barber, "Saltville and Environs: The Woodland period," pp. 39-50 in *Upland Archeology in the East: Symposium Number Five*, ed. Eugene B. Barfield and Michael B. Barber (Richmond, Virginia: Archeological Society of Virginia, 1996). Hereafter cited as "Saltville and Environs." The phrase "salt powered chiefdom" appears on page 45.
  138. Michael B. Barber and Eugene B. Barfield, "The Late Woodland Period in the Environs of Saltville: A Case for Petty Chiefdom Development," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology*, 16 (2000): 117-132.
  139. Robin A. Beck, Jr., "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540-1568," *Southeastern Archaeology*, 16(2) (1997): 162-169.
  140. Smyth County amateur archeologist Lawrence Richardson had long before concluded that the Chiscas were the tribe living in Smyth County at the time of European contact. However his work is yet to be published (Lawrence Richardson, "The Chisca Indians," unpublished manuscript, 2004, copy in author's files). Hranicky, in his 1973 "Survey," suggested that the Yuchi (another name by which the Chiscas were known) lived in southwestern Virginia during the protohistoric period, being attracted there by the "great salt lick."
  141. Robin A. Beck, Jr. and David G. Moore, "The Burke Phase: A Mississippian Frontier in the North Carolina Foothills," *Southeastern Archeology*, 21(2) (2002): 192-205.
  142. Meyers, "Mississippian Frontier," pp. 186-187.

143. Jim Glanville, "Native American Salt Making at Saltville, Virginia," paper presented at the Joint Southeastern Archaeological Conference and Midwest Archaeological Conference meeting, October 22, 2004, St. Louis, Missouri.
144. Jim Glanville, "Saltville, Pre-contact Salt Making, and Spaniards," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archeological Society of Virginia, October 31, 2004, Lexington, Virginia.
145. Brisco, *Indian Remains*. The author found this report in the archives of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in the summer of 2004.
146. Brisco, "Archaeological Notes."
147. Nathan Brisco, "Archaeological Notes on Smyth County," *Marion Democrat*, Tuesday June 13, 1933.
148. Ian W. Brown, "A Study of Stone Box Graves in Eastern North America," *Tennessee Anthropologist*, 6(1) (1981): 1-26. Figure 3 of Brown's paper shows a distribution map of stone box graves. They approximately center near Knoxville, Tennessee.
149. Howard MacCord, personal communication, 2004.
150. Nathan Brisco, "Archaeological Notes on Smyth County," *Marion Democrat*, Tuesday June 6, 1933.
151. The author has met members of the insurance profession who remember Brisco. However, no living, former *tombarolo* was aware of Brisco or his archeological work.
152. Wedel, "Archeological Reconnaissance."
153. Michael G. Michlovic, "The Early Prehistoric Archeological Resources of Saltville, Smyth Co., Virginia," *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin*, 31(2) (1975): 101-105.
154. Robey Maiden, "Tales That Dead Men Tell."
155. Professional confirmation of the extent to which burials in the region have been looted comes from MacCord "Intermontane," 1989, who says that 1972 excavations showed 16 of 21 professionally excavated graves at Sullins had been previously opened by *tombaroli*. Egloff, "Late Woodland in SW VA" (1992), states that 19 of 22 professionally excavated graves at Bonham had been previously opened by *tombaroli*.
156. Heye was a legendary collector whose collection, in effect, became the recently-opened National Museum of the American Indian. See Clara Sue Kidwell, "Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye," pp. 232-258 in *Collecting Native America*, ed. Shepard Krech, III, and Barbara A. Hail (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1999). See also Roland W. Force, *Politics and the Museum of the American Indian: The Heye and the Mighty* (Honolulu: The Mechas Press, 1999).
157. Patricia Nietfeld of the recently-opened National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) found this correspondence after the author inquired about possible artifact donations by Robey Maiden to the Smithsonian collections.
158. Henry E. Diggs, "Saltville's Robey Maiden."
159. Robey Maiden, "Tales That Dead Men Tell."

160. The author has seen pictures of a portion of the C. C. Hatfield artifact collection. Copper artifacts were plentiful in that collection, but their provenance cannot now be ascertained.
161. The term "almost find" was coined by MacCord in "Intermontane."
162. Ben C. McCary, "Reported by Robey Maiden."
163. Howard A. MacCord, Sr., "Late Pleistocene Remains Found in Virginia," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*, 18: 61-62 (1964). MacCord wrote: "What we need, and need badly in Virginia, is to find human bones or artifacts reliably associated with bones of some of the big game animals. ... The one 'almost' find we have on record so far is that by R. W. Pickle in Saltville, Va."
164. Frank B. Sanders, "Pickle's Private Collection."
165. This temple site would be one of many locations in Saltville worthy of consideration for a modern, professional archeological investigation.
166. Meyers, "Mississippian Frontier," p. 180.
167. C. C. Hatfield, "Southwest Virginia Indians. The Description of a Scientific Exhibit at the Medical Society of Virginia Meeting, October 8-10, 1961." Copy in author's files.
168. Ben W. Thompson, ed., *Who's Who in Indian Relics No. 3* (St. Louis, Missouri: Parks and Thompson, 1972). Charles Burnette is pictured on page 62 with a collection of his artifacts identified as being "mostly from southwest Virginia." On page 63 are pictured a large, 6x5-inch rattlesnake gorget and an "Earth, Moon, and Stars" gorget, both reported as being from Smyth County. Fred Sharpe of Marion is pictured on pages 311 and 312 but the provenance of the artifacts pictured on pages 311-314 is not given; however, the Sharpe collection clearly included at least nine gorgets.
169. H. C. Wachtel, ed., *Who's Who in Indian Relics* (Union City, Georgia: Charley G. Drake and American Indian Books, 1980), pp. 5-6. Wachtel says here "I venture to say that the people you see mentioned or pictured in this publication, have or have had, in their possession the greater portion of the fine quality Indian Relics in the United States, outside of museums." The psychology of Native-American relic collecting has been examined by David S. Rotenstein in *Ending Contexts: A Historical Perspective on Relic Collecting*, formerly on line at [www.dsrotenstein.com/relics/relics/htm](http://www.dsrotenstein.com/relics/relics/htm); copy in author's files.
170. Robert E. Bieder, *A Brief Historical Survey of the Expropriation of American Indian Remains* (Bloomington, Iowa: Robert A. Bieder, 1990). The citation comes from page 61.
171. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977).
172. Jack F. Trope and Walter Echo-Hawk, "The Native-American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act: Background and Legislative History," *Arizona State Law Journal*, 24(1992): 35-77. Hereafter Trope and Echo-Hawk "NAGPRA." Statement of Jerry Flute, p. 42.
173. Federal Judge Glen Williams of Abingdon has noted "...local people who gather up these artifacts from the soil and sell them for a small price are no

- worse in their looting than museums that cart off these artifacts and then they are seen no more." (Personal communication, 2005).
174. Trope and Echo-Hawk, "NAGPRA," p. 36.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
176. Based on the record of improper archeology and reports of local informants the author guesses that disturbed graves in Smyth County and the immediately adjoining counties number many thousands — perhaps as many as 10,000.
177. Robert D. Hicks, "An End-of-Millennium (Almost) Report on Time Crime," On line at the Archeological Society of Virginia website at <http://asv-archeology.org/timcrime.htm>
178. Robert D. Hicks, "Time Crime: protecting the past in the United States," *Newsletter of the Illicit Antiquities Research Center*, Issue 9, Autumn 2001. On line at <http://www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk/IARC/cwoc/issue9/timecrime.htm>
179. Roger Atwood, *Stealing History: Tomb Raiders, Smugglers, and the Looting of the Ancient World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004). Compared to the massive destruction of the archeological record around the world described in this book, what has happened in Southwest Virginia has been on a relatively small scale.
180. Ben W. Thompson, ed., "The Fraud Issue," in *Who's Who in Indian Relics*, No. 5 (Kirkwood, Missouri: The Messenger Printing Co., 1980), p. 268.
181. Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983). European diseases were likely the prime cause of depopulation. Between 1520 and 1625 Dobyns estimates (pp. 291-295) that the Native-American population of Florida Timacuan-speakers fell from more than 700,000 to less than 40,000. On the coastal plain of Virginia, it has been estimated that the Indian population dropped from 20,000 to 1,800 between roughly 1610 and 1669, with diseases such as smallpox and measles wiping out entire villages (Egloff and Woodward, *First People*, p. 45). A similar precipitous population decline must have occurred in Southwest Virginia between the 1567 de Soto *entrada* and the later arrival of English explorers.