An Interview with Andrew Hunter Whiteford

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Introduction

Andrew Hunter Whiteford, "Bud" to his family and friends, has enjoyed a long, diverse and distinguished career in anthropology, from archaeology in the Southwest and in the Southeast of the United States, to the anthropology of industrial relations, to innovative urban research in Latin America, to museum collecting and artifact stewardship. Born in 1913 in Winnipeg, he was an anthropology major at Beloit College, in Wisconsin, graduating in 1937. As a sophomore he was awarded the Logan Prize which financed his archaeological fieldwork on a project in Reserve, New Mexico. He pursued his MA at the University of Chicago, leaving for a job at the University of Tennessee archaeological laboratory where he worked on a Tennessee Valley Authority-Works Projects Administration archaeological project for four years. Returning to the University of Chicago, he took his PhD in 1951 working under W. Lloyd Warner (on Chicago anthropology, see Stocking, 1979). His dissertation (Whiteford, 1951) was based on fieldwork on union-management co-operation, conducted as part of a research team which included such Chicago notables as Warner, Everett C. Hughes, William Foote Whyte, Allison Davis and Burleigh Gardner. He then took a full-time position in the Logan Museum and Department of Anthropology at Beloit, where he stayed until retirement in 1976, and where he served as departmental chair for 20 years.

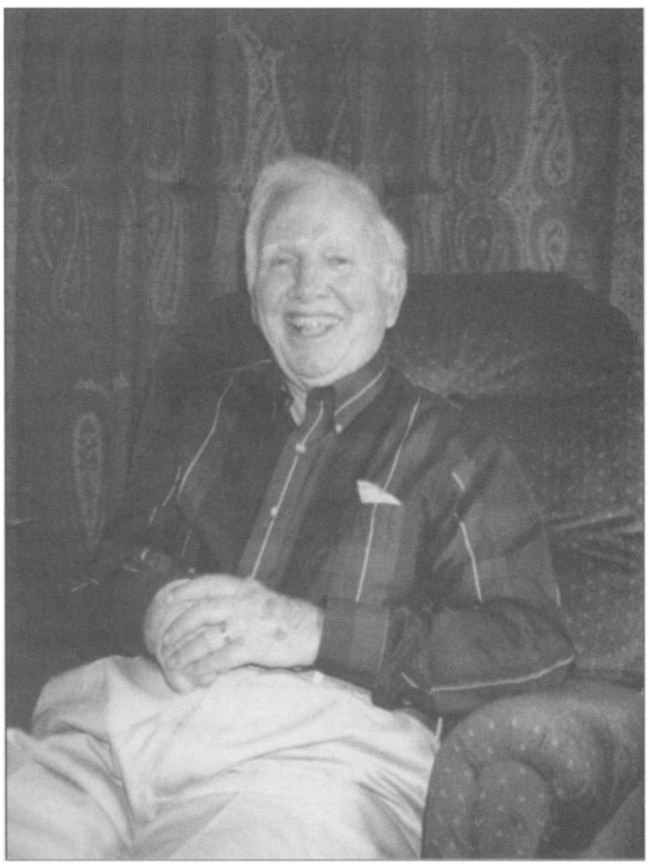
Fieldwork in 1949, 1950, 1951-52, 1962, 1967, 1970, and 1974 in Poyapán, Colombia, and in 1957, 1958, and 1975-76 in Querétero, Mexico, resulted in perhaps his best-known works, *Two Cities of Latin America* (Whiteford, 1991 [1960]) and *An Andean City at Mid-Century* (Whiteford, 1977). In these books, he developed a pioneering focus on urban Latin America, and on social class, employing a perspective that considered class in a multidimensional way, foreshadowing later work that attempted to transcend the objective-subjective distinction in conceptualizing social class, class ideology and class status. As well,

he was one of the first to examine elites, not just the poor. It was not until years later that it became fashionable to "study up" in order to understand power relations. The recipient of grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the National Science Foundation, among others, he conducted research on social change in Málaga, Spain, in 1961-62.

In his praxis, Whiteford addressed critical issues in anthropology that have only recently come to the fore with the discipline. He was a committed teacher who thought undergraduates should do research (Whiteford, 1959). He displayed a pioneering commitment to training undergraduate cultural anthropology students, taking many of them on fieldwork trips to Latin America. One reason he took students on field programs was not just to expose them to Latin America, but to teach them to ask questions, to critically examine data and explanation and wrestle with interpretation. A good number of these students went on to get advanced degrees, although not always in anthropology.

In many ways Whiteford forged a new paradigm of collaboration with Latin American colleagues. He trained Latin American students, he worked with Latin American researchers, and published his work in Spanish in Latin America. All of this was done years before North American researchers were criticized by colleagues in Latin America for taking their data home and excluding their Latin American counterparts in the process. He was one of the first anthropologists to made a commitment to training Latin American anthropologists. He had Latin American students in his field programs decades before anthropologists began to discuss training students in the country where they were doing research. *Two Cities of Latin America* was one of the first anthropology publications translated into Spanish and published in Latin America (Whiteford, 1963). Today, almost 40 years later, the importance of publishing where one does research and working with Latin American colleagues is acknowledged.

His work in building the collections at Logan Museum and teaching a very broad range of anthropology courses helped him keep a strong interest in the field as a whole. Upon retirement in 1976, he and his wife Marion ("Marnie") Whiteford moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where they were active at the Indian Arts Research Centre at the School of American Research, the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, New Mexico Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, and the Laboratory of Anthropology. Working with Native American artists, he began publishing significant works on Native American art and basketry (McGreavy and Whiteford, 1985; Whiteford, 1988, 1989). Here, his early training in archaeology, his work on material culture, Native American art, and museum collections, as well as his cultural anthropological vision, came together. In 1987, he received the lifetime achievement award from the Native American Art Studies Association. In 1981, he was presented with an honorary LL.D. by Beloit College. In 1986, Beloit established the Andrew Hunter Whiteford Fund to provide financial assistance to students engaged in research in anthropology, and in 1995 the Andrew H. Whiteford Curatorial Centre opened in the renovated Logan Museum of Anthropology. Three of the Whitefords' four children (Michael B., Scott, and Linda M. Whiteford) became Latin Americanist anthropologists.



Andrew Hunter Whiteford.

The Interview

KAY: Many people know you through your work, spanning as it does many years and many subjects and methodologies. I was hoping that you could recount for this audience how one gets from Winnipeg to the University of Chicago to Latin America to Santa Fe—and beyond.

AHW: The department of anthropology at Chicago, when I went down there was really a very friendly place. The departmental secretary, Ernestine Bingham, was the mother of the department. She knew everybody. And what she hated was to have anyone left alone and she would search them out. She had wonderful parties at her house that other departments knew about enviously. Her husband was a publisher's representative. Later she was divorced and she went on to get her own degree and became a PhD. But the parties were such a beautiful ball. She always provided food and everybody brought something and it was it a place of great dancing. Katherine Dunham was a student at that point, and a Canadian by the name of Martin Loeb, who eventually became a member of the faculty at University of Wisconsin, thought he was instructing Katherine about how to dance! But they danced madly and inspired everybody else to dance too. So, that was the glue that held the whole department together because we all knew each other and it was very jolly. We often went to lunch together or in groups of two or three or four and so it was a good place to be. And at that time there was a national survey searching for the outstanding graduate department in the country and for about five years in a row Chicago was chosen. They were impressed by the productivity of the faculty and the selection of the students. So they had reason to think that they were pretty fancy.

KAY: I would like to talk about before your time at Chicago, and then maybe we can come back to that in a chronological way, beginning by talking about your childhood.

AHW: I was born in Canada. I'm from Winnipeg. And we came down to Chicago when I was 10 years old. And somewhere, out of, I'm sure, reading English books, I got interested in archaeologists and stories of archaeologists and I decided that archaeology was what I wanted to do. Then also, at the same time, I just realized, I became interested in Indians when we were living in Winnipeg my grandmother from Scotland came to live with us and she was in great demand as a practical nurse. And she went up to a little town in Manitoba called Minatonis. The train came through one day each week. It was up near Swan River. The important point is that not only was it small and very interesting to me as a boy of eight, but right across the railroad, the other side of the railroad, was a Cree encampment and the Indians were living there and the little Indian boys played with the boys in town and we were back and forth all the time. So I'm sure my interest in Indians stems originally from that experience, though I probably didn't know it at the time.

Something happened in Chicago which affected the rest of my life. A fellow I was in junior high school with and I started off to visit some relatives he had up in Ontario and we hiked and hitch-hiked up to the country where they lived. They were very simple folks and hospitable to us. But unfortunately this was the period when there was, almost every summer, a large epidemic of polio that struck very strongly up in the Ontario area, and unfortunately I came down with it. So I wound up in the hospital. Then they took me out of the hospital; they didn't know what was wrong with me, of course. Then they took me to a farm where I was supposed to recover, but unfortunately I got worse. I didn't want to let my folks know that I was sick, I didn't want to worry them. Finally when I was very ill out on the farm I said, "I have to call my father." So I called him and he immediately took the train and took me back with him; and I could just barely walk. This was the period when Sister Kenney came up with a treatment for polio which I believed was founded in Australia. I didn't have access to her treatment but some of my mother's relatives had just arrived in Chicago from Scotland and one of them had worked in an institution for the mines and he had also been taught a great deal. So he was medically inclined, and he just set about immediately giving me the Sister Kenney treatment which involved wrapping me up in steaming hot blankets. He used to come over four times a week and give me this treatment and shoo my mother and father out. They'd go shopping or go to a movie or something to get out of the house. And he would wrap me up, and while I lay there steaming he always put on a show for me. He was a relatively young fellow and he had gone to all the music halls in Scotland and he knew all the songs and dances. He would come out and dance and keep me entertained. I have a lifetime obligation to him. Bill Forsythe was his name. I recovered, at least enough so where he could rig up ropes to the bottom of my bed. When my mother was in the kitchen ironing I pulled myself up with the ropes and toddled out into the kitchen and I said, "Hey Mom, look at me." Then I fell down!

Arrangements were made for me to go to high school and I made up the courses that I lost. In high school I had a friend named Jim Walters and he had a very nice mother with a very broad understanding for a lot of things. And she was talking to us one day about "What are you going to do after you graduate?" and "What are you interested in?" I told her I was interested in history and I was interested in nature and maybe I'd be a fire warden. I thought that might be good for me, but I was interested in people too. And she said "You're interested in people?" And I said "Yes." And she said "You

ought to be an anthropologist then." I said "What? What's that?" And she explained to me what an anthropologist was, and I wanted to be an anthropologist. Then in the high school, at the time of graduation, there was a dean who knew my interest and told me I should go to either Chicago or go to Beloit College. I'd never heard of Beloit College. But she knew about it and she said that will give you an opportunity to do field research, and it has a museum. I didn't realize until later that maybe she went there or somebody in her family had gone there so she knew something about it.

I went over to the Oriental Institute to talk to somebody about doing field archaeology. I was doing a great deal of drawing at the time and I thought maybe I could get a job on an expedition drawing specimens or something. I wish I could remember the name of the man that I talked to but I can't. He must have just come from an unhappy interview with the director or something because he immediately said to me "Whatever you do, be a specialist." And I said "In what?" He said "It doesn't make a damned bit of difference, just be a specialist; be a specialist in the evolution of the three-tined fork." I said "Who the hell cares about the three-tined fork?" And he said "Just be the world's specialist in that." I think he must have been chewed out for being a generalist instead of a specialist. But he said "Go to Beloit College." He said they have a museum and the only place that you'll get to go into the field to study archaeology as an undergraduate is Beloit. We don't take students into the field here. If you want to get into the field here you must first get an MA. And so I said "Here's Beloit again." Anyway, I wound up going to Beloit and got my degree there. When I was a sophomore I did my first archaeological field work. We came down to the Southwest, which was an everlasting experience for me, I never got over that. I wound up later living for 20 years after that in the Southwest and loved it, and my wife loved it.

I travelled through the Southwest in '34 and worked in the Starkweather Ruin and lived in a tent and had a completely, thoroughly enjoyable time of it. I liked the Southwest and I liked digging and we found a very rich site, which I think was partially Pueblo III, and Mogollon. That was my first exposure to Pueblo and Mogollon cultures and I did a lot of work on them subsequently, but not as much as I would have liked to have done.

When I was at Chicago, I was invited to come in and talk to one of the archaeology classes because I was an expert on the Mogollon, and I realized not very many of the students had ever heard of the Mogollon. It was the most important thing in my early academic career. My principal professor in the department, Paul Nesbit, who had worked in France and was known for his work in the Minubres culture and the Starkweather Ruin, joined the Air Force and left. The College brought in Madeline Kneberg from the University of Chicago. She was an everlasting influence on my career. She restimulated my interest in anthropology and I did some fieldwork with her. When in 1937 I'd graduated she'd already gone back to Chicago. She had taken a position as the director of the laboratory at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. It was a joint project of the University of Tennessee, and the TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority], and the WPA [Works Projects Administration], and some foundation. And I heard about it from her. I thought I would like to work with her. By the time I had gotten down to Chicago Madeline had left already, but I heard from her saying "If you finish your degree I'll have a position for you." I thought immediately that the first thing I would do was finish my work. I moved over into the laboratory which was the ex-studio of Loreado Taft, the great sculptor. I lived there and I studied very hard. I had to take five examinations for the Master's. I hadn't taken the courses to cover some of them, but I was in a hurry to go to the job in Tennessee. So after two terms I started in taking the exams and figured that if I just got low passes they would be behind me and I'd be able later to take them again with a chance for high passes. Well, it turned out that I got five high passes so I didn't have to worry about a return bout. I remember waiting out in the room at the department and the professor who was in the committee reading the exams, Harry Hoijer, a linguist, came out and said "Well, we'll get another crack at you." I didn't know what he meant by that. What he meant was if I kept going I'd be back for some more.

We graduated from Beloit in 1937 and I began my graduate work while Marnie went to work for a well-known pediatrician. At the end of my first term the departmental secretary asked me to fill out a form requesting a scholarship. I had not thought of this and I was surprised and pleased when I received a research fellowship for the second term. I didn't know what I would be doing but I was assigned to a visiting professor. She was a noted archaeologist from Arizona, who had come to Chicago to establish a dendrochronological calendar for the Midwest. Her name was Dr. Florence Hawley (Senter at that time). I worked for her all year, learning about dendrochronology, and other things. When summer came I left, with a slough of graduate students, to work in the department's archaeological site in southern Illinois, at the famous site called Kinkaid. While working there I leaned a great deal and met many people who would figure in my subsequent life: J. Joe Bauxer (Finklestein at

that time), Moreau Maxwell, Thorne Duell, and others. When we finished work at the site I left to drive to New Mexico with two friends from the department. I had a job as Dr. Hawley's lab assistant at the field school of the University of New Mexico at Chaco Canyon. While there I learned something about Southwest archaeology. I also met people like Donald Brand, Clyde Kluckholn of Harvard, J.R. Kelly of the Park Service. W.W. Taylor, and others.

I returned to Chicago and it was there I received the letter from Madeline Kneberg promising me a position at TVA in Tennessee. This prompted me to make some new plans and I immediately dropped my classes and began studying non-stop for the PhD exams. I just got on a train and went down to Knoxville, and I walked into the laboratory and Madeline said "What are you doing here?" And I said "I came for the job that you said you had for me." She said "I do, but it has to go through channels, it has to go through Washington before we have the money for it. You can't get paid for a while. But now that you're here you can stick around and we'll see what we can do." So the job came through and I was in charge of artifact analysis. It was a large laboratory and it had an enormous amount of excavated material coming in because we had about five crews out in the field and they were all digging like mad. WPA found archaeology didn't compete with anything so they were very happy to fund it. We had these five crews that brought material into the laboratory by the truckload, an enormous amount of material that kept us very busy. I've thought since that if we had had computers then we really could have gotten something done, because we worked out a program for detailed description of artifacts for a card file. We used the early sorting method of holes on a spindle which worked fairly well. But a computer would have simplified life. That was a big project with various sites. There were some parties out in west Tennessee and some in east Tennessee. And eventually, one of the first things that came out was on the site at Hiwassee Island, with Madeline and with Tom Lewis. He was the first director of the museum. Kneberg and Lewis wrote *Hiwassee Island* and we all contributed to it (Lewis and Kneberg, 1946). It was one of the early reports from the Southeast.

I met a lot of people in the course of that project because many were involved in the excavations or working in the laboratory. I lost touch with most of them after the war. I was surprised that so many of them went into business instead of continuing to be archaeologists. I met other professional archaeologists. One of the most significant was Jimmy Griffin, from Michigan. He was in the process then of editing a very large volume that was being prepared as an anniversary present for Fay-Cooper Cole at Chicago. He was hitting on all Cole's old graduates for articles to go into this compendium (Griffin, 1952); I contributed a chapter (Whiteford, 1952). I met Jimmy then and I continued to know him until about 10 years ago when I met him at the Smithsonian where he had retired. And I met Carl Guthe, W.C. McKern, Jesse Jennings, Robert Wauchope, Charles Fairbanks, William Haage and James Ford.

Marnie was pregnant with our first son and she went back to Beloit while I stayed and went out to one of the basins that was being flooded to dig up a fairly large mound. I was with an old friend of mine, Chandler Rowe, who had gone to Beloit, been a fraternity brother of mine, and later became the dean of Lawrence University and then was the president of Hawaii Loa College. He was conducting excavations in Chicamaga Basin. The empounded water was coming up so fast that the engineers kept saying, "Come on you guys, it's time to get out of here or your gonna be flooded right away." We kept digging and finding wonderful stuff. Alas, so much of that mound that we were digging we would never see. We finally were flooded out.

My experience in Tennessee was very pleasant, with long-lasting effects on my life. After Tennessee I tried to enlist in the Army and the Marine Corps but when they found out I'd had polio they just wrote me off. A couple of times I thought I had made it into the Navy, but not quite. I finally went back to the University of Chicago because I had quite a bit of my work done. I had to have a dissertation topic approved before I could finish taking the final exam for a PhD. Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole suggested I take the Tennessee material that I wrote up for my Master's degree (Whiteford, 1943) and extend that topic a little into something for the dissertation for the PhD. And I thought "No, I've already done that, I'm not interested now" and I wanted to move on to something else. So I sat down, over the weekend, and thought of a topic that they might like and I suggested a dissertation on the Cheyenne. Not the Cheyenne as they exist now in Wyoming and Montana but the Cheyenne as they were in the Great Lakes early days and what had happened to them when they moved out to the West. I thought it would be an interesting study about how an agricultural tribe developed into the buffalo hunters. And they accepted it and passed it. I remember Fred Eggan saying to me when they came out after looking it over, "It's very interesting, I think we could get money for that." And I said, "Oh, I'm not going to do that." Anyway, I stayed around the university for one term and took several courses. And then I had an opportunity to go back to

Beloit where our new son had arrived and teach. So I started teaching. Some of the best teaching I ever did, I think. When you're at that stage, you know the answers to everything. But I didn't know enough to know how complicated some of the ideas were, and so I filled the students full of my wisdom. I worked hard and I enjoyed it. Eventually, the opportunity came to go back for another term at Chicago, which I did. Then I decided two things. One was that my courses were very interesting to me and I think to the students, but they were like *National Geographic*, informative, purely descriptive, with no punch line. I decided I was going to improve on that. I needed some work with [Robert] Redfield, [W. Lloyd] Warner, and Cole at the university. And I decided definitely I was interested in cultural anthropology, and contemporary peoples.

I went to the university and Ernestine directed me to Lloyd Warner. Warner was an energetic sort of a character. "Well," he said, "I've got quite a few projects." And he did. He had lots of projects going on and he had one that interested me. He said "I have one I would especially like to use you in. One of the factories here is closing and moving out to Crystal Lake and I would like to see what kind of adjustments the people make, and I'd need somebody to do that. Would you like that?" And I said "Yes, that sounds good, that's the kind of thing I'm interested in." So I'm back, and we were on the farm at this point. I never knew that I was a farmer but if I wasn't going to get into the army I would rather do that than be in a factory. I'd been on the farm for several years and came back and we sold the livestock and finally went back to Chicago. I walked in to Warner's office and he said, "Good, good to see you, good to see you and nice to have you here. What did you come for?" I said "I am going to work on Crystal Lake." And he said "Didn't anyone tell you that the Crystal Lake project fell through?" And I said "No, nobody told me" and I was beginning to get riled up. And he said "Now take it easy, take it easy. We've we got other projects to do and I can use you other places. I'm glad you're here." And I said "Okay, that's fine." He said "I have a big project going on with a study of labour co-operation." And I said, "Factory? I don't want to work in a factory. I could have gone to a factory and gotten rich if I'd wanted to go into a factory." And he said "You young guys are so damned ignorant. You think the only people worth studying are the people who live up the river in a grass shack or something and have their noses pierced." He said "You have to learn that people are people wherever they are and the ones right around you are having the same kind of problems as the ones in the grass shack." Then he said "Listen to me," and he pulled out from his desk a batch of papers and said, "have you read any of these?" I took a quick look at them and most of them I hadn't read, I'd never even heard of them. He said "Go and read those and when you're read those come and see me." So I said "All right, where do I do that, the library?" He said "No, you have an office next to me." So I went into my office and sat down with this pile of papers and I'd bring out the books and read like mad. Then I went to see him and that turned out to be a real turning point in my life in terms of dealing with people. He was studying industrial co-operation. Co-operation with people and co-operation between labour and management. The research was under the direction of a wonderful group of people. Their work was really cross-disciplinary. One of the leaders whom I came to know well was William Foote Whyte. He was relatively new in Chicago at that time and was very seriously crippled. He'd been an athlete, had polio, and walked with a very marked limp. He was very bright. The other important leader was Burleigh Gardner, a terrific guy. He was in the business school. Allison Davis came from the education school. Here were these people from sociology and business school, education. Everett Hughes was there and he was very influential. The thing that was interesting to me as a student was that we had frequent seminars, many discussions with students and the faculty. And you could see the interplay between the various people from the various disciplines and that was very good.

They sent us in to a factory in Chicago that was involved in plastics, making plastic raincoats and various things like that, run by the Buchbaum family. They had a very active union that was just developing and the academic committee got the Buchbaums and the union interested in the study of their own co-operation. We were very helpful to them because there were many things going on. Every time the company had any kind of meeting or when the company and the union met or when they had a dinner or something, we—usually Bill Whyte, Burleigh Gardner and I—would go. One typical time, when we were going to one of the fancy dinners which included all the union representatives, Burleigh turned to Whyte and said "I think we ought to record this." And Whyte said "I think we should too." Then, Whyte turned to me and said—I was the low man on the totem pole—"Bud, I think you ought to record this." And I said "How do you wanted it recorded? You want me to just sit down afterwards and recall what it was about?" And he said, "No, verbatim." I said "Verbatim?" He said "Yeah, verbatim." So I went back to my office after the dinner and spent until 5 o'clock the next morning. The verbatim recording

that they took for granted was really verbatim. They taught us various techniques to remember what people talked about. And if it wasn't verbatim, it was pretty close to it. I was involved in interviewing and gathering data. And I wrote my dissertation finally on co-operation, worker-manager co-operation (Whiteford, 1951). That sounds strange now but it was very interesting to me.

I want to tell you something about the department. The department believed very strongly in the whole matter of interdisciplinary research. Warner got into this just after he'd come back from Australia where he'd been living with the Aborigines for a couple of years. When he came back he went to Yale and he was big draw at cocktail parties and at one of these he was holding up, as ethnologists do, and there was a couple of people from Harvard. Elton Mayo from Harvard was there and he listened to Warner with amazement and he said afterwards "Why is it we have men like Warner who know so much about the damned Australian Aborigines and we know so little about the people we're trying to work with in New England? Why can't we know more about them?" He eventually went back to Warner with this problem and Warner's answer was "Why not, we can learn as much about them the same way we learn about the state of the Aborigines if we sell our project." And so, this was just after the Hawthorne Project, and so there some interest in what was going on with people in industry and this had a great deal to do with the eventual Yankee City series that Warner directed (Warner, 1959; cf. Warner, 1963; Warner and Low, 1947; Warner and Lunt, 1941, 1942; Warner and Srole, 1945).

While I was away from the university, Redfield became the dean of the Social Sciences at Chicago. To me he was an awesome character. He was so intelligent and so perceptive. I used to have a desk outside his office and I would hear him interviewing some of the senior students. Almost every interview ended with "Have you read so and so and so and so?" And they hadn't. So he would say "Come back and see me when you've read it." They were always going out to read his latest notations. I was struck with that. So I didn't want to get tangled up with Redfield when I was back until I'd read a little bit more. A couple of weeks after I was back I was walking down the hallway and bang, I came nose to nose with Redfield. He pointed his finger at me. He was a tall, thin eagle-like character. And said "Whiteford, you've been ignoring me." And I said, "No Dr. Redfield I haven't, I would have been in to see you but . . . " And he said "All right, tomorrow afternoon at two." So I didn't have any choice but to go in. Then he said "What are you doing here? I didn't even know you were here until just the other day." And then I told him about the labour-management stuff I was doing which I thought would really turn his stomach. But it didn't. He was just the way he always was. He got very interested and so I explained to him about some of the ins and outs of the co-operative study that we were doing and mentioned Elton Mayo's books to him. And he said "Who?" And so I had the great pleasure of saying "When you've read these, you can come back and talk to me." So I went to the library and got Elton Mayo out for the dean to broaden his scope! A short time later I was walking home with Lloyd Warner and told him my experience and said "Redfield was really interested." And he said "Yeah. And the Atom bomb blew Bob back into reality!" Redfield was a graduate lawyer and it turned out that he frequently offered his services in racial situations with the NAACP. He did legal work for them for free. He had some interests beyond Tepoztlán.

KAY: Did you work with Sol Tax?

AHW: No, I didn't, I'm sorry to say. I had frequent interaction with Sol Tax because he was doing his work with the Mesquake and I thought it was a very interesting kind of thing that he was doing. Somewhat different from what anyone else was doing. And I always felt that Sol had so many ideas that if he hadn't been an academic he would have been a millionaire. Ideas just poured out of him. He was the bubbliest member of the department. He did good fieldwork as well as organizing things. Beloit gave him an honourary degree when the Logan Museum was renovated. But I never had a course with him. I'm not even sure that he was giving courses when I was there. The man who was most close with Indian materials when I was there was Fred Eggan. Fred was a quiet, very friendly person. The students used to go to him not as an advisor but to get advice. I was telling somebody the other night that I signed up to take his course on the American Indian and I found the first two lectures were very dull, and I said to some senior student that I thought I'd drop out. And he said "You'll make a mistake if you do. Just stick in there and listen to what he has to say and you'll get the best notebook you ever had." Fred Eggan may have lectured dully, but his lectures were full of references from a hundred books and frequently from books that you wouldn't have access to at all. So he really had something to tell you in his course. His work with the Indians was very good.

KAY: So 1948 is your first trip to Colombia?

AHW: That was a couple of years after I got out of Chicago. I'd always wanted to go to Latin America. As a matter of fact at one point I had a rather lengthy correspondence with George Valient about studying in Mex-

ico. He said "Don't go down there to study. Study in the United States and then after you learn something go down there and work, but don't try to get your degree down there." So, I went back to teach at Beloit College and after I was there, or at the same time, a new president came in who was a top-notch geologist from Chicago by the name of Cary Croneis, and he had a lot of students and a very broad reputation. And he was constantly having visitors. One day Croneis called me over to his office and he had a visitor from Colombia, a former student by the name of Gilberto Restrepo. He was now a geologist with the government geological service in Colombia and he said "If you want to do research, come to Colombia. There are many problems there, and you'll get good co-operation." I began to think about Colombia, which I hadn't before. The Logan Museum had always done a lot of research. At one time it was doing as much archaeological research as any institution in the country. The college had an expedition in France, had another one out in the Plains and were giving an annual contribution to their graduate Roy Chapman Andrews at the American Museum. A member of the museum staff went out there to the Gobi Desert with him. I was thinking I would like to have the museum continue doing research. I thought, after my own experience, it was very worthwhile to give students, undergraduate students, an opportunity to do this kind of thing. And also I thought it would enhance the teaching in the department. And I didn't want to go back to Europe because it seemed to me that there was so much work being done in Europe by very proficient archaeologists. North Africa, where the Logan Museum also had previously worked, didn't entice me at all. I thought about Mexico, but there are a lot of good Mexican archaeologists—they didn't need us. So when the idea of Colombia came up I thought that opened a whole new vista to me, and Gilberto was saying we'll give you all this great co-operation so I thought "Why not? Let's go down there and take a look." I had one man in my department, Moreau Maxwell, a good archaeologist, and together we planed a survey which could take us down to Colombia. On the way we could stop in some other places and test the situation. And much to my amazement when I went in to tell the president about it and he said "Fine, that sounds good. When do we leave?" We got down to Bogotá and we were put in a nice pension that was *the* place where professional people stayed when visiting Colombia. The word that Croneis would be coming down to Colombia had gotten around among his students. They were in Ecuador, Venezuela and other places and they all began to flow into Bogotá. We had a real reunion there with these geologists who knew the area well. We spent three days talking with them and went to the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología and I was very impressed with the staff there. They were very good, sharp young men and women, and they offered every co-operation. And while we were discussing all of this in the evenings I thought I really didn't trust what I was hearing. I was suspicious of the unanimity. Everybody was talking about co-operation and about how wonderful it was and I didn't quite believe it. I heard that an American anthropologist was working down in the Southwest corner of Colombia, in a place called Popayán, and I decided I'd go down and talk to him. It turned out this was John Rowe who had worked in Peru and who was in later years at Berkeley. So Moreau Maxwell and I went down to Popayán and John took us in hand and showed us around town and I was enchanted with it. Before we went to Colombia there was an article published by the Social Science Research Council saying that more and more work was being done in Latin America by anthropologists. There were quite a number of tribal studies and also some village reports. But nothing had been done about cities. Something ought to be done if there was going to any kind of understanding about the continuity in the building of the cities. So, I thought, "Well that's a hot project, maybe we could get the money to go there and do something about it." When I saw Popayán it brought together my thoughts very well. Here was an aristocratic little city with no industry at all. But the city had been important in the affairs of the country for many years and it had produced archbishops and presidents and writers. And so I thought maybe Popayán was it. And the area looked very nice. The people say that the climate, because it's up several thousand feet, is like eternal spring. A geographer who worked with me down there by the name of Raymond Crist was really the fellow who introduced me to Latin America. He called it eternal spring because summer never came. He was a southerner and liked hot weather and Popayán never got warm enough for him. It was always a little cool and so some days he would say "I must go down in the valley for a while and see how they live." So we'd go down to Cali for a couple of nights and live it up. It was very jolly.

KAY: Do you think that you have a theory of the city? I'm thinking of your work comparing Popayán and Querétaro (Whiteford, 1991 [1960]). Has there been an implicit theory of the city that has driven your work?

AHW: I think so. I think I should have said more about it. I think there is a very real force in the size of the city as well as its age, and the kind of relationships that have developed with the people. There is always change and we saw change even over the period that we were there

between the early days when we first were there and in the later years. I used to tell the story about the great maestro Guillermo Valencia, the poet and a politician. When he met a well-known beggar on the street corner he always took off his hat to him and the beggar took off his hat too. They knew each other. You can't image that kind of thing happening now. It is partly the result of size but it's also those kinds of relationships which a more advanced civilization brings. I didn't go back to Popayán to fully see the developments of the second step. What I wanted to study was an industrialized city and see the process of industrializing. I would have liked to have stayed with Popayán long enough to see all the changes. A couple of factories came to Popayán. There is now some factory life. I would have liked to have seen that.

KAY: Do you recognize some similarities between your ideas about social class and those in the work of other anthropologists? I am thinking about your ideas in the *Two Cities* book (Whiteford, 1991 [1960]) where you talk about education, family, family names, mannerisms, occupations, sources of incomes, residence, all these things going into class composition, not just relations to the means of production. I see some of those ideas in the work of others who may not have even read your work. People like Pierre Bourdieu (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986 [1983]; cf. LiPuma and Meltzoff, 1989), for example, writing about social capital, cultural capital, economic capital—all of these things combining to define class. Because I think in many ways yours is very much a holistic way of looking at class.

AHW: I thought that something more should be done about the study of social class. I stopped, not in mid-passage but before the end because I didn't make many conclusions. I am convinced that social class is a matter of beliefs, attitudes and interrelationships. People recognize others who are different or similar to themselves and interact with them. This is social class. But at the time that I last read on it there seemed to be very little progress being made. Several years after Popayán I changed directions. That's why I didn't read the subsequent material. But other people might have used mine. So I can't answer the question.

KAY: What's been your collaborative relationship with Marnie, in terms of doing anthropology?

AHW: I couldn't be without her. She's says she's the only one in the family that's not an anthropologist. But she is. I think she believes in it very thoroughly. Obviously, with the kids all being in it she sees it going on. She doesn't believe society can get along without anthropology.

KAY: Can you tell me how and when you met Marnie?

Fieldwork in Popayán, 1951.

AHW: I met her at Beloit College. I was a freshman. That long ago. And asked her for a date and she said "No."

KAY (to Marion Whiteford): Why did you say no?

MW: Because I had another date!

AHW: She was hard to get. But worth it!

She's very adaptable. I mean if I came home and said "I have to go to South America" she'd say "Okay. Where are you going?" She was ready to go. I received a grant to go to Colombia more suddenly than I'd expected and she was ready to go. I was going down with Raymond Crist to do a study of Andean migration. But he received, suddenly, a request from some Middle Eastern government to come there and do some work. He went to the Middle East and wrote to me and said "Things are all set up, you must go to Colombia." So I landed there and took the entire family. This was the beginning of thirty years of Latin American research.

KAY: How did you come to go from cities in Latin America to research on baskets in Santa Fe?

AHW: I hoped to be working sometime later in an industrializing city where I could actually see what was happening and that would be the follow-up. But, one thing that happened to me was this. In my work I like to interview particularly older people and I got to the point to where, interviewing a little old lady with half of her teeth, crouched down in the back of her shack, in the shadows, I couldn't hear anymore. My hearing dropped off and I finally gave it up. I decided I couldn't do field-

work, I didn't hear well enough. So, I didn't do any, and after I retired we thought about where we would live and I selected the Southwest and so did Marnie. We had stopped there coming back from Mexico. So we came down to the Southwest. We decided that that was the best thing for us to do. I began working at the School of American Research, where I was greeted very cordially by Doug Schwartz, the president. He was so nice I could not believe it because he gave me the run of the place. I went over to the Indian Arts Centre to see what was going on and to meet members of the staff. The place was full of archaeologists, but they had so many problems in the Southwest that when you said to them "Cherokee" they'd say "Four-wheel drive, isn't it?" Anything outside of the area didn't exist. Now that attitude has changed because of a great change in personnel. When I went over to the research centre at the SAR I was an instant authority. Whenever they got specimens that didn't come from the Southwest they'd say "Ask Whiteford what it is." So I knew something about it because I'd always been interested in Indian arts and came from the Logan Museum where I'd handled a lot of Indian materials (see Whiteford, 1970). They had a very large collection of basketry about which they knew little. As a volunteer I set about doing some cataloguing of it and I quickly got so deeply involved in it that I became a research assistant and I had to read a great deal to understand baskets and materials. That is what got me into basketry, working with that collection (McGreavy and Whiteford, 1985; see Whiteford, 1988, 1989).

KAY: Three of your four children have become anthropologists, and prominent ones at that. Michael even did fieldwork in Popayán (Whiteford, 1976) and Scott in Querétaro (Hoops and Whiteford, 1983). You have even published in their edited books (Whiteford, 1998). How did that happen? What does that mean to you?

AHW: I had nothing to do with it! I never suggested that any of them go into anthropology. I remember when Scott was a student at Stanford and he was transferring to Berkeley and thinking about going someplace else to do anthropology. I said "Don't do that. Human beings are too difficult. Become the authority on—not the three-tined fork—but the domestication of the llama." He ignored me. And went on to be what he wanted. He went to Texas. He'd been at Stanford and Berkeley and got his degree at Texas because they had a good department on Latin America down there. Our younger daughter, Laurie Richards, worked in a related field. She took her graduate degree in urban planning.

KAY: The three of them have done Latin America as well.

The Whitefords in Colombia in 1951. Marion (centre), Scott (standing), Linda (seated on left), and Michael (seated on right).

AHW: Yes, they liked it. That's the only thing I can think of. They saw that Marnie and I enjoyed it and it was a good way of life and it appealed to them. They also all enjoyed living in Popayán, Querétero, and Málaga, Spain. All of them have stayed with families and they still keep in touch with them. In fact, Mike has somebody living with him now who is a grandson from one of these families. The three generations have kept together very well. Also, last summer our two grandsons were down in South America. They're both taking anthropology. Whether they'll be anthropologists or not we don't know.

KAY: Thank you.

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