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Kentucky Archaeology "WPA"

Transcript

Source: Tapes (#039/#040)
Who: Dr. Lathel Duffield
What: WPA Archaeology
When: 06/01/2001
Where: UK Museum of Anthropology
Interviewer: Tom Law
Videographer: Beth Fowler
Audio: Duffield double miced/no mic on interviewer
Technical: Ch. 1 Shotgun. Ch. 2 lov.

Question: *What is your name and title for the record?*

Tape #039 (04:00:54) "My name is Lathel F. Duffield, and I hold a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Wisconsin. And, uh, came to Kentucky in 1969 to assume the archaeology program (04:01:10).

Question: *In general terms, what was the extent of knowledge about the native peoples of prehistoric Kentucky before WPA archaeology?*

Tape #039 (04:01:37) "Well, the people who were here and working in Kentucky certainly recognized the fact that there were prehistoric cultures here, and uh Webb's professor Webb's early work focused on trying to do small sites, getting a little bit of information about the peoples, prehistoric peoples. However Dr. Webb had his own idea about how to interpret these materials. And, he was insistent on trying to lay his prehistoric materials to known ethnographic groups. (04:02:09)

Question: *What is WPA archaeology?*

Tape #039 (04:02:15) "Well, the WPA is uh the government "ese" idea of how you are going to designate a section of government. And this one is called Works Projects Administration, or as it was first known - Works Progress Administration (04:02:38) **The WPA people were involved in many, many different facets. Not only did they cover archaeology, but they had projects all over the United States into various kinds of things.**" (04:02:57)

Question: *What was the motivation for those programs?*

Tape #039 (04:03:05) "**If you go back to the era when WPA was established, this was right after the great stock market crash in the late 20s. And, tremendous unemployment - all the way from 17 to 25% - depending on which statistic you want to look at. An estimated about 25 million people without work. (04:03:25) And these were people both urban dwellers and farmers, so that in order to get people back to work, President Roosevelt when he was elected, established these various "make work" projects. But, it was important to have a project that did not produce**

goods. (04:03:46) It had to provide funds - to be put into the economy - without producing anything to sell. (04:03:54) So archaeology was a fantastic thing to use for that because it was all labor. Materials came in for scientific purposes and uh that was the principle idea there."
(04:04:06)

Question: *What were some of the other programs under the WPA in Kentucky?*

Tape #039 (04:04:16) "Well, there were also bridge building, construction of buildings, historic projects, a lot of interviews - tapings - so a lot of folk history of the situation here, depending on what the project director wanted to focus in on. Again, as you notice these are things that are not going to go back into the economy." (04:04:45)

Question: *Why was WPA so prevalent in Kentucky?*

Tape #039 (04:05:00) "**Well, one of the reasons the WPA was really popular here is because at that time this was largely a rural state. So you had a lot of farmers without any kind of income. Also you had a very rich source of archaeological sites (04:05:17) And this provided the ideal situation for the WPA archaeologists to operate in."** (04:05:28) First of all, if your gonna have an archaeological project, you had to have a site which would hire hundreds of men. It had to operate year round. And it would...It would have to provide enough income for the people that would help elevate the economic situation in the immediate area. (04:05:50)

Question: *Who was William S. Webb?*

Tape #039 (04:05:58) [Laughing] "Well, professor Webb - is the way I've always referred to him - I ever met, I think I saw the man once. But uh. (04:06:07) He uh he was very unique. He had tremendous political power on the University, and also nationally. He had been able to get funds early in his career in order to do archaeological work through the national research council. In fact, when it became time to get funds for the department the NRC the National Research Council said, "well before you can do this you have to have an entity to accept this truck. (04:06:44) And so he said OK. He went to the Board of Regents and said OK this is what we're going to do. And sure enough in 1927, the Board of Regents approved the department of anthropology, the museum of anthropology and archaeology - archaeology you notice - And, then later, they got the truck. (04:07:08)

Question: *What was his (Webb) professional background?*

Tape #039 (04:07:27) "Well, Webb was a. He had gone here to the University of Kentucky for a undergraduate degree in physics. He graduated. He applied for a job here to teach. They said, Oh, non, no, no, no - you're too young. And, so that you know we can't do that. So at that point he ended up going out West to work with the office of land management in the management and distribution of land in Oklahoma Aha, he got interested in Indians, and that doubled his concerns. So when that terminated, he came back. By that time he was well into the Indian mode, and began doing prehistoric archaeology. (04:08:18)

Question: *Describe the work Webb was doing in archaeology before WPA?*

Tape #039 (04:08:36) "Well, actually you asked about the colleagues. Well his first mentor here was a fellow by the name of Miller in the geology department. And, Miller had and was going out and walking around and of course interested in the geology of Kentucky. And in so doing he was

noticing, he would point out to Webb who was working with him that these are Indian remains. (04:09:00) So Webb kinda got that reinforcement. Webb's principal job with Miller was to help push the truck up the hill. So it had, ...but never Later on he hooked up with a zoologist by the name of Funkhauser. And then between the two of them they became kind of the Messrs of archaeology in Kentucky. (04:09:30)

Question: *What kind of man was professor Webb. How would you describe him to a colleague?*

Tape #039 (04:09:48) [smiling] **“Well, he had a nickname called bullneck, and uh it kind of summed some things up. He was very aggressive. He had such a mixture of in his personality. You know, it all depended on what the circumstances were. (04:10:10) He could be very kind and gentle or he could be very gruff and rough. So it just would all depend. Very fortunate though, that when the depression hit and WPA archaeology started that they had a man like that because he was a tremendous organizational man. (04:10:29) I don't think he cared for details, but he certainly knew how to get the right people to do the right job. (04:10:36)**

Question: *If WPA archaeology had not been led by Webb, what kind of program would we have today?*

Tape #039 (04:10:48) **“That's a very interesting question. What kind of program would we have here if Webb hadn't been here? That's kind of hard to conceive. There were a lot of archaeologists around because even the federal programs you had archaeologists in DC with the Smithsonian, with the National research Council and they actually sent people here. (04:11:18) In terms of the state WPA program, Webb was not the head of it. He was the person who organized the digs. But the actual WPA programs were headed by archaeologists that had been sent in by the federal government. John Carter was one of those people who became a national park service archaeologists in Florida for a while. A fellow named Ralph Brown. He headed the BA in Kentucky. He ended up in Lincoln supervising the basin projects. (04:12:04)**

Question: *What were some of the social goals of WPA archaeology in Kentucky?*

Tape #039 (04:12:17) **“I don't know that they really concerned about social goals other than the fact that (04:12:20) they wanted to provide the economic benefits that the WPA projects would provide, largely to these rural farmers and miners. (04:12:28) And things. But**

Question: *What was the motivation beyond the science?*

Tape #039 (04:12:40) **“The motivation was not science. The motivation was to put these people to work. It just so happened that the archaeology was something they could put them to work with. (04:12:53) without having any end product other than just the remains and the data that came out of these sites. (04:13:00) The economic programs were designed, depending on the time period, to provide temporary work – for example the Creigler Mound up in long the Ohio river. There the workmen were allowed to work two days, then had to take two days off. Then another two days – two days off. That was so that you had kind of a double crew, so that some people would get to work a little while, then other people would get to work a little while. And that's the way they rotated the jobs and the money. (04:13:40)**

Question: *What did it mean to a community to have a WPA excavation near them?*

Tape #039 (04:13:55) **“They didn't make a lot of money, but it was better than nothing. (04:13:59) And uh for example with the CCC programs, which also did archaeology. Their pay was around**

\$20 a week. \$15 dollars had to be sent home and the government sent the check back to their communities and to their families, and the work person only got the five dollars. And again you see this trying to even out the economic situation and distribute the funds (04:14:34)

Question: *How big was this program in Kentucky?*

Tape #039 (04:14:55) "I think I counted one time in terms of the size of the projects and the number of projects at one time. (04:14:52) **Once a project got started it might go as long as two, three years - depending on its size and depending on where they were. (04:15:02) They were not concerned about the fact that they could dig through these large mound and not find anything, as long as the dirt was being moved. (04:15:10)** And, uh, but in other places like out in western Kentucky with the shell mounds you had artifacts come in hands-overfist. You had kind of a varied situation. So the total number, I think I counted. (04:15:28) **Between 1937 and 1939 there were at least nine different projects going on - all of varying sizes. (04:15:40) ...Some projects would have as much as a thousand people or so working. (04:15:48)** and then they would others because of the small size, and because of the small labor force. You know because many of these people were moving around looking for other jobs elsewhere. So you would these smaller projects, and those were kind of used as back up. You know if all of a sudden if you had too many people over here, just move um here. So it was just a matter of moving them around. (04:16:16).

Question: *What were some of the scientific goals? What were they trying to accomplish?*

Tape #039 (04:16:33) "**The scientific goals were not really there. As I pointed out, one of the things is they had to have a site that would keep people occupied for a long time. (04:16:46)** But in terms of its ramifications for science, then you had different things going on there. (04:16:56) **What they were primarily interested in then was just recovering the material. Getting some idea of what kind of materials were there. And then, being able to compare that with other sites either within the area or surrounding states. And see what kind of things they held in common. (04:17:15)** At that point, we were largely concerned with describing materials, and getting some sort of feel for where we stood as far as the prehistory was concerned. (04:17:26)

Question: *What were some of the methods and techniques developed during WPA archaeology*

Tape #039 (04:17:39) "In working with these sites. If you look at Webb's early work - especially out in Logan County and the Paige site, and look at the photographs there, and look at the digging. It looked like kind of advanced "pot hunting." (04:17:57) The thing that really turned all of that around was not really here in Kentucky but down in Tennessee. When President Roosevelt passed the TVA Authority, and there were immediately there were all of these projects lined up for building the dams and reservoirs in Tennessee. Well, because of Webb's work and his knowledge of the area and his obvious reputation for organization, they held a big meeting in Nashville and um, I'm sorry I think that was Knoxville. They had Smithsonian Representatives, the had National research Council representatives, they had TVA representatives, they had representatives from museums in Alabama and Tennessee and all the universities, of all that. They came up with the idea that Webb could handle all the Tennessee Valley Authority archaeology. (04:18:59) And put him in charge of that. Now those are humongous crews, too. But that was TVA funds to a large extent. (04:19:10) However, all these work projects were cooperative. So despite the fact that they may be WPA, TVA, CCC, they intermingled their work forces, but still rather jealously guarded their own. Little turf. But the important thing about that Knoxville conference is the fact that the people from Washington - the Smithsonian - I think that was Carl Judd, and also the NRC people -

and I don't remember that fellow's name, but they after their selection of Webb as supervisor, then they told him more or less which students to hire from all over the United States. So these students assembled in Tennessee, begin working on the Tennessee projects and bringing with them a lot of ideas from these places about how to recover these materials. How to record them. And Webb was the student and he learned about the whole process of proper excavation. (04:20:23)

Question: *What would a typical day been like at Wright Mound or one of these sites in the late 30s or early 40s?*

Tape #039 (04:20:45) "A supervisor's work never really ended in terms of these WPA excavations. They were there in the field. They constantly had all of this paperwork to take care of. Not only in terms of the archaeology, but also the organizational work. You know, the government's great for that. (04:21:08) They had to get their plans together as to what they were going to be doing the next day. They weren't always sure how many workpeople would show up because family problems and what have you. But anyway they had to be prepared for that. But generally the workmen would come back and they would just continue the work they started the day before. But maybe if you want to back up a little bit. (04:21:36) OK, here's a brand new mound. Never been touched. OK, How are we going to take care of it? How are we going to excavate it? So Webb was using a technique at that time that was, um for data recording that involved what he called placing a reference stake, which was very common in the southeast, and this was called a zero, zero stake. And, then everything to the north would be five foot north five, north ten, north fifteen, etc., etc. If you are going to the east, it would be east five and east fifteen. So you had to establish a kind of a method to recoveries data. (04:22:21) But he also had to make sure he didn't get into these other quadrants because that got kind of confusing to record keeping. (04:22:31) So he would start off, and then, **If it were a mound, he would start slicing it like it were a loaf of bread. (04:22:38)** Moving it in up to the point where the walls were eight feet tall. (04:22:44) At that point, federal government regulations kicked in and they couldn't go any higher. So they had to step it so... it wouldn't collapse on the people - safety factor - and then do the same thing. And, if it was a tall mound, you know, you could end up with several of these steps as you move through. (04:23:06) **And the whole idea was just to go through, and in some cases - it depended on the landowner - if the landowner wanted the dirt someplace else, then the WPA would agree to transport that dirt over there in their wheelbarrows. If not, quite often they would try to rebuild the mound. (04:23:21)**

Question: *Same perspective from a laborer. What was your day like?*

Tape #039 (04:23:26) "**If I were a laborer out there, I would hope I had one of the specialty jobs because the workers were divided up into um, levels of expertise doing specific duties. Now if you were just a common shoveler, you go out there and you move dirt. That was the object - to move dirt. (04:23:48) And, uh, learned to be on the lookout for some materials that might be cultural materials. (04:23:58) Now if I were a grave specialist, once a grave wer4 located I'd be called in (cough/pardon) and I would get to then do the excavation of the grave itself. So you had these kind of specialties going on within the framework of WPA archaeology. (04:24:18)**

Question: *The WPA also had tremendous photo crews. Why was that so important? Was it unusual?*

Tape #039 (04:24:42) "It wasn't unusual for WPA. But this is ..(04:24:43) The use of photographs as a recording mechanism in archaeology comes out of that TVA experience. And, uh, there they made many extensive photographs, too. So it was a technique that was simply brought on to Kentucky

because a lot of the archaeolog , sorry Two of the archaeologists that came on from the TVA moved up with Webb when Webb came back here to work in Kentucky. And so again they brought all of these ideas with them – the idea of taking photographs. (04:25:22) **It is far preferable to drawing and sketching although drawing and sketching was very much part of the process as well.** (04:25:29) When you look at some of the early newsletters and so about proper recording techniques, there was a big discussion about when you draw a grave should you use stick figures or you should try to be as realistic as possible. (04:25:45)

Question: *What were they finding?*

Tape #039 (04:25:56) “What was revealed by the excavation depended on what part of the state you was in. (04:25:01) Here in central Kentucky and the eastern Kentucky area, they focused, largely, on the large earthen Adena mounds, and um, these mounds quite often contained burials in the bottom of em, and so those were the kind of things you might expect. (04:26:24) Mount Horab, out here is one of the sites that they excavated, and there they were trying to see, trying to get some idea what was going on as far as the ring was concerned. (04:26:37) Not much was found there except the post holes. So the cultural materials could be relatively scarce. (04:26:47) Moving over into the western part of the state you got the vast shell mounds. And there you have a combination of a wealth of artifacts, and a wealth of burials . (04:27:02) And, then so you had those kind of materials coming in. And, the further out west in the Jackson Purchase area – the Land- Between- the Lakes – you had large villages that were excavated, so you could dig houses, and get the house patterns and stockade patterns, and again that all involved a lot of dirt moving. (04:27:26)

Question: *It was a completely different era than we’re used to today. You have a very unique point of view. Were Native Americans, American Indians ever consulted about WPA archaeology in Kentucky?*

Tape #039 (04:27:46) **“Whether American Indians were ever consulted, I think that would be very dubious. First of all, the whole issue of archaeological recovery of remains and cultural materials was not an issue at that particular time. So there would really be no reason to go out and inquire whether the tribes would be concerned or not. (04:28:14) Furthermore, we don’t have any strong evidence, you know, that any of these early sites were ever related to any of the contemporary groups. (04:28:22) As I’ve mentioned too, although Webb was constantly trying to equate these materials to ethnic and linguistic groups. (04:28:32)**

Question: *What would be the range of perspectives within contemporary Native American communities about the role of archaeology – back then or today?*

Tape #039 (04:28:50) “In terms of thinking about what it would be like today. In terms of the past versus the present. Uh, (04:28:57) It would depend on the tribe. (04:29:0) **Just as there is great diversity among American Indian groups, there is a great deal of political differences as well. Some groups would feel every confident that yes, “This is the way we can learn because archaeologists can tell us about our past.” Others would see this as a way of desecrating uh, sacred grounds, burial grounds and recovery of artifacts that should be left with the dead. So there’s no consensus in all of this. (04:29:30)**

Question: *What was the day like on these sites after December 7th, 1941?*

Tape #039 (04:29:40) “Well, once the word was out, you gotta remember this was radio period. No television or things of that sort. The word was largely by radio and telephone – what few telephones there were. (04:29:55) **The WPA archaeologists knew as soon as December 7th rolled**

around and the events happened in Pearl Harbor that the country was going to war and the projects that they were on were going to be terminated. (04:30:12) And, in fact, if you look at one of the sites out in western Kentucky that was being excavated by CCC at that time, uh, the supervisor of that project said, "If I had known this was going to happen, I would not have planned the excavations that I did. (04:30:32) **Nevertheless, just in a very short period of time - a matter of months - the whole project all the projects closed down and then what materials had to be shipped back to the repositories. And, even the processing of the materials in the lab terminated. Some cases leaving the stuff on the tables, and with only partially completed cataloging. (04:30:59)**

Question: *What did Webb and his colleagues do?*

Tape #039 (04:31:05) "Well, you got to remember Dr. Webb's age. He did not have to be drafted. So he continued working with the older people. (04:31:13)

End of tape #039. Start of Tape #040

Tape #040 (05:00:40) "Well, when the war broke out, Webb and his associates that were older were the people left behind because all the young archaeologists went into the service. (05:00:54) So you see even in the publications records of the period where some of these young archaeologists have been publishing up to 1941, then bang, you had the war years. And they don't show up again until 1946. (05:01:10) But Webb and Funkhouser were able to continue working with the materials that were here. Of course with a reduced student population because of the war, they had more time to analyze the materials and do these preliminary reports on all these archaeological sites. But as still yet, there were a whole lot of archaeological sites that were never looked at in terms of publication. (05:01:37)

Question: *What were they beginning to understand about Kentucky prehistory?*

Tape #040 (05:01:52) "What the WPA archaeologists were finding was largely this materials that enabled them to make these comparisons, trying to get some kind of cultural grouping based on the artifacts whether it be pottery or flint work or brownstone work or things of that sort. And tried to find out, you know, the commonalties because that suggests some degree of social relationship. (05:02:20) This was something they didn't know before and were trying to recreate these groups (05:02:27)

But they were not interested. (05:02:30) Webb was never a theorist. He was very content just to do his little descriptive stuff, but at the same time that was so valuable because the whole eastern United States was involved in the same thing - trying to find out what we had, you know. And, what was related to what. (05:02:53) Time wise at that particular time the whole idea of prehistory would approximately would go back to the time of Christ and that was about it, you know. And uh, so everything had to be compressed anyway. So even if you found these early, early sites as we know them today. Ok so here's a site that we know to be 5,000 years old, and you say "Oh so you say 500 AD." (05:03:18) **They didn't have that time frame to work with. It was only with the advent of radiocarbon dating in the late 1940s that things really began to change, modify and so we got different pictures of what we going on prehistorically here in the eastern United States (05:03:37)**

Question: *What would the average guy/gal in Kentucky know about prehistory during the era of WPA archaeology?*

Tape #040 (05:03:59) "Well, it would depend. If your dad worked out there with the WPA Yes you were involved. The general knowledge then was "Oh, they're diggin' the mound over there. Mt Sterling, the Criegler Mound, Wright Mound – so the local people would know, but here again were talking about communications. You know radio. How often are you going to hear about the excavation of an archaeological site of the radio? You had enough problems just listening to the news about the war and things of that sort. (05:04:38)

Question: *Did the average person know about the prehistory of Kentucky?*

Tape #040 (05:04:57) "It would be hard to say. However, Mt. Sterling is named after an Indian mound, and by the time were talking about now in the WPA period people were well aware that these were not built by giants or pygmies or what have you. So that these were Indian. (05:05:18) Dr. Funkhauser was always a great showman and one of his, they were excavating this burial and a crowd had come in – local citizens were watching, you know, and Dr. Funkhauser jumped in the grave, took out his ruler, measured the tibia of the person and says, "Aha, Algonquian!" So again reinforcing the idea that this was Indian." (05:05:46)

Question: *What was the extent of knowledge within the professional community after WPA archaeology?*

Tape #040 (05:06:00) "**After WPA archaeology, our knowledge base had greatly expanded. But there's a saying in archaeology that it's not science until it's published. And so the number of publications is really what counts in terms of the information that's available – not only to the professionals but also to the local public. (05:06:39)** and you'd have to then get some feel for that. Now some of that knowledge was disseminated among the professionals by regional meetings – the southeastern archaeological conference was established in the 1938 I believe, and the purpose of that was to discuss the finds, and so just orally then the information was being spread - you know I found this, I found that – and here are pictures of what I've got, and they would discuss these excavations so the information was out there but it wasn't in published form yet. (05:07:12)

Question: *In your opinion, what do you think is the greatest legacy of WPA archaeology?*

Tape #040 (05:07:18) "**If it had not been for WPA we would be still way back in the dark ages so to speak simply because we would never have the funds to run excavations as we've done now. To get, you know, 500 – million uh, five hundred thousand dollars to work on one archaeological site would be almost impossible. (05:07:48)** There are granting institutions, but there are a limited number of granting institutions. So our database would be greatly, greatly diminished. (05:08:00) And we would still be looking and trying to find out things. And without that kind of earlier knowledge base the theories that we have today and the approaches that we have today would probably still be yet to come. (05:08:12)

Question: *What can we learn from studying this era of archaeology?*

Tape #040 (05:08:39) "Had it not been for WPA archaeology, the mammoth archaeological projects that were taken on after the war in the river basins would not have been able to be conducted as well. So this ties back to the WPA era. We also in looking at it from the socio-economic factors – the impact that these projects had on the local communities and areas. It really is extremely important. Because I have heard and spoken to older people who have worked on WPA era projects like my grandfather – but not on archaeology – They were ready to vote communist." (05:09:28)

Question: *What can the general public learn from this era, from these types of massive works projects?*

Tape #040 (05:09:52) **Hopefully, they have learned that (05:09:54) there is a very rich prehistory in the United States and it is one that deserved to be preserved and protected. And that we should do all that we can to help manage these resources - not only for now but the future as well. (05:10:12)**

Additional questions

Question: *What kind of man was professor Webb?*

Tape #040 (05:10:24) **“Professor Webb was a very interesting, a very complex man. He had a tremendous capacity for organization and he was able to work with the university and also the national organizations in order to accomplish certain goals. He was well respected nationally as far as the Washington bureau was concerned. He was able to take these projects on. Conduct them very efficiently and keep people busy. (05:11:06)**

Question: *What was the WPA?*

Tape #040 (05:11:09) **“The WPA was the Works Progress Administration established by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in order to create work projects that would enable the people to go back to work. (05:11:22) These were varied, they included archaeology.**

Question: *How bad was the Great Depression in Kentucky?*

Tape #040 (05:11:34) **“In terms of the depression and its impact on Kentuckians, (05:11:40) because of the tremendous impact it had on agriculture there were many, many people unemployed. Of course when you take the tobacco farming out and the various crops out, that means then even the urban centers which were the warehouses for these products - there was no jobs because materials were just not coming in. (05:12:04)**

Question: *Anything else?*

Tape #040 (05:12:41) **“It’s important to realize the WPA was actually not the sole unit here in archaeology in Kentucky. You had other organizations involved a well, the national research council they’re the one’s who funded much of Webb’s earlier work. You had the CCC the Civilian Conservation Corps. - out in western Kentucky and those funds were strictly CCC funds. And its important to realize when your talking government programs it’s the budget that organization so they be insulted if there not getting .**

(05:13:30) When Roosevelt first started the WPA, right after his inauguration, it was very limited. And then it was not until his second term that the WPA as we think about the WPA with these large-scale excavations here in Kentucky, that this was the really blossoming of that whole project. (05:13:54)

Question: *Describe the scale of these project?*

Tape #040 (05:14:06) **“To really appreciate the extent of the work, and what was recovered, you almost have to take a walk trough the museums and also the warehouses because those projects literally filled warehouses full of materials. (05:14:24) and this was true all over the eastern United States. Consequently, you have a tremendous amount of information. In spite of the fact that Dr. Webb published all of these articles, they’re just superficial. They don’t get into the details - at least the kinds of details that we are examining today. (05:14:44) And, unfortunalty**

Webb in some of his excavations failed to recover environmental data, which is very important facet in archaeology today - such as the bones and remains of animals and things of that nature, (05:14:59) And so now were going back and testing some of these sites in order to get some sample of this materials (05:15:09) But then when you get into these warehouses in the universities and museums, there's still a lot of materials that have never been analyzed. (05:15:20) I was fortunate enough in my own graduate career to write a master's thesis about a WPA site in Oklahoma, and that was a description of these engraved shells. How this humojngous mound that was almost 200 feet tall and 320 feet long but was which totally leveled during WPA days - that would never be done today - never. (05:15:45)

Tape #040 (05:16:00) "It would take governmental funds of a tremendous magnitude especially with today's pay scales. You got to remember that these people were working for what we would consider pennies. If you were only making twenty dollars a week, maybe thirty dollars a week depending on you r specialty within the archaeology, you know that doesn't go far." (05:16:20)

Tape #040 (05:16:50) "Could we ever have another WPA? I seriously doubt it because of the scale and the tremendous amount of money that was poured into these projects and the number of workman that were working, the fact now that the wage scales being at what they were at such a low level during the Great Depression. Today it would be impossible to have any kind of excavation of any size. You could spend a hundred thousand dollars on a site and barley scratch it. Here they were spending that much and doing the whole site. (05:17:35)

End of Law interview