



JOHN MANN GOGGIN
1916–1963

JOHN M. GOGGIN died of cancer in Gainesville, Florida on May 4, 1963 after an illness lasting about eight months. The loss to anthropology is unusually great. He had made many solid contributions of substantive data and would have provided many more. But his approach was nearly always inductive, so that results of general importance beyond his primary geographical areas of interest rested on a base built up over a period of years. His accumulation of detailed knowledge and his skills in research were just reaching climax in an attack on culture historical problems of major significance and in the development of important new methodology.

John Goggin was born in Chicago on May 27, 1916. His family moved to Miami before he reached school age, and his interests throughout his life were strongly identified with Florida. In his boyhood John spent a great deal of time in the Everglades with his father and, from an early age, by himself. Camping, hunting, and exploring in this frontier wilderness, he early gained skills as a field naturalist and anthropologist which developed and deepened thereafter.

As a boy he was particularly interested in molluscs, especially the Everglades tree snails (*Liguus* spp.); the very carefully documented collection of about 8,000 tree snails he made at this period is now in the Florida State Museum. In later years he identified himself the shells he excavated from archeological sites and was instrumental in focusing attention on the shell tools so common in South Florida and West Indian sites. His interests in anthropology began at the same time, as he became acquainted with the Seminole families living in the 'glades and began to locate archeological sites there and in the Miami region. At least as early as 1932 he had done some archeological excavation on his own and was beginning to investigate the technical literature. His interests in archeology were given more direction in 1933 when he first met a professional anthropologist, Matthew W. Stirling, and visited some of the sites in the Miami region where Stirling was then supervising archeological research for the Bureau of American Ethnology and the WPA.

In 1933 Goggin entered the University of Florida at Gainesville as a freshman. He had chosen archeology as a career by the time he was a senior in high school; since anthropology was not being taught at Florida, he enrolled in the summer of 1935 in the University of New Mexico's archeological field school at Jemez Canyon, intending to transfer to that university if the summer's experience warranted it. That fall he joined the active group of undergraduate and graduate students at Albuquerque, a great many of whom have since become well known anthropologists. Goggin valued highly the foundations in anthropology which he gained as an undergraduate at New Mexico. Among his teachers, he particularly mentioned Donald D. Brand and Leslie Spier. Brand introduced him to fieldwork in Mexico, during the Chihuahua Field Session which he conducted in June and July of 1936. John often spoke of the emphasis Brand placed on accurate and detailed field observation and recording; in John's case this training fell on fertile ground for he had kept quite detailed notes even during his boyhood explorations in the Everglades. At both the 1936 and 1937 Chaco Field Sessions John had classes under Spier, whose encouragement of his students to write and to publish he particularly valued. In 1937 Brand was responsible for starting the *New Mexico Anthropologist* (the predecessor of the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*): under his and Spier's influence, Goggin had two papers in the first volume, seven in subsequent issues, and served on the editorial staff (editor for "Indian Ceremonials," "Ethnologist," and in 1939 Assistant Editor). As an example of Spier's interest and care in his students' publishing, John mentioned that a figure in one of his early papers (1942) was drawn by Spier himself from a poor photograph, but he refused to allow John to credit him in the publication.

During this period Goggin adjusted rapidly to the Southwest, and an affection for the region, its Indians, its archeological sites, and its anthropologists stayed with him the rest of his life. He began a collection of Southwestern ethnographic pieces, particularly Pueblo (his collection of prayer sticks is in the Yale Peabody Museum), and learned some Pueblo crafts such as belt weaving. His relations with Jemez were particularly close; visitors from that and other

Pueblos frequently stayed with him in Albuquerque, and he regularly attended Pueblo ceremonies and other affairs. Several of his early publications reflect this interest in Pueblo ethnography, but—characteristically of Southwesternists—none of them deal with Jemez where his friendships were such that publication would have jeopardized a relationship which continued after he moved from the Southwest.

While at New Mexico he continued his Florida interests, especially during a vacation in the spring of 1938 when he excavated a site in Southwest Florida and renewed his Seminole acquaintanceships. Several early papers resulted from this and previous Florida fieldwork, and from a visit to the Louisiana Choctaw in 1938.

In the spring of 1938 Goggin received his B.A. from New Mexico. That summer he was a member of the University of Michigan Archaeological Expedition to Manitoulin Island, Ontario. He returned to New Mexico, where he was enrolled as a part-time graduate student in anthropology between 1938 and 1942, and was Curator of Coronado State Monument in 1941–1942.

After a period devoted to war work including engineering surveying, in Florida, Goggin was accepted in 1944 for graduate work at Yale. Before his entrance in the fall, Yale Peabody Museum supported his excavations with F. H. Sommer III at Upper Matecumbe Key (1946a; 1949b) and surveys of other areas of South Florida with Sommer and Robert Rands.

Goggin entered Yale as an unusual student: he had much more field experience than the average, 18 published papers, and a great deal of unpublished material. While at Yale his research concentrated on Florida archeology, on which he wrote both his M.A. (1946a) and Ph.D. (1948a) theses. He was Irving Rouse's first Ph.D. student, and one of the best. His relations with Rouse remained close; they collaborated in research in Florida and the West Indies, and despite some differences in emphases and approach both readily recognized mutual gains. John always thought of himself as primarily a student of Rouse's, although he also spoke of learning much at Yale from Cornelius Osgood, Wendell Bennett, G. P. Murdock, and Ralph Linton.

Immediately on receiving his degree, Goggin accepted a position as Associate Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Florida. This was the first university appointment in anthropology in the state, and Goggin deserves much of the credit for the present flourishing condition of anthropology in Florida. He took his teaching very seriously and taught a heavy load of courses covering most of the fields of anthropology. He had a high ability to arouse students' enthusiasm and respect for anthropology, readily communicating his own deep interest in research particularly in field and laboratory sessions where he worked directly with students on every opportunity throughout the year. Enrollment in his courses increased constantly. One of his former students well expressed his influence in a letter written after his death: "More than any other person he has served and will continue to serve as an absolute for keeping me intellectually honest. . . . He taught a love for the primary source and a distrust for the tertiary."

He also devoted much care and attention to building up an Anthropology Laboratory at the University of Florida. In addition to materials from site surveys and excavations (which will probably be transferred to the Florida State Museum after they have been written up) the Laboratory contains superb type collections. These are particularly strong on Florida Indian materials (pottery types; points; ground stone, shell, and bone artifacts) and European trade goods, especially Spanish (majolica, olive jars, other Spanish pottery; French, English, and American ceramic wares of the 17th–20th centuries; Spanish beads, glass, and metals; English, Venetian, and African trade beads; historic buttons; gun parts and gunflints; trade axes); they also include type collections of other Southeastern pottery, Caribbean shell artifacts, and Oriental porcelain. Most of these specimens were excavated by Goggin and others, but many of the European items Goggin purchased in antique stores.

At the beginning of 1960 Goggin was finally appointed full professor; in 1961 the Department of Sociology and Anthropology was split into two separate departments, with Goggin Acting Head of the Department of Anthropology; three days before his death, his appointment as Research Professor of Anthropology became effective. The anthropology department which he founded and nurtured is now one of the largest and most active in the South; its future teaching and research programs are one of Goggin's principal legacies.

Goggin was also responsible for guiding and encouraging an upsurge in responsible amateur archeology in Florida, by his own former students and by others. In 1947 he was a moving force in organizing the Florida Anthropological Society; he edited its journal, the *Florida Anthropologist*, from 1949 through 1951; and he always exerted a major influence in the society as an officer (Executive Committeeman 1952, 1953, 1961; 1st Vice President 1958; President 1959) or behind the scenes. He set up a statewide archeological survey in connection with his own research and teaching, and encouraged other workers in the state to contribute to it. At the time of his death, the survey contained data on over 3000 sites; of these, more than 400 were located by Goggin and his students in Alachua County (Gainesville's location), over four times as many as are recorded for any other county; more than 50 sites all over the state were excavated by Goggin.

Goggin's fieldwork was extensive. He visited Mexico many times between 1936 and 1960, spending a total of about 3½ years in that country (mostly in Chihuahua, Michoacán, and Yucatán) where he conducted both archeological and ethnographic surveys. In recent years he spoke of intending to begin work in Colonial archeology in Yucatán. He paid about 30 visits to Caribbean islands—Cuba (where he was the first foreign member elected to the Junta Nacional de Arqueología e Etnología), Jamaica, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Trinidad, and the Bahamas. In the Dominican Republic he conducted archeological surveys, excavations of Colonial sites, and a model field ethnobotanical study (1957), especially in cooperation with Emile de Boyrie Moya; in Trinidad he excavated for five weeks in 1953

with Irving Rouse. In the Bahamas in 1937 he spent five weeks on an archeological and ethnological survey of Andros Island (1939a; 1946b); in 1952 he was a member of a team which made an economic and social survey of the out-islands for the Bahamas government; about 1955 he conducted a short archeological survey of Cay Sal Bank; and in 1960 he spent ten days excavating on San Salvador. His other trips to the Antilles were mostly surveys of collections and visits to sites excavated by others. He also visited coastal Colombia, and in 1953–54 carried out two archeological surveys and excavations in coastal Venezuela with José M. Cruxent. Had he lived, he would certainly have continued and increased his interest in Caribbean archeology, where he was already an important figure despite his relatively few publications in that field. In 1961 he twice visited Europe to study majolica and other materials in the museums of Spain, Portugal, Vienna, and Paris, archival materials in Seville, and bead-making in Venice. His last trip was a brief one to Panamá in December and January of 1962–63, where he excavated and studied collections, concentrating on Colonial artifacts. In addition to these trips abroad, Goggin conducted practically continual fieldwork in the United States, especially in Florida.

Two major themes run through most of Goggin's research: 1) an emphasis on collecting and a related deep interest in artifacts, including their typology, esthetics, functions, construction, and distribution in time and space; and 2) a strong commitment to a unified approach to anthropological materials, particularly the interconnections of archeology, ethnology, history, and natural history. He always objected to being labelled an archeologist whenever this might imply that he was not also a general anthropologist, and he strongly disagreed with the increasing tendency to contrast "cultural anthropology" with "archeology" rather than including both archeology and ethnology as subdivisions of cultural anthropology.

Goggin's ethnological fieldwork was primarily devoted to the collection of specimens. His contacts with the Florida Seminole began in boyhood and continued throughout his life, and many of his publications reflect this interest. He was particularly concerned with Seminole history and the history of Seminole material culture. His Seminole ethnographic collection was received by the Florida State Museum in 1955; it contains more than 150 items, collected every year but five between 1938 and 1953, and is especially strong in silver ornaments, on which he published an early paper (1940a) and planned eventually to publish more extensively. Some other Seminole pieces he collected are in the Yale Peabody Museum. He was very much interested in all aspects of Seminole ethnography. My own friendship with him began when he visited me during my first fieldwork as a graduate student in 1950 and 1951, decided that I was serious about Seminole ethnography, and thereafter at every opportunity encouraged and helped me, sharing his knowledge of Seminole history and culture (including his own field notes, photographs, specimens, and large newspaper clipping file), extending his hospitality to me, and introducing and sponsoring me among his many friends in Florida. Goggin's field research among other Southeastern tribes began in 1938, with visits to the Choctaw and Koa-

sati in Louisiana. In 1939 he visited the Alabama in Texas, and in 1938, 1939, and 1940 the Cherokee and Choctaw in eastern Oklahoma. In later years he paid many brief visits to these and other groups, especially during the 1950's when he became acquainted with the Choctaw communities in Mississippi. Whenever he drove between Florida and the Southwest and Mexico he made such stops; future visitors will certainly be told that the rarity of heirlooms and old articles in many of these communities is partly due to the collecting activities of a man driving a red pickup truck (John had a series of these, beginning about 1949). A good example of his interests and methods on these visits is given in his report of his two day visit in 1949 to the Mexican Kickapoo (1951; the resulting collection of 53 Mexican and 10 Oklahoma Kickapoo pieces is in the Chicago Natural History Museum). None of these visits represented intensive ethnographic fieldwork, but nearly always Goggin collected ethnographic specimens, and some of the resulting data appeared in subsequent publications—often combined with observations on museum specimens (e.g., 1949c, 1952b). He was planning future publications of the same sort, for example on Choctaw silver and on Southeastern basketry (his fine collection of 75 Southeastern baskets is in the Florida State Museum).

The archeology of Florida is now probably more thoroughly documented than that of any other state, thanks largely to Goggin's work. He worked out the first time-space framework for the whole region (1947b; revised in 1949a and 1950b); treated the ecological relationships of both the areal and temporal differences (1948a; 1948b; 1949a) in one of the earliest efforts of this sort in eastern North America; and characterized the space-time units in terms of their environmental relations and their persistence as general cultural configurations by introducing the concept of traditions (1948a; 1949a; for an appreciation of this methodological contribution see G. R. Willey and P. Phillips, *Method and theory in American archaeology*, Chicago, 1958, pp. 36–37). Some of this concern with cultural typology grew out of his work in ceramic typology where he applied and modified the techniques he had learned in the Southwest. He was not caught up with ceramic typology for its own sake, but rather emphasized the dependency of types on the purposes for which they are set up (e.g., 1962). From a very early date he was concerned with stratigraphic documentation of ceramic sequences (e.g., 1939b); he was also an enthusiastic and skilled surface collector, but here he emphasized controls on collecting, both by segregating surface collections from different parts of the same site in order to determine temporal differences in deposition, and by a simple technique he developed to avoid bias in surface sampling (both points are made in 1950a).

In recent years Goggin became seriously interested in underwater archeology—partly because it yields well-preserved artifacts, and partly because of its inherent athletic appeal (he was proud of his abilities to out-swim his young students, regularly tested out his visiting anthropological colleagues, and was pleased to receive *Sports Illustrated's* "Pat on the Back Award," July 20, 1959, for skin diving and underwater archeology). This interest began in the summer of 1949, when Goggin used face masks and glass bottom buckets at Fig Springs

on the Ichucknee River to recover Spanish and Indian artifacts which derived from a nearby but unlocated Spanish Mission site of ca. 1640. In 1954 he and his students began using Aqua-Lungs, at this and other sites. In June, 1958, having received grants allowing the purchase of more equipment, he began intensive underwater exploration of Oven Hill on the Suwanee River, an important Seminole site dating about 1760–70. He also investigated other underwater sites in Florida, maintained close contacts both with other archeologists concerned with the method and with amateur divers and treasure hunters, sent students he had trained to assist in diving in the cenote at Dzibilchaltún, Yucatán, and was planning underwater archeology in Spanish wrecks and other sites in Florida and the Caribbean—especially with the completion in 1961 of a barge with a suction dredge. In his training of students, his conversations, his work with amateur divers, and his general paper on underwater archeology (1960b) Goggin constantly emphasized that skin-diving was merely an adjunct to other archeological methods, that the archeologist's responsibilities for adequate quantitative and qualitative description of artifacts and full reporting of their contexts are fully as great for underwater sites as they are elsewhere. He was much concerned with adequate professional standards, with discouraging the treasure hunting and salvaging approach of many who claimed to be doing underwater archeology, with insisting that whenever possible the archeologist must himself participate in the diving.

In Florida archeology Goggin was interested in all periods, from the Archaic right up to modern Seminole burials, and in European as well as Indian sites. He envisioned coverage of the state by a series of detailed monographs which would list all known sites, date them insofar as possible, and detail the local manifestations of the major Florida cultural traditions. He published such a monograph on the Northern St. Johns Area (1952a) and worked for years on a similar thorough treatment of the Glades Area, which remains in manuscript but will be edited for publication by his former student Paul G. Hahn. He encouraged Rouse to produce his monograph on the Indian River Area (*A survey of Indian River archeology, Florida*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 44, 1951), and worked closely with Willey while the latter was preparing his treatment of the Gulf Coast areas (*Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 113, 1949).

In the historic periods of Florida Goggin was as interested in documentary sources as he was in archeological ones. He had an encyclopedic knowledge of the published primary accounts of Florida history as well as anthropology, and was a book collector and bibliographer (see especially 1947a, in which he is mainly responsible for the long sections on Florida; and 1959). One of his early papers (1940b) and one of his last (1964) demonstrate his skill in historical ethnography, where he integrated historical, archeological, and ecological materials. Many of his archeological reports also include ethnohistorical sections. He left uncompleted what would have been a major monograph, based on a remarkable 17th century Spanish manuscript description of the Apalachee ballgame which he had discovered. This was to contain a general discussion of

Apalachee culture, including the archeological evidence, as well as a study of the comparative ethnology of the Southeastern two-goal and single-pole ball-games, and the ethnological and archeological evidence on the chunky game. The manuscript includes much mythology, which led Goggin into beginning a comparison of Southeastern myths (activating a latent interest—he was a Council Member of the American Folklore Society in 1944–1946). The combination was also leading towards an important re-analysis of Southeastern culture areas through time, which would have integrated archeological evidence with comparative ethnology. Much of this we will never have, but the manuscript was transcribed and translated by Goggin's student, Julian Granberry (who also wrote a historical introduction). Goggin completed much of the comparative mythology and some of the comparative ethnology, and a few months before he died he discussed the completion of the work (restricted in scope from the original plans) with the present writer, who will now edit and complete the report.

Partly because of this Apalachee discovery, partly as a result of his visit to Seville in 1961, partly because of his work the same year as an expert witness for the Seminole in their Indian Claims Commission suit, and partly as an outgrowth and deepening of his previous work with published materials, Goggin was beginning to investigate archival sources, especially the University of Florida Library's fine Stetson Collection of photostats of documents in the Archivo General de Indias. About a year before his death he initiated the "Florida Ethnohistoric Survey," in which he supervised graduate students trained in Latin American and Spanish history in locating and copying extracts from the A.G.I. photostats which are relevant to Florida anthropology. This project, which will continue, is discovering masses of very important materials and is also arousing new research interests in students of history.

Goggin's most important contribution in historic archeology is a large monograph on Spanish majolica pottery, to which he had been adding continually over the last few years. This he left nearly ready for publication; it will be edited and seen through the press by Irving Rouse. In this work he provides a precise new tool for dating Indian and European sites of the 15th to 18th centuries over much of the Caribbean and southern North America, beautifully demonstrates the utility of an archeological approach to historic European artifacts, and proves with historical documentation the validity of archeological methods for ceramic typology and seriation. The archeological approaches—typology, stratigraphy, surface collection, and seriation—are supplemented by attention to sites with short-term precisely dated historical occupations (investigated by Goggin in Florida, the Caribbean, and Mexico), to non-archeological specimens of majolica in European and American collections, to representations of the pottery in dated works of art such as Velasquez' paintings, and to archival materials such as lists of the cargos of the Spanish *flotas* to the New World. Goggin applied the same techniques to a study of Spanish beads, which will be edited for publication by Charles H. Fairbanks, and was beginning to collect similar materials on other European artifacts (gun flints, strike-

a-lights, gun parts and other metal, etc.). His paper on the Spanish olive jar (1960a) is along the same lines; it should also be very useful in teaching, as an excellent example of the best methods in ceramic typology applied to a new and relatively small corpus with explicit attention to analytical procedures. Among the important aspects of Goggin's work in this area are his insistence that the archeologist should apply his own powerful techniques to European trade and export goods, rather than relying on the non-archeological chronological guesswork of supposed experts, and his contention that the historical documentation available here provides an opportunity to test and refine the methods which archeologists use for prehistoric materials.

John was a man who needed friends and valued them highly. He rightly assumed that his keen interest in his friends' intellectual and other activities would be reciprocated by them. The writer is only one among many people, anthropologists and non-anthropologists, who gained a great deal from his friendship and his interest and who sorely misses the stimulation of his inquiring intelligence, his wide knowledge, his generosity, and his quick and open hospitality.

NOTE

The author is indebted to Irving Rouse, Charles H. Fairbanks, and Margaret Knox Goggin for much information. This obituary and that by Rouse for *American Antiquity* were intentionally written entirely independently, but overlap is inevitable not only because of the subject but also because of close collaboration between Rouse, Fairbanks, and the writer in editing and writing introductions for a volume reprinting some of Goggin's papers (*Indian and Spanish: Selected Writings* by John M. Goggin, Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1963); this editing was completed in Gainesville in early July, 1963 and this obituary was written soon thereafter. *Indian and Spanish* and the obituary by Rouse in *American Antiquity* (1964: 29: 369-375) both carry a full listing of Goggin's 102 publications, all on anthropological topics.

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CITED PUBLICATIONS BY JOHN M. GOGGIN

- 1939a An anthropological reconnaissance of Andros Island, Bahamas. *American Antiquity*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 21-26. Menasha.
- 1939b A ceramic sequence in south Florida. *New Mexico Anthropologist*, vol. 3, nos. 3-4, pp. 35-40. Albuquerque.
- 1940a Silver work of the Florida Seminole. *El Palacio*, vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 25-32. Santa Fe.
- 1940b The Tekesta Indians of southern Florida. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 274-284. Tallahassee.
- 1942 A prehistoric wooden club from southern Florida. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 327-328. Menasha.
- 1946a Ceramic stratigraphy at Upper Matecumbe Key, Florida. 51 pp. Unpublished master's thesis in the library of the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, New Haven.
- 1946b The Seminole Negroes of Andros Island, Bahamas. *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 201-206. St. Augustine.
- 1947a (Edited with Irving Rouse) An anthropological bibliography of the eastern seaboard. Eastern States Archeological Federation Research Publication no. 1, Yale Peabody Museum, New Haven.

- 1947b A preliminary definition of archaeological areas and periods in Florida. *American Antiquity*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 114–127. Menasha.
- 1948a Culture and geography in Florida prehistory. 302 pp. Unpublished doctoral dissertation in the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven.
- 1948b Florida archeology and recent ecological changes. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, vol. 38, no. 7, pp. 225–233. Washington.
- 1949a Cultural traditions in Florida prehistory. *In* *The Florida Indian and his neighbors*, edited by John W. Griffin, pp. 13–44, Winter Park, Florida, Inter-American Center, Rollins College.
- 1949b (With Frank H. Sommer III) Excavations on Upper Matecumbe Key, Florida. *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 41, 101 pp. New Haven.
- 1949c Plaited basketry in the New World. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 165–168. Albuquerque.
- 1950a Cultural occupation at Goodland Point, Florida. *Florida Anthropologist*, vol. 2, nos. 3–4 (“Nov., 1949”), pp. 65–91. Gainesville.
- 1950b Florida archeology—1950. *Florida Anthropologist*, vol. 3, nos. 1–2, pp. 9–20. Gainesville.
- 1951 The Mexican Kickapoo Indians. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 314–327. Albuquerque.
- 1952a Space and time perspective in northern St. Johns archeology, Florida. *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 47, 147 pp. New Haven.
- 1952b Style areas in historic Southeastern art. *In* *Indian tribes of aboriginal America*, edited by Sol Tax, *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Americanists*, vol. 3, pp. 172–176. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- 1957 (With Emile de Boyrie Moya and Marguerita K. Krestensen) *Zamia* starch in Santo Domingo; a contribution to the ethnobotany of the Dominican Republic. *Florida Anthropologist*, vol. 10, nos. 3–4, pp. 17–40. Tallahassee.
- 1959 Source materials for the study of the Florida Seminole Indians. *Laboratory Notes, Anthropology Laboratory, University of Florida*, no. 3, 19 pp. Gainesville.
- 1960a The Spanish olive jar, an introductory study. *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, no. 62, 37 pp. New Haven.
- 1960b Underwater archaeology: Its nature and limitations. *American Antiquity*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 348–354. Salt Lake City.
- 1962 Weeden Island punctated and Papy's Bayou punctated. *Newsletter of the Southeastern Archaeological Conference*, vol. 8, pp. 19–23. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- 1964 (With William C. Sturtevant) The Calusa, a stratified, non-agricultural society (with notes on sibling marriage). *In* *Explorations in cultural anthropology: Essays presented to George Peter Murdock*, edited by Ward H. Goodenough. In Press. McGraw-Hill, New York.