Robert H. Lowie  
Reminiscences of Anthropological Currents in America Half a Century Ago  995

Bertram S. Kraus and Charles B. White  
Micro-evolution in a Human Population  1017

Mary W. Herman  
The Social Aspect of Huron Property  1044

H. Clyde Wilson  
A New Interpretation of the Wild Rice District of Wisconsin  1059

Eric R. Wolf  
Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society  1065

Fredrik Barth  
Ecologic Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan  1079

Philip Garigue  
French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life  1090

William Caudill and George De Vos  
Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans  1102

Ronald Singer  
The “Bone Tools” from Hopefield  1127

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From the Editor's Desk

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BOOK REVIEWS

Table of Contents

Index for Volume 58
From the Editor's Desk

WE HAVE marveled at past meetings of the Association to hear editors of this journal present their annual report, neatly ticking off the number of papers or pages devoted to each of the several fields within our broad discipline. On occasion, we have wondered in just what pigeon-hole fate (or editorial opinion) has placed our own contribution. The imminence of our own first summary has caused us to face this problem of editorial taxonomy.

As we leaf the pages and examine the titles, we are impressed with how widely the ANTHROPOLOGIST has ranged: from the practical aspects of body measurements to pictorial conceptualization; from glossolalia to sickle cells; from the chimpanzee to the psychiatric ward; from the accumulated debris of australopithecus to the same found in medicine cabinets of modern America. Not only have we covered our own field broadly, but we have accepted the contributions of psychologists, historians, sociologists, geneticists, and philosophers—scholars who live beyond our own already broad domain.

In an effort to meet our expectations, we have sent our small staff into a mild frenzy of taxonomic endeavor. We feel, however, that our best efforts have been an honest failure. Our problem does not rest with such recalcitrant individual items as Miner’s paper on the Nacirema or Albert’s on values. For such articles, every system of classification has what a former professor used to refer to as a taxonomic attic, where the pieces that do not fit in the more orderly rooms may be laid away under the general heading of “miscellaneous” (or in this case perhaps, “general and theoretical”). Our problem rests more with such papers as that of Hoijer, which is at once a linguistic and kinship study, or that of Kraus and White which bridges the even wider gap between social organization and genetics; with Willey’s and with MacWhite’s combinations of archeology and social organization. To place such articles under a single heading does violence both to the author’s intent and to reality.

To be sure, many articles can be put in one place or another with ease. Certainly the center of the stage has been social organization. Ten of the articles have been directed to problems of kinship and kin groups. (It remains for some future historian of our discipline to understand the resurgence of kinship as a subject of study at this particular stage of anthropology.) At least two other papers are partially concerned with this problem; six more with other aspects of the organization of society, and another six with problems of acculturation which are closely allied. There are four papers treating partly or entirely with each of the fields of physical anthropology, archeology, and linguistics; two papers deal with historical aspects of our discipline, and several with problems in anthropological education.

But as we have said, many of the papers defy classification because they specifically involve divergent aspects of anthropology. What makes for taxonomic weakness makes, it seems to us, for anthropological strength. The recurrent combination of divergent aspects of anthropology in single and
What makes for anthropological strength, however, makes also for editorial problems. Few of us can follow the terminology of such divergent activities human genetics and projective techniques, let alone control the data or the methodology. This creates a dual problem. First, the editor's limitations make it difficult to determine the worth and the validity of contributions from varied fields. A broad editorial board was formed for precisely this reason. The second is the problem of the author, and his is the more difficult. He must communicate the details of his research in a manner that is useful for his fellow specialists, supporting his assertions with adequate data and clearly revealing his methodological tracks; at the same time, he must present his material in such a way that anthropologists outside his own special field can understand the conclusions and the broad base on which these rest, even though they cannot control the accuracy of his data or understand the intricacies of his method. It seems to us that the two aims are not incompatible. Yet the authors of such articles would certainly agree that such presentations require more than the usual measure of effort. We hope they also agree that this effort is rewarding not only to themselves but to the discipline as a whole.

**Robert Lowie,** whose reminiscences of past anthropological discourse opens the present issue, received his doctorate from Columbia in 1908 after undergraduate training at the College of the City of New York. He is Professor of Anthropology Emeritus from the University of California, Berkeley, where he was on active duty from 1921 to 1950. Lowie's many books have been standard anthropological fare for a generation of anthropologists in a variety of fields. His *The History of Ethnological Theory* is particularly pertinent to the present contribution.

**Bertram Kraus** (Chicago, 1949) is Associate Professor at the University of Arizona, where he has taught since 1947. In the summer of 1954 he served as Director of the Apache Crippled Children's Project. He is the author of *Indian Health in Arizona,* published by the University of Arizona. **Charles White** received his M.A. degree from the University of Pennsylvania (1954) after undergraduate training at the University of Arizona. He was a Fellow in the Department of Anthropology there in 1954–55 and is at present Social Psychologist of the Phoenix Area Office, Division of Indian Health, U. S. Public Health Service. The collaboration of Kraus and White was supported and assisted by several agencies and individuals, as acknowledged in the article.

**Mary Herman** (University of California, Berkeley, 1953) received undergraduate training in economics from the University of Pennsylvania. She is now Instructor in Anthropology at Pennsylvania State University. The present article is based upon library research in Pennsylvania and California, engaged in as part of her doctoral dissertation.
H. CLYDE WILSON (M.A. University of Texas) has been a graduate student at the University of Michigan and is now pursuing his doctoral degree at the University of California, Los Angeles. Wilson’s article is by-product of research for his master’s dissertation on the ethnohistory of the Kickapoo.

ERIC WOLF (Columbia, 1951) is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Virginia. His paper is the product of library research and field work in Mexico City and Guanajuato, Gto, in 1951–52 and summer field work in Mexico in 1954 and 1956, and was written while an Associate of the Project for Research on Cross-Cultural Regularity, directed by Julian Steward. In addition, Wold has done field work in a coffee-growing community of Puerto Rico (1948–1949) and on the processes of nation formation (1950–52).

FREDERIK BARTH (M.A., Chicago, 1949) has been Lecturer at the University of Oslo, Norway, since 1953. His analysis of ecological relationships in Swat was based on field work done in Pakistan between February and November of 1954 under a grant from the Royal Norwegian Research Council. The preparation of his field report is being supported by a Wenner-Gren predoctoral fellowship. Barth is author of Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan, Universitets Ethisografiske Museum Bulletin No. 7, Oslo 1953.

PHILIP GARIGUE (University of London, 1953) is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at McGill University, where he has taught since 1954. The field research on which his study of Canadian kinship is based was executed in 1954–55 under a grant from the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at McGill University. Garigue has served as Research Assistant at the London School (1953–54) and has had several articles published in French Canada.

WILLIAM CAUDILL (University of Chicago, 1950) is a Lecturer in Social Anthropology, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, and Research Associate at the Medical School of that institution. He engaged in field work with Japanese Americans in 1947–50 and in Japan on cross-cultural psychiatry in 1954–55. This work was supported in part by the Julius Rosenwald fund. GEORGE A. DE VOS (Psychology, University of Chicago, 1951) was a member of a Japanese-American interdisciplinary research group from 1947–1951 (affiliated with the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis) studying acculturation and personality, and Fulbright scholar from 1953 to 1955 associated with the Department of Neuropsychiatry at Nagoya National University, Nagoya, Japan. He is at present Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan and Director of the Ford Foundation-sponsored Japanese Personality and Culture Research Project.

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W. G.
Reminiscences of Anthropological Currents in America Half a Century Ago

ROBERT H. LOWIE
University of California

THE Editor of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST has asked me to offer "some discussion and analysis of the intellectual ferment, the various ideas and interests, and the important factual discoveries in their relationship to these ideas, that were current during the period of your early years as an anthropologist." In responding I shall have to go far afield. The task suggested implies nevertheless two noteworthy restrictions. Factual discoveries are irrelevant (except as they influenced ideas), as is administrative promotion of scientific interests. Accordingly, though sharing Sapir's judgment that as a field worker J. O. Dorsey was "ahead of his age," I must ignore him for present purposes. Again, there will be only brief references to Frederic Ward Putnam (1839–1915) and to Frederic Webb Hodge (1864–1956); as to Powell and McGee, only their thinking demands extended notice.

It is well to recall that in 1904, when I began graduate work, only Columbia, Harvard, and California had full-fledged academic departments of anthropology, but the Field Museum, a descendant of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, had been fostering research, as had the Bureau of American Ethnology and the United States National Museum. The anthropological departments of Columbia and of the American Museum of Natural History were still intimately connected; even closer was the bond between the Museum of Anthropology in San Francisco and the department in Berkeley, both of them being parts of the University of California. Thus, New York, Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco-Berkeley were the chief centers of anthropological activity.

If the following pages seem to give disproportionate mention of my own university, this is not due to parochialism on my part. In 1904 Columbia indisputably provided the most comprehensive training to be obtained in the country. My first seminar there was attended by Alfred M. Tozzer, already a Ph.D. from Harvard. When John R. Swanton had presented a linguistic dissertation at Harvard, the Columbia professor was invited to examine him. Before George A. Dorsey sent Fay-Cooper Cole to the Philippines, he had him spend a semester with Boas, and after his return from the field Cole returned to take his degree in New York.

In the present essay I shall begin by sketching the orientation of men whose thinking developed independently of this particular academic tradition. I shall then attempt to indicate the intellectual movements that impinged on my generation and presumably in large measure on our teachers'. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that even among the all number of prospective professionals at the time the reactions to these impulses varied considerably, in accordance with our greatly varying individualities and equally diverse backgrounds.
Whatever may be said in criticism of the scholars to be treated in this section, they numbered among them men of unquestionable talent and enthusiasm. As will be shown, some were unusual personalities, some achieved important scientific results. It is my considered opinion that the less impressive individualities among them did the most useful and most lasting work.

_Cushing_ (1857–1900). During one of my seminars the name of Frank Hamilton Cushing happened to come up. "He was an exceedingly able man," Boas declared. Then he paused. After a brief intermission he resumed: "I'm afraid his work will have to be done all over again."

To a novice the judgment seemed a curious _non sequitur_. Had I known Cushing's writings, I could have filled in the ellipse. Cushing was exceedingly able: with rare manual skill he could duplicate aboriginal artifacts; and with rare perceptiveness he recorded elusive Indian usages. But his was an undisciplined imagination; he was able to impart the flavor of the Pueblo atmosphere, but he leaves us wondering how much of his interpretation reflects his own atmosphere rather than his native hosts' mentality (Cushing [1884-85] 1920). A sober inquirer of later date found his versions of Zuñi myth highly suspect; for the most part "the endless poetic and metaphysic glossing of the basic elements" probably "originated in Cushing's own mind" (Bunzel 1932:547 f.).

The one general principle of interpretation Cushing used was evolution, linked with the doctrine of psychic unity. Culture is due "chiefly to the necessities encountered during its development." Nothing seemed more natural than that the ancestral Pueblo entering the Southwest first used gourds and baskets, then by their unaided efforts achieved pottery. Cushing expresses his indebtedness to E. B. Tylor, yet a vital phase of the British anthropologist's thinking eluded him. For Tylor expressly notes the continuous distribution of ceramics in North America from Mexico northward, inferring that the art "spread from a single source" (Tylor 1865:366). Indeed, Cushing conceived the whole of Pueblo culture as a spontaneous local growth: people driven into the Southwest at first subsisted on roots and seeds until they were "spurred on by that great motor of humanity—hunger—to a knowledge of irrigation and horticulture" (Cushing 1920:516 f.). Correspondingly, they began by constructing brush lodges, but "by a series of stages" advanced "to the recent and present terraced, many storied, ceremonial structures" (Cushing 1886:473–481).

It is not surprising that at the World's Fair in Chicago Cushing argued against any evidence for ancient cultural contact between the New World and other continents (Holmes 1893:425 f.).

_Brinton_ (1837–1899). Among the eminent men of his period, Daniel Garrison Brinton was not the least remarkable; and like Cushing he was an uncompromising champion of unilinear evolution. Among his American contemporaries he stands out in several ways. Though, unlike the rest, he did no field work, his reading covered the whole range of our science. Medically trained, he some-
times dealt with physical anthropology, but his greatest effort went into ethno-
logical linguistics, mythology, and comparative religion. He edited an eight-
volume Library of American Aboriginal Literature (1882–1890). He held a chair
of American Archaeology and Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania.
Attending scientific congresses, he became personally known to the leaders of
the science abroad; Rudolf Virchow once asked George Grant Mac Curdy to con-
vey his regards to Brinton [oral communication of G.G.M. to R.H.L.]. Probably
no American-born colleague of his generation was so deeply saturated with the
European atmosphere. He had studied at Paris and Heidelberg, and profusely
quoted from German, French, and Italian sources. Nor were his interests re-
stricted to scholarship; he haunted European picture galleries, read Browning
and Tennyson, admired Ibsen and Zola when their names were still anathema.
Altogether he published twenty-three books and innumerable articles—on the
Mound Builders, on Anthropopithecus, on the philosophy of language, on
Central American guardian spirits, and what not (Smyth et al. 1900).
Of the effectiveness of his teaching I have found no record, but A. B. Lewis
once told me that Brinton had been a spirited debater at scientific gatherings,
a statement quite credible to a reader of his reviews.
Here, then, was a man of independent mind, unusual erudition, and excep-
tional cultivation, yet amazingly little profit can be drawn from his writings. Of
course, he was not always wrong and he helped dispel some popular fallacies,
such as the existence of tribes without religion, the degraded character of
African fetishism, or the racial distinctness of the Mound Builders (Brinton
1898:31, 101; 1901:255). But many of the opinions most confidently voiced
by him must be read to be believed. Decades after Waitz he quotes old wives’
tales about aboriginal mentality: the Australians are marked by “almost brutal
stupidity”; their “natural feelings and moral perceptions seem incredibly
blunted” (1898:16 f.). There are even incredible ethnographic blunders: the
Melanesians, unlike the Polynesians, are said to be agriculturists (1901:228,
237).
Confusingly Brinton mingles racial, cultural, and linguistic points of view.
One is inclined to praise him for citing types of arrow release as samples of
motor habits, but alas! he seems to conceive them as biologically determined
since the relevant passage occurs between a comparison of human with simian
musculature and a description of steatopygy. The American Indians are char-
acterized by copper color, straight hair, and incorporating languages.
Considering that he plumed himself on his linguistic insight, some pertinent
thoughts of Brinton’s have a curious flavor. Following Horatio Hale, he thus
explains the differentiation of stocks: Children are forever coining new words
and among themselves soon evolve a distinctive idiom. Barbarians would often
leave very young children behind, and “those who survived developed a tongue
of their own, nearly all of whose radicals would be totally different from those
of the languages of their parents. Thus, in early times . . . numerous independ-
ent tongues came to be spoken within limited areas by the same ethnic stock”
(Brinton 1901:33, 36 f., 61 f., 63, 65, 74 et seq., 97 f., 237).
The work on *The American Race* exhibits a certain independence of Powell, e.g. in recognizing a Uto-Aztecan family, though it was left for Sapir to provide the demonstration. As a whole, the book is a sad disappointment. Brinton vehemently rejects any affinity between American Indians and the Mongoloids; the former entered the New World by a land-bridge between Europe (or "Eurafrica") and America; they "could have come from no other quarter." Within the Western Hemisphere, parallelism is carried to a ludicrous extreme. Like Cushing, Brinton regards Pueblo culture as "a local product, developed in independent tribes by the natural facilities offered by the locality. . . . The culture of the Pueblos, both ancient and modern, bears every mark of local and independent growth" (1891:17-58, 113-117, 336 f.).

Consistently with this position, Brinton had interpreted the same myth even in neighboring tribes as the result of psychic unity (1868:172 f.). The "universal mythical cycles" were "independent creations of the human intellect, framed under laws common to it everywhere, and which tend always to produce fruits generically everywhere the same" (1898:117 f., 129).

It is a melancholy reflection that Brinton's enthusiasm and learning produced so slight a permanent contribution.

**Powell and McGee.** John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) and his collaborator William John McGee (1853-1912) are best treated jointly. In a different way from Brinton they were both remarkable men. Notwithstanding the loss of his right arm in the Civil War, Powell intrepidly achieved the descent of the Colorado River (1869, 1871); McGee, while suffering the tortures of cancer, was able to record his subjective experiences for a scientific publication. As scientists, both men were primarily geologists, but became absorbed in anthropology and strove valiantly to make it a *science*, sometimes in a rather naive way. Characteristic is their emphasis on the biologists' principle of priority in nomenclature. I have heard McGee defend it before a session of the American Anthropological Association as though the matter were of vital importance for the status of our discipline. If a reader of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (1907, 1910) who seeks information on the Blackfoot is referred to an article on the "Siksika," it is due to this Powellian crotchet. No less peculiar is the mania of both men for newly coined words. Their writings teem with such terms as "sophiology," "esthetology," "demonomy," "historics." Administratively they have won undying renown, Powell by founding the Bureau of American Ethnology (1879) and its series of publications, McGee both as Powell's collaborator and as the foremost organizer of the American Anthropological Association (Hodge 1912:686). But our concern is with their scientific contributions.

From that point of view we are once more doomed to disillusionment. Neither ranks high as a field investigator. Powell met many Ute and Paiute on his Far Western explorations and claimed a speaking acquaintance with their dialects, but apart from four good versions of myths (Powell 1881) and occasional tidbits, he published nothing of ethnographic value. McGee's most am-
McGee's uncontrolled imagination and his strong preconceptions yielded a distorted picture (Kroeber 1931:3, 18).

The intellectual set of the two men is well illustrated by their formulation and solution of a specific problem. After his brief sojourn McGee conceived the Seri as "notably egoistic and inimical toward contemporaries"; thereby they contrasted with the "notably altruistic" Papago, though both tribes share the same type of environment. Other peoples having been examined from the same point of view, the Papago stood "in the front rank of aboriginal tribes as graded by power of nature-conquest," whereas the Seri were at the opposite extreme. What conclusion is drawn from these facts? "The Seri, habitually submitting to a harsh environment . . . merely reflect its harshness in their conduct," while "the Papago, seeking habitually to control environment in the interests of their kind . . . are raised by their efforts to higher planes of humanity" (Powell 1903: XXVIII).

However, as Professor Heizer has pointed out to me, there was another side to McGee that explains the high personal regard in which he was held by such exacting judges as Boas and George A. Dorsey. When a situation fitted into his geological experience he could display exemplary caution. In Pleistocene deposits in Nevada he discovered an undeniable artifact, which a conservative archeologist (Holmes 1919:69 f.) pronounced "the second most important observation yet recorded bearing upon the problems of the high geological antiquity of man in America." But McGee himself refused to draw sensational inferences from a single find (McGee 1889), leaving the matter in abeyance. Si ita omnia dixisset!

To return to Powell, his one effective publication in our field is the treatise on North American linguistic stocks (Powell 1891: 1–142). Acknowledging his indebtedness to other investigators, such as Gallatin, Henshaw, Pilling, Gatschet, and J. O. Dorsey, he assumed sole responsibility for the classification presented. He accepted as probable the subsequent fusion of some of his stocks, but foresaw no material reduction in the total number (1891: 26 f.). Americanists have often chafed at his conservatism, but the scheme has unquestionably helped to bring order into chaos and has probably aided ethnography more than a bolder classification might have done. It is more profitable to seek cultural resemblances between Navaho and Chipewyan than between Ojibwa and Yurok.

As for their philosophy of culture, Powell and McGee fell back on evolution, perpetrating some of the dreariest series of stages ever concocted in its name. To the familiar categories of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, they added enlightenment (Powell 1888). Human thought was said to fall into two major divisions, the mythological and the scientific. Within the former there were four stages: in the beginning men assigned life to everything; next they
anthropomorphized and deified beasts; then they superseded animal gods with the personified and deified natural powers (physitheism); finally they deified mental, moral, social traits, such as war, love, etc. (psychotheism).

Concerning social organization, Powell in no way advanced beyond Lewis H. Morgan. His terminological separation of unilineal descent groups into matrilineal "clans" and "patrilineal" gentes is defensible and gained a following among American scholars. In the classical tradition he assigned clans to savagery, gentes to barbarism. The change in rule of descent had several causes. For one thing, the priestly office was passed on from father to son [Why? one asks], whereby patrilineal reckoning became fundamental. Again, women were separated from their clansfolk when following their husbands to fishing and hunting grounds, by which practice the husbands' and fathers' authority was enhanced to the detriment of maternal, fraternal, and avuncular powers. Agriculture tended to influence developments in the same direction, for women and children would be working "under the immediate supervision and control of husbands and fathers." As is usual with Powell, no concrete examples are given in support of these generalizations (Powell 1896:10 f., 14 f.).

Adolphe Bandelier. To the foregoing galaxy of American "characters" may be added Swiss-born Adolphe Bandelier (1840–1914), an original if ever there was one. As a student in his first class at Columbia I speak from personal acquaintance. His astonishing knowledge of Latin-American sources was coupled with extravagant vehemence, obstinacy, engaging naïveté, and a bizarre sense of humor. My fellow-student Speck he addressed as "Lord Bacon." In the midst of a lecture he once stigmatized a scholar he disliked as "that damned liar, Sir Clements Markham." Seeing me in the hall outside his classroom one afternoon he approached me with an air of mystery, threw an arm around my shoulders, and confidentially asked, "Lowie, can you tell me where the toilet is?" At a social gathering in Boas' house I remember his arriving late, advancing toward his host, and truculently remarking, "Meine Frau lässt Sie nicht grüssen." Then, turning to Mrs. Boas, he said, "Meine Frau lässt Sie beinahe grüssen." Bandelier did do significant field work in the Eastern Pueblos, in Mexico, and in the Andes. He is especially noted, however, for the effective demolition of the widespread belief in grandiose American empires, though he considerably overshot the mark. As a theorist, he ranks admittedly as a satellite of Lewis H. Morgan (Bandelier 1877, 1878, 1879). With admirable cogency Professor Leslie White has demonstrated how Bandelier, modifying his original conceptions to bring them into harmony with Morgan's scheme, came to represent Aztec social organization in the image of the Iroquois. Mexicans and Peruvians had never advanced beyond a clan system, had retained as the basis of social relationships kinship ties rather than economic or territorial ones (White 1940:11-63).

Some Washingtonians. Paradoxical as it may sound, the most solid contributions came not from the colorful, impressive personalities just treated, but from several unpretentious workers. Who nowadays reads Brinton or Powell or McGee, whether for facts or ideas? But Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930),
Otis T. Mason (1838–1908), and Walter Hough (1859–1935) are still far from negligible in their respective fields of specialization.

Fewkes started as a zoologist, as a one-time student of Louis Agassiz at Harvard, but later turned ethnographer and archeologist. When publishing on protozoa in his early days, he once told me, he found that only half a dozen people in the world would read his papers, so he shifted to anthropology. One cannot help wondering how large a public he acquired by his meticulously thorough, but soporific descriptions of Hopi ceremonial. The fact remains that the specialists have profited from them: Haeberlin cites 32 of Fewkes' papers in his doctoral dissertation, and 15 were used by Elsie Clews Parsons in her work on Pueblo Indian Religion. What is more, Fewkes was an undisputed innovator in introducing sound-recording into field work (1889), first among the Passamaquoddy, soon after among the Pueblos; and according to an exacting critic, "few anthropologists since have made such thorough and judicious use of sound-recording equipment" (Rowe 1953:914). He did not shine as a theorist, to be sure, as witness his naive faith in the historic value of clan migration legends (Fewkes 1900); at all events, one did not have to worry whether Fewkes was substituting the figments of his fancy for aboriginal thinking.

Mason's impress on technological researches is apparent from a glance at the comparative studies of Wissler, Spier, Birket-Smith, and Nordenskiöld. Above all, his Aboriginal American Basketry (Mason 1904) has remained a classic, unsupplanted after half a century's investigation. Theoretically, he was indeed capable of dreary evolutionistic patter (Mason 1908), but even concerning interpretation there is something to be said on the credit side. Evolutionist though he might be after the fashion of his period, he by no means shut his eyes to the claims of diffusion. In fact, we owe to him an eminently sound exposition of the logic of the diffusionist problem (Mason 1895a), adducing the detailed similarities between Amur and Columbia River canoes. At Chicago (1893) he was one of those who combated Brinton's intransigent parallelism.

Hough's museum studies, though on a lesser scale, are roughly comparable to Mason's. He, too, broke a lance for diffusion, tracing Northwest American plate armor to Japan (Hough 1895); though Laufer showed that the specific provenience suggested by Hough was untenable, he upheld the broader theory of some Asiatic source and praised Hough's "intensely interesting and valuable study" (Laufer 1914:260 et seq.).

In native capacity William H. Holmes (1846–1933) belongs on a higher level than the three men just considered. This judgment is not due to any personal preference on my part, for whereas Hough and Fewkes were distinctly genial in their attitude to a younger man, I found Holmes stiff and condescending. But Boas—emphatically no friend of Holmes—correctly described him orally as "a very able man." Lacking the flamboyance of Cushing, the imposing personality of Powell, the quaint charm of Bandelier, he was distinctly their superior in sobriety of judgment. An artist by training and endowment, he had the scientific rather than the artistic temperament.

A prehistorian, Holmes claims consideration here only insofar as his in-
quiries bear on cultural theory. This applies especially to his discussion of primitive art. Like the German architect Gottfried Semper, who preceded him by some twenty years but was not concerned with aborigines, Holmes stressed the influence of technique: “Geometric ornament is the offspring of technique” (Holmes 1886c:465). “The more closely the ceramic art of the ancient peoples is studied the more decidedly it appears that it was profoundly influenced by the textile arts, and especially by basketry” (1886a:359). But elsewhere there is complementary attention to the effect of life forms. In the evolutionary era of anthropology it was normal to look for ultimate origins, and Holmes traced the rise of ceramic forms to the imitation of “natural originals,” such as gourds, coconut shells, and bladders. Further, “unconscious embellishment” would result if the artificer imitated, say, the spines or ribs of mollusk shells; at a later stage “these features would be retained and copied for the pleasure they afforded” (1886c:446, 454). Though placing the “realistic pictorial stage” later than the appearance of “nonideographic” elements, Holmes did not ignore them and states that their significance tends to be lost, so that they “are subsequently treated as purely decorative elements” (1886c:453–457). How this view can be made to harmonize with the dictum that geometric ornament is the offspring of technique is not easily understood. At all events, Holmes considered various possibilities in the course of his studies. What is more, he must be credited with anticipating, though perhaps not adequately elaborating, certain views associated with Boas. He mentions, in passing, the virtuoso’s urge to play with his technique; and he clearly recognizes the tendency to read meaning into primarily nonsignificant designs (1886c:452; 1906:186).

At least one of Holmes’ archeological conclusions bears on a basic ethnological issue. He proved decisively that the rude American artifacts suggesting European paleoliths were not to be regarded as their chronological equivalents. They did not indicate a stage of inferior craftsmanship, but individual miscarriage in the process of manufacturing a tool of superior (“neolithic”) grade. Thus, morphological similarity could arise independently by “convergence,” though Holmes did not so phrase his inference (Holmes 1919:75, 159 et seq.).

I have heard Holmes described as morbidly cautious, but do not find him so. We have seen that he did not simply brush aside McGee’s Pleistocene find; and when confronted with marked coincidences in detailed features he was willing to accept some sort of “ethnic relationships” even if it meant linking an Alaskan wood carving with a clay replica from a grave in the Middle Mississippi valley (1886c:451).

So far, then, as the interpretation of facts was concerned, the scholars discussed in this section relied on evolution tempered with diffusion, against which latter only Cushing and Brinton took a determined stand. In any case, not one of them approached the stature of Morgan or Tylor, and certainly
none of them advanced beyond these predecessors theoretically. When they turned to generalities, they were likely to fall into empty schematizing. It was when Cushing duplicated aboriginal implements, when Mason analyzed basketry weaves, and Hough demonstrated how rapidly fire could be produced with a simple palm-drill, that they added to our insight, showing what early invention implied and "how much original human thought has been bestowed" on perfecting them (Mason 1895b:229). But estimable as is Mason's essay on parallelism versus transmission, it hardly compares with Tylor's papers on the patolli game and on correlations (Tylor 1878, 1889). Nor does Mason's magnum opus attain the originality and thought value of Morgan's Systems (Morgan 1871), notwithstanding its obvious faults. Certainly none but Brinton among the group concerned himself, as Tylor and Morgan did, with most departments of culture on a global scale; and Brinton alas! did not advance any subdivision of anthropology.

II

Diffusion and Evolution, then, constituted the theoretical legacy acquired by the nascent anthropologists about the turn of the century. But these guiding principles came to be qualified, transmuted, and supplemented by the advent of ideas stemming from various extraneous sources. I shall consider the respective influences of geography, biology, history, psychology, and philosophy.

The impact of geography is perhaps most obvious. I am not referring to the theory of environmentalism as reflected in, say, Cushing's speculations on Pueblo origins, for against that aberration the younger generation was adequately inoculated. I have in mind rather the positive advance in distributive investigations.

Such problems had indeed obtruded themselves before. When obsidian tools turned up in an Ohio mound at least a thousand miles east of any possible source of supply, transmission was the only possible explanation (Holmes 1914:427, 430). Sporadically, as in Mason's treatment of the canoes from the Amur River, the intermittent occurrence of highly detailed similarities was solved in corresponding terms. Apart from such specific questions, curators faced the task of installing museum collections and devised arrangements based on geographical proximity. These efforts naturally culminated in the definition of culture areas (Holmes 1914).

What distinguished the new era was the systematic determination of distributions for purposes of historical interpretation. A geographer by training, Boas early (1895) applied the method to the study of Northwest Coast mythology (Boas 1940:425-436), thereby setting a pattern widely followed. It was, of course, a natural procedure for anyone geographically oriented, as witness Gudmund Hatt's dissertation on Arctic skin clothing (Hatt 1914). Further, it could be extended to so apparently elusive a phenomenon as the vision quest (Benedict 1922). What is more, whole cultures could be compared for major historical reconstructions. The avowed objective of the Jesup Expedi-
tion was the "precise determination of the geographical distribution of ideas and cultural forces" (Boas 1909:7). The extensive studies by Clark Wissler and Leslie Spier, paralleled by those of Erland Nordenskiöld and Kaj Birket-Smith abroad, may be mentioned as examples of distributional researches envisaging historical objectives.

Insofar as distributional researches tended to establish diffusion, they could not help affecting the theory of unilinear evolution. If the use of obsidian tools by Ohio mound-builders was impossible except through transmission from an outside source; if Columbia River Indians had got their canoes from the Amur; if Pueblo pottery was a consequence of Mexican stimuli, then these particular features in the respective cultures were not due to any laws of internal development. As unexceptionable instances of dissemination multiplied, the conviction gained ground that if such laws existed they were perhaps obscured to such an extent as to become unknowable. We are not at the moment concerned with the correctness of the inference, but with the historical fact that it was drawn.

III

It is a commonplace that the belief in cultural evolution is independent of Darwinism. Not to cite aboriginal myths, the idea was propounded by ancient Greek and Chinese philosophers. Bachofen's Das Mutterrecht (1861) appeared after The Origin of Species, but the conservative Swiss jurist remained untouched by the scientific currents of his age. In fact, we know that he expounded his basic position at a philologists' congress as early as 1856 (Meuli 1948:1045).

However, it was Darwin's theories that stirred the intellectuals of the world, and among them the ethnologists. Darwin assumed progressive development insofar as descent of a more complex from a simpler form may be called "progress." This feature is indeed eliminated from Radcliffe-Brown's definition of social evolution (Radcliffe-Brown 1947), but it pervaded the writings of the cultural evolutionists. In analogy to the biological philosophy of the times, Tylor recognized "stages of development or culture, each the outcome of previous history" and sought "to work out as systematically as possible a scheme of evolution." Notwithstanding occasional relapses in culture, he argued, the general course was upward (Tylor [1871] 1889:1, 20 f. 32, 62 ff.). The insistence on advancement is equally pronounced in Lewis H. Morgan and Powell, over-obtrusive in O. T. Mason's lists of change "from stone hammer to steam hammer," "from conch shell and rattle to orchestra," "from tribal deity to the Infinite and Omnipresent" (Mason 1908:187 et seq.).

Since the ethnological theories leaned on biology, a radical shift in biological views inevitably had repercussions in the sphere of cultural anthropology. Such a shift was indeed a reality by 1904.

Not that skeptics had been lacking before; in fact, they included some of the greatest figures of nineteenth century science—Richard Owen, Rudolf Virchow, Karl Ernst von Baer. But about the turn of the century doubt and
discontent came to a head, not as the result of a religious crusade, but of the rise of experimental methods. Jacques Loeb, bent on reducing the phenomena of life to the physics and chemistry of matter, was at one with the neovitalist Hans Driesch in looking with a mixture of pity and disdain on the "speculative and descriptive orientation" of the phylogenists.

A Columbia student who from a boy had accepted Darwinism as a dogma, who had steeped himself as an undergraduate in Herbert Spencer’s *First Principles* and hailed Ernst Haeckel’s *Die Welträtsel* as a definitive solution of all cosmic enigmas, was profoundly disturbed when browsing in the departmental libraries of Schermerhorn Hall or talking to age-mates who majored in zoology. Bewildering judgments turned up in the new books and journals. Haeckel, it seemed, was an irresponsible hotspur, if not a forger of evidence. For William James, Herbert Spencer was a "vague writer," and in Pearson’s opinion the British philosopher cut a sorry figure when using the terms of physics. Darwin himself, esteemed for his monographs, was not always taken seriously as a theorist. In the building where our student spent most of his time Thomas Hunt Morgan, a prophet of the new dispensation, held forth on the weaknesses of the Darwinian philosophy.

To mention some of Morgan’s points, he cited Johannsen’s experiments on the inefficacy of natural selection: in a pure line the selection of particular individuals for breeding had proved immaterial. As for the “biogenetic law,” the embryonic resemblances of higher and lower forms admitted of a simpler, alternative explanation than Haeckel’s view that ontogeny rapidly recapitulated phylogeny. The paleontological record, with all its deficiencies, was indeed admitted as evidence of evolution, but it could never reveal “the hereditary unity which have made the process of evolution possible.” Perhaps most disturbing of all was the critique of the Darwinian’s argument from comparative anatomy. Certainly one could make a plausible showing of widely diverging types that were linked by graduated steps. But was this more than a logical arrangement of data, suggesting at best what might have happened? Experiments had shown that 125 true-breeding mutants could be produced from the wild fruit-fly, and one could then put them in a series, with normally winged forms at one end and wingless forms at the other. But one extreme had not been evolved from the other by many intermediate steps: the several mutants had developed independently of one another (T. H. Morgan 1916:7, 27, 159).

Comparative psychology gave aid and comfort to the skeptics. Before the laboratory experiments of Edward L. Thorndike the alleged proofs of links between animal and human mind shriveled into romanticizing, anecdotal trivialities.

It does not matter in this connection whether, or to what extent; the new attitude was warranted. The point is that by 1900 the intellectual climate had changed. The transports of delirious rapture were succeeded by the mood of the *Katzenjammer*. What had figured as the quintessence of scientific insight suddenly shrank into a farrago of dubious hypotheses. In short, sobriety
reigned once more in professional circles. The revulsion of feeling was of a piece with the nausea evoked among the German laboratory workers of the early nineteenth century by the excrescences of Naturphilosophie.

Cultural anthropology could not escape the empiricist trend, which was eloquently defined in the opening pages of the Reports of the Jesup Expedition:

"The history of anthropology is but a repetition of that of other sciences. . . . New facts are disclosed, and shake the foundations of theories that seemed firmly established. The beautiful, simple order is broken and the student stands aghast before the multitude and complexity of facts that belie the symmetry of the edifice that he had laboriously erected. Such was the history of geology, such the history of biology. . . . We are still searching for the laws that govern the growth of human culture, of human thought; but we recognize the fact that before we seek for what is common to all cultures, we must analyze each culture by careful and exact methods. . . . " (Boas 1898:3 f.).

Let us note that, as Thomas H. Morgan did not reject biological evolution in toto, neither did anthropologists reject all cultural evolution. As Morgan accepted the paleontological record, they accepted the testimony of prehistory. Beyond that they were willing to be convinced by evidence. Contrary to some misleading statements on the subject, there have been no responsible opponents of evolution as scientifically proved, though there has been determined hostility to an evolutionary metaphysics that falsifies the established facts. To adduce an a fortiori proof of this contention, Fathers Schmidt and Koppers (1924:382, 396 et seq., 625 et seq., 636) consistently speak of "development" (Entwicklung), "stages of the total development," "the step from lower to higher hunting," and so forth. They, like their independent associate Heine-Geldern (1937; 1955:7), welcome the teachings of prehistory; nothing is farther from their minds than a relapse into the degeneration theory combatted by Tylor in 1871. Like other critical culture-historians, they repudiate unilinear evolution while making due allowance in principle for internal development. To quote Father Schmidt (1937:III, 10): "I neither avoid the word nor the concept and fact of evolution, but . . . freely profess evolution, while now, as before, deprecating evolutionism" . . . " . . . He who combats and rejects evolutionism, is not thereby combatting and repudiating evolution, internal development."

Whoever wishes to understand the psychology of what has been inaccurately called "the reactionary philosophy of anti-evolutionism" in anthropology would do well to ponder the attitude of Jacques Loeb, T. H. Morgan, and H. Driesch toward phylogenetic speculations. Critical votaries of both sciences had simply arrived at higher standards of proof.

IV

In the meantime, skepticism concerning evolutionary "laws" was also being fostered by philosophers and historians.

The "Southwest German" school of philosophy drew a sharp line between
"nomothetic" and "idiographic" branches of learning, i.e. those which sought to establish laws and those which aimed at comprehending phenomena in their totality. Wilhelm Windelband formulated the antithesis in his rectoral address (1894), using for illustration physics and history (Windelband 1915). The essential distinction is doubtless older; it underlies an early paper of Boas' on the two approaches possible in geography (Boas [1887] 1940:626–647).

Windelband has been quoted by Radcliffe-Brown and myself, but his follower Heinrich Rickert seems to have made a deeper impression on ethnologists—possibly because he elaborated the issue at great length (Rickert 1899, 1896–1902). In Kroeber's collected essays there are eight references to him (Kroeber 1952:54, 70, 71, 73, 101, 123, 136, 469), and Sapir (1917:447) paid him a high compliment: "For a penetrating analysis of the fundamental distinction between historical and natural science I strongly urge all anthropologists, and social scientists generally, who are interested in method to refer to H. Rickert's difficult but masterly book on Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung; eine Einleitung in die historischen Wissenschaften. I have been greatly indebted to it."

I surmise that Sapir's disinclination to put phonetic and natural "laws" on the same level stems from his indoctrination with Rickert's ideas. The reader of Windelband or Rickert might certainly conclude that the historical disciplines not only failed to demonstrate laws, but most emphatically did not wish to find any.

During the years under discussion historians themselves were clashing over the logic of their branch of knowledge, and their debates were echoed in our seminars. Indeed, two of the chief combatants, Karl Lamprecht and Eduard Meyer, lectured at Columbia. Lamprecht, scorning traditional historiography, insisted that it must be transformed into a true science, i.e. use the principle of causality as known to physicists and must determine laws. "Percepts" (Anschauungen) were to be superseded by "concepts" (Begriffe). Whole epochs could be subsumed under such concepts. Lamprecht had allegedly had some obtruded on him by a purely inductive study of the tenth and eleventh century in Germany. A "diapason" (a favorite term of his) penetrated all the psychic phenomena of a period, "all sentiments and actions." [Attention, Configurationists!] The eras thus revealed for Germany turned out to have correspondences in the past of other great nations; the psychic characteristics of periods succeeded one another in regular sequence and were causally linked (Lamprecht 1900: 14, 16 ff., 25 ff., 33 ff.).

A colleague of Lamprecht's at Berlin deliberately carried the fight into the ethnological arena, dealing with Tungus and Papuans, Chukchi and Australians (Breysig 1904; 1936:433 ff.). He not only believed in fixed sequences, but also preached a return to Bastian and to a universal parallelism.

This new dispensation manifestly ran counter to Windelband's and Rickert's philosophy, which found a valiant champion in Eduard Meyer, the dean of German historians of antiquity. In agreement with Rickert, Meyer declared that throughout his long experience he had never encountered an
historical law. History was indeed a science, but its distinctiveness as such lay precisely in dealing with unique phenomena. In devastating sentences Meyer exposed Lamprecht’s reliance on empty catchwords, and exploded Breyssig’s “laws” as so much pretentious drivel. Positively, he defined history as the science which determined past facts, selecting from their infinite number those which had proved effective, wirksam (Meyer 1910:3–67). The issue seems perennial within the guild, as indicated by an eminent Dutch scholar’s treatment of it a generation later (Huizinga 1943:24 ff., 40, 42, 46, 52).

Directly or indirectly, the idiographic conception of history affected incipient ethnologists. Thus, in 1909 a recent Ph.D. deprecated Schurtz’s and Webster’s “belief in a law of social evolution” as “unhistorical.” Each tribal series of the age-societies he was studying must be investigated as “a unique historical product” (Lowie 1909:75, 98).

Of course, neither Columbia nor America had a monopoly of such points of view. When Wilson D. Wallis returned to the United States from his Oxonian interlude, he made it clear that R. R. Marett had also turned from unilinear evolutionism and was preaching the need for regional specialization (Wallis 1912:178 et seq.).

The singularity of past events was not the only lesson to be learned from history. Evolutionists were mostly continuators of the tradition of French encyclopedism. The votaries of éclaircissement had gauged past epochs by the norms of Western Europe in the 18th century: earlier periods ranked higher or lower as they approached the assessors’ own age, so that medieval times, in particular, received a very low grade indeed.

The investigators of culture in the second half of the last century had only in part emancipated themselves from such complacency. Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) was constantly chagrined and shocked by the “disgusting” Hottentot, the “miserable” Australian, the “cruel” savages “almost entirely wanting in moral feeling” (Avebury 1872:430, 437, 448, 509, 511, 536, 576; 1911:414). Indeed, the evolutionists of the period by no means spared those Western civilizations which happened to deviate from their own. L. H. Morgan’s diaries while traveling in Europe illuminatingly exhibit this parochialism. The Italians, he averred, were “degraded beyond all other peoples called civilized,” the South Italians were “utterly worthless.” On the other hand, the United States ranked as “the favored and the blessed land. Our institutions are unrivaled and our people the most advanced in intelligence” (White ed. 1937:285, 290, 303, 311, 315, 327).

Yet as early as 1774 Herder had proclaimed in unmistakable terms that every people and each period in its past should be judged not by extraneous norms, but in accordance with local and temporal circumstances. The ancient Egyptian was not to be compared with the Hellene or with the eighteenth century philosophe. In short, Herder championed what we now call “cultural relativism,” and thereby he deeply influenced Western historiography (Herder 1935:50 et seq.).
James Harvey Robinson, who fifty years ago was lecturing to large audiences at Columbia on the history of the West European intellectual class, was in his general outlook very far to the left of center, but historical-mindedness was one of his cardinal principles and nothing could be more sympathetic than his account of St. Francis of Assisi. Incidentally, it was Robinson's lectures that fired Radin with the idea of studying the role and the attitude of the intellectual class among primitive peoples (Radin 1927:XII).

Herder was referred to in my first seminar and figures here and there in our teacher's writings. Whether Boas derived relevant principles from the German classic directly or indirectly, I do not know, but he unremittingly preached the necessity of seeing the native from within. As for moral judgments of aboriginal custom, we soon learnt to regard them as a display of anachronistic naïveté.

* * *

History presented ethnologists with more technical suggestions. Paul Radin had majored in history under Robinson before turning to anthropology for his life work. It is probably no accident that, uncongenial as Radin found Boas, he became his most scrupulous follower in the collection of raw documentary material (Robinson 1912; Radin 1933).

VI

Psychological science is still unable to answer some questions which an anthropologist would like to have illuminated for him. But between, say, 1900 and 1915 psychology had clarified several important problems—the relative inborn endowment of the races, the question of individual variability, the mental processes of primitive as compared with civilized man. On some of these questions, to be sure, aid came from outside the circle of professional psychologists.

As early as 1858 Theodor Waitz had judiciously warned against underestimating the innate capacity of unlettered races, but it remained to probe the matter with the help of up-to-date techniques. In 1898 trained psychologists for the first time "investigated by means of adequate laboratory equipment a people in a low stage of culture under their ordinary conditions of life" (Haddon n.d.: 62). The statement refers to W. H. R. Rivers' and his associates' studies among the Torres Straits Islanders, which he summarized some years later (Rivers 1901); the findings were reported on in one of James McKeen Cattell's seminars. At the St. Louis Fair (1904) Cattell's associate, Robert S. Woodworth (1910: 171-186), investigated various ethnic groups and arrived at results comparable to those of the British researchers. Contrary to certain interpretations, these two independent investigations did not demonstrate identity of racial endowment, but they failed to discover radical differences and did not exclude environmental explanations of such differences as turned up. In other words, pending subsequent correction of these results, the
ethnologist felt warranted in ignoring hypothetical differences; and with assurance he could reject the gospel of Gobineau and his followers.

It was otherwise with innate individual variability, a phenomenon forcibly brought home by Francis Galton, whose *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (1883), according to Wm. James, marked a new era in the history of psychology. The book gave me one of the lamentably few thrills experienced in the course of much professional reading. The environment was indeed favorable to an appreciation of Galton. Cattell, who had worked with him in London, regarded him and James as the two most remarkable men he had known. Boas, I think, had at least met Galton and held him in high esteem. The application of Galton’s principle to our field was inevitable. With it collapsed the dogma that aborigines were wholly submerged in their social setting; at the same time new lines of observation obtruded themselves. Ethnographers consciously noted the role of leaders, skeptics, and other deviants; they distinguished between esoteric and exoteric rituals and myths; they made it their business to record several versions of the same tale, to take heed of the individual craftsman’s attitude toward his art. The entire problem of the individual’s relation to his society loomed as one of major consequence—for English-trained Wallis no less than for the Columbia group (Wallis 1915:647 et seq.).

This new orientation corrected the sociological aversion to dealing with everything biographical and individual, as defined in Durkheim’s Preface to his first *Année* (1898:VI). It also ran counter to Wundt’s notion that on the primitive level the individual was negligible, *Völkerpsychologie* terminating precisely at the point where “history” began with individuals influencing further developments (Haeberlin 1916:279).

However, American anthropology, far from spurning the lessons of sociology, incorporated them into its stock of ideas. The individual mind certainly was not a blank tablet, as was so commonly assumed in plausible hypotheses of cultural origins. If Japanese carpenters use planes in one way and Western carpenters in another; if different Crow Indians repeatedly experience the same kind of visions while Ojibwa regularly see different things on their fasts, such psychological phenomena can be neither typical of the human species as a whole nor of single individuals, but of cultures. However important may be the individual’s psyche, his psychological manifestations are at least co-determined by social factors.

How far back in European thought this realization can be traced, I do not know, but it is already crystal clear in Marx’s and Engels’ (1888) critique of Ludwig Feuerbach. That philosopher had reduced “the essence of religion to human nature. But human nature (Wesen) is not an abstract something inherent in the single individual. As a reality it is the ensemble of social relationships.” The religious sentiment, the Socialist thinkers contended, is a social product; the individual analyzed by Feuerbach belonged to a definite social form (Engels 1946:55 f.).

From another starting-point Moritz Lazarus and Heymann Steinthal
postulated a folk-soul, a notion already adumbrated by Herder, and developed it in the Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft (1859). That journal, too, figured in a seminar I attended; and it is interesting to learn that Adolf Bastian, Boas' senior at the Berlin Museum, had been personally inspired by Lazarus (Schmidt and Koppers 1924:28). The notion of the folk-soul was further elaborated by Wundt, who recognized psychic manifestations "not to be explained solely by the characteristics of individual consciousness because they presuppose the interaction of many" (Wundt 1913:3).

If the individual's mental life was largely influenced by his society, this fact by itself implied that his thinking could be only in moderate degree rational. With or without a sociological orientation, a variety of authors kept harping on human irrationality. Gabriel Tarde's Les lois de l'imitation (1890) brought home to Boas the force of unconscious imitation and prestige suggestion (Boas 1940 [1896]:382). An economic geographer, Eduard Hahn, showed convincingly that sundry features of economic life could not possibly have originated in logical ratiocination (Hahn 1896, 1909, 1919). His main points were absorbed by Boas and Laufer, who passed them on to the younger generation. Laufer, independently of Hahn, strongly felt that the course of history was nonrational, and hence resistant to any logical scheme: "The unexpected, the unforeseen has always happened, and this is what cannot be supplied or supplemented by the logic of our rational mind" (Laufer 1914: 261).

Lévy-Bruhl (1910) went so far as to ascribe to primitive, as contrasted with civilized, man a prelogical mentality. The distinction was generally rejected, finally by its author himself, but the argument did convincingly support other evidence against picturing primitive man as formally solving his problems. Again, Wundt's psychology, even apart from his Völkerpsychologie, was definitely anti-intellectualistic. Finally may be mentioned the growing conviction among students of religion that ceremonial tended to precede the myth sanctioning it; in other words, behavior preceded thought.

The general import of all these views was to modify to a considerable degree the outline of religious development so impressively elaborated by Tylor. The great British anthropologist had represented early man as excogitating a veritable system of beliefs in answering the problems of human existence. Later scholars regarded relevant ideas as of unconscious growth, logical interpretation setting in only secondarily (Boas 1940:596). Marett presented the case in almost identical terms: The "fairly conscious inferences" ascribed to primitive man by Tylor must have been "preceded by an unconscious attitude of spontaneous behavior" (Wallis 1919:292).

Wundt's name has turned up several times in my discussion, and in view of his having devoted eleven volumes to Völkerpsychologie he can hardly be ignored. He was demonstrably read to some extent by Boas, Kroeber, Goldenweiser, Reichard, Haeberlin, and Lowie; from a conversation with Sapir I recall that he had at least read at Wundt, but was repelled by his diffuseness. Goldenweiser, on the other hand, on whom anything voluminously systematic cast a spell, put a very high value on Wundt's contribution to social science.
and dedicated a book to him (Goldenweiser 1933:189–198). He is obliged to admit Wundt’s relapses into a superannuated evolutionism, but lavishes praise on his nonintellectualistic approach to the origin of early inventions. However, a scholar interested in culture history could have derived the same insights more naturally from Hahn and Laufer.

Nevertheless, I should not like to minimize Wundt’s influence on ethnology, but think that his general psychological position proved more fruitful than his specific treatment of cultural data. Haeberlin was a student of Wundt’s in Leipzig and has left us an incisive, though not unappreciative, critique of his former teacher’s principles (Haeberlin 1916b:279–302). Although Haeberlin also attended Lamprecht’s lectures and may have been stimulated by one aspect of the historian’s thinking, I believe that the psychologist’s influence was deeper. When Haeberlin formulated the concept of configuration, though not using the word (1916a:1–55), he was probably extending his master’s concept of “the creative synthesis” of psychic action with its corollary of the totality transcending the sum of its elements (Wundt 1911:1–113; 1920:152–162).

VII

The period here dealt with was one of intellectual ferment far transcending the range of particular disciplines. The second, enlarged edition of Karl Pearson’s *The Grammar of Science* and the second, enlarged edition of Ernst Mach’s *Die Analyse der Empfindungen* appeared in 1900; H. Poincaré’s *La science et l’hypothèse* in 1903; Wilhelm Ostwald’s *Vorlesungen über Naturphilosophie* in 1902. Crystallizing his earlier thoughts, Wm. James published *Pragmatism* in 1907, *A Pluralistic Universe* in 1909. John Dewey’s instrumentalism was correctly felt to represent a related point of view. As Pearson remarked at the time, “many minds are being stirred to reconsider the fundamental concepts of science.”

Students in eastern universities were not divorced from these currents. Dewey joined the Columbia faculty in 1904 and once, though much later, offered a joint seminar with Boas on comparative ethics. James and Ostwald lectured at Columbia in my day, and I recall an intimate conversation with Ostwald after he had addressed a seminar of Cattell’s. Several of us, including Paul Radin, Goldenweiser, and myself, founded an informal “Pearson Circle” for the discussion of *The Grammar of Science* and continued our meetings long after we had left the University. The group naturally included nonanthropologists, among them the philosopher Morris R. Cohen, to whom S. F. Nadel has acknowledged his indebtedness.

What has all this to do with anthropology? Simply this: the anthropology of fifty years ago was not the concoction of “isolationists” (as they have been branded by some younger colleagues). We were not wholly concerned with finding out whether the Plains Indians put up tipis on a foundation of three or of four poles. In philosophical terms, the ethnologists of that era had passed from a naïvely metaphysical to an epistemological stage and in this were reflecting the spirit of the times.
In 1909 I qualified for the position of statistician and editor of the New York State Commission in Lunacy. During the preceding months I had contacts with Dr. Adolf Meyer, the psychiatrist, who had not yet accepted a chair at Johns Hopkins. What impressed me in those days was that in a sense Meyer, Boas, and Mach were doing much the same thing. They were severally scrutinizing such blanket terms as "schizophrenia," "totemism," "matter" and trying to discover their factual basis. When I grappled with Schurtz's notion of "age-society" and later with L. H. Morgan's of "classificatory terms of relationship," I more or less consciously applied the principles of these scientific thinkers. We had learned to view catchwords with suspicion.

In the present article I have not tried to write a history of intellectual movements; I have merely drawn attention to those currents of thought which certainly or at least probably bore on the history of American anthropology.

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Micro-evolution in a Human Population: A Study of Social Endogamy and Blood Type Distributions Among the Western Apache

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FOREWORD

This paper has a two-fold objective: 1) to apply modern population genetics to human breeding groups, and 2) to demonstrate certain aspects of the micro-evolutionary process in these groups. Population genetics, applied to man, must take into consideration a form of environment not encountered with other organisms; namely, culture. The rules of marriage and kinship structure play significant roles in the patterning of mate selection, the size and stability of breeding groups, and the degree of intra and intergroup mobility.

After a brief introduction to the pertinent work already done in this area of research, we describe the population to be studied in terms of family, clan, phratry, and band organization. We then analyze some current and historic marriage records to determine if correlations exist between geographic origin of spouses and band affiliations. It is shown that the bands are endogamous but that random mating occurs within the band. Band interbreeding is apparently too infrequent to constitute a significant source of inflowing genes. The size of the bands within historic times has been too great for genetic drift to have operated as an effective evolutionary agent.

Differences between bands in frequencies of the genes for the ABO and Rh antigens are demonstrated to exist and to have remained relatively constant in the past three generations. It is contended that these differences arose in prehistoric times when the band sizes were sufficiently small to allow the effective operation of genetic drift. Relative isolation and increased size in historic times tended to fix the gene frequencies as we find them today. Certain changes in gene frequencies that are observed might best be explained as the result of natural selective forces.

The gene frequencies of these bands are then compared with those of populations known to be culturally and linguistically related as well as with those of nonrelated populations. No consistent pattern of resemblance is found: some related groups show similar gene frequencies, others show quite different frequencies. The same is true for nonrelated groups. The implication is that nonselective evolutionary factors such as genetic drift played the major role in the differentiation of bands with respect to the gene frequencies of the ABO and Rh types.

Certain side issues emerge from this study. One is the demonstration of the need for combining the interests and techniques of both physical and social anthropology. A second is an indication of the type of demographic and quantitative marriage data needed for research in population genetics and in micro-
evolutionary studies of human groups. Finally, we emphasize that past tendencies to extrapolate genetic characteristics of whole populations from non-random samples lead to serious errors.

The primary conclusions of our study may be open to debate, but their implications for methodology seem of unquestionable importance.

INTRODUCTION

The relatively new science of population genetics is opening up a whole new era for co-operative research between cultural and physical anthropologists. Using the techniques of serological and mathematical genetics, the physical anthropologist is now on the verge of learning new facts about evolution (Neel and Schull 1954:231). His attention may now be directed with profit toward the minutest steps of phyletic development—"micro-evolution" (Simpson 1944:97ff)—consisting generally of very slight changes in gene frequencies that occur generation by generation in populations of various sizes. The cumulative effects of such changes over thousands and millions of years are often observed and classified by anthropologists and paleontologists. However, the genetic mechanisms and environmental agencies that bring them about operate at the level of the specific population, defined in terms of its effective size, spatial distribution, and composition at a particular moment of time. Human populations of varying sizes, in all areas of the world and of different periods of time, have always been the special province of the anthropologist.

The kinds of information about these populations which are vital for the application of the techniques of population genetics fall entirely within the traditional field of cultural anthropology. However, new demands are now placed upon the usual field procedures, since the quantification of data is a prerequisite. The cultural anthropologist must not only describe, he must count. This new situation has been recognized as a general problem in cultural anthropology, although examples of the quantification of cultural data are rare in ethnographic reports (Lewis 1953:461). There has been too little work such as Lewis' study (1951:77-78) of residence and of barrio intermarriage in Tepoztlan, and Tindale's analysis (1953:169-190) of intertribal marriage among the Australian aborigines. The latter points out that physical anthropologists need such information to define the degree of intergroup contact which may have an effect on gene exchange. Birdsell's use of Australian demographic data is an auspicious step in the right direction (Birdsell 1950; Birdsell and Boyd 1940). Spuhler and Kluckhohn (1953) have brought together genetic and marriage data on the Ramah Navaho with fruitful results. A recent critical study of six different endogamous groups in Bombay emphasizes the necessity of accurate and quantified social data (Sanghvi and Khanolkar 1949).

We have indicated the accretions to our knowledge of micro-evolutionary processes that might result from the discriminating application of mathematical techniques to the analysis of combined social and serological (or other genetical) data on populations. It is just as important to point out what the
results will be when the social and cultural processes within a population are not taken into consideration. Tabulations of tribes, nations, ethnic groups, and so on, with their reported blood group frequency distributions, have in the last two decades pervaded anthropological literature (Boyd 1939, 1950; Wyman and Boyd 1935; Race and Sanger 1950; Landsteiner and Levine 1929; Snyder 1926; Wiener 1943). Examination of the original sources from which these tabulations were derived reveals two interesting facts of consequence for our discussion. First, in the great majority of instances the investigator was not an anthropologist—a fact not to be wondered at since not until recently were anthropologists generally acquainted with the blood grouping technique or the usefulness of the derived data. Second, the “population” sampled was in most cases never determined, nor was the sample representative of the group designated as having been sampled. With few exceptions (Laughlin 1950; Spuhler and Kluckhohn 1953; Birdsell 1950; Sanghvi and Khanolkar 1949) there are no references to breeding populations nor any attempts to determine the nature of the marriage pattern, the degree of intermixture, or the randomness of endogamous unions. The results of this neglect are twofold: first, the phenotypic and genotypic frequencies are not necessarily representative of the designated population; and second, the so-called population (or nation or tribe, etc.) is not necessarily a biological breeding unit, since only a careful study of social institutions, particularly such social groups as the clan, the local community, and the band, can possibly determine the true breeding population. Anthropological studies of customary usages in selection of marriage partners and observance of incest tabus are ordinarily statements of normative behavior. To be amenable to genetic analysis, this information must be quantified to indicate the frequency with which the norms are observed, and with which the alternatives and violations occur. If this is so, then it must follow that racial classifications (Boyd 1950), inferences as to the amounts of intermixture (Boyd 1939; Hanna, Dahlberg, and Strandkov 1953), the role of migrations (Wyman and Boyd 1935; Boyd 1950; Candela 1942), and the varying rates of mutations (Gates 1936), can only be of a tenuous nature.

DATA AND METHODS

The subject of this report is the population of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in east-central Arizona, numbering over 3,500 persons. The biological units of study will be the bands. Temporal scope will embrace the period from 1800 to 1954, with a few exceptions.

The data upon which this paper is based were gathered during the summer of 1954 on the Ft. Apache Reservation in Arizona. The survey was conducted to determine the incidence of congenital hip dysplasias among the Western Apache.

Blood samples were taken by finger puncture on 723 Apaches. Sera for determining A-B-O, Rh, and M-N blood types were available. For the Rh series, five sera (anti-C, anti-D, anti-E, anti-c and anti-e) were on hand in sufficient quantities to type 381 individuals. The direct slide method was used in the
field for anti-A, anti-B, anti-c, and anti-D sera. The saline tube method was utilized for the other sera. Because of technical difficulties in the field, the M-N results were not utilized.

Marriage data were gathered from Lutheran church records and from genealogies obtained by interviewing the families who were waiting for routine clinic examinations. The genealogies thus gathered usually covered two, three, or four living generations. Special care was taken in recording the original place of residence of each spouse, since sometimes one of the spouses (usually the male) had moved in from another community. All genealogies and places of residence before marriage were later cross-checked with a well-educated Apache informant, who had detailed written records on many of the families in the White Mountain group. Any questionable data, especially as to place of residence, was discarded. A total of 127 marriages were collected by the genealogi-
cal method. An additional 132 marriages were obtained from the Lutheran church records to supplement the genealogical sample. These church records were of particular value since the original residence of each spouse was recorded.

WESTERN APACHE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Goodwin (1942) produced a detailed study of the social organization of the Western Apache. A summary of his descriptions of the band, family, clan, and phratry are essential for an understanding of some of the factors influencing the marriage pattern and movements of people.

The date of arrival of the Southern Athabaskan bands in the Southwest is still a controversial problem (Schroeder 1954:597). The date has been placed anywhere from about 1350–1400 A.D. (Gladwin 1937:97, Goodwin ibid.: 38) to 1600 A.D. at the latest (McGregor 1941:17; Worcester 1941:308–312). Although the band was not a complete social or political unit it did have territorial limitations and cultural and linguistic similarities. The boundary of each band was well known, and members ranged over their area in hunting and gathering activities. An individual born in a particular band always considered it as his home territory regardless of where he later resided. Although marriage inside the band was not mandatory, band endogamy seems to have been the prevailing pattern, as will be shown later.

The blood samples in the present study were taken from communities in two of the five original subdivisions of the Western Apache, Cibecue, and the White Mountain Apache. The White Mountain Apache, who had the most distinct bands, were divided into an Eastern band and a Western band. The present-day communities of Whiteriver, North Fork, East Fork, and Seven Mile are within the traditional Eastern band boundaries; Canyon Day and Cedar Creek are within the Western band. Except for Whiteriver, all of these modern communities are composed of Apaches of the same local farming groups who lived at these places in prereservation times (Goodwin 1942:61). Although the Cibecue area was originally subdivided into three bands, these bands were not as clear-cut as the two for the White Mountain Apache. Unless they had married into the community as outsiders, all of the Cibecue Apache examined in the present sample were considered as part of the original Cibecue band. Therefore, all of the communities now existing on the Ft. Apache Reservation can be placed in one of three original bands—Eastern, Western, or Cibecue. The adjoining map indicates the original band boundaries for the White Mountain Apache and the larger group boundary for Cibecue. The modern Apache communities have been placed within the appropriate areas.

In summary, the Western Apache social organization was characterized by band endogamy, clan and phratry exogamy, matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent, and apparent absence of family inbreeding.

MARRIAGE STATISTICS

Goodwin (1942:691–98) has recorded a series of marriages based on genealogies and community surveys which cover a time period from 1800 to 1936. His data cover the Eastern and Western bands. Since our sample of marriages
is drawn from the same area, comparisons can be made between the two sets of data.

Our sample of 227 marriages for Eastern and Western bands (plus a small sample of 32 marriages from Cibecue) essentially begins where Goodwin's sample ends. The Lutheran records extend from 1934 to 1954. With few exceptions, the marriages taken from our genealogies date since 1930. Thus there's little temporal overlap between the two sets of data. Since Goodwin's material is taken from records going back to 1800, a one hundred and fifty year record of the marriage pattern for the White Mountain Apache is available.

Table I shows the number and provenience of married people living within each band. For example, in the Eastern band, out of a total of 188 married adults listed by Goodwin, 150 of the mates remained in the Eastern band after marriage and 38 new individuals from the Western band, Cibecue, and other bands came to live with their Eastern band spouses. Because of the matrilocal residence rule, the mates who come from outside the band are usually males.

**Table 1. Number and Provenience of Married Individuals for the Eastern, Western, and Cibecue Bands**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Eastern Band Mates</th>
<th>Number of Mates Moving into Eastern Band after Marriage</th>
<th>Total Number of Mates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin (1800–1936)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>23, 7, 8</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraus &amp; White (1936–1954)</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>17, 28, 5</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Western Band**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Western Band Mates</th>
<th>Number of Mates Moving into Western Band after Marriage</th>
<th>Total Number of Mates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin (1800–1936)</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>31, 17, 9</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraus &amp; White (1936–1954)</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>11, 8, 2</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cibecue Band**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Number of Cibecue Band Mates</th>
<th>Number of Mates Moving into Cibecue Band after Marriage</th>
<th>Total Number of Mates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kraus &amp; White (1936–1954)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2, 3, 2</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of married individuals were tabulated rather than the number of marriage contracts, so that it would be easier to show the percentage of outsiders coming to live in a particular band. The following table lists for the three bands the numbers and percentages of outsiders among the total number of married individuals, and compares the Goodwin data and the Kraus and White data in terms of $\chi^2$ and P values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Goodwin (1800–1936)</th>
<th>Kraus &amp; White (1930–1954)</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>38/188</td>
<td>50/266</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>57/450</td>
<td>21/188</td>
<td>.218</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>No Data</td>
<td>7/64</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that no significant change has occurred since 1800 in the proportions of outsiders coming to live in the Eastern or Western band after marriage. However, when the place of residence of outsiders marrying into the Eastern band is more closely examined, an inversion of proportions is revealed between Goodwin’s figures and those of the authors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Cibecue</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001–.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraus &amp; White</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our original marriage tabulations for each community in the Eastern band area were re-examined, and it was discovered that of the 28 outsiders from Cibecue, 19 had married and settled in the North Fork area. This is consistent with the fact that some time between 1845 and 1855 one of the clans in the Cibecue area was forced to resettle on the North Fork in the Eastern band of the White Mountain Apache (Goodwin 1942:18–20). When “tag bands” were organized by the government for administrative purposes, “Tag Band A” was made up of these people. By 1893 about one-third of them had intermarried with the Eastern band people, and by 1934 the number had risen to one-half (Goodwin 1942:582–587). Our figures would seem to reflect this pattern of intermarriage between Cibecue and the Eastern band at North Fork. Why do Goodwin’s marriage statistics in Table 1 fail to reveal a greater proportion of outsiders from Cibecue marrying into the Eastern band? His statistics are inconsistent with the historical facts he presents about the relocation of the Cibecue clan at North Fork. If Goodwin’s original tabulations are examined, his sample of Eastern band marriages is less than half that recorded for the Western band. Goodwin made extensive community surveys at Canyon Day and Cedar Creek which provided him with a large number of marriages for the Western band (1942:691). His smaller group of 94 marriages (total of 188 mates) for the Eastern band may be biased to the extent that it did not adequately sample the North Fork area for possible intermarriage with Cibecue. It does not seem likely that Goodwin would have found only 7 marriages...
between the Eastern band and Cibecue if he had conducted a community survey at North Fork. Therefore, Goodwin's marriage statistics appear to be based on genealogies for the Eastern band and on community surveys for the Western band.

The band residence of outsiders marrying into the Western band compared for the Goodwin data and the White and Kraus data in terms of $\chi^2$ and $P$ values is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Cibecue</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>$P$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.80-.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kraus &amp; White</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apparently there has been no significant change in the provenience of outside marriage partners for the Western band since 1800.

The outside marriages listed as “other” for Goodwin (Table 1) have been mostly with other Western Apache such as the San Carlos and Southern Tonto. The sample of marriages since 1930 taken by the authors did not reveal any marriages contracted with non-Western Apache. Thus, for this sample, “other” refers to marriages between the given band and San Carlos people.

THE SEROLOGICAL DATA

A total of 723 Apache individuals were examined serologically. Of these, 700 could be assigned with certainty to their proper bands. Blood grouping was done on all 700, but on only 381 could typing with the five Rh sera be carried out. There were no B's or AB's found. Four individuals gave negative reactions to anti-D sera, but three of these were members of one family in which the Rh negative mother was a white woman.

The numbers and frequencies of the blood group phenotypes together with the estimated gene frequencies for the three Western Apache bands, are presented in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Blood Group A</th>
<th>Blood Group O</th>
<th>Gene Frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.284</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>.282</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>.393</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phenotypic distribution yields a $\chi^2$ of 45.3 with a $P$ value of less than .001, indicating real band differences within the reservation population. Intercouple comparisons of the bands provide the following $\chi^2$ and $P$ values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pair</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>$P$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue x Eastern</td>
<td>.00084</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.95-.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue x Western</td>
<td>9.54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern x Western</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001-.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen from these values that there is no difference between the Cibecue and Eastern bands in blood group distribution, but that each of these differs significantly from the Western band, at the 1 percent level.

Using Wahlund’s formulae (Li 1955:297–298)

\[
f = \frac{\Sigma r_i}{K} \text{ and } \sigma_r^2 = \frac{\Sigma r_i^2}{K} - f^2
\]

where \(f\) is the frequency of the allele \(I^0\) in the total reservation population, \(r_i\) is the frequency of \(I^0\) in the \(i^{th}\) subgroup (in this case, band), and \(K\) is the number of bands, we can estimate the proportions of zygotes in the total reservation population, assuming the three bands are of equal size, according to the following formulae:

- AA: \(p^2 + \sigma_r^2\)
- AO: \(2pf - 2\sigma_r^2\)
- OO: \(f^2 + \sigma_r^2\)

A second method of arriving at zygotic proportions for the entire population is simply to treat the three subgroups as if they were discrete samples drawn from the same population, thus,

\[
r = \frac{\Sigma r_i}{K}
\]

and the zygotic proportions would be \(p^3, 2pf, f^3\).

A third way, and by far the most commonly employed in the past, might be termed the nonanthropological method, wherein the sample is drawn without reference to subgroups of any kind and the gene frequency is \(r = \sqrt{O}\) and the zygotic proportions are simply \(p^3, 2pr, r^3\).

The fourth method is a modification of Wahlund’s formula whereby compensation is made for the contributions of subgroups of unequal size to the zygotic proportions of the total population. Thus,

\[
r = \Sigma w_i r_i \text{ and } \sigma_r^2 = \Sigma w_i r_i^2 - f^2
\]

The proportion of OO zygotes in the total population is then

\[
\Sigma w_i r_i^2 = f^2 + \sigma_r^2, \text{ etc.}
\]

The Apache bands are not of equal size. The band population figures for 1893 and 1934 (Goodwin 1942:585, 587) and their proportions are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>1893</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1954 (estimated)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>.374</td>
<td>1134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>.232</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>.394</td>
<td>1039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2262</td>
<td>2869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The estimated sizes of the bands for 1954 are based upon a total population figure of 3540 (Kraus 1954:28-33) and proportions which are indicated by the trends over the past 60 years. It is thus possible to approximate the respective weights for substitution in the modified Wahlund formula.

The results derived from the four methods of computing gene frequencies and zygotic proportions for the total reservation population are presented in Table 3.

**Table 3. Estimations of Gene Frequencies and Zygotic Proportions for the Total Reservation Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Gene Frequencies</th>
<th>Zygotic Proportions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonanthropological</td>
<td>.183</td>
<td>.817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 samples from 1 pop.</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>.824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 subgroups of equal size</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>.824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 subgroups, unequal size, weighted</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.830</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Li has pointed out, the effect of subgroups, acting as isolates, on the total population is to increase the proportion of homozygotes while decreasing that of heterozygotes (Li 1955:298). This is clearly seen in Table 2, where the frequency of the allele I^0 is estimated at a slightly higher figure by weighting the data for subgroups than by the nonanthropological method wherein all the data are lumped. The result, of course, is to decrease the proportion of dominant or A phenotypes.

Tables 4 and 5 present the Rh type proportions and gene frequencies, respectively, for the three bands.

A \( \chi^2 \) test of the Rh type distributions of the three bands gives a P value of between .02 and .01, indicating that the three bands can not be considered as sharing the same distribution. An interband series of comparisons produces the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band Pair</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East x West</td>
<td>12.27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Equal to .20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East x Cibecue</td>
<td>13.82</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.10-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West x Cibecue</td>
<td>16.16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.02-.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results are therefore clearly in accord with those obtained by comparing the blood group distributions of the band pairs; that is, the Cibecue band is closer to the East band and significantly different from the West band. The difference between East and West bands, however, is not significant for the Rh type distributions.

There were no significant sex differences in either the A-B-O or Rh phenotype distributions within any of the three bands, nor within the entire sample as a whole.

The distribution of the A and O types among the three bands according to 10-year age groups was computed (Table 6) to determine if significant shifts in
TABLE 4. NUMBER AND FREQUENCY OF Rh TYPES DISTINGUISHED BY FIVE SERA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rh Type (Wiener)</th>
<th>(Fisher)</th>
<th>East (231)</th>
<th>West (114)</th>
<th>Cibecue (36)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁</td>
<td>CDe/CDe</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.0692</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₂</td>
<td>cDE/cDE</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.0173</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₃</td>
<td>CDE/CDE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.0086</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁Rh₂</td>
<td>CDe/cDE*</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>.5627</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁Rh₃</td>
<td>CDE/CDE</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>.2034</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₂Rh₃</td>
<td>cDE/CDE</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.0692</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁Rh₃</td>
<td>CDe/cDe</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.0303</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₂Rh₃</td>
<td>cDE/cDe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.0259</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh/rh&quot;</td>
<td>Cde/cdE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.0086</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh/rh&quot;</td>
<td>CDe/cDe†</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0043</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals | 231 | 114 | 36

* The genotypes CDe/cDE and CDE/cDe cannot be distinguished, but the latter would be very rare judging from the absence of Rh homoygotes in the sample.
† Neither genotype can be distinguished, but the genotype Cde/cdE is probably indicated, since the gene r occurs positively only in one individual—and this one is a white woman married to an Apache.

phenotypic proportions take place and if such shifts show any consistent trends. It is noteworthy that there were neither significant shifts nor rectilinear trends demonstrated for any band in the A,B,O system. The results, in terms of $\chi^2$, are presented in Table 7.

This can be interpreted as indicating that the relative frequencies of the phenotypes for the A,B,O group remained unchanged from decade to decade among the Cibecue, Eastern, and Western Apache bands. Selecting any age-group, whether by ten- twenty- or thirty-year interval, for comparison of interband A,B,O phenotypic proportions, produces almost exactly the same result obtained when the entire sample from each band was used for interband com-

TABLE 5. THE OBSERVED Rh GENE FREQUENCIES IN THE THREE BANDS, AS DETERMINED BY ACTUAL GENE COUNT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gene</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Cibecue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R₁</td>
<td>.4675</td>
<td>.4649</td>
<td>.4027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R₂</td>
<td>.3463</td>
<td>.3815</td>
<td>.4027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R₃</td>
<td>.1450</td>
<td>.1315</td>
<td>.1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R₀</td>
<td>.0281</td>
<td>.0131</td>
<td>.0694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r, r', r&quot;</td>
<td>.0129</td>
<td>.0087</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Since the genes r, r' and r" are extremely rare, the simplified maximum likelihood method (with modifications) for estimating gene frequencies from data resulting from tests with five Rh sera (Boyd 1954) may be replaced by the direct gene count.
Table 6. Distribution of A-O Blood Groups by 10-Year Age Groups within Each Band

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Cibecue</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.245</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.238</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.318</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.266</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.666</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Comparison of Phenotypic Distributions by 10-Year Age Groups for Each Band

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>x²</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>7.23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.05–.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.60–.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>10.25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.20–.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the Western band differs significantly from both Cibecue and Eastern bands.

Table 8 presents the Rh type distributions within each band by sex and by 20-year age groups.

Table 8. Distribution of Rh Types by Sex and 20-Year Age Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rh Type</th>
<th>East Band</th>
<th>West Band</th>
<th>Cibecue Band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M F M F</td>
<td>M F M F</td>
<td>M F M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>2 1 1 0</td>
<td>1 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₂</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>1 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₃</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁Rh₂</td>
<td>25 49</td>
<td>13 23 7 13</td>
<td>15 27 4 16 10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁Rh₃</td>
<td>20 15</td>
<td>0 10 1 1</td>
<td>8 7 1 2 2 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₂Rh₃</td>
<td>6 7</td>
<td>0 3 0 0</td>
<td>2 1 1 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₁Rh₂Rh₃</td>
<td>3 2</td>
<td>1 1 0 0</td>
<td>0 1 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh₂Rh₁Rh₃</td>
<td>4 1</td>
<td>0 1 0 0</td>
<td>0 1 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh’rh”</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>1 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh’rh</td>
<td>1 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69 84</td>
<td>16 39 9 14</td>
<td>28 37 6 19 12 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The comparisons of these distributions by sex yields the following nonsignificant results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.30-.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>7.82</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.30-.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.30-.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combining the figures for the two sexes, a comparison of the differences between the three age groups within any one band in Rh distribution results in the following values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Age-Group Pairs</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>B-19/20-39/40-x</td>
<td>11.32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.20-.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B-19/40-x</td>
<td>12.57</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.10-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>B-19/20-39/40-x</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.70-.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B-19/40-40-x</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.80-.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>B-19/20-39/40-x</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.30-.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B-19/40-40-x</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.30-.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the zygotic proportions found in the group born within the past 19 years have not changed significantly from those characterizing the group born between 20 and 39 years ago. This is true for each band. Furthermore, whatever slight changes did occur were not following any trend that may have been indicated in the groups born 40 and more years ago. The comparison of the B-19 year and 40-x year groups indicates that such was the case for all three bands.

From the pedigree cards, 60 conjugal families were drawn which satisfied these four basic requirements: (1) the band affiliation was known, (2) the blood groups of both spouses and all the offspring were known, (3) there were no positive serological or other indications of illegitimacy of any offspring, and (4) there were no offspring over 21 years of age.

Phenotypically, three kinds of marriages can be described: A x O, A x A, and O x O. The frequencies of these marriages, if randomly made, are given by the following expressions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A x A</td>
<td>( p^2 (1+r)^2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A x O</td>
<td>( 2pr^2 (1+r) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O x O</td>
<td>( r^2 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Substituting the appropriate band gene frequencies, the expected numbers of different kinds of marriages can be calculated and compared with the observed numbers. These, together with the probable significance of their differences, are provided in Table 9.

The null hypothesis that random mating prevails within the three bands is thus not controverted by this simple test.

Again, given random mating, the frequency of the two types of offspring (A and O) of the three kinds of marriages will be in accordance with the follow-
TABLE 9. OBSERVED AND EXPECTED NUMBERS OF MARRIAGES IN THE THREE BANDS ACCORDING TO BLOOD GROUP, WITH APPLIED $\chi^2$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Number of Marriages</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Cibecue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A x A</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A x O</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O x O</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2$, D.F., P

$\chi^2$ | 0.23 | 1.10 | 0.02 |
D.F.    | 2    | 2    | 2    |
P       | .85-.90 | .50-.70 | .99 |

Substituting the respective gene frequencies for the three bands, the calculated expected numbers of dominant and recessive offspring of the three kinds of marriages are obtained. A comparison of observed and expected numbers of offspring is presented in Table 10.

The distribution of A and O phenotypes among the parents by band can be compared with the distribution of these two types among their offspring. The numbers are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cibecue</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>A 8 O 22</td>
<td>A 11 O 31</td>
<td>A 14 O 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offspring</td>
<td>5 40 24</td>
<td>65 16 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While percentagewise there appear to be large differences between parents and offspring, the $\chi^2$ values, applying Yates' correction factor, are quite small:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cibecue</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These comparisons indicate that no significant changes in blood group distribution have occurred in any of the three bands in the past two generations. The same results were produced by a comparison by 10-year age groups.

There were 21 conjugal families in the pedigree files for all of whose mem-
TABLE 10. OBSERVED AND EXPECTED NUMBERS OF OFFSPRING OF THE THREE KINDS OF MARRIAGES IN THE THREE BANDS, ACCORDING TO BLOOD GROUP, WITH APPLIED $x^2$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Cibecue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A x A</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A x O</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O x O</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$x^2$</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14.20</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.F.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$P$</td>
<td>.40-.50</td>
<td>.005-.01*</td>
<td>.40-.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A breakdown of the A x O marriages whereby sex of the A and O parents is taken into account reveals that for all three bands there are significantly higher numbers of O than A offspring of marriages in which the father is O. The authors can do no more than to suggest differential selective value.

TABLE 11. EXPECTED AND OBSERVED NUMBERS OF OFFSPRING FROM MATINGS OF DIFFERENT RH TYPES, WITH REFERENCE TO THE BLOOD FACTORS C AND E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>Expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC-Cc (7)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cc-Cc (12)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC-Cc (1)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cc-Cc (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ee-Ee (19)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee-Ee (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE-Ee (1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $x^2$ of observed vs. expected values=.696, Df=1, P=.30-.50.
† $x^2$ of observed vs. expected values=16.75, Df=2, P=X-.001.
‡ $x^2$ of observed vs. expected values=22.51, Df=2, P=X-.001.
lists separately the expected and observed numbers of offspring, with respect to the C and E antigen combinations, from matings of different types. A rather striking consequence of this comparison is the disparity between observed and expected numbers of offspring of heterozygous parents, both with respect to the C and the E antigen. In both cases there is no question as to the significance of the differences between observed and expected numbers of offspring of matings of heterozygotes. In the case of both C and E heterozygotic parents, the observed numbers of homozygotic offspring fall far below the expected, with a consequent significant relative increase in the number of heterozygotes. These results conform with those obtained by a comparison of the observed zygotic proportions of the three bands with the expected proportions that would occur with the establishment of equilibrium under random mating. In the case of the East band, for example, the observed and expected zygotic proportions are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zygote</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>Expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁺</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>.213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁻</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁰</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁺Rh⁺</td>
<td>.563</td>
<td>.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁺Rh⁻</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁺⁰</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁻⁰</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁺⁰⁺</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh⁻⁰⁺</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh⁺rh⁻⁺</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh⁺rh⁺⁺</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus in the present population of the East band, having gene frequencies as already computed, the frequency of heterozygotic Rh individuals is .904, while under a random mating system we would expect only a .643 frequency. That this significant discrepancy may be due to selection is suggested by the evidence of parents and offspring.

By the same method of computing expected zygotic proportions among offspring, it can be easily demonstrated that the three bands are in genetic equilibrium with respect to the I locus. This would suggest that the state of disequilibrium that is demonstrated for the Rh locus may be due to a selective advantage of heterozygotes and not to any unusual degree of interbreeding or nonrandom mating.

Finally, a comparison of Apache serologic distributions with those of certain other American Indian groups throws additional light on the question of the value of these distributions for studies of "racial" affinity. There are other tribes in North America who, like the Apache, lack the blood group gene I^p and hence have only two phenotypes. Some of these, like the Apache, are members of the Athapaskan linguistic family, others are not. Table 12 lists
These groups in order of their similarity to the Apache, and indicates the linguistic affiliation of each group.

Several points must be borne in mind on examination of this table. First, the frequencies are computed from data gathered without reference to breeding units. In many cases the samples are too small to represent the groups from which they purport to be drawn. It can be seen that groups belonging to the same linguistic family are not necessarily similar in blood group distribution, and that groups of different linguistic affiliation may be very similar in their blood group distributions. A collection of various "Navaho" blood group frequencies suggests that none of these samples is necessarily definitive for its purported population.
The question is either: Which frequencies represent the Navaho?—or: Does any one of these samples represent a Navaho breeding group? There is no evidence that any except the Mourant data are based on a definitive breeding group. Further confirmation of this point is to be found in a re-examination of the blood group proportions found in the three Apache bands as compared with an unweighted distribution for the entire sample. The latter is .668 for O phenotypes as compared with .61, .72, and .72 for the Western, Eastern and Cibecue bands respectively. The figure .668 simply does not describe the frequency of O phenotypes for any Apache population.

If we compare an unweighted average of Rh frequencies of the three Apache bands with distributions of other population groups, the position of the Apache, on the basis of similarity, seems to fall close to the other American Mongoloid populations (Table 13). In terms of gene frequencies the Apache may be compared with the “pure” Chippewa, the Ramah Navaho, and the Pima:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Gene Frequencies</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( R_1 )</td>
<td>( R_2 )</td>
<td>( R_s )</td>
<td>( r^{'} ) and other</td>
<td>( \sigma_{R_1} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache (700)</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.0133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa (161)</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.0258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pima (97)</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.0355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho (Mourant 1954:387) (97)</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.0355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 13. COMPARISON OF THE RH FREQUENCIES AMONG THE APACHE WITH SELECTED POPULATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Rh Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( R_h )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache (381)</td>
<td>Kraus and White, present study</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa (161)</td>
<td>Matson, Koch, Levine 1954</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pima (97)</td>
<td>Hanna et al. 1953</td>
<td>.34*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navaho (305)</td>
<td>Boyd 1949: 136</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Whites (7,317)</td>
<td>Unger et al., Cited in Glass and Li 1953:5</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Negroses (907)</td>
<td>Glass and Li 1953:4</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese (150)</td>
<td>Waller and Levine, Cited in Wiener 1946:214</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Calculated from Table 4 in Hanna et al. 1953:381.
In general, the Apache may be said to "fit" the rough pattern that emerges from these gene frequency distributions. They are distinguished among the four groups by their unusually high frequency of the gene $R_h$. Compared with the general world-wide distributions on the basis of phenotypes, the Apache, as well as the other Indian populations considered here, are distinctive for their high proportion of Rh$_h$Rh$_h$ types and their lack of genotypes consisting of rh, $\alpha'$, rh", and $R_h$ chromosomes. The biologic affinity of Apache and Navaho is attested by the similarity of the gene frequencies at the Rh locus.

**DISCUSSION**

A consideration of both the social and serological data that have been presented might best begin with an analysis of the three Western Apache bands as they are composed today. This will be followed by an attempt to explain the present situation in terms of what is known and what may be conjectured about the history and prehistory of the Apache.

The Eastern and Western White Mountain bands and the Cibecue band number respectively 1416, 885, and 1239 members. All three bands are endogamous to a relatively high degree. Among marriages contracted during the period 1930–1954, the percentages of marriage partners who were nonband members and came to live in the bands of their spouses were: for the East band, 18.7 percent; for the West band, 11.2 percent; and for the Cibecue band, 10.9 percent. The rates of gene inflow that these percentages help provide assume less significance when it is recalled that the great majority of individuals (usually men, because of the pattern of matrilocality) who enter one or the other band through marriage are members of one of the two other Western Apache bands. Of the 50 individuals who married into the Eastern band, 45 were members of the Western or Cibecue bands. Thus the effect of the gene inflow upon any one of the bands becomes a function of the differential gene frequency of the other two bands. Since the band differences in gene frequencies are not absolutely great, though significant statistically in most instances, and since the gene inflow is somewhat compensated by the gene outflow for any two pairs of bands, the effects of the small proportion of exogamous marriages may be judged relatively unimportant.

Within each of the three Apache bands, mating almost always takes place between distant relatives. The degree of relationship between spouses can be stated to fall within the range of 4th to 8th cousins (Goodwin 1942:206). This is corroborated by the genealogical charts thus far compiled by the authors. Since marriages between first or second cousins have not been discovered, it is possible to conclude that the equilibrium values are all nearly equal to those in a random-mating population. According to Li (1955:201), "... continued matings between relatives more remote than first cousins cause only an insignificant decrease in heterozygosis of the population and, therefore, can hardly be considered as inbreeding as far as the population composition is concerned." Hence we must take exception to any attempt to equate the terms endogamy, inbreeding, and nonrandom mating (Strandskov 1950:4–5), and to the statement that cousin matings "if followed, consistently, will result in complete
homozygosis within these lines, as is true for self-fertilization" (ibid. :5). The Apache band is an endogamous group, relatively speaking, but marriages are not between closely related kin and therefore are not significant gene-frequency factors. The bands are inbred only in the sense that the great majority of marriages, at least through the period 1800 to 1954, are contracted between band members.

The question of random mating is a difficult one. As Thieme has pointed out, our knowledge of the selective mating patterns in human breeding groups is deficient (1952a:508). Probably some degree of selective mating is typical of all human populations on the phenotypic level (Thieme 1952b). What phenotypic traits might be selective among the Apache is not known, although a comparison of such anthropometric data as head dimensions, trunk and limb lengths, circumferences, and widths, as well as stature and weight, revealed no significant differences among the three bands. The Apache bands, however, would not be expected to show the degree of phenotypic variability revealed, say, in the Puerto Rican population, as so well demonstrated by Thieme (1952a). The latter are mixtures of representatives of the three basic stocks of Homo sapiens; the Apache are, relatively speaking, members of the same "sub-sub-sub stock." For this reason, then, it is extremely doubtful if selective mating on any determinable scale takes place among the Apache. Selection may operate on psychological or other levels wherein the genetic background is either unknown or so complex that a correlation with serological genes would be a very remote possibility. Hence, the gene frequency characteristics of the bands are probably not seriously influenced by this factor.

The prospective spouse's field of choice in any band is obviously severely limited, since the number of individuals of the opposite sex in the age-group 16–21 is probably not greater than 90 individuals (Kraus 1954: 36), an indeterminate number of whom are not eligible because of first, second, or third degree cousin relationship with the prospective mate. The fact that the field of choice is so narrowly circumscribed would tend to minimize the influence of such cultural attitudes about phenotypic values as exist, and would perhaps tend to prevent the crystallization of the attitudes themselves over a period of time. The present opinion of the authors is that, in effect, random mating among distantly related band members is the prevailing pattern among the Western Apache.

We have come to the tentative consideration of the Apache bands as socially endogamous, noninbreeding, random-mating population subgroups. We now turn to the question of permanency of the gene proportions. It has been shown that the phenotypic frequencies that are characteristic of the individuals born within the past 20 years are not significantly unlike the frequencies that characterize the groups born 20 to 40 years ago and those born 40 to 60 plus years ago. In other words, the phenotypic blood group proportions and the Rh zygotic proportions have remained unaltered through three generations in each of the three bands. Selection is suspected in the unusually high proportions of Rh heterozygous offspring. Selection of heterozygotes has
The differences found to exist among the three Apache bands have therefore persisted over the past 60 years. There is no reason to suppose that, given the apparently stable marriage pattern that seems to have prevailed since 1800, the gene frequencies at the two loci under consideration have been significantly altered during this period. In other words, it is the authors' opinion that the present frequency distributions are more or less those that characterized the same bands over 150 years ago. The only factors that might have intervened to disrupt this picture—intermarriage with non-Apache peoples of markedly different genetic composition, or genetic drift—may be ruled out. As Goodwin has pointed out, the Cibecue and White Mountain Apache have had little contact with tribes other than the Navaho, and this contact was limited primarily to trade and warfare. White intermixture has obviously had no important effects on the bands, if indeed any white marriages within the bands can be demonstrated, since the blood groups and Rh types would have reflected any appreciable amount of contact. As for genetic drift, the population size of each band since 1893 would suggest that this factor could have played no significant role. The wars between the whites and Apaches in the 25-year period before 1893, as well as the onslaught of contagious diseases, must have decimated the bands so that we can assume the band sizes during the period 1800-1868 to have been as large or larger, not less, than the figures Goodwin provides for 1893. Hence it is doubtful if genetic drift could have altered the band gene frequencies after 1800.

If we adopt a conservative date of 1550 A.D. for the first arrival of the Western Apache into their historic homeland in east-central Arizona, then it is probable that prior to this time the bands were small in size, numbering perhaps from 100 to 300 members (Steward 1938: 259). Both Navaho and Apache were undoubtedly hunting and gathering peoples before their entrance into the Southwest, remaining so until their new habitat threw them into contact with the agricultural Pueblo villages. Although both groups were influenced by these contacts, the Apache did not progress much beyond the practice of horticulture, a practice which provided 25 percent of their subsistence (Kroeber 1947: 35-37). Settlement in well-demarcated territories was to some degree a consequence of the ability to accumulate surplus food supplies through farming. As is usually the case, a settled life led in turn to population increases. If we may assume that the social endogamy of the modern Western Apache bands was in full force in the period before 1550 A.D., they then presented ideal population groups for decisive micro-evolutionary effects of chance sampling (genetic drift). It is the opinion of the authors that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the hypothesis that the present Apache band differences in gene frequencies of the A-B-O and Rh blood types were brought about through the operation
of genetic drift in the period before these bands entered the Southwest, and that these characteristic frequencies remained relatively unchanged up to the present day primarily because increased band population rendered the operation of genetic drift ineffectual. With the elimination of genetic drift as a micro-evolutionary factor, and in the absence of evidence of other evolutionary agencies such as nonrandom mating, migration, selection, and hybridization, the band frequencies remained unchanged.

Glass, Sacks, Jahn, and Hess, in their study of the Dunker isolate, concluded:

"It is sufficiently apparent from this study that in isolates of about 250 to 350 individuals, and in which N is under 100, considerable deviations in gene frequency occur, both in comparison with the frequencies in the population of origin of the isolate and also with those in the surrounding population" (1952:158).

Primarily from linguistic evidence, anthropologists have concluded that the Navaho and Apache represent one of two southward migrations from the Athapaskan block of tribes inhabiting western Canada (Hoijer 1938; Sapir 1936). The other migration consisted of Wailaki, Mattole, and Hupa peoples who moved to the Pacific coast. The Navaho-Apache migration route or routes are not known, but presumably they

"... moved amongst alien tribes during their progress south. And they moved, not with an ultimate goal in sight, but as aimless rovers whose movements from season to season over a long period were determined by such factors as game or enemy tribes" (Harrington 1940:521).

Linguistically, the relationship between the Navaho-Apache and the Southern Athapaskan tribes (Carrier, Sekani, Beaver, Sarsi, and Chipewyan) is much closer than between members of the Northern Athapaskan tribes (Eyak, Haida, Tlingit, Slave, Dogrib, Yellow-Knife, Kutchin, Hare, etc.). To some this would indicate a fairly recent breaking off of the Apache-Navaho group from the Southern Athapaskan bloc, perhaps between 250 to 500 years ago (Harrington 1940:509).

From Table 12 it is clear that the blood group proportions of the Apache and the Southern Athapaskans, as represented by the Beaver and Chipewyan samples, do not reflect the linguistic similarities. Of the Northern Athapaskans, the Dogrib are quite similar to the Apache but the Slave have almost reverse proportions of O and A types. In view of the fact that social as well as geographic isolation is, and probably was, the usual situation among Athapaskan bands in Canada, and because in former times the bands seldom numbered as many as 500 members and probably more often were under 300, it is suggested that the deviations in gene frequency that occur among the present-day Athapaskan bands arose in the period before the southward Athapaskan migrations.

The same conclusion may apply to the Navaho, samples of whose population reflect much the same variation in blood group proportions as does the Athapaskan family of tribes as a whole. Like the Dunker isolate in the United
States, the Apache bands differ significantly in blood group gene frequencies from the peoples among whom they now live—Pima, Papago, and Navaho. This is not an unexpected result, in view of the presumed operation of genetic drift in prehistoric times, and the known low incidence of interbreeding between these peoples and the Western Apache bands in the Southwest. It is interesting to note that, like the Dunker group (Glass et al. 1952), the Apache are not as markedly differentiated from the neighboring tribes (Papago, Pima, Navaho) in Rh type proportions as in blood group proportions. Speculation upon this matter is tempting but ill-advised in view of the limitations of the available data.

Although the authors have made use of serological data reported by various investigators for many different Indian populations, and indeed have spoken of “Apache” blood group proportions and gene frequencies, it should be clearly understood that the practice of sampling groups without reference to the socially defined breeding structures of the group is not condoned. That this practice is common is indicated by Thieme (1952b:111). As he demonstrated in the Puerto Rican population, it is vital to locate and define population subgroups wherever they might exist, and to avoid characterizing the entire population in terms of an indiscriminate sample which may be drawn from only one subgroup. The differences which Thieme was able to show between various subgroups of the Puerto Rican population have also been demonstrated to distinguish the Apache bands but, for reasons already discussed, to a considerably lesser degree.

Attention has been called to the fact that with respect to both A-B-O and Rh gene frequencies, the Cibecue band is more similar to the Eastern than to the Western White Mountain band, in spite of the fact that the latter is geographically interposed between the two. This situation is adequately explained by the historic fact of removal of one of the clans from Cibecue to North Fork, with the subsequent series of matings between Cibecue and East band members.

Enormous potentialities are offered by the data herein presented for the investigation of micro-evolution “in action.” The authors have refrained from further exploration of the subject for lack of space, and because plans are now being made for a more thorough study of the serology and social organization of the Western Apache. It is felt that there is justification for including the entire population in the universe of study rather than dealing with a sample. Since population genetics at the “laboratory” level is just beginning, there might be some virtue in establishing concepts based upon parameters rather than statistics, if the opportunity offers itself. Buzzati-Traverso has aptly stated what the authors have attempted to demonstrate in a very small way:

“... we must look after small and simple evolutionary events which are capable of being analyzed with present-day techniques, and the results obtained by such means may give us, quite unexpectedly, the key for the solution of the great riddles of historic evolution” (Buzzati-Traverso 1950:21)
SUMMARY

In attempting to apply population genetics to the Indians of the Fort Apache Reservation, certain aspects of the social structure and demography had to be defined. It was found that:

1. The Western Apache marriage pattern is characterized by band endogamy, clan and phratry exogamy, matrilocal residence, and apparent absence of family inbreeding.
2. For the past 150 years there has been a relatively stable marriage pattern with each of the three Western Apache bands with respect to band endogamy.
3. Since 1800 each of the three bands has attained a population size sufficiently great to preclude the possibility of significant shifts in gene frequencies due to drift.
4. In the mid-19th century one of the clans of the Cibecue band migrated to the territory of the Eastern White Mountain band and subsequently married members of the latter group.

Blood group and Rh determinations were made on 700 and 381 Apaches respectively, the subjects being drawn from three bands. Analysis of the phenotypic proportions and the calculated gene frequencies points toward the following conclusions:

5. The ABO data indicate significant differences between the Western White Mountain band and the other two bands.
6. The Rh distribution confirms the difference between the Western White Mountain and the Cibecue bands.
7. The allele for B is apparently absent in all three bands.
8. No significant changes occurred in blood group or Rh gene frequencies in the past three generations in any of the bands.
9. Analysis of observed and expected blood group phenotypes of spouses in 60 marriages confirms the cultural evidence of a random mating pattern within each band.
10. There is presumptive evidence that selection operates to favor O offspring of O fathers and A mothers.
11. There is also evidence of a significantly higher than expected proportion of heterozygous offspring of parents who are both heterozygous with respect to either the C or E antigen. Selective factors may thus account in part for the disequilibrium in Rh type proportions.

In terms of the ABO and Rh proportions and gene frequencies, certain observations can be made about Apache interband relationships and about Apache affinities with other Indian populations:

12. There appears to be a relatively greater biological affinity between the Cibecue and Eastern White Mountain bands than between either and the Western White Mountain band, although geographically the former two are not connected. This affinity is explained and confirmed by the cultural evidence of clan migration.
13. With respect to ABO gene frequencies, the Apache cannot be differentiated from other Athapaskan tribes such as the Dogrib and Navaho, or from non-
Athapaskan groups such as the Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, and Sac and Fox. On the other hand, the Apache differ significantly from such Athapaskan peoples as the Chipewyan and Slave, and from non-Athapaskans like the Papago and Blackfoot.

14. In terms of Rh gene frequencies, the Apache are quite similar to the Navaho, a closely related Athapaskan people, and less similar to the Chipewyan, a more distantly related Canadian Athapaskan group.

15. An inherent fallacy in indiscriminate sampling of American Indian "tribes" is demonstrated by the different gene frequencies in the three Apache bands, and in the significantly different sets of frequencies in different samples of "Navahos."

The authors conclude with the hypothesis that the present Western Apache band differences in gene frequencies at the ABO and Rh loci occurred prior to 1800, and probably before the entrance of the Apache into the Southwest, when band sizes were sufficiently small to permit the effective operation of genetic drift.

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The Social Aspect of Huron Property

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OWNERSHIP patterns found among the cultures of the world have interested anthropologists almost as long as there has been a science of that name. However, most students have confined their attention to certain traditional questions, particularly the size and composition of the group in physical possession of land, capital goods, and items of personal use. This is not an adequate conception of the problem since not only the form of ownership patterns, but their interrelationships with other aspects of the culture, have been found to vary markedly between different societies. A full understanding of the institution of property therefore requires an investigation of the social setting in which it functions, or what Hallowell has called the "social aspect of property" (Hallowell 1955:238).

The ownership rights of individuals or groups can be encompassed within the socially recognized power to acquire, use, dispose of, or destroy property. In no known instance is an owner given completely free rein in the exercise of these rights. There are usually numerous customs, not all directly related to legal ownership, which limit and direct the owner's behavior and determine his attitudes with respect to property. In other words, ownership in the social sense can best be understood as a more or less interrelated collection of culturally prescribed rights, duties, and beliefs concerning property.

A systematic review of the material on the seventeenth-century Huron acquisition, use, and disposal of food and certain of the goods circulating in the fur trade (particularly wampum, furs, and small items of French manufacture) reveals an integration of these activities with aspects of culture not generally discussed in connection with property relationships in the anthropological literature. The resulting analysis is presented below to illustrate by a concrete example the manner in which such interrelationships may operate, and to suggest their broader applications in the study of property rights.

Following an introductory discussion of Huron trade, the material is organized by the types of occasion on which substantial transfers of ownership took place—informal gift-giving, formal presentations, curing and burial ceremonies, theft, and gambling. In addition, two factors motivating the disposition of property, the sense of communal responsibility and the importance of generous gift-giving in determining social status and power, are discussed separately.

HURON TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The main sources on which a description of seventeenth-century Huron culture must depend are the accounts of Samuel de Champlain (Biggar 1922-36), based on a nine months visit to Huronia in 1615; Gabriel Sagard (Wrong 1939), a Recollect father who spent the year 1623–24 among the Huron; and
the yearly reports of the Jesuit priests on the Huron, which extend from 1635 until the dispersal of this tribe by the Iroquois in 1649 (Thwaites 1896-1901). By the time of the earliest of these sources, the Huron had already established an organized trading arrangement in which they carried maize, nets, tobacco, wampum, and small items of French manufacture to bands of Algonkian-speaking hunters living north of the St. Lawrence River, in exchange for furs which the Huron sold to the French. Some of the maize and tobacco involved in this trade was obtained from the Neutral and Petun who did not engage directly in the Algonkian trade. The Huron also traded with a neighboring Algonkian tribe, the Nipissing, with whom they exchanged maize for fish, game, and magical charms. From all reports the Huron were good businessmen and made every effort to get the best possible returns in their trading activities (Biggar 1922-36: vol. 3, 38-39, 52-53, 99, 131; Wrong 1939: 79, 86-87; Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 8, 115; vol. 10, 51-53; vol. 15, 155-57; vol. 17, 211; vol. 21, 239; vol. 31, 209; vol. 45, 229).

By means of trade, which constituted a large part of the men’s sphere of work, and the agricultural labor of the women, some households acquired large stocks of trade items and surplus maize. It was not made clear by the seventeenth century observers whether any of these goods were owned exclusively by individuals and whether any belonged to conjugal families or compound households. In some instances they attribute the disposition of movable property to specific individuals, as in gambling losses, while in others it is attributed to the household.

COMMUNAL RESPONSIBILITY

The feeling of communal responsibility among the Huron rested on the belief (1) that all members of the community had a right to the basic necessities of life, and (2) that the whole community benefited by certain types of expenditure, which resulted from obligations of the group and which therefore the group should pay. The latter category included reparations payments arising out of a murder committed by a member of the village, payments involved in prisoner exchanges or peace treaties, tolls for crossing another chief’s territory, and goods needed for curing dances and formal feasts. A stock of goods—wampum necklaces, glass beads, axes, knives, and other small wealth objects—was maintained for the discharge of obligations of this type. This fund was to some extent replenished by payments made to the village as a whole on occasions similar to those on which the community paid out gifts or tolls, but contributions were sometimes needed, at which time “every man taxes himself freely with what he can pay, and without any compulsion gives of his means according to his convenience and good will” (Wrong 1939: 266-67; see also 88-89).

Such contributions might also be required when the Huron were away from home. For example, when Sagard was accompanying some Huron to Quebec to trade, they were stopped by a group of Algonkin and Montagnais and obliged to make special presents to be allowed to pass. Another instance oc-
curred in 1642 when the Huron attended a Nipissing feast of the dead. An individual Huron delegate secured a prize in the games by unfair means, and the other tribal members taxed themselves in order to make a suitable retribution payment to the Nipissing (Wrong 1939:266; Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 23, 215-17). There were also numerous occasions in connection with special emergencies and curing ceremonies where particular objects were required, when direct appeals for donations were made and, as will be noted below, responded to by the Huron to the best of their ability.

When a member of a Huron village was without food or shelter, a council would be called to make arrangements to provide them. The custom of communal co-operation in building houses is described by Sagard, and instances in which this occurred are recorded in the Jesuit Relations. In 1637 a fire burned down the house of a Huron family, and the other households of the village bound themselves to furnish three sacks of corn and whatever else they felt they could contribute. This was decided in a council of the old men and, according to a French observer, the participants acted very generously. The same year the people of Ossosané, a Huron village, held a council at which they agreed to build a chapel for the Jesuit priests. This incident presumably indicates an extension to the Jesuits of membership in the community, or a recognition of their services. Sagard explains a similar service performed for his party as follows: "But as regards us, who were strangers to them and newcomers, it was a great thing that they should show themselves so full of human kindness as to put up a building for us with good feeling so general and universal, since as a rule to strangers they give nothing for nothing, except to deserving persons or those who have obliged them greatly, although they themselves always make demands, especially upon the French" (Wrong 1939:79; Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 14, 45, 57).

INFORMAL ENTERTAINING AND GIFT GIVING

All the French visitors to the Huron noted their extensive hospitality, both to one another and to those outsiders who were accepted as friends. Many of the Huron were absent from the villages during the spring and summer, the men to engage in trading and war, the women in agricultural pursuits. But during the winter, feasts and informal gatherings frequently took place (Biggar 1922-36: vol. 3, 137; Wrong 1939:84, 87, 98; Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 8, 127; vol. 38, 257). Of the people of the Bear district, who were particularly noted for their sociability, Brebeuf said: "When they are not busy with their fields, hunting, fishing, or trading, they are less in their own Houses than in those of their friends. . . . If they have something better than usual, they make a feast for their friends, and hardly ever eat it alone" (Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 10, 213).

In similar fashion, Indians visiting from other villages or tribes, or accepted Europeans, found that they could lodge almost indefinitely with those Huron who could afford to have long-term visitors. Although it was customary to give presents to one's host on such occasions, particularly if the visitor were
a European, the exchange was not supposed to be one of value given for value received, but rather a formalized expression of friendship. There was some disagreement among European observers on this point, but the bulk of the evidence tends to support the above contention.

For example, Brebeuf, who had stayed with a wealthy Huron in the village of Toanché for six weeks in 1635, said: "You can lodge where you please; for this Nation above all others is exceedingly hospitable towards all sorts of persons, even toward Strangers; and you may remain as long as you please, being always well treated according to the fashion of the country." From Frenchmen, however, they expected some compensation on leaving (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 8, 93–97). On the same subject Sagard says: "Whenever we had to go from one village to another for some necessity or business we used to go freely to their dwellings to lodge and get our food, and they received us in them and treated us very kindly although they were under no obligation to us. For they hold it proper to help wayfarers and to receive among them with politeness anyone who is not an enemy, and much more so those of their own nation." Bressani, in a summary report on the Huron after their dispersal, concluded that they "received every comer to their houses as they would members of the family." Champlain received similar friendly treatment, being given a warm welcome and feast in his honor at each of the villages he visited (Wrong 1939:88; Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 38, 267; Biggar 1922–36: vol. 3, 47–50, 81, 129–31, 164).

Visitors to the Huron were also expected to give presents to friends who came from far and near to see them on their arrival. When Brebeuf returned to the Huron in 1635, he spent the first evening and the next day in "exchanges of affection, visits, salutations, and encouraging words from the whole village." On the following days, persons with whom he had been acquainted in other villages came to see him "and all took away with them, in exchange for their visit, some trifling presents." Of this custom the Jesuit says, "This is a small thing in detail, but on the whole it exerts a great influence and is of great importance in these regions." Sagard also mentions the custom of exchanges of presents between friends when they visited one another, and says that on such occasions they accepted whatever was offered. For this reason, he says, they despise the behavior of the French merchants, "who will bargain for an hour to cheapen [the price of] a beaver's skin" (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 8, 97; Wrong 1939:140).

At a later date Father Chaumonot complains that, "these savages practice among themselves certain rules of hospitality, with us they apply them not. We are, therefore, obliged to carry with us a few little knives, awls, rings, needles, earrings, and such like things, to pay our hosts" (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 18, 19). In view of the extensive evidence to the contrary, this point of view seems best explained as a misinterpretation of Huron culture. It is possible, however, that the treatment which Father Chaumonot experienced may have reflected a deterioration in the relations between Jesuit and Huron, the priests having been suspected of causing by sorcery the frequent epidemics.
from which the Huron began to suffer shortly after receiving the Jesuits to their villages.

Another aspect of the custom of giving gifts to friends, which, however, is almost as formal in character as the diplomatic gifts to be discussed below, was that of sympathy gifts. Presents usually accompanied other expressions of sympathy on such occasions as the death of relatives, fires, or droughts. The best examples of such behavior on the village level are cases in which the Jesuits made condolence presentations to the Huron, but their accompanying remarks indicate that in doing this they were conforming to Huron mores. One such occasion occurred in 1637 when the Jesuits, having obtained some deer, gave a feast to the Huron to testify their sympathy for their suffering because of the current epidemic, and “in order to proceed after the manner of the country, we made them a present of 400 Porcelain beads, a couple of hatchets, and a Moose skin.” These priests later visited the family of one of their converts to console the members on a number of deaths which had occurred among their relatives, and as “according to the custom of the country, a person who is in affliction hardly considers himself comforted if you give him nothing but words, the Father made them a present of 400 porcelain beads and 2 little hatchets” (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 13, 151; vol. 14, 27).

DIPLOMATIC FEASTS AND EXCHANGES OF PRESENTS

In many instances the smooth functioning of social relations both within the tribe and with other societies was facilitated by formally patterned feasts and gift exchanges. As a Jesuit observer stated it: “[Feasts] . . . are the oil of their ointments . . . the general instrument or condition without which nothing is done.” Regarding the role of presents on public occasions, Brebeuf said that “inasmuch as all affairs of importance are managed here by presents, and as the Porcelain that takes the place of gold and silver in this Country is all-powerful, I presented in this Assembly a collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain, telling them that it was given to smooth the difficulties of the road to Paradise” (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 17, 209; vol. 10, 29; see also, vol. 22, 291). In addition to the attitude of friendliness associated with the giving of a present, the custom had special significance because the presentation was viewed as a voucher of the sincerity of the speaker and proof for posterity of what had been said. Because of this special meaning attached to formal gifts, Huron spies sent presents along with their reports to vouch for their truth, and each phase of diplomatic negotiations with other tribes was backed up in tangible form (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 33, 133; vol. 22, 309–11). Some idea of the range of occasions on which formal feasting and exchange of presents were customary is indicated below.

First, among the Huron themselves, it was the custom for a private person to invite his friends and the leading men of the village to a feast if he wished to make any kind of public announcement regarding his affairs or if he merely wished to win renown (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 181; vol. 14, 95; vol. 23, 161). At the yearly general assemblies or councils at which representatives
The exchange of presents was also a regular feature of councils held to negotiate peace settlements. Excerpts from an account of an assembly of various Algonkian tribes, the Huron, French, and Iroquois in July, 1644, illustrate the form of these councils, the type of speeches, and the role played by presents.

The council took place in the courtyard of the fort at Three Rivers, over which large sails had been spread for shade. The French governor and his attendants were on one side, with the Iroquois seated at the governor's feet, since they had requested that they be on his side as a mark of affection. The Algonkin and Montagnais representatives were opposite them; to one side were the Huron, to the other, the French. Two poies were erected in the center, and a rope stretched between them "on which to hang and tie the words that they; the Iroquois; were to bring us,—that is to say, the presents they wished to make us, which consisted of seventeen collars of porcelain beads.

The Iroquois speaker arose with the first collar in his hand and began his
speech in a loud voice: "Onontio, lend me ear. I am the mouth for the whole of my country. . . . We have a multitude of war songs in our country; we have cast them all on the ground; we have no longer anything but songs of rejoicing.' Thereupon he began to sing; his countrymen responded; he walked about that great space as if on the stage of a theatre; he made a thousand gestures; he looked up to Heaven; he gazed at the Sun; he rubbed his arms as if he wished to draw from them the strength that moved them in war." Then, after thanking the governor for saving the life of an Iroquois prisoner the previous autumn, he fastened the first collar to the rope.

In a similar manner he took up each of the remaining sixteen presents, explaining their meaning in eloquent words and theatrical gestures—one returned a French prisoner, and another assured his listeners that the Iroquois no longer mourned their people who had been killed in previous encounters and would not try to avenge their deaths. Other presents were offered to clear the river of hostile canoes, to smooth the rapids and waterfalls, and to bind together all the peoples represented at the council. To illustrate the meaning of this last present, the orator "took hold of a Frenchman, placed his arm within his, and with his other arm he clasped that of an Algonquin. Having thus joined himself to them, 'Here,' he said, 'is the knot that binds us inseparably; nothing can part us.'"

This meeting was concluded with a dance in which the French and all the tribes participated. The day following this speech the governor gave a feast, and on the next day replied to the presents of the Iroquois by fourteen gifts, each with its meaning. Councils at which the Huron and Algonkian tribes added their endorsements to the peace negotiations were held after they had time to consult with their people at home (Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 27, 255-67; see also vol. 21, 43-59; vol. 40, 91, 165-67, 185-91).

REPARATIONS PAYMENTS

Whether one Huron murdered another, or a person from another tribe, the only socially recognized method for healing the breach without resort to further bloodshed was by gift giving. As noted in the discussion of communal responsibility, the unit involved in such a property transfer was the village rather than the principals themselves or their immediate families, except presumably in cases where both parties were members of the same community. In general, a much larger quantity of goods had to change hands when the offense involved persons of different tribes. According to Brebeuf, at least sixty presents, each worth as much as a beaver robe, were required as reparations for murder. The first nine gifts should be strings of wampum (having about 1000 beads apiece). A later writer, Ragueneau, says that thirty presents sufficed if both parties were Huron men, forty if the victim were a woman, and still more were necessary if the injured party belonged to another tribe. He describes in some detail an occasion on which more than 100 presents were given by the Huron to the French to wipe out the offense felt at the murder of a Frenchman (Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 10, 215-23; vol. 33, 243-45; see also vol. 28, 49-51 and Wrong 1939:163-66).
The goods required for reparations payments were collected at a council held in the offender's village, and everyone present appeared to French observers to strive to give all they could afford. When the parties involved were of different tribes, the payment was made at a public gathering with much formality and rhetorical speeches of the type characteristic of important occasions. For instance, in the council witnessed by Ragueneau in 1647, presents were given "in order that the door might be opened," "to wipe away thy tears . . . ," as a drink "to restore the voice which thou hast lost, so that it may speak kindly." Then followed nine presents to erect a sepulcher for the deceased Frenchman; then eight chiefs each brought an offering to represent the principal bones of the body. Ragueneau made a return gift of 3,000 porcelain beads "to make their land level so that it might receive them more gently when they should be overthrown by the violence of the reproaches that . . . [he] was to address to them for having committed so foul a murder."

The next day the Huron erected a kind of stage in a public place, from which the fifty presents that constituted the principal part of the reparations payment and bore that name. These were inspected by the French, and any declared not satisfactory had to be replaced by others. Gifts were then given to represent the clothing worn by a person of the rank of the deceased. Others followed "to draw out from the wound the hatchet," more for each blow struck, "to close the earth, which had gaped in horror at the crime," and "to trample it down." Then all the men danced to manifest their joy that the earth was closed. Still another present was given to throw a stone upon the hole so that it could not be reopened, after which the Jesuits responded with a few final gifts to assure the villagers that the incident would be forgotten now that reparations had been made (Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 33, 239-49; see also, Biggar 1922-36: vol. 3, 101-103).

GIFTS REQUIRED FOR CURING CEREMONIES

Certain types of curing ceremonies and burials were also important occasions for gift giving. Large amounts of goods were given away for these purposes, and there were strong social pressures on Huron villagers to contribute to the fullest extent of their means on these occasions.

In Huron theory, there were three main forms of illness, differentiated on the basis of their cause. Wounds and some minor bodily ills were believed to have natural causes and were treated with medicines and sweat baths; certain diseases were the result of sorcery and could be cured only by the counteroperations of another sorcerer; and the third category of ills comprised those caused by unfulfilled desires of the soul. The cures for sickness of the last type have the most relevance for the present inquiry because friends and neighbors were called upon to give freely of their possessions to determine and satisfy hidden desires of the soul.

Ragueneau explains Huron beliefs concerning unfulfilled desires of the soul by stating that, in addition to the desires one has voluntarily "which arise from a previous knowledge of some goodness that we imagine to exist in the thing desired, the Hurons believe that our souls have other desires, which
are, as it were, inborn and concealed. These, they say, come from the depths of the soul not through any knowledge, but by means of a certain blind transporting of the soul to certain objects...our soul makes these natural desires known by means of dreams, which are its language. Accordingly, when these desires are accomplished, it is satisfied; but, on the contrary, if it be not granted what it desires, it becomes angry, and not only does not give its body the good and the happiness that it wished to procure for it, but often it also revolts against the body, causing various diseases, and even death” (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 33, 189).

It appears that the soul’s desires were sometimes revealed directly to the individual through the good offices of his guardian spirit, who appeared in a dream. Many persons, however, became ill with no intimation of the cause and had to rely on the supernatural contacts of a shaman to determine their hidden desires.

The desires revealed in either way commonly called for feasts, dances, or gambling matches, as well as particular presents such as canoes, porcelain collars, skin robes, and even household utensils. The desired ceremonies were often already known and in the possession of medicine societies, whose members would perform them for those who needed them. Sometimes, however, a new ceremony was called for in a dream, in which case each detail of its execution was revealed. One of the curing societies which required many presents for its performances was that of the Ononhara, or mad men. Their activities involved the assumption of a frenzied manner, in which condition the members proceeded from house to house propounding riddles wherein was concealed the gift which they desired. They accepted everything offered whether it was the right answer or not, but the sick person could not improve until the correct answer had been found (Biggar 1922–36: vol. 3, 148–55, 164–66; Wrong 1939: 112–18; Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 175–89, vol. 13, 263, vol. 15, 179, vol. 17, 153–213, vol. 33, 189–209).

When the stricken individual was a person of importance in the village, provision of the necessary presents became a community project. The chiefs would call a council to make arrangements for the ceremonies and to request donations. These might be of considerable quantity and value, as for example, in the case of a rich old man for whom ceremonies were conducted which lasted two weeks, and another in which twenty specific presents were required in addition to those given to the “Madness Society.” Furthermore, the Jesuits inform us that as on other occasions where public spirit could be shown by generous donations, there was great rivalry to make lavish presentations (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 213; vol. 33, 207).

At the conclusion of a successful cure, the relatives of the sick person provided a munificent feast to which large crowds were invited. The number and extent of these feasts and ceremonies caused the Jesuits to express the view that, “Such is the occupation of our Savages throughout the Winter; and most of the products of their hunting, their fishing, and their trading, and their
BURIAL GIFTS

The Huron buried their dead twice, once soon after death and again at regularly recurring ceremonials at which all who had died since the last joint burial were reinterred in a common grave. On both occasions lavish presents were expected, received, honored, and displayed.

According to contemporary reports, the Huron frequently informed a man of his approaching death and prepared him for its occurrence. Such a person was dressed in his finest clothes and attended his own farewell feast. When he died, word was sent to the other villages and the relative on whom the special responsibility fell, came to make arrangements for the burial. Friends and relatives gave presents, some of which were put in the grave and some returned to the close associates of the dead man “for their trouble” in helping with the funeral. A chief announced what each present was and who had given it, and they were sometimes displayed hanging from poles along the sides of the house. After the death of a man of importance, his name was taken by someone still living, or “resuscitated.” This was again the occasion for an elaborate feast and, in the case of chiefs, gifts were given to the new leader by each of the four Huron districts (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 265–71, 277, 289; vol. 23, 165–69; Wrong 1939: 207–10).

The feasts of the dead, at which the souls of all who had died were honored and then reburied, were held every ten or twelve years. It was customary for each of the four districts, which were both political divisions and familial units, to hold its own ceremony and commit its dead to a common grave. The bones of those who had died earlier and the bodies of the more recently dead were cleaned and wrapped in new furs and porcelain collars and then carried to the grave, where the packages of bones were hung on a surrounding scaffold.

At one such ceremony witnessed by Brebeuf, the grave was lined with forty-eight beaver robes before the bodies and packages of bones were lowered. Then damaged kettles, porcelain collars, and netfuls of corn were placed in the grave and covered over with mats, bark, sand, poles, and wooden stakes. The entire morning was spent distributing presents. “Twenty were given to the master of the feast, to thank the Nations which had taken part therein. The dead distributed a number of them, by the hands of the Captains, to their living friends; some served only for show and were taken away by those who had exhibited them,” and a number were thrown to the crowd (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 279–305, quote from 301; see also, vol. 23, 209–23).

It was a point of honor to bring many presents, and the description of the ceremonies clearly indicates that it was evident to all present just what and how much each person or household contributed. Persons would strip themselves of their possessions to make a good showing, so that it appeared to one
observer almost as if “all their exertions, their labors and their trading, concern almost entirely the amassing of something with which to honor the Dead. Robes, axes and porcelain, the whole riches of this Country are used for burial. They may go without warm enough clothing to save robes for this purpose” (Biggar 1922–36: vol. 3, 160–63; Wrong 1939:211–12; Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 305; vol. 8, 121; vol. 23, 31; quote from vol. 10, 265).

WEALTH AND SOCIAL STATUS

Among the Huron, wealth appears to have been highly regarded as evidence of industry and supernatural favor, and because it facilitated expression of the desirable qualities of generosity and hospitality. Some of the evidence on which this generalization is based has already appeared in the discussion of the various occasions at which public contributions were required. The present section will further explore the mechanisms by which community pressures and rewards operated to induce generosity on the part of individual Huron, in particular on those of more than average wealth.

Public opinion could operate effectively as a mechanism for redistributing property in part because of the public nature of the occasions on which contributions were pledged. As noted earlier, contributions to the public fund or for special communal needs were made openly in council and therefore became common knowledge. There were still further opportunities for publicity in the displaying of presents at the curing and burial ceremonies. Furthermore, the rewards for generosity on the part of important men in the community were not limited to satisfying public opinion or gaining a good reputation, but consisted of more tangible returns as well.

It was noted by a Jesuit observer that only the dreams of a person of some wealth whose dreams had been found true in the past were accepted with full credulity, and that only in these cases was the carrying out of the instructions derived from the dream made a community project (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 171–73). Elsewhere we read that when someone of importance falls sick, the chief goes to inquire on behalf of the old men what he had dreamed or what he desired for his health. The community then made every effort to provide it (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 175). In 1638 Father Le Mercier mentioned that he and his associates had to wait two weeks to talk to the Indians because daily feasts were being held for a rich old man in response to a dream that this would cure him (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 15, 117).

The wealthy individual who had given generously to help cure someone might be rewarded by honors such as the following: “Afterwards the relatives of the sick person give very splendid feasts, to which large crowds are invited; the choicest morsels fall to the lot of the most notable persons, and of those who have made the best show during these days of public magnificence” (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 33, 209).

The burial ceremonies, and particularly the feast of the dead, were other public occasions at which the rich outshone their less fortunate brethren in
munificence, and received much honor for it. Brebeuf mentions in 1636 that some persons were almost stripped of their possessions because several of their friends had died for whose souls they had made presents. And in describing a feast of the dead he says, "The middle classes and the poor . . . suffer much, in order not to appear less liberal than the others in this celebration. Everyone makes it a poi't of honor" (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 10, 303–305). Not only were the wealthy in a position to make larger presentations, but, being important persons in the community, they were honored by larger and more numerous offerings at death than were those of ordinary stature. Everyone received presents from friends and relatives, but if the deceased had been a man of importance, chiefs of other villages also came in person and gave presents. When death necessitated the selection of a new chief, one of the factors considered in appraising the eligible candidates appears to have been the ability to acquire and distribute wealth properly.

One incident reported by the Jesuits suggests that on occasion the threat of physical violence might force a redistribution of property if a person of unusual good fortune did not offer to share his abundance with his neighbors. Brebeuf was staying with one of the wealthiest Huron in the village of Toanché, where fires had twice wiped out the houses and possessions of most of the other villagers, but had miraculously spared those of his host. As a result, "jealousy having been enkindled against him, and some wishing to destroy his cabin that the fire had spared, at once he caused a large cauldron to be hung, prepared a good feast, invited the whole village, and, having assembled them, delivered this harrangue: 'My Brethren, I am very deeply grieved at the misfortune that has happened; but what can we do about it? It is over. For myself, I know not what I have done for Heaven, to be spared before all others. Now, in order to testify my desire to share in the common misfortune, I have two bins of corn' (they held at least one hundred and twenty bushels); 'I give one of them freely to the whole village.' This action calmed their jealousy and put an end to their wicked designs. . . ." (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 8, 95).

The existence of differences in wealth in Huron villages, and the motives and rewards for liberal disposition of goods in socially accepted ways, are summed up in Lalemont's explanation of the Hurons' response to exhortations for contributions to reparations payments. "It seems as if they vied with one another as to how much they could give; or as the desire of glory and of appearing solicitous for the public welfare urges them to do on like occasions" (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 28, 51).

GAMBLING

Further insight into the Huron concept of property may be obtained by a consideration of their attitude toward gambling losses. We have already encountered gambling as a ceremony designed to cure illness, but it also had a purely recreational aspect. There were three games on which stakes were commonly laid: la crosse, several variations of the peach-stone game, and
straws. Gambling was extremely popular among the Huron of both sexes; they devoted much of their leisure time to this pursuit and, as a consequence, sometimes lost goods of considerable value. The circumstances under which a gambling match might take place ranged from informal games between friends to large assemblies where two or more villages joined to gamble and feast.

Several writers report that objects of great value, such as porcelain collars or beaver robes, were lost at gambling encounters; and that after the choicer items were gone, the players staked their clothing or whatever else they possessed. In one instance, a Huron staked and lost his wife to a Frenchman, who, however, returned her the following day. Instances are also given in which one village played another for their household utensils. At one intervillage rivalry, thirty porcelain collars were lost (Wrong 1939:96–98; Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 5, 241; vol. 10, 185–89; vol. 15, 155; vol. 17, 203–207).

Sagard says that the Huron players “lose as cheerfully and patiently when chance does not favor them as if they had lost nothing,” and other observers make similar comments (Wrong 1939:96; Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 16, 199–201). This appears to have been the ideal pattern, and it is consistent with the high value placed on a stoical attitude toward hardship in other circumstances. It is also consistent with the Huron emphasis on the use of property as opposed to individual accumulation. However, it must also be noted that in spite of the ideal attitude of disinterestedness toward loss of wealth, feeling at times ran high at gambling matches, and quarrels and injuries arose out of them. One case of suicide is recorded in which the motive was alleged to have been remorse at having lost some valuable goods at gambling. A chief’s son committed suicide after having lost a beaver robe and porcelain collar (Wrong 1939:166).

THEFT

Theft was common among the Huron, who stole not only from strangers but from each other as well. Sanctions could be invoked against a thief, but the prevalence of stealing suggests that it was not considered a seriously antisocial act. Some writers go so far as to assert that skill in theft was a highly regarded accomplishment. The redress permitted by custom consisted of the injured person’s right to take back not only his own property but that of his depredator as well, if he could discover him. Retaliation was an individual act, however, and commanded none of the communal action available in the case of murder. As a result, the cleverness and relative importance of the parties involved were significant factors in determining what action was taken in any given instance (Thwaites 1896–1901: vol. 5, 241–43; vol. 8, 81; vol. 13, 13; vol. 38, 267–69; Wrong 1939:84, 141).

The importance of property in Huron society must then be reconciled with widespread expropriation and an absence of strong social sanctions protecting the owner. As in the case of gambling, the apparent conflict can be resolved to a considerable extent by assuming that Huron approbation of property accumulation was based on the subsequent use of that wealth in socially ap-
proved ways. Theft merely involved a transfer of ownership, and when carried out at the expense of strangers, it even increased the disposable wealth of the community. The Huron also greatly appreciated skill and cleverness, and apparently viewed cases of theft as contests of skill between owner and depredator in which the superior man won both the property and social approval.

CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the seventeenth-century material on Huron attitudes and behavior with respect to certain types of movable property leads to several conclusions: (1) they had a strong feeling of communal responsibility; (2) there was widespread institutionalization of gift giving; (3) high value was placed on generosity; (4) social status accrued to the liberal and wealthy man; and (5) a disinterested attitude toward ownership per se was encouraged. The broader pattern of encouragement of a disinterested attitude toward the mere acquisition or loss of property is derived both from the positive value of generosity and the negative attitude toward extravagant emotions or sanctions on occasions of property loss.

Since a substantial quantity of goods and services were involved in voluntary transfers for which no immediate or precisely equal return was expected, it may be concluded that to a Huron, ownership of many items of movable wealth (including food) had meaning only in the light of the communal pressures which forced him to alleviate the misfortune of his fellow men, to contribute to community payments, to share his good fortune with his friends by giving feasts and presents, to make honorable contributions for curing and burial ceremonies, and, in general, to regard the holding of property per se as of little importance. As noted briefly in the discussion of Huron trading practices, these attitudes were largely confined to intratribal contacts (except for certain formal presentations) and were not applied in trading situations or dealings with complete strangers.

NOTES

1 The Huron were a settled, Iroquoian-speaking tribe of about 30,000 inhabitants, living in approximately twenty villages between the southern end of Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe before 1650 (Fenton 1940:177-84). Much of the material was collected and the basic framework of Huron property concepts was first developed in writing a doctoral dissertation on French-Indian trade in the seventeenth century (Herman Ms.).

2 General discussions of the social aspect of property occur in Herskovits (1953:319-26), Hallowell (1955:239-47), and Lowie (1948:129-30). Such writers as Goodenough (1951) and Firth (1939) have considered the social aspect of property in the description of ownership patterns of a particular culture.

3 The objects most commonly received from the French were kettles, iron arrow points, hatchets, awls, fishhooks, knives, cloaks, blankets, and glass beads (Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 3, 69; vol. 4, 207; vol. 5, 265; vol. 7, 223; vol. 12, 119-21; vol. 15, 159; Kidd 1949:91-142 passim).

4 Succession was in the maternal line, but one was chosen from a number of eligible candidates on the basis of merit. Wealth, liberality, oratorical skill, bravery, and wisdom were considered (Thwaites 1896-1901: vol. 8, 115; vol. 10, 313; 231-33; Biggar 1922-36; vol. 3, 122, 140; Wrong 1939:92).
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IN AN article published in the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1900, A. E. Jenks defined the wild rice district of the Upper Lakes and classified the tribes living within this area as wild rice gatherers. He also theorized that the high population density reported in the area northwest of Green Bay was based on the abundance of wild rice which grew there. Thus, Jenks' paper has stood for over half a century as an early example of an ecological study of native American groups, and has served as a guide for those ethnographers who later defined the cultural and ecological areas of native North America; notably, Kroeber (1939) and to a lesser extent, Wissler (1938; 1940).

Since Jenks' publication, however, a great deal of historical material pertaining to the Great Lakes region has been made available. It will be the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that five of the Central Algonkin tribes included by Jenks in this area were not wild rice gatherers, and further, that the population concentration was not only very recent but was a result of (1) French trading activities in the area, and (2) the pressure exerted on these tribes by the westward thrust of the Iroquois. Wild rice was important to a much smaller segment of the population than Jenks supposed.

The wild rice gathering Indians are listed by Jenks (1900:1038) as the Siouan speaking Dakota, Winnebago, and Assiniboin; and the Central Algonkin speaking Ojibwa, Menomini, Sauk, Fox, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Mascouten, and Kickapoo. It is well substantiated that the Santee Dakota, Winnebago, Menomini, and some of the Ottawa, Assiniboin, and Ojibwa were wild rice gatherers. However, the evidence for the Sauk, Kickapoo, Fox, Mascouten, and Potawatomi indicates they were not wild rice gatherers.

In referring to the Fox and Sauk, Jenks (1900:1050) says, "That they were producers of wild rice is unquestioned, but it is regretted that so little is known of them during the period when they must have depended largely upon the grain." He cites no references to support this statement. On the other hand, he makes it evident that the canoe is essential to a wild rice gathering economy (Jenks 1900:1061), but the Fox did not use the canoe as late as 1666 (Jesuit Relations Vol. 51:43; Vol. 54:223; Blair 1911a:20). Also, many sources mention the Fox's dependency upon the raising of Indian corn and hunting, but none of these mention wild rice (Jesuit Relations Vol. 51:43; Vol. 54:207, 223; Anonymous 1718:889).

The Sauk used the canoe, so they cannot be discounted on this technicality. However, this may have been a very recent acquisition, since they are noted as being "very poor canoeoemen" (Blair 1911:303). The Sauk, like the Fox, grew Indian corn and hunted (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:207).
Jenks cites Moll's map (made before 1716) as evidence that the Kickapoo were in the wild rice district. It is now known that the Kickapoo were in the area as early as 1670 (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:223), but they almost certainly did not gather wild rice. The Kickapoo, like the Fox, did not use the canoe (Jesuit Relations Vol. 55:195; Kinetz 1940:366; Blair 1911a:20), and evidence again indicates that their major sources of subsistence were corn and wild game (Jesuit Relations Vol. 59:101, 103; Vol. 54:223, 233; Vol. 58:23, 25).

Regarding the Mascouten, Jenks (1900:1054) says, "...it can scarcely be doubted that these Indians, in considerable numbers, occupied the wild rice region of Wisconsin..." He quotes Father Dablon as saying in the Jesuit Relations for 1671 that the Mascouten eat wild rice mixed with grease (Jenks 1900:1085). Jenks used an early edition of the Jesuit Relations which is both incomplete and inaccurate in many respects. Thwaites' edition of the Jesuit Relations, which was published about the same time Jenks' article appeared, gives the following translation of Jenks' source: "Its [buffalo's] flesh is excellent; and the fat, when mixed with wild oats, makes the most delicate of native dishes" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 55:197). This statement is included in a general description of the Indians near Green Bay and in no way refers specifically to the Mascouten. Jesuit descriptions of the Mascouten list Indian corn as the grain used (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:207, 229; Vol. 58:23, 25; Vol. 59:101, 103). In fact, Father Dablon himself attended a feast given by the Mascouten and Miami where corn was mixed with buffalo fat (Jesuit Relations Vol. 55:203, 205). The Mascouten also did not use the canoe (Blair 1911a:20).

For the Potawatomi, the last group under consideration here, Jenks (1900:1062) gives as evidence for their use of wild rice a letter received from a Potawatomi chief in southern Michigan in 1898. This would appear to be weak evidence that the Potawatomi used wild rice over two hundred years earlier when they lived in Wisconsin. Also, sources for the period when the Potawatomi lived near Green Bay say that they grew Indian corn, fished, gathered acorns, berries, etc., and hunted (Jesuit Relations Vol. 51:27; Vol. 58:37; Vol. 54:203, 205, 207). The fact that none of these five tribes are reported as using wild rice is in sharp contrast to the accounts of the Menomini and other wild rice gatherers, which almost always refer to their extensive use of the grain (Jesuit Relations Vol. 59:95; Vol. 44:247; Vol. 54:191, 193; Vol. 51:53). In fact, the French called the Menomini the "Folle Avoine" or "wild rice" people.

One other point should be made in reference to Jenks' work. He hypothesized that the concentration of tribes in the wild rice district was possible because of the plentiful food supply afforded by this grain. However, there are strong indications that the area was overpopulated when the Jesuits first arrived. Father Dablon said that the Indians of Father Allouez's mission at Green Bay were starving and living on acorns during the winter (Jesuit Relations Vol. 56:143). In 1672, Father Allouez said, "No savages remain here, because there are neither acorns nor Duck" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 58:43). He noted that the non-Christian Indians had suffered greatly from hunger and
that many of them had died, while others were forced to eat their dogs and animal skins (Jesuit Relations Vol. 58:63). In 1670, Allouez remarked that the Indians in his mission had only the bare necessities during the winter (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:207). Marquette described a ceremony which the Indians living in the Mascouten village performed to thank their god "... for having pity On them during the winter, by giving Them an abundance of game When they Most dreaded famine" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 59:103). A year later (1674), Marquette met a small group of the Mascouten "... who had separated from the others in order to obtain subsistence. ... Their cabins are wretched; and they eat or starve, according to the places they happen to be" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 59:171).

The conditions described by these priests are not what would be expected had the Indians been using wild rice. The rice is harvested in the fall and should have carried them through the difficult winter if it had been utilized. If many of the tribes in the wild rice district were not wild rice gatherers, then the reason for the population concentration must be explained by other factors, for there does appear to have been a high population density in that area. As already noted, these factors seem to have been French trade and Iroquois pressure.

As the French moved westward, they established trading posts at strategic points. One of the earliest trading centers was located on Green Bay, and for a long period this was the most important post in the region (Kellogg 1925:121-6). The first account of this area was given about 1634 by Jean Nicolet, who mentions only the Winnebago and Menomini as being in the area (Jouan 1888:13-15). The next account comes from the trader, Radisson, who was near Green Bay about 1658. He lists the Fox, Potawatomi, and Mascovten as being among those tribes near Green Bay, and mentions the Kickapoo as being farther south (Radisson 1943: 246-7). He does not mention the Sauk. A comparison of these two reports indicates that there was some migration into the Green Bay area between 1634 and 1658.

The first Jesuit in the Green Bay area was Father Allouez, who came in 1669 at the request of the Potawatomi to settle an argument that had arisen between the Indians and eight French traders (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:197). Allouez found villages of the Miami, Fox, Sauk, Mascouten, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo west of Green Bay, as well as those of the Menomini and Winnebago who were there at the time of Nicolet's visit (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:205, 219, 227, 235, 237). From this time on there was a definite population increase noted in the area. In 1670 Father Dablon said there were 3,000 Mascouten and Miami living in a village on the Fox River in Wisconsin (Jesuit Relations Vol. 55:201). Two years later, Father Allouez reported the same village as containing 193 large cabins (about 6,000 individuals) and including members of the Illinois, Miami, Kickapoo, and Mascouten tribes (Jesuit Relations Vol. 58:23). In 1673 Father Marquette estimated there were 20,000 Indians in the area of Father Allouez' mission west of Green Bay (Jesuit Relations Vol. 59:221). A year later, Father Allouez wrote, "This mission would require 2 missionaries on account of 2 nations who dwell in it, who speak 2 different
languages; and because of the multitude of people who are continually arriving in great numbers, to take up their abode in it" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 59:225).

At this time the Potawatomi and Ottawa, as well as the French, were acting as middlemen in the trading operation, and were encouraging other Indians to move near the Bay so they could trade more readily with them. In 1665 the Potawatomi sent deputies to the Illinois, Miami, Kickapoo, and Fox, saying that they had brought goods from Montreal which they wished to trade for beavers. The Fox came and settled near them, and the following summer the Miami, Kickapoo, Mascouten, and some of the Illinois "came toward the bay . . . and made their clearing thirty miles away, beside the Outagamis [Fox] toward the south" (Blair 1911:316–322). In 1681 the Ottawa were carrying on trade with the Sauk, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Menomini, Fox, Mascouten, Miami, and Illinois (Chesneau 1855: 160–1).

The other factor causing the concentration of tribes in the wild rice area, and one which was indirectly connected with trade, was the westward movement of the Iroquois in search of beaver pelts to trade to the English. The importance of these movements in displacing the tribes in the Lakes region can scarcely be overstated.

When Father Allouez reached the southern shores of Lake Superior in 1665, he found some of the Huron there who, "like the rest, were forced to leave their country to escape from the Hyroquois, and to retire to the head of this great Lake, where distance and scarcity of game furnish them an asylum against their foes" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 50:307).

In 1670 Father Dablon said that the Potawatomi, Sauk, and a group referred to as the "Nation of the Fork" lived in the Green Bay area, "... but as foreigners, driven by their fear of the Iroquois from their own territories, which lie between the Lake of the Huron and that of the Illinois [Lake Michigan]" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 55:183). He noted that the Mascouten and Miami had combined into a single palisaded village "for common defense against the Iroquois, who pursue them even into these remote districts" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 55:201). The same year Allouez reported that the Iroquois attacked a group of Fox near the southern end of Lake Michigan and they "... withdrew to those regions to escape the persecution of the Iroquois . . . " (Jesuit Relations Vol. 54:219–223).

In 1673–74 Father Allouez reported that the Illinois were coming to settle at the Green Bay mission. The Miami and Kaskaskia were already there, and the Peoria "... are gradually coming here to settle, in the conviction that the house of God will protect them, and keep them safer than they formerly were" (Jesuit Relations Vol. 58:265). Such accounts could be multiplied many times, but these should be sufficient to demonstrate the point.

Thus, from evidence cited above, it appears that the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Mascouten, and Potawatomi, as well as certain divisions of the Illinois and other tribes not under consideration here, were initially pushed by the Iroquois from territories in lower Michigan and north of the Ohio River to the area west of Lake Michigan. Following these initial movements, French trade attracted them to the specific area of Green Bay. This would not only explain the
concentration in the wild rice area of tribes who did not use wild rice, but also throws light on a problem with which Kroeber (1939:89-91) was concerned; namely, why there was a very sparse population in the Ohio Valley when the Europeans first arrived, in contrast to the denser population indicated by archeological evidence for an earlier period.

If ecological studies of American Indians are aimed at placing them in their natural habitats, then the Fox, Mascouten, Sauk, Kickapoo, and the Potawatomi should not be included in an ecological area into which they had only recently migrated. However, we are then faced with the problem of placing them in another area. Kroeber (1939:84-85, 90) suggests that the Central Algonkin tribes in the wild rice area are closely similar to the central and southern Prairie tribes, and less so to those in the Illinois area, although he believes the similarity to the latter might be more apparent if further study were done. A study of historical materials by the present writer (Wilson Ms.) shows that the Kickapoo, Fox, Mascouten, and Prairie Potawatomi were very similar in cultural and ecological patterns. All these tribes occupied the prairie area after historical contact, and very probably before.

Therefore, I suggest that the Kickapoo, Fox, Sauk, Prairie Potawatomi, and Mascouten should be classified ecologically as prairie tribes, who lived in the river valleys in the prairie-parkland where they raised corn and hunted deer, moving into the grassland on foot to hunt buffalo during the summer.

NOTES
1 This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Central States Anthropological Association held in Bloomington, May, 1955. I wish to thank Nancie Solien for her valuable comments during the writing of this paper, and to thank Professor Volney H. Jones for several suggestions on the text. Responsibility for the conclusions is my own.

2 Several writers have touched upon this problem. Kellogg (1925) gives a very clear picture of the relocation of Indian tribes under the influence of European trade, and devotes a great deal of attention to the Green Bay area. Earlier, Turner (1889) mentioned the influence of trade and trade routes on Indian tribes in Wisconsin. In a more recent study, Keesing (1939) suggests that some of the tribes in Jenks' wild rice district did not use wild rice. However, none of these writers have brought these materials together to re-examine Jenks' original conclusions.

3 For the purposes of this paper, the Mascouten are considered as a distinct tribe. The writer has reviewed the arguments of Skinner (1924) who thinks the Mascouten were the same as the Prairie Potawatomi, and Michelson (1934) who says they were the same as the Peoria. Historical material indicates they were a separate group, though closely associated with the Kickapoo.

4 What follows will include only the group of Potawatomi which Skinner (1924) calls the "Mascouten or Prairie Potawatomi"; the "Forest Potawatomi" were not included in the study (Wilson Ms.). However, they may belong with the Prairie group.
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Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico

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I

STARTING from simple beginnings in the twenties, anthropologists have grown increasingly sophisticated about the relationship of nation and community. First, they studied the community in its own terms, taking but little account of its larger matrix. Later, they began to describe “outside factors” which affected the life of the local group under study. Recently they have come to recognize that nations or “systems of the higher level do not consist merely of more numerous and diversified parts,” and that it is therefore “methodologically incorrect to treat each part as though it were an independent whole in itself” (Steward 1950:107). Communities are “modified and acquire new characteristics because of their functional dependence upon a new and larger system” (ibid: 111). The present paper is concerned with a continuation of this anthropological discussion in terms of Mexican material.

The dependence of communities on a larger system has affected them in two ways. On the one hand, whole communities have come to play specialized parts within the larger whole. On the other, special functions pertaining to the whole have become the tasks of special groups within communities. These groups Steward calls horizontal socio-cultural segments. I shall simply call them nation-oriented groups. They are usually found in more than one community and follow ways of life different from those of their community-oriented fellow-villagers. They are often the agents of the great national institutions which reach down into the community, and form “the bones, nerves and sinews running through the total society, binding it together, and affecting it at every point” (ibid: 115). Communities which form parts of a complex society can thus be viewed no longer as self-contained and integrated systems in their own right. It is more appropriate to view them as the local termini of a web of group relations which extend through intermediate levels from the level of the community to that of the nation. In the community itself, these relationships may be wholly tangential to each other.

Forced to understand the community in terms of forces impinging on it from the outside, we have also found it necessary to gain a better understanding of national-level institutions. Yet to date most anthropologists have hesitated to commit themselves to such a study, even when they have become half-convinced that such a step would be desirable. National institutions seem so complex that even a small measure of competence in their operations seems to require full-time specialization. We have therefore left their description and analysis to specialists in other disciplines. Yet the specialists in law, politics, or economics have themselves discovered that anthropologists can be of almost as much use to them as they can be to the anthropologist. For they have become increasingly aware that the legal, political or other systems to
which they devote their attention are not closed systems either, but possess social and cultural dimensions which cannot be understood in purely institutional terms. They have discovered that they must pay attention to shifting group relationships and interests if their studies are to reflect this other dimension of institutional "reality." This is hardly surprising if we consider that institutions are ultimately but cultural patterns for group relationships. Their complex forms allow groups to relate themselves to each other in the multiple processes of conflict and accommodation which must characterize any complex society. They furnish the forms through which some nation-oriented groups may manipulate other nation-oriented or community-oriented groups. The complex apparatus of such institutions is indeed a subject for specialists, but anthropologists may properly attempt to assess some of their functions.

If the communities of a complex system such as Mexico represent but the local termini of group relationships which go beyond the community-level, we cannot hope to construct a model of how the larger society operates by simply adding more community studies. Mexico—or any complex system—is more than the arithmetic sum of its constituent communities. It is also more than the sum of its national-level institutions, or the sum of all the communities and national-level institutions taken together. From the point of view of this paper, it is rather the web of group relationships which connect localities and national-level institutions. The focus of study is not communities or institutions, but groups of people.

In dealing with the group relationships of a complex society, we cannot neglect to underline the fact that the exercise of power by some people over others enters into all of them, on all levels of integration. Certain economic and political relationships are crucial to the functioning of any complex society. No matter what other functions such a society may contain or elaborate, it must both produce surpluses and exercise power to transfer a part of these surpluses from the producing communities to people other than the producers. No matter what combination of cultural forms such a society may utilize, it must also wield power to limit the autonomy of its constituent communities and to interfere in their affairs. This means that all interpersonal and intergroup relationships of such a society must at some point conform to the dictates of economic or political power. Let it be said again, however, that these dictates of power are but aspects of group relationships, mediated in this case through the forms of an economic or political apparatus.

Finally, we must be aware that a web of group relationships implies a historical dimension. Group relationships involve conflict and accommodation, integration and disintegration, processes which take place over time. And just as Mexico in its synchronic aspect is a web of group relationships with termini in both communities and national-level institutions, so it is also more in its diachronic aspect than a sum of the histories of these termini. Local histories are important, as are the histories of national-level institutions, but they are not enough. They are but local or institutional manifestations of group relationships in continuous change.
In this paper, then, we shall deal with the relations of community-oriented and nation-oriented groups which characterize Mexico as a whole. We shall emphasize the economic and political aspects of these relationships, and we shall stress their historical dimension, their present as a rearrangement of their past, and their past as a determinant of their present.

II

From the beginning of Spanish rule in Mexico, we confront a society riven by group conflicts for economic and political control. The Spanish Crown sought to limit the economic and political autonomy of the military entrepreneurs who had conquered the country in its name. It hoped to convert the conquistadores into town dwellers, not directly involved in the process of production on the community level but dependent rather on carefully graded hand-outs by the Crown. They were to have no roots in local communities, but to depend directly on a group of officials operating at the level of the nation. The strategic cultural form selected for this purpose was the encomienda, in which the recipient received rights to a specified amount of Indian tribute and services, but was not permitted to organize his own labor force nor to settle in Indian towns. Both control of Indian labor and the allocation of tribute payments were to remain in the hands of royal bureaucrats (Simpson 1950: esp. 123, 144; Zavala 1940).

To this end, the Crown encouraged the organization of the Indian population into compact communities with self-rule over their own affairs, subject to supervision and interference at the hands of royal officials (Zavala and Miranda 1954: 75-79). Many of the cultural forms of this community organization are pre-Hispanic in origin, but they were generally repatterned and charged with new functions. We must remember that the Indian sector of society underwent a serious reduction in social complexity during the 16th and 17th centuries. The Indians lost some of their best lands and water supply, as well as the larger part of their population. As a result of this social cataclysm, as well as of government policy, the repatterned Indian community emerged as something qualitatively new: a corporate organization of a local group inhabited by peasants (Wolf 1955a: 456-461). Each community was granted a legal charter and communal lands (Zavala and Miranda 1954: 70); equipped with a communal treasury (ibid. 87-88; Chávez Orozco 1943: 23-24) and administrative center (Zavala and Miranda 1954: 80-82); and connected with one of the newly-established churches. It was charged with the autonomous enforcement of social control, and with the payment of dues (ibid: 82).

Thus equipped to function in terms of their own resources, these communities became in the centuries after the Conquest veritable redoubts of cultural homeostasis. Communal jurisdiction over land, obligations to expend surplus funds in religious ceremonies, negative attitudes toward personal display of wealth and self-assertion, strong defenses against deviant behavior, all served to emphasize social and cultural homogeneity and to reduce tendencies toward the development of internal class differences and heterogeneity.
in behavior and interests. The taboo on sales of land to outsiders and the

tendency toward endogamy made it difficult for outsiders to gain footholds in

these villages (Redfield and Tax 1952; Wolf 1955a:457–61).

At the same time, the Crown failed in its attempt to change the Spanish

conquerors into passive dependents of royal favors (Miranda 1947). Supported

by large retinues of clients (such as criados, deudos, allegados, paniaguados,
cf. Chevalier 1952:33–38), the colonists increasingly wrested control of the

crucial economic and political relationships from the hands of the royal bureau-

cracy. Most significantly, they developed their own labor force, in contraven-

tion of royal command and independently of the Indian communities. They

bought Indian and Negro slaves; they attracted to their embryonic enterprises

poor whites who had come off second best in the distribution of conquered

riches; and they furnished asylum to Indians who were willing to pay the price

of acculturation and personal obligation to a Spanish entrepreneur for freedom

from the increasingly narrow life of the encysting Indian communities. By the

end of the 18th century, the colonist enterprises had achieved substantial

independence of the Crown in most economic, political, legal, and even military

matters. Power thus passed from the hands of the Crown into the hands of

local rulers who interposed themselves effectively between nation and com-

munity. Effective power to enforce political and economic decisions contrary
to the interest of these power-holders was not returned to the national level


Alongside the Indian villages and the entrepreneurial communities located

near haciendas, mines, or mills, there developed loosely-structured settlements

casual farmers and workers, middlemen and “lumpenproletarians” who had

no legal place in the colonial order. Colonial records tended to ignore them

except when they came into overt conflict with the law. Their symbol in Mexi-
can literature is El Periquillo Sarniento, the man who lives by his wits (cf.

Yañez 1945:60–94). “Conceived in violence and without joy, born into the

world in sorrow” (Fernando Benitez 1947:47), the very marginality of their

origins and social position forced them to develop patterns of behavior adapted

to a life unstructured by formal law. They were thus well fitted to take charge

of the crucial economic and political relationships of the society at a time when

social and cultural change began to break down the barriers between statuses

and put a premium on individuals and groups able to rise above their tradi-
tional stations through manipulation of social ties and improvisation upon

them.

The transfer of power from the national level to the intermediate power-
holders, and the abolition of laws protecting the Indian communities—both

accomplished when Mexico gained its independence from Spain (Chávez Orozco

1943:35–47)—produced a new constellation of relationships among Indian

communities, colonist entrepreneurs, and “marginals.” The colonists’ enter-

prises, and chief among them the hacienda, began to encroach more and more

heavily on the Indian communities. At the same time, the Indian communities

increasingly faced the twin threats of internal differentiation and of invasion

from the outside by the “marginals” of colonial times.
Despite the transcendent importance of the hacienda in Mexican life, anthropologists have paid little attention to this cultural form. To date we do not have a single anthropological or sociological study of a Mexican hacienda or hacienda community. Recent historical research has shown that the hacienda is not an offspring of the encomienda (Zavala 1940; 1944). The encomienda always remained a form of royal control. The hacienda, however, proved admirably adapted to the purposes of the colonists who strove for greater autonomy. Unlike the encomienda, it granted direct ownership of land to a manager-owner, and permitted direct control of a resident labor force. From the beginning, it served commercial ends (Bazant 1950). Its principal function was to convert community-oriented peasants into a disciplined labor force able to produce cash crops for a supracommunity market. The social relationships through which this was accomplished involved a series of voluntary or forced transactions in which the worker abdicated much personal autonomy in exchange for heightened social and economic security.

Many observers have stressed the voracity of the hacienda for land and labor. Its appetite for these two factors of production was great indeed, and yet ultimately limited by its very structure. First, the hacienda always lacked capital. It thus tended to farm only the best land (Gruening 1928:134; Ten- nenbaum 1929:121-122), and relied heavily on the traditional technology of its labor force (Simpson 1937:490). Hacienda owners also curtailed production in order to raise land rent and prices, and to keep down wages (Gama 1931:21). Thus "Mexico has been a land of large estates, but not a nation of large-scale agriculture" (Martinez de Alba, quoted in Simpson 1937:490). Second, the hacienda was always limited by available demand (Chavez Orozco 1950:19), which in a country with a largely self-sufficient population was always small. What the hacienda owner lacked in capital, however, he made up in the exercise of power over people. He tended to "monopolize land that he might monopolize labor" (Gruening 1928:134). But here again the hacienda encountered limits to its expansion. Even with intensive farming of its core lands and lavish use of gardeners and torch bearers, it reached a point where its mechanisms of control could no longer cope with the surplus of population nominally under its domination. At this point the haciendas ceased to grow, allowing Indian communities like Tepoztlan (Lewis 1951: xxv) or the Sierra and Lake Tarascan villages (West 1948:17) to survive on their fringes. Most hacienda workers did not live on the haciendas; they were generally residents of nearby communities who had lost their land, and exchanged their labor for the right to farm a subsistence plot on hacienda lands (Aguirre and Pozas 1954:202—203). Similarly, only in the arid and sparsely populated North did large haciendas predominate. In the heavily populated central region, Mexico's core area, large haciendas were the exception and the "medium-size" hacienda of about 3000 ha. was the norm (ibid. 201; also Simpson 1937:489).

I should even go so far as to assert that once the haciendas reached the apex of their growth within a given area, they began to add to the defensive capacity of the corporately organized communities of Indian peasantry rather than to detract from it. Their major innovation lay in the field of labor organization
and not in the field of technology. Their tenants continued to farm substantial land areas by traditional means (Aguirre and Pozas 1954:201; Whetten 1948:105) and the hacienda did not generally interfere in village affairs except when these came into conflict with its interests. The very threat of a hacienda’s presence unified the villagers on its fringes in ways which would have been impossible in its absence. A hacienda owner also resented outside interference with “his” Indians, whether these lived inside or outside his property, and outsiders were allowed to operate in the communities only “by his leave.” He thus often acted as a buffer between the Indian communities and nation-oriented groups, a role similar to that played by the hacienda owner in the Northern Highlands of Peru (Mangin 1955). Periodic work on the haciendas further provided the villagers with opportunities, however small, to maintain aspects of their lives which required small outlays of cash and goods, such as their festive patterns, and thus tended to preserve traditional cultural forms and functions which might otherwise have fallen into disuse (Aguirre and Pozas 1954:221; Wolf 1953:161).

Where corporate peasant communities were ultimately able to establish relations of hostile symbiosis with the haciendas, they confronted other pressures toward dissolution. These pressures came both from within and without the villages, and aimed at the abolition of communal jurisdiction over land. They sought to replace communal jurisdiction with private property in land, that is, to convert village land into a commodity. Like any commodity, land was to become an object to be bought, sold, and used not according to the common understandings of community-oriented groups, but according to the interests of nation-oriented groups outside the community. In some corporate communities outsiders were able to become landowners by buying land or taking land as security on unpaid loans, e.g. in the Tarascan area (Carrasco 1952:17). Typically, these outsiders belonged to the strata of the population which during colonial times had occupied a marginal position, but which exerted increased pressure for wealth, mobility and social recognition during the 19th century. Unable to break the monopoly which the haciendas exercised over the best land, they followed the line of least resistance and established beachheads in the Indian communities (Molina Enriquez 1909:53). They were aided in their endeavors by laws designed to break up the holdings of so-called corporations, which included the lands of the Church and the communal holdings of the Indians.

But even where outsiders were barred from acquiring village lands, the best land of the communities tended to pass into private ownership, this time of members of the community itself (Gama 1931:10-11). Important in this change seems to have been the spread of plow culture and oxen which required some capital investment, coupled with the development of wage labor on such holdings and increasing production for a supracommunity market. As Oscar Lewis has so well shown for Tepoztlán, once private ownership in land allied to plow culture is established in at least part of the community, the community tends to differentiate into a series of social groups, with different tech-
The Mexican Revolution of 1910 destroyed both the cultural form of the hacienda and the social relationships which were mediated through it. It did so in part because the hacienda was a self-limiting economic system, incapable of further expansion. It did so in part because the hacienda prevented the geographic mobility of a large part of Mexico's population. The end of debt bondage, for example, has permitted or forced large numbers of people to leave their local communities and to seek new opportunities elsewhere. It did so, finally, because the hacienda blocked the channels of social and cultural mobility and communication from nation to community, and tended to atomize the power of the central government. By destroying its power, the Revolution reopened channels of relationship from the communities to the national level, and permitted new circulation of individuals and groups through the various levels (Iturriaga 1951:66).

The new power-holders have moved upwards mainly through political channels, and the major means of consolidating and obtaining power on the regional and national level in Mexico today appear to be political. Moreover—and due perhaps in part to the lack of capital in Mexican economy as a whole—political advantages are necessary to obtain economic advantages. Both economic and political interests must aim at the establishment of monopolistic positions within defined areas of crucial economic and political relationships. Thus political and economic power-seekers tend to meet in alliances and cliques on all levels of the society.

The main formal organization through which their interests are mediated is the government party, the Revolutionary Institutional Party or, as someone has said, "the Revolution as an institution" (Lee 1954:300). This party contains not only groups formally defined as political, but also occupational and other special-interests groups. It is a political holding company representing different group interests (Scott 1955:4). Its major function is to establish channels of communication and mobility from the local community to the central power group at the helm of the government. Individuals who can gain control of the local termini of these channels can now rise to positions of power in the national economy or political machine.

Some of the prerequisites for this new mobility are purely economic. The possession of some wealth, or access to sources of wealth, is important; more important, however, is the ability to adopt the proper patterns of public behavior. These are the patterns of behavior developed by the "marginal" groups of colonial times which have now become the ideal behavior patterns of the nation-oriented person. An individual who seeks power and recognition...
outside his local community must shape his behavior to fit these new expectations. He must learn to operate in an arena of continuously changing friendships and alliances, which form and dissolve with the appearance or disappearance of new economic or political opportunities. In other words, he must learn to function in terms which characterize any complex stratified society in which individuals can improve their status through the judicious manipulation of social ties. However, this manipulative behavior is always patterned culturally—and patterned differently in Mexico than in the United States or India. He must therefore learn also the cultural forms in which this manipulative behavior is couched. Individuals who are able to operate both in terms of community-oriented and nation-oriented expectations then tend to be selected out for mobility. They become the economic and political "brokers" of nation-community relations, a function which carries its own rewards.

The rise of such politician-entrepreneurs, however, has of necessity produced new problems for the central power. The Spanish Crown had to cope with the ever-growing autonomy of the colonists; the central government of the Republic must similarly check the propensity of political power-seekers to free themselves of government control by cornering economic advantages. Once wealthy in their own right, these nation-community "brokers" would soon be independent of government favors and rewards. The Crown placed a check on the colonists by balancing their localized power over bailiwicks with the concentrated power of a corps of royal officials in charge of the corporate Indian communities. Similarly, the government of the Republic must seek to balance the community-derived power of its political "brokers" with the power of other power-holders. In modern Mexico, these competing power-holders are the leaders of the labor unions—especially of the labor unions in the nationalized industries—and of the ejidos, the groups in local communities who have received land grants in accordance with the agrarian laws growing out of the 1910 Revolution.

Leaving aside a discussion of the labor unions due to limitations of time and personal knowledge, I should like to underline the importance of the ejido grants as a nationwide institution. They now include more than 30 percent of the people in Mexican localities with a population below 10,000 (Whetten 1948:186). A few of these, located in well irrigated and highly capitalized areas, have proved an economic as well as a political success (ibid. 215). The remainder, however, must be regarded as political instruments rather than as economic ones. They are political assets because they have brought under government control large numbers of people who depend ultimately on the government for their livelihood. Agrarian reform has, however, produced social and political changes without concomitant changes in the technological order; the redistribution of land alone can neither change the technology nor supply needed credit (Aguirre and Pozas 1954:207–208; Pozas 1952:316).

At the same time, the Revolution has intensified the tendencies toward further internal differentiation of statuses and interests in the communities, and thus served to reduce their capacity to resist outside impact and pressure.
It has mobilized the potentially nation-oriented members of the community, the men with enough land or capital to raise cash crops and operate stores, the men whose position and personality allows them to accept the new patterns of nation-oriented behavior. Yet often enough the attendant show of business and busyness tends to obscure the fact that most of the inhabitants of such communities either lack access to new opportunities or are unable to take advantage of such opportunities when offered. Lacking adequate resources in land, water, technical knowledge, and contacts in the market, the majority also lack the instruments which can transform use values into marketable commodities. At the same time, their inability to speak Spanish and their failure to understand the cues for the new patterns of nation-oriented behavior isolate them from the channels of communication between community and nation. Under these circumstances they must cling to the traditional "rejection pattern" of their ancestors, because their narrow economic base sets limits to the introduction of new cultural alternatives. These are all too often nonfunctional for them. The production of sufficient maize for subsistence purposes remains their major goal in life. In their case, the granting of ejidos tended to lend support to their accustomed way of life and reinforced their attachment to their traditional heritage.

Confronted by these contrasts between the mobile and the traditional, the nation-oriented and the community-oriented, village life is riven by contradictions and conflicts, conflicts not only between class groups but also between individuals, families, or entire neighborhoods. Such a community will inevitably differentiate into a number of unstable groups with different orientations and interests.

III

This paper has dealt with the principal ways in which social groups arranged and rearranged themselves in conflict and accommodation along the major economic and political axes of Mexican society. Each rearrangement produced a changed configuration in the relationship of community-oriented and nation-oriented groups. During the first period of post-Columbian Mexican history, political power was concentrated on the national level in the hands of royal officials. Royal officials and colonist entrepreneurs struggled with each other for control of the labor supply located in the Indian communities. In this struggle, the royal officials helped to organize the Indian peasantry into corporate communities which proved strongly resilient to outside change. During the second period, the colonist entrepreneurs—and especially the owners of haciendas—threw off royal control and established autonomous local enclaves, centered on their enterprises. With the fusion of political and economic power in the hands of these intermediate power-holders, the national government was rendered impotent and the Indian peasant groups became satellites of the entrepreneurial complex. At the same time, their corporate communal organization was increasingly weakened by internal differentiation and the inroads of outsiders. During the third period, the entrepreneurial
complexes standing between community and nation were swept away by the agrarian revolution and power again returned to a central government. Political means are once more applied to check the transformation of power-seekers from the local communities into independent entrepreneurs. Among the groups used in exercising such restraint are the agriculturists, organized in ejidos which allow the government direct access to the people of the local communities.

Throughout this analysis, we have been concerned with the bonds which unite different groups on different levels of the larger society, rather than with the internal organization of communities and national-level institutions. Such a shift in emphasis seems increasingly necessary as our traditional models of communities and national institutions become obsolete. Barring such a shift, anthropologists will have to abdicate their new-found interest in complex societies. The social-psychological aspects of life in local groups, as opposed to the cultural aspects, have long been explored by sociologists. The study of formal law, politics, or economics is better carried out by specialists in these fields than by anthropologists doubling as part-time experts. Yet the hallmark of anthropology has always been its holistic approach, an approach which is increasingly needed in an age of ever-increasing specialization. This paper constitutes an argument that we can achieve greater synthesis in the study of complex societies by focusing our attention on the relationships between different groups operating on different levels of the society, rather than on any one of its isolated segments.

Such an approach will necessarily lead us to ask some new questions and to reconsider some answers to old questions. We may raise two such questions regarding the material presented in the present paper. First, can we make any generalizations about the ways in which groups in Mexico interrelate with each other over time, as compared to those which unite groups in another society, such as Italy or Japan, for example? We hardly possess the necessary information to answer such a question at this point, but one can indicate the direction which a possible answer might take. Let me point to one salient characteristic of Mexican group relationships which appears from the foregoing analysis: the tendency of new group relationships to contribute to the preservation of traditional cultural forms. The Crown reorganized the Indian communities; they became strongholds of the traditional way of life. The haciendas transformed the Indian peasants into part-time laborers; their wages stabilized their traditional prestige economy. The Revolution of 1910 opened the channels of opportunity to the nation-oriented; it reinforced the community-orientation of the immobile. It would indeed seem that in Mexico "the old periods never disappear completely and all wounds, even the oldest, continue to bleed to this day" (Paz 1947:11). This "contemporaneity of the noncontemporaneous" is responsible for the "common-sense" view of many superficial observers that in Mexico "no problems are ever solved," and "reforms always produce results opposite to those intended." It has undoubtedly affected Mexican political development (Wolf 1953:160–165). It may be re-
sponsored for the violence which has often accompanied even minor ruptures in these symbiotic patterns. And one may well ask the question whether both processes of accommodation or conflict in Mexico have not acquired certain patterned forms as a result of repeated cyclical returns to hostile symbiosis in group relationships.

Such considerations once again raise the thorny problems presented by the national character approach. Much discussion of this concept has turned on the question of whether all nationals conform to a common pattern of behavior and ideals. This view has been subjected to much justified criticism. We should remember, however, that most national character studies have emphasized the study of ideal norms, constructed on the basis of verbal statements by informants, rather than the study of real behavior through participant observation. The result has been, I think, to confuse cultural form and function. It seems possible to define "national character" operationally as those cultural forms or mechanisms which groups involved in the same overall web of relationships can use in their formal and informal dealings with each other. Such a view need not imply that all nationals think or behave alike, nor that the forms used may not serve different functions in different social contexts. Such common forms must exist if communication between the different constituent groups of a complex society are to be established and maintained.

I have pointed out that in modern Mexico the behavior patterns of certain groups in the past have become the expected forms of behavior of nation-oriented individuals. These cultural forms of communication as found in Mexico are manifestly different from those found in other societies (see especially Carrión 1952: 70-90; Paz 1947: 29-45). Their study by linguists and students of kinesics (Birdwhistell 1951) would do much to establish their direct relevance to the study of complex societies.

A second consideration which derives from the analysis presented in this paper concerns the groups of people who mediate between community-oriented groups in communities and nation-oriented groups which operate primarily through national institutions. We have encountered several such groups in this paper. In post-Columbian Mexico, these mediating functions were first carried out by the leaders of Indian corporate communities and royal officials. Later, these tasks fell into the hands of the local entrepreneurs, such as the owners of haciendas. After the Revolution of 1910, they passed into the hands of nation-oriented individuals from the local communities who have established ties with the national level, and who serve as "brokers" between community-oriented and nation-oriented groups.

The study of these "brokers" will prove increasingly rewarding, as anthropologists shift their attention from the internal organization of communities to the manner of their integration into larger systems. For they stand guard over the crucial junctures or synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole. Their basic function is to relate community-oriented individuals who want to stabilize or improve their life chances, but who lack economic security and political connections, with nation-oriented
individuals who operate primarily in terms of the complex cultural forms standardized as national institutions, but whose success in these operations depends on the size and strength of their personal following. These functions are of course expressed through cultural forms or mechanisms which will differ from culture to culture. Examples of these are Chinese kan-ch'ing (Fried 1953), Japanese oyabun-kobun (Ishino 1953), Latin American compadrazgo (Mintz and Wolf 1950).

Special studies of such "broker" groups can also provide unusual insight into the functions of a complex system through a study of its dysfunctions. The position of these "brokers" is an "exposed" one, since, Janus-like, they face in two directions at once. They must serve some of the interests of groups operating on both the community and the national level, and they must cope with the conflicts raised by the collision of these interests. They cannot settle them, since by doing so they would abolish their own usefulness to others. Thus they often act as buffers between groups, maintaining the tensions which provide the dynamic of their actions. The relation of the hacienda owner to his satellite Indians, the role of the modern politician-broker to his community-oriented followers, may properly be viewed in this light. These would have no raison d'être but for the tensions between community-oriented groups and nation-oriented groups. Yet they must also maintain a grip on these tensions, lest conflict get out of hand and better mediators take their place. Fallers (1955) has demonstrated how much can be learned about the workings of complex systems by studying the "predicament" of one of its "brokers," the Soga chief. We shall learn much from similar studies elsewhere.

SUMMARY

This paper has argued that students of complex societies must proceed from a study of communities or national institutions to a study of the ties between social groups operating on all levels of a society. It then attempted to view Mexico in this light. Emphasis on the external ties between groups rather than on the internal organization of each alone led to renewed questions as to whether these ties were mediated through common cultural forms, and to a discussion of "broker" groups which mediate between different levels of integration of the same society.

NOTE

1 A first draft of this paper was prepared while the author was Research Associate of the Project for Research on Cross-Cultural Regularities, directed by Julian Steward at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Parts of it were read before a meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society at Bloomington, Indiana, on May 6, 1955. I am indebted for helpful criticisms to Julian Steward and Oscar Lewis of the University of Illinois, and to Sidney Mintz of Yale University.

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ZAVALA, SILVIO, and JOSÉ MIRANDA
Ecologic Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan

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The importance of ecologic factors for the form and distribution of cultures has usually been analyzed by means of a culture area concept. This concept has been developed with reference to the aboriginal cultures of North America (Kroeber 1939). Attempts at delimiting culture areas in Asia by similar procedures have proved extremely difficult (Bacon 1946, Kroeber 1947, Miller 1953), since the distribution of cultural types, ethnic groups, and natural areas rarely coincide. Coon (1951) speaks of Middle Eastern society as being built on a mosaic principle—many ethnic groups with radically different cultures co-reside in an area in symbiotic relations of variable intimacy. Referring to a similar structure, Furnivall (1944) describes the Netherlands Indies as a plural society. The common characteristic in these two cases is the combination of ethnic segmentation and economic interdependence. Thus the “environment” of any one ethnic group is not only defined by natural conditions, but also by the presence and activities of the other ethnic groups on which it depends. Each group exploits only a section of the total environment, and leaves large parts of it open for other groups to exploit.

This interdependence is analogous to that of the different animal species in a habitat. As Kroeber (1947:330) emphasizes, culture area classifications are essentially ecologic; thus detailed ecologic considerations, rather than geographical areas of subcontinental size, should offer the point of departure. The present paper attempts to apply a more specific ecologic approach to a case study of distribution by utilizing some of the concepts of animal ecology, particularly the concept of a niche—the place of a group in the total environment, its relations to resources and competitors (cf. Allee 1949:516).

Groups. The present example is simple, relatively speaking, and is concerned with the three major ethnic groups in Swat State, North-West frontier Province, Pakistan. These are: (1) Pathans—Pashto-speaking (Iranian language family) sedentary agriculturalists; (2) Kohistanis—speakers of Dardic languages, practicing agriculture and transhumant herding; and (3) Gujars—Gujri-speaking (a lowland Indian dialect) nomadic herders. Kohistanis are probably the ancient inhabitants of most of Swat; Pathans entered as conquerors in successive waves between A.D. 1000-1600, and Gujars probably first appeared in the area some 400 years ago. Pathans of Swat State number about 450,000, Kohistanis perhaps 30,000. The number of Gujars in the area is difficult to estimate.

The centralized state organization in Swat was first established in 1917, and the most recent accretion was annexed in 1947, so the central organization has no relevance for the distributional problems discussed here.

Area. Swat State contains sections of two main valleys, those of the Swat
and the Indus Rivers. The Swat River rises in the high mountains to the North, among 18,000 foot peaks. As it descends and grows in volume, it enters a deep gorge. This upper section of the valley is thus very narrow and steep. From approximately 5,000 feet, the Swat valley becomes increasingly wider as one proceeds southward, and is flanked by ranges descending from 12,000 to 6,000 feet in altitude. The river here has a more meandering course, and the valley bottom is a flat, extensive alluvial deposit.

The east border of Swat State follows the Indus River; only its west bank and tributaries are included in the area under discussion. The Indus enters the area as a very large river; it flows in a spectacular gorge, 15,000 feet deep and from 12 to 16 miles wide. Even in the north, the valley bottom is less than 3,000 feet above sea level, while the surrounding mountains reach 18,000 feet. The tributary valleys are consequently short and deeply cut, with an extremely steep profile. Further to the south, the surrounding mountain ranges recede from the river banks and lose height, the Indus deposits some sediment, and the tributary streams form wider valleys.

Climatic variations in the area are a function of altitude. Precipitation is low throughout. The southern, low-altitude areas have long, hot summers and largely steppe vegetation. The Indus gorge has been described as "a desert embedded between icy gravels" (Spate 1954:381). The high mountains are partly covered by permanent ice and snow, and at lower levels by natural mountain meadows in the brief summer season. Between these extremes is a broad belt (from 6,000 to 11,000 feet) of forest, mainly of pine and deodar.

Pathan-Kohistani distribution. Traditional history, in part relating to place-names of villages and uninhabited ruins, indicates that Kohistani inhabitants were driven progressively northward by Pathan invaders (cf. Stein 1929:33, 83). This northward spread has now been checked, and the border between Kohistani and Pathan territories has been stable for some time. The last Pathan expansion northward in the Swat valley took place under the leadership of the Saint Akhund Sadiq Baba, eight generations ago. To understand the factors responsible for the stability of the present ethnic border, it is necessary to examine the specific ecologic requirements of the present Pathan economy and organization.

Pathans of Swat live in a complex, multi-caste society. The landholding Pakhtun caste is organized in a localized, segmentary, unilinear descent groups; other castes and occupational groups are tied to them as political clients and economic serfs. Subsistence is based on diversified and well-developed plow agriculture. The main crops are wheat, maize, and rice; much of the plowed land is watered by artificial irrigation. Manuring is practiced, and several systems of crop rotation and regular fallow-field rhythms are followed, according to the nature of the soil and water supply. All rice is irrigated, with nursery beds and transplantation.

Only part of the Pathan population is actively engaged in agriculture. Various other occupational groups perform specialized services in return for payment in kind, and thus require that the agriculturalists produce a consider-
From one 6,000 acre and 3,000 is a subtle surplus. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the political system depends on a strong hierarchical organization of landowners and much political activity, centering around the men’s houses (hujra). This activity diverts much manpower from productive pursuits. The large and well-organized Pathan tribes are found in the lower parts of the Swat valley and along the more southerly tributaries of the Indus, occupying broad and fertile alluvial plains. A simpler form of political organization is found along the northern fringes of Pathan territory. It is based on families of saintly descent, and is characterized by the lack of men’s houses. This simplification renders the economy of the community more efficient (1) by eliminating the wasteful potlatch-type feasts of the men’s houses, and (2) by vesting political office in saintly persons of inviolate status, thus eliminating the numerous retainers that protect political leaders in other Pathan areas.

Pathan territory extends to a critical ecologic threshold: the limits within which two crops can be raised each year. This is largely a function of altitude. Two small outliers of Pashto-speaking people (Jag, in Duber valley, and a section of Kalam) are found north of this limit. They are unlike other Pathans, and similar to their Kohistani neighbors in economy and political organization.

The conclusion that the limits of double cropping constitute the effective check on further Pathan expansion seems unavoidable. Pathan economy and political organization requires that agricultural labor produce considerable surplus. Thus in the marginal, high-altitude areas, the political organization is modified and “economized” (as also in the neighboring Dir area), while beyond these limits of double cropping the economic and social system can not survive at all.

Kohistanis are not restricted by this barrier. The Kohistani ethnic group apparently once straddled it; and, as they were driven north by invading Pathans, they freely crossed what to Pathans was a restricting barrier. This must be related to differences between Kohistani and Pathan political and economic organization, and consequent differences in their ecologic requirements.

Kohistanis, like Pathans, practice a developed plow agriculture. Due to the terrain they occupy, their fields are located on narrow artificial terraces, which require considerable engineering skill for their construction. Parts of Kohistan receive no summer rains; the streams, fed from the large snow reserves in the mountains, supply water to the fields through complex and extensive systems of irrigation. Some manuring is practiced. Climatic conditions modify the types of food crops. Maize and millet are most important; wheat and rice can only be raised in a few of the low-lying areas. The summer season is short, and fields produce only one crop a year.

Agricultural methods are thus not very different from those of Pathans, but the net production of fields is much less. Kohistanis, however, have a two-fold economy, for transhumant herding is as important as agriculture. Sheep, goats, cattle, and water-buffalo are kept for wool, meat, and milk.
The herds depend in summer on mountain pastures, where most of the Kohistanis spend between four and eight months each year, depending on local conditions. In some areas the whole population migrates through as many as five seasonal camps, from winter dwellings in the valley bottom to summer campsites at a 14,000 foot altitude, leaving the fields around the abandoned low-altitude dwellings to remain practically untended. In the upper Swat valley, where the valley floor is covered with snow some months of the year, winter fodder is collected and stored for the animals.

By having two strings to their bow, so to speak, the Kohistanis are able to wrest a living from inhospitable mountain areas which fall short of the minimal requirements for Pathan occupation. In these areas, Kohistanis long retained their autonomy, the main territories being conquered by Swat State in 1926, 1939, and 1947. They were, and still are, organized in politically separate village districts of from 400 to 2000 inhabitants. Each community is subdivided into a number of loosely connected patrilineal lineages. The central political institution is the village council, in which all landholding minimal lineages have their representatives. Each community also includes a family of blacksmith-cum-carpenter specialists, and a few households of tenants or farm laborers.

Neighboring communities speaking the same dialect or language could apparently fuse politically when under external pressure, in which case they were directed by a common council of prominent leaders from all constituent lineages. But even these larger units were unable to withstand the large forces of skilled fighters which Pathans of the Swat area could mobilize. These forces were estimated at 15,000 by the British during the Ambeyla campaign in 1862 (cf. Roberts 1898, vol. 2:7).

“Natural” subareas. The present Swat State appears to the Kohistanis as a single natural area, since, as an ethnic group, they once occupied all of it, and since their economy can function anywhere within it. With the advent of invading Pathan tribes, the Kohistanis found themselves unable to defend the land. But the land which constitutes one natural area to Kohistanis is divided by a line which Pathans were unable to cross. From the Pathan point of view, it consists of two natural areas, one containing the ecologic requisites for Pathan occupation, the other uninhabitable. Thus the Kohistanis were permitted to retain a part of their old territory in spite of their military inferiority, while in the remainder they were either assimilated as serfs in the conquering Pathan society or were expelled.

From the purely synchronic point of view, the present Pathan-Kohistani distribution presents a simple and static picture of two ethnic groups representing two discrete culture areas, and with a clear correspondence between these culture areas and natural areas: Pathans in broad valleys with a hot climate and scrub vegetation as against Kohistanis in high mountains with a severe climate and coniferous forest cover. Through the addition of time depth, the possibility arises of breaking down the concept of a “natural area” into a series of more specific shallower subareas.
into specific ecologic components in relation to the requirements of specific economies.

Analysis of the distribution of Gujars in relation to the other ethnic groups requires such a procedure. Gujars are found in both Pathan and Kohistani areas, following two different economic patterns in both areas: transhumant herding, and true nomadism. But while they are distributed throughout all of the Pathan territory, they are found only in the western half of Kohistan, and neither reside nor visit in the eastern half. The division into mountain and valley seems irrelevant to the Gujars, while the mountain area—in hospitable to Pathans and usable to Kohistanis—is divided by a barrier which Gujars do not cross. The economy and other features of Gujar life must be described before this distribution and its underlying factors can be analyzed.

Gujars constitute a floating population of herders, somewhat ill-defined due to a variable degree of assimilation into the host populations. In physical type, as well as in dress and language, the majority of them are easily distinguishable. Their music, dancing, and manner of celebrating rites of passage differ from those of their hosts. Their political status is one of dependence on the host population.

The Gujar population is subdivided into a number of named patrilineal tribes or clans—units claiming descent from a common known or unknown ancestor, but without supporting genealogies. There are sometimes myths relating to the clan origin, and these frequently serve as etymologies for the clan name. The clans vary greatly in size and only the smallest are localized. The effective descent units are patrilineal lineages of limited depth, though there is greater identification between unrelated Gujars bearing the same clan name than between strangers of different clans. These clans are irrelevant to marriage regulations. There is little intermarriage between Gujars and the host group.

The economy of the Gujars depends mainly on the herding of sheep, goats, cattle, and water buffalo. In addition to animal products, Gujars require some grain (maize, wheat, or millet) which they get by their own agriculture in marginal, high-altitude fields or by trade in return for clarified butter, meat, or wool. Their essential requirements may be satisfied by two rather different patterns of life—transhumance and true nomadism. Pathans differentiate persons pursuing these two patterns by the terms Gujar and Ajer, respectively, and consider them to be ethnic subdivisions. In fact, Gujars may change their pattern of life from one to the other.

Transhumance is practiced mainly by Gujars in the Pathan area, but also occasionally in Kohistan (see map). Symbiotic relationships between Gujars and Pathans take various forms, some quite intimate. Pathans form a multi-caste society, into which Gujars are assimilated as a specialized occupational caste of herders. Thus most Pathan villages contain a small number of Gujars—these may speak Gujri as their home language and retain their separate culture, or may be assimilated to the extent of speaking only Pashto. Politically
Sketch map of area of Swat State, Pakistan. Stippled area: under cultivation by Pathans. Broken line: border between Pathan and Kohistani areas. Dotted line: border of area utilized by Gujars (the two borders coincide towards the southeast). p: outlying Pathan communities. g: outlying communities of transhumant Gujars. Gujar nomads spend the summer in the mountains central and north on the map, and winter in the southernmost area of the map. Inset: location of sketch map.
they are integrated into the community in a client or serf status. Their role is to care for the animals (mainly water buffalo and draft oxen) either as servants of a landowner or as independent buffalo owners. They contribute to the village economy with milk products (especially clarified butter), meat, and manure, which is important and carefully utilized in the fields.

In addition to their agricultural land, most Pathan villages control neighboring hills or mountain-sides, which are used by Pathans only as a source of firewood. The transhumant Gujars, however, shift their flocks to these higher areas for summer pasture, for which they pay a fixed rate, in kind, per animal. This rent supplies the landholders with clarified butter for their own consumption. Gujars also serve as agricultural laborers in the seasons of peak activity, most importantly during the few hectic days of rice transplantation. They also seed fields of their own around their summer camps for harvest the following summer.

In Kohistan there is less symbiosis between Gujars and their hosts but the pattern is similar, except that the few fields are located by the winter settlements.

The transhumant cycle may be very local. Some Gujars merely move from Pathan villages in the valley bottom to hillside summer settlements 1,000 or 1,500 feet above, visible from the village. Others travel 20 or 30 miles to summer grazing grounds in the territory of a different Pathan tribe from that of their winter hosts.

Nomads travel much farther, perhaps 100 miles, utilizing the high mountain pastures in the summer and wintering in the low plains. While the transhumant Gujars place their main emphasis on the water buffalo, the nomads specialize in the more mobile sheep and goats. Nonetheless, the two patterns are not truly distinct, for some groups combine features of both. They spend the spring in the marginal hills of Pathan territory, where they seed a crop. In summer the men take the herds of sheep and goats to the high mountains, while the women remain behind to care for the buffalo and the fields. In autumn the men return with the herds, reap the crops, and utilize the pastures. Finally, they store the grain and farm out their buffalo with Pathan villagers, and retire to the low plains with their sheep and goats for the winter.

The true nomads never engage in agricultural pursuits; they may keep cattle, but are not encumbered with water buffalo. The degree of autonomous political organization is proportional to the length of the yearly migration. Households of locally transhumant Gujars are tied individually to Pathan leaders. Those crossing Pathan tribal borders are organized in small lineages, the better to bargain for low grazing tax. The true nomads co-ordinate the herding of flocks and migrations of people from as many as 50 households, who may also camp together for brief periods. Such groups generally consist of several small lineages, frequently of different clans, related by affinal or cognatic ties and under the direction of a single leader. Thus, though migrating through areas controlled by other political organizations, they retain a moderately well-defined organization of their own.
**Gujar distribution.** The co-existence of Gujars and Pathans in one area poses no problem, in view of the symbiotic relations sketched above. Pathans have the military strength to control the mountainous flanks of the valleys they occupy, but have no effective means of utilizing these areas. This leaves an unoccupied ecologic niche which the Gujar ethnic group has entered and to which it has accommodated itself in a politically dependent position through a pattern of transhumance. Symbiotic advantages make the relationship satisfactory and enduring. It is tempting to see the expansion of Gujars into the area as resulting from the Pathan expulsion of Kohistanis from the valley. The Kohistanis, through their own pattern of transhumance, formerly filled the niche and it became vacant only when the specialized agricultural Pathans conquered the valley bottom and replaced the Kohistanis.

But the co-existence of Gujars and Kohistanis poses a problem, since the two groups appear to utilize the same natural resources and therefore to occupy the same ecologic niche. One would expect competition, leading to the expulsion of one or the other ethnic group from the area. However, armed conflict between the two groups is rare, and there is no indication that one is increasing at the expense of the other. On the other hand, if a stable symbiotic or noncompetitive relationship may be established between the two groups, why should Gujars be concentrated in West Kohistan, and not inhabit the essentially similar East Kohistan area? The answer must be sought not only in the natural environment and in features of the Gujar economy, but also in the relevant social environment—in features of Kohistani economy and organization which affect the niche suited to utilization by Gujars.

**East vs. West Kohistan.** As indicated, Kohistanis have a two-fold economy combining agriculture and transhumant herding, and live in moderately large village communities. Although most Gujars also practice some agriculture, it remains a subsidiary activity. It is almost invariably of a simple type dependent on water from the melting snow in spring and monsoon rains in summer, rather than on irrigation, and on shifting fields rather than manuring. The Kohistanis have a more equal balance between agriculture and herding. The steep slopes require complex terracing and irrigation, which preclude shifting agriculture and encourage more intensive techniques. The size of herds is limited by the size of fields, which supply most of the winter fodder, since natural fields and mountain meadows are too distant from the winter dwellings to permit haying. Ecologic factors relevant to this balance between the two dominant economic activities become of prime importance for Kohistani distribution and settlement density.

There are significant differences in this respect between East and West Kohistan, i.e. between the areas drained by the Indus and the Swat Rivers respectively. While the Indus and the lowest sections of its tributaries flow at no more than 3,000 feet, the Swat River descends from 8,000 to 5,000 feet in the section of its valley occupied by Kohistanis. The higher altitude in the west has several effects on the economic bases for settlement: (a) Agricultural production is reduced by the shorter season and lower temperatures in the
higher western valley. (b) The altitude difference combined with slightly higher precipitation in the west results in a greater accumulation of snow. The Indus bank is rarely covered with snow, but in the upper Swat valley snow tends to accumulate through the winter and remains in the valley bottom until April or May. Thus the sedentary stock-owner in West Kohistan must provide stored fodder for his animals throughout the four months of winter. (c) The shorter season of West Kohistan eliminates rice (most productive per land unit) as a food crop and reduces maize (most advantageous in return per weight of seed) in favor of the hardier millet.

These features serve to restrict the agricultural production of West Kohistan, and therefore the number of animals that can be kept during the winter season. No parallel restrictions limit the possibility for summer grazing. Both East and West Kohistan are noteworthy for their large, lush mountain meadows and other good summer grazing, and are thus rich in the natural resources which animal herders are able to exploit. However, these mountain pastures are only seasonal; no population can rely on them for year-round sustenance. Consequently, patterns of transhumance or nomadism are developed to utilize the mountain area in its productive season, while relying on other areas or techniques the rest of the year. True nomads move to a similar ecologic niche in another area. People practicing transhumance generally utilize a different niche by reliance on alternative techniques, here agriculture and the utilization of stored animal fodder. There appears to be a balance in the productivity of these two niches, as exploited by local transhumance in East Kohistan. Thus, in the Indus drainage, Kohistanis are able to support a human and animal population of sufficient size through the winter by means of agriculture and stored food, so as to utilize fully the summer pastures of the surrounding mountains. In an ecologic sense, the local population fills both niches. There is no such balance in the Swat valley. Restrictions on agricultural production limit the animal and human population, and prevent full exploitation of the mountain pastures. This niche is thus left partly vacant and available to the nomadic Gujars, who winter in the low plains outside the area. Moreover, scattered communities of transhumant Gujars may be found in the western areas, mainly at the very tops of the valleys. With techniques and patterns of consumption different from those of Kohistanis, they are able to survive locally in areas which fall short of the minimal requirements for permanent Kohistani occupation. The present distribution of Gujars in Kohistan, limiting them to the western half of the area, would seem to be a result of these factors.

A simple but rather crucial final point should be made in this analysis: why do Kohistanis have first choice, so to speak, and Gujars only enter niches left vacant by them? Since they are able to exploit the area more fully, one might expect Gujars eventually to replace Kohistanis. Organizational factors enter here. Kohistanis form compact, politically organized villages of considerable size. The Gujar seasonal cycle prevents a similar development among them. In winter they descend into Pathan areas, or even out of tribal territory and
into the administered areas of Pakistan. They are thus seasonally subject to organizations more powerful than their own, and are forced to filter through territories controlled by such organizations on their seasonal migrations. They must accommodate themselves to this situation by travelling in small, unobtrusive groups, and wintering in dispersed settlements. Though it is conceivable that Gujars might be able to develop the degree of political organization required to replace Kohistanis in a purely Kohistani environment, their dependence on more highly organized neighboring areas still makes this impossible.

The transhumant Gujar settlements in Kohistan represent groups of former nomads who were given permission by the neighboring Kohistanis to settle, and they are kept politically subservient. The organizational superiority of the already established Kohistanis prevents them, as well as the nomads, from appropriating any rights over productive means or areas. What changes will occur under the present control by the State of Swat is a different matter.

This example may serve to illustrate certain viewpoints applicable to a discussion of the ecologic factors in the distribution of ethnic groups, cultures, or economies, and the problem of "mosaic" co-residence in parts of Asia.

(1) The distribution of ethnic groups is controlled not by objective and fixed "natural areas" but by the distribution of the specific ecologic niches which the group, with its particular economic and political organization, is able to exploit. In the present example, what appears as a single natural area to Kohistanis is subdivided as far as Pathans are concerned, and this division is cross-cut with respect to the specific requirements of Gujars.

(2) Different ethnic groups will establish themselves in stable co-residence in an area if they exploit different ecologic niches, and especially if they can thus establish symbiotic economic relations, as those between Pathans and Gujars in Swat.

(3) If different ethnic groups are able to exploit the same niches fully, the militarily more powerful will normally replace the weaker, as Pathans have replaced Kohistanis.

(4) If different ethnic groups exploit the same ecologic niches but the weaker of them is better able to utilize marginal environments, the groups may co-reside in one area, as Gujars and Kohistanis in West Kohistan.

Where such principles are operative to the extent they are in much of West and South Asia, the concept of "culture areas," as developed for native North America, becomes inapplicable. Different ethnic groups and culture types will have overlapping distributions and disconforming borders, and will be socially related to a variable degree, from the "watchful co-residence" of Kohistanis and Gujars to the intimate economic, political, and ritual symbiosis of the Indian caste system. The type of correspondence between gross ecologic classification and ethnic distribution documented for North America by Kroeber (1939) will rarely if ever be found. Other conceptual tools are needed for the study of culture distribution in Asia. Their development would
seem to depend on analysis of specific detailed distributions in an ecologic framework, rather than by speculation on a larger geographical scale.

NOTES
1 Based on field work February–November 1954, aided by a grant from the Royal Norwegian Research Council.
2 There are four main Dardic languages spoken in Swat State: Torwali, Gawri, and Eastern and Western dialect of Kohistai or Mayän (Barth and Morgenstierne Ms.).
3 The Pathan attitude toward the Kohistan area might best be illustrated by the warnings I was given when I was planning to visit the area: “Full of terrible mountains covered by many-colored snow and emitting poisonous gases causing head and stomach pains when you cross the high passes; inhabited by robbers, and snakes that coil up and leap ten feet into the air; with no villages, only scattered houses on the mountain tops!”

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French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life

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THE present study is aimed at describing the importance and character of kinship among French Canadians of Montreal. It is directed at the problem raised by Wirth (1938) and numerous other sociologists, who have assumed that kin ties lose significance in an urban setting. The data were collected between September 1954 and February 1955, from 52 persons in 43 households. As the study was specifically directed at assessing the influence of urbanism on kinship, only informants of urban background were selected, though some households included persons who were born outside Montreal. No significant difference seems to appear between those households whose members were all born in Montreal, and those with members born elsewhere. Thirty genealogical tables were collected from persons whose background was urban from birth. We believe it can safely be assumed that the sample conforms to the dominant urban behavior among French Canadians, even though the extensiveness of interviews and the consequent restriction on the number of people who could be visited in the five months of the field-work prevented the taking of a random sample.

All interviews were conducted in French, and took place in the homes of the informants. The informants are mostly of medium income; only three were of high income, and five of definitely low income. The study is not intended as an analysis of the total effect of urban life on the kinship system of all Montreal French Canadians—for instance, no attempt was made to study the “pathology” of urban life—but enough data were collected to answer the more limited question as to the general influence of urbanism upon kinship.

The urban French Canadian kinship system is a variant of that generally reported for Western societies. It is a patronymic bilateral structure, with two major dimensions of lateral range and generation depth. While awareness of descent and pride in the history of a family name is shown by the majority of informants, frequency of contact is highest between members of the same generation, and cuts across consanguineal and affinal ties. These lateral and generation dimensions involve different patterns of behavior: a formal pattern of expected obligations operates between the generations; a more informal choice according to personality preference operates between members of the same generation. The nuclei of the kinship system are the parent-child and sibling relationships of the domestic family, which is held to be an autonomous unit. The expected roles of the members of the broader kin group vary according to their position in the formal and informal patterns, and their closeness to Ego’s domestic family. These roles separate the total kin into a number of subgroups having special functions. The total kin group is expected to come into action only for very formal occasions, such as a funeral; in most situations, only the subgroups are involved. Women are more active within the kinship system.
Thirty of the 52 informants were asked for the range of their genealogical knowledge. The maximum limit of this range was determined by knowledge of the sex of a person, in addition to his family name. For instance, children of lateral kin were included if the informant was aware of their sex in addition to their proper genealogical link. The mean of such knowledge is a range of 215 persons. The smallest range was 75; the ten with least knowledge ranged from this to 120. The next ten ranged from 126 to 243; the highest ten from 252 to a maximum of 484 known kin. These known kin were distributed in a wide lateral range rather than extensive depth of generations. Including Ego's generation, one informant reported three generations, ten informants reported a range of four generations, thirteen informants reported five generations, and six informants claimed knowledge of six generations. The three cases with the lowest range of knowledge can be regarded as abnormal. In one instance, the mother's line was not known, and in two more the true bilateralism was distorted by ignorance of the second ascending generation.

The most extensive knowledge of kin was usually concentrated into the generations of Ego and his parents, which together included from one-half to two-thirds of the total persons known. Knowledge of the second ascending generation was often reduced to from one to eight known ancestors. In the third and fourth ascending generations, knowledge was restricted in most instances to a single ancestor. Variations in the lateral range, total size, depth of generations, etc., were linked to the age, sex, and marital status of the informants.

The age of the informants varied from 19 to 72, with an average of 30.5 years. There was a definite tendency for depth and breadth of range to increase with age. The controlling factor in the ratio of increase seems to be the size of the informant's kin group during adolescence. Among informants up to about 40 years of age, their own and their first ascending generation were most important. Among older informants, descending generations became increasingly important. The largest kin knowledge was reported by married persons.

The sex of the informants seemed to be an important factor in kin recognition; only two of the informants who reported the fifteen largest kin groups (186 to 484) were men. All of the ten largest kin groups were reported by women. Sex is also a major factor in determining the stress placed by the informant on the father's or the mother's line. Just over half of the men had a greater knowledge of their father's line; women knew more of their mother's line than their father's by a ratio of three to one. If knowledge of Christian
names is taken as a sign of greater kinship awareness, a second and more limited range can be distinguished, which runs from a minimum of 54 to a maximum of 288. The proportion of kin whose Christian names are also known, to those known only by family name and sex, varied from one-half to ninetenths. These ratios do not correlate with the extremes of the first range, and there was only a slight increase in the largest ranges. Ignorance of Christian names was always greatest in the descending generations of the domestic families with which there was little contact.

If kinship ties are graded in order of their importance as foci of activities, the first among them is the sibling tie. This seems to relate to the size of the sibling groups, and to the maintenance of sibling unity after marriage. The average size of the informants' sibling groups was 5, with one instance of an informant who was one of 16 siblings. There is an over-all correlation between total knowledge of kin and the size of the sibling groups closest to the informant: his own, his father's, and his mother's. The larger the number of persons in these groups, the greater the total kinship range. Moreover, the scope of lateral kin is increased through marriage of siblings, since these in-law ties tend to be rather firm. Thus, the "core" of the kinship system is formed by domestic families linked by sibling and parent-child ties, and by lateral ties arising through the marriage of siblings. Recognition outside that core operates according to lines of descent. In this instance, only some of the members of the sibling groups involved will be known. Some qualification must be introduced between the recognition arising from membership in the core, and through descent. Because of the frequency of cousin marriages among French Canadians, both modes of recognition can operate at the same time. While it is not possible to say whether the importance given to affinal ties through sibling marriages may not be due to the frequency of cousin marriages, there is no doubt that many kinship ties created through the marriage of a sibling are as important as those of cousinship.

Another characteristic of the urban French Canadians is the wide geographical scattering of their kin groups. While all had kin within Montreal, proportions running as high as three-fourths were reported scattered not only within the Province of Quebec, but further afield in Canada and in the United States.

IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

Urban French Canadian men and women not only give different stress to kinship, but also have different roles. Men, for instance, reported that they usually thought of their kin group in terms of their male relatives; their knowledge of their female relatives was more restricted. In all instances, however, their attitudes towards their mothers, wives, or sisters, gave these female relatives great influence not only over household matters, but also in many outside affairs. Women seemed to have a greater awareness of the kin group as composed of both sexes. Not only was their knowledge of the total kin group greater, so that in a number of instances wives knew more of their husbands'
kin than the husbands themselves did, but they also had a much greater knowledge of the affairs of the kin group. While men reported their kin contacts as being largely for leisure-time activities, the women reported their reasons for contact as mostly "family affairs" such as children, births, marriages, or illness etc. A marriage or a funeral was the occasion for intense activity by the women, and it was they who took the initiative in organizing the gathering of relatives, who suggested visits to each other's homes, and who wrote letters or telephoned news to relatives. They also spent more time with their kin than did the majority of men.

While there are individual variations in behavior, this sex differentiation was a formalized expectation. A number of wives reported that while they were intimate with only a limited number of kin in their husband's line, they were expected by most to keep them informed of family affairs by letters or telephone calls. The wife, not the husband, would have been blamed for failure to do this. All informants, male and female, stressed the fact that it was the women who acted as links between the various households of the kin group.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the reasons for this sex differentiation. It may have a close relationship to the fact that, as domestic families are generally large and servants beyond the means of most French Canadians, the women are essentially housewives and only work outside before having children, or because of great economic necessity. It would be wrong, however, to take this predominantly domestic role of women as a sign of their inferior status in the kin group. On the contrary, the continuity of the kinship system over time may be attributed to their dominant position in it. This influence of the women in the kin group is distinct from the authority role of men within each domestic family. The domestic family is headed by the husband, in whom the Civil Code of the Province of Quebec vests a great deal of authority; it is an autonomous unit, with a sole legal representative. Within each household, however, the exercise of this authority is qualified by consultation with one's wife, and outside the domestic family by consultation with one's mother or sisters. But even then, the use of authority is held to be a male prerogative. Within a sibling group it may also happen that the eldest brother, especially at the death of the father, will acquire a position of authority over all the other siblings. Similarly, a grandfather has a great deal of authority. The pattern of authority, even apart from the legal definition given to it by the Civil Code of Quebec, is therefore male, and relates to age and descent.

The equalitarian relationship between father and children or between persons of a different age, reported for the United States, is not present among the French Canadians. While a father allows his children a certain latitude of behavior, it is not marked by any feeling of emotional closeness. Emotional ties are more usually directed toward the mother or the wife, or located within the sibling group. Thus, while a woman's legal status is subordinate, her roles as a mother or wife or sister make her the focus of most of the emotional life of the kin group. While the men determine the status position of their domestic families or of the whole kin group, the women are the "integraters" of the kin
group, and as such its effective leaders. This female leadership role is different from the role of older men, who act as symbols of kinship continuity, but who are not the active agents of the life of the group. The foci of kin links are thus the women, and particular women can actually be regarded as leaders of the kin group. In the case of a grandmother of one of the informants, this leadership role had become a benign dictatorship, and practically all formal kin activities took place at her home.

For both men and women, the frequency of contact with relatives was the result of a number of factors. For instance, while only 16 of the 43 households reported relatives in the same parish, all informants reported their highest frequency of contact with their fathers and mothers and with their siblings, even if these lived in distant parishes of Montreal. Only when the degree of kinship was more remote did informants remark that geographical distance influenced contacts. Beside degree of kinship and geographical location, personal preference was an important factor in contact. Personal preference for kin was reported as a factor outside Ego’s family of orientation and, if married, his household and his spouse’s family of orientation. We may distinguish formal recognition from personal preference in kin relationships. While overlap between these two was reported, the formal dimension operates predominantly between generations, especially upward, while personal preference was especially strong in the selection of contacts with affinals or cousins.

This can best be illustrated by describing the frequency of contact reported by a married man, aged 34, who was a skilled worker in a Montreal factory. He has been chosen as an example because he is about average in the range of kinship recognition, with a total of 233 kin, 203 of whom were alive at the time of the survey. Of these, 93 lived in Montreal, scattered in a number of parishes; 72 were reported living in various parts of the Province of Quebec, and 38 more were reported in Ontario and in the United States. During each week the informant frequently met members of his two brothers’ households, who also lived in Montreal. Contacts with one of these households were more frequent, as they lived in the same parish. There were few weekends in which the brothers did not meet. He also visited his wife’s parents some weekends, but his wife went more often, taking along their three children. He was very friendly with his wife’s brothers, and the husband of one of his wife’s sisters; he sometimes went out with either his brothers or his wife’s brothers, or with his wife’s sister’s husband. It was rare, however, that they all came together as a group. Several times a month he met various uncles and cousins who also lived in Montreal, either through a chance meeting or because they were visiting the same household. He saw members of the household of one of his uncles more frequently, as they owned a grocery store where the family sometimes shopped. He reported that he met an average of 40 to 45 relatives each month, including those of generations older and younger than himself. He met far more of them in certain seasons of the year such as Christmas, and during Christmas 1954 he thinks that he must have seen nearly all of the 93 relatives who live in Montreal. He also went regularly, about once a month, to see his own parents who lived...
lived a few miles outside Montreal. He usually went with one of his brothers who owned a car, and they took their families with them. During the summer his wife and children generally went there for about a fortnight. Each time he visited his parents he usually met one of his married sisters who lived near their parents' home. He would also meet members of another sister's household when they came from the Eastern Townships to Montreal. About every other year, another of his brothers would come up from the United States where he lived with his family, and they would gather for a family reunion, either in Montreal or at their parents' home. The relatives he did not meet he heard about, either through letters, or through conversations. Altogether, he had seen 115 of his relatives during 1954, and had heard from another 57. He admitted that he wasn't always as interested in family affairs as he should be, and that his wife knew more of his own relatives than he did. By way of an excuse, he said that he was a junior executive in his local trade union branch, and had very little time to spare between his work and his union duties.

What seems interesting in this informant's report about his frequency of contact, which was quite different from that of his wife, was that he recognized a strict obligation to see only a certain number of relatives. Outside of this range, frequency of contact and the sense of formal obligation were much less important. However, because all his siblings were married, the range of formal obligation comprised the core of the kinship system and totalled over 50 persons. Yet, since some of these persons were located outside Montreal and were seen less often, the informant reported himself as lax in his kin duties. Informants also made a distinction between obligations to meet relatives who were very close and obligations to meet other kin of ascending generations. They reported that while they were expected by older relatives, other than their father and mother, to fulfill certain kinship obligations, this expectation was satisfied by a low frequency of contact, usually limited to visits at Christmas or the gathering for a family reunion. The frequency of these reunions varied, and most informants reported them as taking place about once a year. They had no fixed dates and usually took place at the home of one of the relatives who acted as a focal point for the activities of the kin group. A very good excuse had to be given for not going, but most informants stated that they went willingly. Sometimes as many as 40 or more persons would get together, depending on the size of the home or the economic resources of the persons involved.

The highest frequency of contact took place between relatives of the same generation and, apart from sibling contact, were mostly based on personal preference. This personal preference was recognized as the major factor in the contact, and informants verbalized it in the statement that such meetings were the result of "just liking to get together." It can thus be suggested that all the various modes of kinship recognition which have been described operate according to different criteria. Certain kin, such as Ego's parents, siblings, spouse's parents, or siblings' spouses, are held to have special claims and are given priority over all others. Recognition of these claims keeps the legally
defined autonomy of the domestic family, as well as its life as a unit, at a low threshold, since its members will readily adjust their own lives to the needs of such kin. With other persons, a formal recognition will exist but this recognition can be satisfied by more limited actions, such as attendance at a funeral or a wedding, or by letter writing, so that the autonomy of the domestic family with regard to them is much greater.

The criteria which give rise to these different modes of recognition, and which govern frequency of contact, cannot be presented as clear-cut categories. Involved in the idea of kinship recognition are factors which informants characterize as differences in “family spirit,” or “family unity,” so that there are extensive variations as to who is included in those having “priority,” or just a “formal” recognition. Many informants, for example, held that cousins were persons who involved some formal recognition, while others would regard close affines as more important to them than cousins. Difficulties in trying to determine the range of each category were often linked to the frequency of cousin marriages. Cousin marriages among the 30 informants who gave their genealogical knowledge varied from one instance of a second-cousin marriage, to two first-cousin and four second-cousin marriages in one kinship group. Altogether, 11 of the 30 informants reported such marriages. In another case, three brothers had married three sisters, and the two kin groups, which had not been previously related, had developed multiple ties which cross-cut the various dimensions of the kin group.

Closely related to the frequency of contact is the frequency of services between relatives. It could be offered as an unverified generalization that those kin who are held by close kinship links, and who see each other most frequently, help each other most frequently. These services included the loan of needed objects, baby-sitting, shopping, taking care of the household during the mother’s illness, gift giving, the making of extensive loans, or the giving of general economic help. A young mother reported that she was receiving help from her mother, sisters, and female cousins. Less frequently, she would also turn to her husband’s female relatives.

The pattern of services revealed even more clearly than did the frequency of contact that the kin group of birth is preferred to the kin group of marriage. Not only would there be a preference for one’s own line, but also a preference for help from members of one’s own sex, within each kin group. However, occasions were reported in which the distinction between the lines was blurred. All the adult females of a kin group, consanguineal and affinal, would help in preparing the family reunion. The buying, preparing, and serving of the food, as well as the clearing up, would be the joint task of all the women who came. Another instance of overlap was given by a lawyer, who reported that his relatives, both consanguineal and affinal, came to him for legal advice, for which he charged a fee according to the economic status of the relative. Relatives in the medical profession are also reported as having their services requested by kin. Persons who sell things required by relatives, such as groceries and household utensils, were reported to have their kin as customers. This does not mean that
all goods and services were obtained through relatives, but there is a certain degree of economic reciprocity holding the kin group together. Moral problems as well as economic were referred to relatives, especially to those in Holy Orders. Twenty-six of the 30 informants reported relatives in Holy Orders. One informant had 11 such relatives, both priests and nuns. One of these, a priest who was met during one interview, said that he was usually asked to officiate at the baptisms, weddings, and funerals of his relatives. Occasionally, they also came to him for advice. The only religious service he did not wish to perform for them was to act as their confessor.

All informants reported that they had received important services from relatives at some time during their lives. One stated that she would not think of going to a place where she had no relatives. Another informant reported that the problem of child-rearing in a city was minimized if a mother could have the help of female relatives. One male informant stated that life in Montreal would have been impossible for him and his own domestic family during the depression of the 1930's if his relatives had not helped him. He not only received loans and other economic help, but went to live with his in-laws, and was able to find work through cousins. Of the 43 households visited, nine either comprised three generations or included other relatives outside the consanguineal unit. Working for a relative is frequently reported, and most informants stated that they knew of kin who were in this position. Certain economic enterprises are operated by persons who are related to each other in various degrees. Instances of this were given for a garage, a hotel, a grocery store, and a small industrial plant. Services are sometimes also requested of relatives who are marginal to the frequency of contact. Distant kin who, because of their status and general social position, can give important recommendations or introductions, are sometimes asked to exert their influence. If these relatives are also political figures, their politics will be supported as well as their help sought. The kinship system of urban French Canadians is an important mechanism for manipulating the social environment, and what might be called nepotism, but is referred to by French Canadians as "family solidarity," is a daily practice.

One of the marked characteristics of French Canadian urban kinship is its high degree of elasticity. Outside the range of "priority" claims, narrow formal recognition is balanced by selective contact according to personality preference, and the resulting kin group is as much linked to personality preference as to institutionalized formal recognition. This elasticity also permits it to adapt itself to the elements which operate against its continuity in time. Among such elements is the process of social differentiation caused by social mobility. There is, in fact, a close correlation between social status and frequency of contact, and informants who had been upwardly mobile were those who reported the greatest loss of contact with their lateral kin. Social mobility therefore tends to dislocate the lateral range in which personal preference is so important, but it does not seem to separate a person completely from the kin group. Certain formal ties are still recognized, and informants reported instances of a person helping his entire sibling group to move upward. Furthermore, a new
kin group forms rapidly at the higher level. Social mobility does not seem to imply a complete loss of the recognition of kin obligations, but merely the movement from a kin group at one level to another kin group at a different level. Cases were quoted in which the acceptance of a spouse into the kin group at the higher social level was conditioned by the possibility of having to accept a number of the spouse's relatives. If the spouse was rejected, there would be a gradual loss of contact with the person who had married "beneath." In this instance, there would be a regrouping with the kin group at the lower social level.

Segmentation of the kin group is caused not only by social mobility, but also by the development of cultural differences. Informants quoted instances of relatives who had "gone English," and with whom little contact was maintained. Cultural differentiation usually arose through marriage with a non-French Canadian. While the majority of marriages reported in the informants' kin groups were with French Canadians, each informant could also list marriages outside, but never more than three for a single kin group. They were to be found at all social levels. Informants stressed that such marriages usually meant a loss of contact unless the spouse was a Catholic, spoke French, and accepted the assigned kin role. Again, the lateral kin ties were more vulnerable in such situations; the "priority" relatives generally kept their association. While parents and siblings usually came to accept these marriages, it was the more distant relatives, with whom personal choice was most important, who showed disapproval and dropped the couple, so that their children grew up with a restricted kin knowledge.

CONCLUSIONS

The collected evidence indicates no trend toward transformation of the present French Canadian urban kinship system into the more restricted system reported for the United States. While difficulties were reported in maintaining a united domestic family or an integrated kin group, there is no reason to suppose that these difficulties were caused primarily by urban living. Moreover, many cases were reported where the kin group re-formed after a period of disunity. There are many reasons for believing that the present system will continue. Far from being incompatible, kinship and urbanism among French Canadians seem to have become functionally related. Each urban domestic family, each household, each person, is normally part of a system of obligations arising from the recognition of kinship ties.

The present system is elastic, and can readily adapt itself to different situations. This is due largely to the limitations placed upon kinship recognition by French Canadians. The "priority" kin are limited in number compared to the total recognition. The formal extension between generations is satisfied by a low frequency of contact. The wide lateral range offers the greatest freedom of choice through the operation of personal preference. Lastly, because the "priority" claims are related to a small number of large sibling groups, kinship contact and awareness of kinship obligations must always be multiple. The fact
that a French Canadian is normally socialized in a large household conditions him at an early age to multiple kinship obligations. The socialization is carried out in a kinship world in which authority is male and narrowly defined, and emotional needs are satisfied through sibling, cousin, mother-child, and grandmother and aunt relationships. The pattern is continued in adult life, but with a greater freedom since each person can have a wide range of personal preference. The fact that personal preference will bring together persons of roughly the same age, status, and background, makes for a great deal of unity in these subgroups. These peer groups not only serve as leisure-activity groups, but after marriage are often the kinship group into which the children of a new couple will become socialized.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the psychological implications of this type of socialization, and the possibility of avoiding the constraint usually attributed to extensive formal kin obligations by manipulating them to suit personal preference. While the whole kinship range cannot be thus manipulated, and a "priority" core remains unchanged to give continuity, enough elasticity is obtained to suit a wide range of situations. Furthermore, because the women are most active in kinship affairs, and yet not identified with the legal formal authority structure, kinship is not conceived of as a pattern of strict "patriarchal" obligations but as a reciprocal relationship from which much pride, pleasure, and security can be derived. Lastly, as sibling groups are large, selection according to personal preference does not unduly decrease the size of the kin group, but allows emotional ties to unite a large number of kin according to the emphasis placed on emotional preference. The resulting personality type seems to be that of an individual who, while he recognizes many kinds of kinship obligations, actually satisfies these obligations by selecting kin with whom he has the best relationships.

These characteristics of urban French Canadian kinship are no new development, but seem to have been in existence since the period of New France (Garigue 1956). It can be suggested that one of the reasons for this continuity is its elasticity, already referred to. All informants agreed that there was a French Canadian family ideal. While not aware of all its implications, they would verbalize about it and criticize variations from this ideal on the basis that to cease to behave like a French Canadian was to become "English." These ideals about family and kinship were not isolated but were part of a cultural complex which included the French language as spoken in Quebec, a specific system of education, membership in the Catholic Church, and various political theories about the status of French Canadians in Canada. To be a member of a French Canadian kinship group implied attitudes and beliefs about some or all of these.

In conclusion, some of the theoretical implications of the research can be pointed out. One of these is the relationship between the size of sibling groups and kinship behavior. The hypothesis is offered that socialization in a family of many full siblings results in special perceptions of kinship obligations. It was found that the size of sibling groups tends to run in families, and that children
raised in large families accepted as normal the fact of having many children and
the implications of multiple kinship recognition. French Canadians, one of
the most prolific groups in the Western world, have made the tradition of a large
sibling group one of the ideals of family life. This raises the problem of assessing
the influence of urbanism on French Canadian kinship. One of the most widely
accepted generalizations about kinship is the proposition that the greater the
urbanization, the smaller the kinship range, and that this apparent result of city
life is everywhere the same. A number of writers believe that the invariable
result of urbanization is to reduce the kinship range to the domestic family.
Wirth (1938) gave this statement its classical formulation, and it has been
reiterated by more recent authors such as Burgess and Locke (1953), Cavan
(1953), and Kirkpatrick (1955). While it is to be accepted that there will be a
difference in birth rate between rural and urban areas, this does not necessarily
imply that urban kinship is doomed to universal disappearance.

Against this hypothesis of universal similarity, recent studies carried out in
London (Firth Ms.; Young 1954; Shaw 1954; Townsend 1955) have shown that
kinship recognition is compatible with urban life. While there may be a world
trend toward urbanization and industrialization, there is little evidence for the
disappearance of kinship awareness. The cluster of social characteristics by
which urbanism is usually defined, such as population density, specialized func-
tions, and a distinct pattern of social relationship, may exist in a variety of cul-
tures. There is apparently a basic cultural difference in the description of kin-
ship as reported in London and in the United States (Codere 1955). Perhaps
this difference does not arise from fundamental variations in urbanization,
but from variations in concepts about the family and kinship.

One recent study (Schneider and Homans 1955) suggested a great deal of
uniformity between the rural and urban kinship systems in the United
States. While some societies are undoubtedly more urbanized than others, it
seems that the critical factors in diminishing kinship recognition are the cul-
tural values of the society, not its degree of urbanization. For instance, French
Canadians share what might be called the techniques of the American way of
life. Yet the kinship system of the French Canadians of Montreal seems to be
fundamentally different from that reported for the United States. These differ-
ences, furthermore, are not due to more extensive rural survivals among the
French Canadians, or to longer urban conditioning in the United States, but in
each instance seem to be part of the established urban way of life, with its cul-
tural values.

Many writers seem to have identified the effects of urbanization as a world-
wide process with the effects of the cultural values to be found in the United
States. This is understandable, since most studies of urbanization have been
carried out in the United States. However, this study of the French Canadians
suggests that the relative influences of urbanization and cultural values on kin-
ship must be seen as distinct.
NOTE

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TOWNSEND, PETER

YOUNG, MICHAEL

WIRTH, LOUIS
Introduction

Much of the literature on achievement has focused on the importance of hereditary or learned individual abilities, as in the relationship between IQ scores and educational or occupational success. In these studies, when discrepancies occur in expected predictions, the discrepancies are attributed to "other factors." For example, Terman and Oden (1947) use the added factor of individual personality traits to distinguish between otherwise matched groups—their high achievers being greater in "prudence and foresight," "self-confidence," "will-power and perseverance," and "desire to excel." Recent workers have gone on to emphasize that such traits should be seen not only within the framework of the individual personality structure, but that these traits are also related to cultural values receiving very different emphases in lower and middle class levels of American society (Davis et al., 1951; Havighurst and Taba 1949).

Some attention has also been given to the factor of ethnic background in accounting for differences in achievement. For example, Terman and Oden (1947) found that their Jewish subjects, while not differing significantly in mean IQ scores from the total group, had higher grades in college, received a higher income, and were concentrated more heavily in professional occupations. Thus, the indication is for something specific in Jewish culture to account for these differences, but beyond allusion to its probable importance, this factor has received little systematic elaboration.

Early psychological studies of Japanese American children compared with other social and racial groups in California public schools (Darsie 1926; Clark 1927; Fukuda 1930; Bell 1933; Kubo 1934; Strong 1934; Sandiford 1936) give indication of a cultural factor at work which was not fully recognized or explored at the time. Strong (1934), in summarizing the achievement tests, grades obtained in school, and Binet IQ scores of Japanese American pupils in comparison with other groups in California schools, asks: "How shall we explain the fact that the Japanese pupils in Los Angeles have about the same IQ as the average pupil and score about the same on educational tests but obtain strikingly better grades? It may be that they possess to a greater degree than whites those qualities which endear pupils to a teacher; that is, they are more docile, occasion less disciplinary trouble, and give the appearance of being busy and striving to do their best... Another explanation would be that they come from poorer homes than the average and early realize that they must make their own way in the world; in consequence, they are better
motivated to do their best." Strong does not develop the further question of why the Japanese Americans, out of the numerous low income ethnic groups in California at the time these studies were done, should show this remarkable striving and intensity of purpose.

The burden of this paper is that much further study of the cultural variable in achievement is needed in terms of understanding: (1) the achievement goals that are emphasized in the value system of the specific culture from which the subjects are drawn; (2) the processes by which these goals are implemented in the interpersonal behavior of individuals in the family, the peer group, the school, on the job, and in leisure time activities; and (3) the range and most frequent types of individual personality adjustment to these goals within the context of the specific culture, rather than a consideration of personality traits solely as an independent variable. The methods used in the research reported below were both quantitative analysis of data on the groups in question, and intensive clinical analysis of testing, interview, and psychotherapeutic data on specific individuals.

THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS IN CHICAGO

Between 1943 and 1946, approximately 20,000 Japanese Americans arrived in Chicago from relocation camps set up by the federal government when all persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the Pacific Coast shortly after the United States entered World War II. Roughly a third were Issei—first generation immigrants who came to America during the early part of the century; the other two-thirds were Nisei—second generation, who are American citizen children of the Issei. The cultural and personality adjustment of this group to life in Chicago was studied for three years (1947-1950) by an interdisciplinary team from the University of Chicago.1 Although the problem of achievement was not a central focus of the research, the data serve to point up the success of the Japanese Americans in this regard, and to show the necessity of a thorough consideration of cultural factors in the further study of achievement.

In terms of the usual sociological or anthropological approach, there are many reasons why the 342 Japanese American families represented in the Chicago research, or the Japanese American group in general, should experience great difficulty in achievement in the United States. Traditionally, Japanese culture, social structure, values, and religion are thought of as alien to those of America. Moreover, the Issei had a background of rural, peasant, subsistence farming, and came to the United States with only temporary settlement in mind. Most important of all, the Japanese are a racially visible group to race-conscious Americans.

Yet the data show that by 1947 the Nisei, almost as a group, held white collar and skilled trade jobs within the general employment market of the city. White employers and fellow employees accepted the Nisei and were enthusiastic in their praise of them. The median level of education for the Nisei in Chi-
cago was, as it had been on the Pacific Coast, beyond high school graduation. Almost all who did not go on to college took vocational training in order to become secretaries, laboratory technicians, beauty operators, or skilled workers. It must be noted, however, that the Issei had a surprisingly high level of education for immigrants—a median of 10 years. A summary of Japanese American educational data may be seen in Table 1.

**TABLE 1. EDUCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS COMPARED WITH AMERICAN SAMPLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Issei (277 persons)</th>
<th>Nisei (488 persons)</th>
<th>Chicago Americans (60 persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pct.</td>
<td>pct.</td>
<td>pct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncompleted</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduated</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncompleted</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduated</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncompleted</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduated</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Includes all persons who had completed their education as of January 1, 1947 from 342 Chicago families. Vocational & Trade School training not included. Right hand column is a normal control sample.

The Japanese Americans first found housing in some of the least desirable sections of Chicago. However, they disliked living in these sections and many families soon moved into predominantly white upper-lower and lower-middle class neighborhoods. The Japanese Americans were accepted in these areas. Neighbors and landlords liked them because they improved the property, paid their rent promptly, and were quiet and courteous. In their clothing and general appearance the Nisei were almost stereotypes of the American middle class. This was particularly true for the women, who invariably appeared well-groomed, in conservative but chic dresses, blouses always snow white, nylons, and high heels. In their attitudes and aspirations the Nisei were oriented toward careers, white collar work, or small businesses. They wanted little to do with factory jobs. They saw in unions a block to rapid advancement through individual achievement. In their social life the Nisei tended to stay within their own group. While they interacted freely with their white fellow workers on the job and in casual social intercourse at lunch, they had not yet achieved...
close intimate social contact with the white middle class they emulated. Yet they had achieved more in the space of four years in Chicago than other ethnic groups who had long been in the city, and who appear far less handicapped by racial and cultural differences.

Since occupation (as well as education) is a major avenue to achievement in America, it is worthwhile to look in a little more detail at the Japanese American data in this respect. The jobs the Japanese Americans were first able to obtain in the city were menial, unskilled, and poorly paid. Very shortly they left such jobs for semi-skilled factory and service work at which the Issei stayed, while the Nisei, having higher aspirations, moved on rapidly to better employment. By 1947, the Japanese Americans showed the occupational distribution presented in Table 2, where it can be seen that 19 percent of the Issei and 60 percent of the Nisei fall in the categories of skilled workers, white collar workers, small business owners, or managerial and professional jobs.

**Table 2. Occupations of Japanese Americans**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Category</th>
<th>Issei (197 persons)</th>
<th>Nisei (383 persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Workers and Laborers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and Service Workers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Workers</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business Ownership</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial and Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Includes all members from 342 Chicago families who were employed as of January 1, 1947.

There were some interesting job differences between men and women. The Issei men were concentrated in semi-skilled factory and service jobs. In the factories they worked on the assembly lines, as machine operators, or at such jobs as carpentry workers in trailer manufacture. Their service jobs were as kitchen helpers, cooks, waiters, elevator operators, and janitors. There was also a considerable percentage of Issei men in building ownership and management, but the buildings were deteriorated and were operated as cheap hotels, or rooming and boarding houses. Even more than the Issei men, the Issei women were found in semi-skilled factory and service jobs. Forty-three percent of all Issei women in the sample worked in the garment trades.

The Nisei men tended to be spread throughout all occupational divisions. Their major concentration was in apprentice and skilled trade jobs, and also in the white collar field. In the skilled trades the Nisei men worked as printers,
welders, electricians, mechanics, and jewelry and watch repairmen. Some of these Nisei men had achieved jobs as foremen and supervisors, where they had authority over white workers. In the white collar field the Nisei men worked as clerks, draftsmen, laboratory technicians, commercial artists, and studio photographers. The percentage of Nisei men in managerial and professional positions was of considerable significance. As managers they worked in personnel departments, as laboratory heads, and as editors. As professional men they were doctors, dentists, lawyers, pharmacists, research workers, and teachers.

Nisei women were concentrated in white collar work, with 49 percent of the sample so employed. Here they were evenly distributed between secretarial-stenographic and clerical duties. Nisei women were also in the garment trades, but much less so than Issei women. Other important jobs for Nisei women were beauty operators, social workers, and registered nurses.

The aspirations of the Nisei indicated that small businesses would become increasingly important. In the sample, Nisei men owned grocery stores, garages, and cleaning shops, while the Nisei women owned such businesses as beauty parlors. All of these served the general public rather than merely the Japanese American community.

It must be remembered that the sample had been in the city for only a few years, and that the Nisei are young—clustering between 20 and 30 years of age—and have not yet reached their occupational peak.

Alan Jacobson and Lee Rainwater (1951-1952) investigated employers’ evaluations of their Japanese American employees from 79 firms. These were owned by white business men, within the general economic and industrial structure of the city, and drew their employees from the general employment market. Firms owned by Japanese Americans were excluded, as were such organizations as social agencies, which might be expected to be somewhat more liberal in their employment policies. Better than two-thirds of the employers were very positive in their evaluations of Japanese Americans as workers; they considered them to be as good as the best employees they had ever had. The remaining one-third of the employers considered Japanese Americans to be no better and no worse than their average employees. An occasional negative evaluation usually took the form of criticizing the Nisei for being too ambitious and wanting to move on to a better job too quickly. In general, Japanese Americans were praised for their technical abilities such as speed and efficiency, and for their character traits of honesty, punctuality, willingness to work overtime, general moral standards, personal appearance, and so forth. They were also praised for the way they got along with other workers in informal relations. Japanese Americans had been up-graded in job and salary in 46 of the 79 firms, and in five others in salary alone. Seventeen Nisei were promoted to jobs which gave them authority over white workers.

Why was this so? How was it possible for the children of an immigrant group to succeed as well as the Nisei have in Chicago in approximating the
American middle class way of life, when the culture of their parents seems to diverge in so many respects from the American pattern?

Certainly relocation was a factor. No matter how well the Nisei were prepared in attitudes, behavior, and education for living a middle class life, it seems unlikely that they would have been able to do so on the Pacific Coast because of anti-Oriental prejudice. Also, the Japanese Americans on the Coast had formed tight, self-contained communities controlled by parental authority and strong social sanctions, from which it was difficult for the Nisei to break free. Secondly, Chicago had had a Japanese population of only 390 persons, and had no social techniques for dealing with this group. Thirdly, with the scarcity of labor during the war, the highly trained Nisei were in a relatively favorable position in terms of the employment market.

These reasons may help to explain why the Nisei got their jobs, but will not satisfactorily explain why they were able to keep them and to please their employers and fellow workers.

A major hypothesis used as an orientation to our research was: there seems to be a significant compatibility (but by no means identity) between the value systems found in the culture of Japan and the value systems found in American middle class culture. This compatibility of values gives rise to a similarity in the psychological adaptive mechanisms which are most commonly used by individuals in the two societies as they go about the business of living.

It is necessary to be aware that the hypothesis does not say that the social structure, customs, or religion of the two societies are similar. They are not, and Japan and the American middle class differ greatly in these respects. But the hypothesis does say that it is often overlooked that the Japanese and American middle class cultures share the values of politeness, respect for authority and parental wishes, duty to community, diligence, cleanliness and neatness, emphasis on personal achievement of long-range goals, importance of keeping up appearances, and others. Equally, the hypothesis does not say that the basic personality or character structure of Japanese and middle class American individuals is similar; but it does say that, for example, both Japanese and middle class Americans characteristically utilize the adaptive mechanism of being highly sensitive to cues coming from the external world as to how they should act, and that they also adapt themselves to many situations by suppression of their real emotional feelings, particularly desires for physical aggressiveness.

Given this sort of relationship between the two cultures, when they meet under conditions favorable for acculturation (as in Chicago) Japanese Americans, acting in terms of their Japanese values and personality, will behave in ways that are favorably evaluated by middle class Americans. Nevertheless, because the values and adaptive mechanisms are only compatible (and not identical), and because the social structures and personalities of the two groups are different, there are many points of conflict as well as agreement for the Nisei individual attempting to achieve in American middle class life. Certain
points of conflict are made all the more poignant by the fact that the points of agreement are sufficiently strong to hold out much promise to the individual that he will succeed.

The direct relation of the general hypothesis to Japanese American achievement involves the problem of variant cultural orientations (Kluckhohn 1953). Whenever cultural values are considered in current research studies on achievement, it is usually in terms of the dominant cultural values, whereas there may be many subgroups and individuals who do not subscribe to these values and who are, in this sense, variant. As Brim (1952) says in an unpublished paper, "What is necessary is some systematic knowledge of differences between groups in the acceptance of the goals of the larger society, and it is of high importance that research operations be developed which will enable us to appraise the hierarchy of goals perceived as desirable by different segments of society, whether these be religious, ethnic, economic, or the like. Once accomplished, future studies could be directed toward relative individual achievement within discrete subcultures, with each of these sharing homogeneous goals."

The Japanese Americans provide an excellent example for Brim's argument. The fact that they succeed in approximating middle class American standards in education and occupation does not necessarily mean that they are motivated by middle class values and goals, nor that their achievement orientation should be thought of in these terms. What is needed is an analysis of Japanese American values and psychological adaptive mechanisms underlying those goals that are of crucial importance to Japanese Americans in their conception of what constitutes achievement.

From the foregoing, it appears that much more than a surface evaluation of behavior is necessary for the understanding of achievement. Japanese American and white middle class behavior looks very much the same in many areas of life, but the psychological motivations underlying such behavior may occur within quite different cultural matrices. The following sections of this paper will present material illustrating this problem, as well as the further problem of individual differences in achievement within the Japanese American group itself.

CULTURAL VALUES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS IN THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

In order to further the understanding of the success of the Japanese Americans in Chicago, Thematic Apperception Tests, Rorschachs, and psychoanalytic and social agency case studies were used. This paper, however, limits itself to the projective material pertaining to those aspects of personality dynamics that seem most relevant to achievement among Japanese Americans.

TAT material will be discussed before the Rorschach analysis because it tends to provide data on the more conscious aspects of the personality structure—internalized values, goals, and preferred ways of relating to others and to oneself. The Rorschach provides data concerning more generalized, and perhaps deeper-lying and unconscious attributes of the content and structure of the personality.
of the personality. Thus, the TAT can be useful in indicating the manner in which an individual approaches problems of achievement, while the Rorschach can suggest related, but often hidden, motivations and conflicts in this area.

A random sample of TAT records was gathered from Japanese Americans and compared with samples of white Americans from several socioeconomic levels. In this paper only the material from TAT pictures 1 and 2 will be presented in detail. The manifest content of these pictures is such that they usually elicit stories concerning achievement. Picture 1 is of a young boy looking at a violin on a table in front of him. Picture 2 is a country scene: in the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand, while in the background a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on.

Table 3 shows that the rank order of positive achievement responses to both pictures goes from the Issei who have the highest proportion, through the Nisei and white middle class, who are roughly equivalent, to the white lower class who have the lowest percentage of positive responses.

In rating the stories told to picture 1, responses were considered to be positive achievement oriented when: (a) the boy wants to be a violinist (a long-range goal) and succeeds by working hard; (b) he is puzzled how to solve the task but keeps working at it; (c) his parents want him to become a violinist and he does so successfully, etc. Stories were considered to be negatively achievement oriented when: (a) the boy openly rebels against his parents' wishes for him to play the violin (against a long-range goal) and seeks immediate pleasure gratification in baseball or in breaking the violin; (b) he negativistically complies with his parents' demands and does poorly; (c) he engages in great fantasy about becoming a famous violinist, but gives no indication of how he will realistically reach this goal, etc.

Positive achievement-oriented responses on picture 2 were scored when: (a) the girl wants to leave the farm for a career, does so successfully (with or without the help of her parents), and either returns later to help her parents, or is of benefit to society elsewhere; (b) the farmers in the picture are continually striving to do a better job, etc. Negative achievement-oriented stories were when: (a) the girl wants to leave, but feels she cannot and so she stays and suffers; (b) she is disgusted with farm life and wants to go see the bright lights of the city, etc.

Table 3. Positive Achievement Responses on TAT Pictures 1 and 2, by Cultural Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
<th>Percent Positive on:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Picture 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issei</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Middle Class</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Lower Class</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Picture 1 reveals a second point: whether the boy is seen as self-motivated to work on a task, or whether he is assigned one by his parents or other adults. The distribution of the four cultural groups in this respect is shown in Table 4. The rank order here is the same as with reference to positive achievement responses.

**Table 4. Self Motivation and Task Assignment Responses on TAT Picture 1, by Cultural Group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
<th>Self Motivated, pct.</th>
<th>Task Assigned, pct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issei</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Middle Class</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Lower Class</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On picture 1, then, the Issei are high in positive achievement orientation and self-motivation. Taking these characteristics with a content analysis of the stories, a major value and psychological adaptive mechanism found in the Issei is to strive for success at all costs. Even if one is tired and puzzled, and the outer world presents many difficulties in living, one must keep on and never give up. Such a characterization is frequent in the literature on the Japanese (Benedict 1946; Haring 1946; Nitobe 1938; Hearn 1904), and is often referred to as “the Japanese spirit” or yamato damashii. The Issei attempt to live up to this value by hard realistic work with little use of fantasy or magical thinking, as can be seen in the following story:

1. IF44. What is this? A violin? He has a violin and he’s thinking, “How shall I do it?” It looks very difficult and so he rests his face on his hand and worries. He thinks, “I can’t play it yet, but if I study hard, someday maybe I’ll be a good musician.” In the end because he holds steady, he becomes a good player. He’ll grow up to be a fine persevering young man.

Like the Issei, the Nisei see the boy as positively achieving and self-motivated, but they also often see him as assigned a task and in conflict with his parents. In the latter case, the adaptive mechanism is one of negativistic compliance and self-defeat. As will be seen later, this method of adapting is in considerable contrast to that used by the white lower class who tend to be openly hostile and rebellious. Typical Nisei stories are:

1. NM25. Probably gifted along musical lines . . . Perhaps mature enough to realize it isn’t a plaything but something that, well, takes both skill and practice to master . . . Perhaps he’s been playing but still can’t get the same tone or master it with such ease as an accomplished musician could. Doesn’t seem to be thinking of baseball or anything like that, that would be keeping him away . . . Well, if he had real talent, lived for music and is guided and counseled in the right manner by his parents and teacher,
he might have the making of a musician in the real sense, toward classical rather than modern big name dance orchestras. . . . Probably strive more for immaterial things to make his life satisfactory in a spiritual sense rather than purely monetary, economic. Probably would be a musician in some large municipal symphony orchestra or through his love of music be a teacher in some university. He never would be very rich, but probably won't regret it and through his music he will be living a full rich life. That's about all.

1. NF26. Is he supposed to be sleeping? Probably practicing. I guess the mother must of . . . something the mother is forcing on him. He's a little bored and disgusted, but he can't go against his mother's wishes. He's probably just sitting there daydreaming about the things he'd like to do rather than practicing. Something that was forced upon him. He'll probably be just a mediocre player.

The white-middle class stories are very similar in their emphasis on self-motivation toward long-range goals, to those told by the Nisei. The situation is reversed in the lower class stories where such goals are not valued, and where the boy is largely seen as assigned a task. When parental pressure is applied in the lower class stories, the reaction is either one of open rebellion and refusal, or doing only what one has to and then quitting.

An example of a white middle class story is:

1. WlmM21. He is an intellectual looking young man. He probably has had an inspiration from some other violinist. He is intelligent. There seem to be two possibilities. Either he isn't too well prepared or he wonders why he isn't getting the same results from his violin that greater musicians get. He doesn't seem to register despair of any kind. Probably making an analysis of why he doesn't get the results although he seems rather young for much in the way of analytical work. He will probably go on with his studies of the violin and do quite well.

Whereas, in the white lower class:

1. WulF32. Doesn't want to play his violin. Hates his music lessons. His mother wants him to be a musician but he's thinking about breaking the violin.

1. WulM45. It strikes me as if he isn't thinking about the music there. He is thinking about a swimming hole, something like that. He has a violin there but he has his eyes closed and he's thinking about something else, probably what the other kids are doing out on the playground. He'll probably grow up to be a fiddler like Jack Benny. Probably grow up to drive a milk wagon [which is the subject's job]. When his mother quits pushing the violin on him, he will break away from it altogether.

In general, it may be said from an analysis of picture 1 that the Issei, Nisei and white middle class are self-motivated and achievement-oriented, while the white lower class are not. The determination to push ahead no matter what the obstacles, which is evident in the Issei stories, is a part of the Japanese value system and character structure, and it is this orientation that has been passed on to the Nisei in somewhat attenuated form. In addition, the Nisei give evidence of being in some conflict with the Issei parents, although they cannot openly express this. A further aspect of this conflict can be seen in the stories to picture 2, and is summarized in Table 5.
When the Issei tell stories of the girl leaving the farm to further her ambitions, it is usually in a positive manner. This is because it is a Japanese value that parents should help their children achieve long-range goals since it is (for the Issei) the unquestioned expectation that the children will then return to fulfill their obligations to their parents. For example:

2. IF52. This child is going to school. It’s morning and her parents are farmers and they work and she’s off to school. Her mother wants her to do well in school. In the end this girl goes to school to improve herself, and she wants to grow up so she can repay her obligation to her parents.

**Table 5. Responses on TAT Picture 2 Indicating “Ability to Leave Farm” by Cultural Group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total Cases</th>
<th>Leave Positively, pct.</th>
<th>Leave Negatively, pct.</th>
<th>Other Responses, pct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Issei</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Middle Class</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Lower Class</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As on picture 1, the Issei are primarily concerned with working hard in a difficult environment in their stories to picture 2, and such stories make up the bulk of “other responses” for the Issei in Table 5. A typical story is:

2. IM58. Papa and Mama is working hard. One girl is about to go to school, I think. This picture mother work hard. She is working hard at something. This life is pretty hard. That’s what these two are thinking—look like girl must see this situation and decide she must study diligently because Papa and Mama are concerned over her. Finally the girl becomes a nice girl, looks nice.

The Nisei, unlike the aging Issei, must find achievement and success within an American white middle class world. The Japanese values and adaptive mechanisms learned from the Issei help the Nisei in such achievement, but they cannot both live up to the expectations of the American world and, at the same time, fulfill their Japanese obligations to their parents. Therefore the Nisei tell stories to picture 2 which are indicative of this conflict:

2. NF22. Well, let’s see. This older woman over by the tree is watching her son till the soil. The younger girl with the books is this woman’s daughter and this boy’s sister. She sort of has disdain for this life in a farm community, it’s so limiting. So she goes to a nearby school in hopes of emancipating herself from this environment. But in her face you could see that she feels a very real sense of responsibility to her family and almost a guilty feeling for not sharing the life that her family had tried to create for her. And her feelings are always changing. She feels one day that she should stay and be contented with this life, and the next day that she should go on and seek a new life, but she is committed to school, so she guiltily looks back at her family and proceeds to school.
Like the Nisei, the white middle class see the girl in picture 2 as leaving the farm to achieve a career or higher education. Almost no lower class subjects see the picture in this manner. Unlike the Nisei, the white middle class do not see the girl so much in conflict with her parents as they see her neither being helped nor hindered by the parents, but simply leaving and becoming successful. Often this success is stated in too pat a fashion to be realistic. This reflects the American lower middle class overevaluation (particularly in the women’s stories) of education as morally good in its own right; also, one “gets an education” as a status symbol in much the same sense as one buys a new car or a house. Education is likewise valued as a status symbol by Japanese Americans, but the emphasis is more on the knowledge and learned background it gives one, or as a down-to-earth means to further achievement. A representative middle class woman’s story to picture 2 is:

2. WlmM37. The daughter was brought up on a farm. She is striving for better things. She wants to read books, go to school, see the rest of the world. She is now in the process of going away from the farm, the early things you see on the farm. She will succeed in her book learning and will become a very successful author, authoress.

The lower class responses to picture 2 are quite distinctive. When they see the girl leaving the farm, it is not to seek a long-range goal, but instead she leaves the farm because she is “disgusted with farm life” and wants to go to the city:

2. WufF27. What kind of a field is that? It must be a wheat field. Girl is coming home from school. She’s disgusted with the farm, doesn’t like the farm. Like to get away from it all to the big city. Woman standing by the tree is her step-mother. She’s very selfish. Father is a nice person. Looks to me like a very disgusted girl.

The TAT material just presented has shown some of the similarities and differences in Japanese and American achievement orientations in the area of life concerned with education, occupation, and other long-range goals. It would also be possible to make the same sort of analysis for parental, sexual, general interpersonal, and other aspects of life (see Caudill 1952; De Vos 1954).

The Rorschach data offer a complementary analysis of Japanese American personality structure. A full treatment of these data and results, only summarily presented here, can be found in De Vos (1954). The areas of mental striving and ambition drive as usually reflected in the Rorschach Test can be seen by comparing representative samples of 50 Issei and 60 Nisei with 60 American Normals ranging from lower to middle class socioeconomic status.

The perceptual organization of both the Issei and Nisei, when compared with the American sample, proves to be much more concerned with a straining to produce some over-all response to a Rorschach card (scored as W), with a neglect of both the easily perceived details (scored as D), and the smaller, usual detail responses (scored as Dd). The data are summarized in Table 6. The Japanese American approach in Rorschach terms is approximately 35% W, 60% D, 5% Dd, in contrast to the Normal sample’s 20% W, 72% D, 8% Dd. This sort of approach, along with an effort to organize the blot into complex
TABLE 6. COMPARISON OF ISSEI, NISEI, AND AMERICAN NORMAL SAMPLE ON CERTAIN MEASURES OF MENTAL APPROACH*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Mean Responses Total</th>
<th>W%</th>
<th>D%</th>
<th>Dd%</th>
<th>Mean Organization Score (Beck’s Z)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isssei (N = 50)</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei (N = 60)</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Norm. (N = 60)</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>W. on Color Cards, pct. of Individuals</th>
<th>Ratio of W:M, pct. of Individuals</th>
<th>Mean Number of Space Responses, pct. of Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isssei total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisei total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amer. Norm. total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Condensed from Tables appearing in De Vos (1954). Refer to this publication for complete statements concerning significant tests of differences and other tabular material on which the present summary of achievement aspects of personality is based.

† 3W:1M (W6).
‡ W < M.
§ W = or < M.

concepts or configurations, indicates a great deal of striving in the intellectual sphere. The results also show a significantly large number of individuals among the Japanese Americans who exhibit an imbalance between an ability to be freely creative and spontaneous (as measured by movement responses on the Rorschach) and their intellectual strivings (as measured by whole responses). This finding suggests that the strong drive to accomplish outstrips, in some cases, the actual capacities available to the individual.

Although there is an over-all agreement as to striving among both Issei and Nisei, the personality context in which this striving is manifested is markedly
different between the generations. The indications for a somewhat extreme intellectual constriction among the Issei are not as readily found in the Nisei. In both groups, where this constriction appears it sometimes leads to excessive associative blocking (refusal to continue responding to a particular Rorschach card) that suggests a lack of liberation of intellectual abilities, and in other cases to intense preoccupation with bodily functions, and a considerably narrowed range of interests or contacts with the outer environment. The associative blocking prevalent in the Issei was frequently accompanied by verbalization of a sense of defeat when the individual could not give an overall response. When in a test of limits the examiner attempted to have the individuals respond to the details, in numerous instances they would not respond, feeling that they had already failed the task. They would, in many cases, only say, "Amari muzukashii (it's too difficult)." This trend among the Issei is similar to their refusal to use fantasy or magical thinking even in the face of defeat as described in the TAT analysis. The American Normal group, on the other hand, shows more of a tendency to caution and momentary blocking in associative functioning. Rather than the severe blocking found in the Issei, those in the American Normal sample who show some sign of blocking recover and give responses, whereas in many cases the Issei totally reject the stimulus material.

The data suggest that oppositional trends (as measured by the frequency of white space responses) are most prevalent in the Nisei women, less common in the Nisei men, and notably lacking in the Issei group. Psychotherapy material in three of the extended treatment cases of Nisei women supports this conclusion. A strong theme running through many of the therapy cases was to oppose the mother to the extent of acting out rebellious behavior in various subtle ways. In none of the cases treated, however, was continuing difficulty with authority or supervisory figures expressed through direct opposition, probably because such direct opposition is not allowable in Japanese values. Instead, opposition was more indirectly manifested in the ways that assigned tasks would be done. The rebelliousness toward authority was prompted more toward women than men. In these cases, some break with the family always appeared, with the girl determined to make her own way, but with considerable turmoil and strong guilt feelings over neglecting the internalized obligation of obedience to family.

The kind of breakdown in ego controls observed in the Japanese American records often seems to be related to their sense of striving. The tendency to respond to the Rorschach cards in terms of confabulatory wholes found in both Issei and Nisei, the presence of vague abstract responses, the use of poorly conceived anatomy responses in which the parts were ill-defined at best, all serve to confirm the implication of an overstraining to accomplish. This strain to accomplish in spite of severe limitation is particularly present in the Issei. The observed selectivity of immigration from Japan does not allow one to infer that our results would hold true for all Japanese, and controlled studies in Japan should substantiate or modify these findings. The American Normal
group used here, in comparison with whom the Japanese tendency toward striving seems so marked, may on the other hand reflect a certain environmental selectivity related to their occupational framework. There is a tendency for this group to show a certain sluggishness of intellectual drive in comparison with the usual expectations of Rorschach workers. However, since the American Normal group used as a sample in this study is composed of lower as well as middle class persons (unskilled and semi-skilled, as well as skilled and executive groups), the results in terms of the greater striving shown in the Nisei adjustment would indicate that the orientation of the Nisei is more of a middle class sort than that of the Normal sample itself. The Japanese American Rorschach material has yet to be compared with Rorschach data gathered from a group of subjects with a strictly middle class background.

In general, the over-all results of the research on Japanese Americans in Chicago seem to bear out the hypothesis that the values and adaptive mechanisms of the Japanese Americans and lower middle class are highly compatible, while the upper lower class diverges from both these groups and presents a different psychological adjustment. Where Japanese American values differ in emphasis by comparison with middle class values, these differences are not of such a nature as to draw unfavorable comment from the middle class. Indeed, the differences would probably be considered praiseworthy by the middle class, if a little extreme, as in the extent of duty to one's parents, and the need to be of benefit to society.

The Issei place a high value on the attainment of such long-range goals as higher education, professional success, and the building of a spotless reputation in the community. These goals the Issei have passed on to their children, and the Issei willingly help the Nisei to achieve them because it is the unquestioned expectation of the Issei that their children will in turn fulfill their obligations to their parents. It is this "unquestioned expectation" that is the source of greatest conflict for the Nisei, who feel deeply their obligations to their parents but who also are striving for integration into American middle class life.

What appears to have occurred in the case of the Japanese Americans is that the Nisei, while utilizing to a considerable extent a Japanese set of values and adaptive mechanisms, were able in their prewar life on the Pacific Coast to act in ways that drew favorable comment and recognition from their white middle class peers and made them admirable pupils in the eyes of their middle class teachers. This situation repeated itself in Chicago, and personnel managers and fellow workers also found the Nisei to be admirable employees. What has happened here is that the peers, teachers, employers, and fellow workers of the Nisei have projected their own values onto the neat, well-dressed, and efficient Nisei in whom they saw mirrored many of their own ideals.

Because of this situation, the Nisei tend to be favorably evaluated by the American middle class, not only as individuals but as a group. Hence in Chicago, where they are removed from the high level of discrimination to be found on the Pacific Coast, the Nisei can be thought of as an entire group which
is mobile toward, and attempting to achieve in, the American middle class. They are tremendously helped in this process by the praise both of their parents and of the white middle class; conversely, they are thrown into conflict over their inability to participate as fully as they would like in the middle class way of life, and at the same time fulfill their Japanese obligations to their parents.

A simile is useful in pointing up the similarities and differences between Japanese American and white middle class achievement orientations: the ultimate destinations or goals of individuals in the two groups tend to be very similar; but Japanese Americans go toward these destinations along straight narrow streets lined with crowds of people who observe their every step, while middle class persons go toward the same destinations along wider streets having more room for maneuvering, and lined only with small groups of people who, while watching them, do not observe their every movement. In psychoanalytic terminology, this means that the Japanese Americans have an ego structure that is very sensitive and vulnerable to stimuli coming from the outer world, and a superego structure that depends greatly upon external sanction. This tends to be true of middle class Americans as well, but not nearly to such an extent. For example, individuals in both groups are interested in acquiring money in amounts sufficient to be translated in the achievement of social class prestige; however, every move of a Japanese American toward amassing money is carefully watched, and the way he does it and the ultimate use he makes of it in benefiting the community are equal in importance to the financial success itself. This is less true of the American middle class, where an individual can make his money in a great variety of ways and, so long as these are not downright dishonest, the ways are sanctioned because of the end product—the financial success.

The Japanese Americans provide us, then, with the case of a group who, despite racial visibility and a culture traditionally thought of as alien, achieved a remarkable adjustment to middle class American life because certain compatibilities in the value systems of the immigrant and host cultures operated strongly enough to override the more obvious difficulties.

The foregoing summary should by no means be taken to imply that all Japanese Americans will meet with success in the achievement of their goals. What is meant is that, because of the compatibility between Japanese and American middle class cultures, individual Nisei probably have a better chance of succeeding than individuals from other ethnic groups where the underlying cultural patterns are less in harmony with those of the American middle class.

INDIVIDUAL INTEGRATIONS OF THE ACHIEVEMENT VALUE

Through the analysis of individual cases by means of both psychological test data and psychoanalytic interviews, it is possible to show how very similar values and adaptive mechanisms are variously integrated in the personality structures of individual Nisei. There are, however, certain types of adjustment that are more favored by the culture, and these provide modal points in the
total range (see Caudill 1952). All that is desired here is to show, through the responses of three individuals briefly considered, how essentially the same values and broad ways of adjusting to life are differentially combined so that one individual is more likely to succeed in the achievement of his goals than another.

All three of the following Nisei stress, in their TAT stories, the positive achievement value of determination to get an education and to succeed in a career; likewise, all three see that in order to achieve these goals they must adapt themselves by working hard and foregoing immediate gratifications. This similarity in orientation is set, in the first case, within a relatively flexible personality structure in which energies are in part directed into achievement because of, rather than in spite of, certain apparently unresolved emotional problems. In the second case, the over-all picture is one of successful achievement within a pattern of rigid conformity. There are many neurotic conflicts evident in the third case that prevent the satisfactory expression of the need felt by the individual for achievement.9

The first example is that of a 29-year-old married Nisei man with two small children. He had two years in college, and is now doing well in a responsible white collar job where he is continually meeting the general public. In his work adjustment he seems to have been able to reconcile whatever problems have arisen in a positive nonhostile manner. From the TAT and interview data it appears that he has not rebelled against Japanese values nor, on the other hand, has he lost his individuality and self-assertion in over-conformity. His is one of the very few Nisei TAT records that indicates a sense of humor, an ability to laugh at himself occasionally.

In the area of long-range goals this Nisei man is strongly self-motivated. As do all Nisei who are positively striving in this area, this man experiences some conflict with his parents, but he is able overtly to handle the conflict satisfactorily. For example, the daughter in his story to picture 2 goes ahead and makes her own decisions, then talks it over with her mother who temporarily is displeased but later reconciled, and the daughter is able to leave the family without guilt and with feelings of warmth toward her parents. In almost all of his stories, this man is able to have his characters be self-assertive but at the same time desirous of talking things out with family members or other older people whose advice they respect. He sees himself as very fond of his parents and wants to visit them as a pleasure rather than just as a duty.

Like most Nisei, this man does not like to have his personal emotions on display for others to see. He is much less sensitive about this, however, than other Nisei.

The adjustment outline above gives evidence of a great many positive qualities—the self-assertion, the flexibility, the seeking for and acceptance of advice without seeming hostility, and the ability to build one's own life and still retain pleasant, respectful ties with one's parents.

The Rorschach picture, however, is somewhat at variance with the impres-
sion gained from the attitudes and values presented in the TAT stories. There are signs of what would be considered serious underlying emotional maladjustment in a clinical record (a preoccupation with oral-sadistic fantasies, and indications that authority figures are seen as very threatening). The achievement drive to this individual, however, is so pronounced and so invested with energy that these underlying conflicts do not greatly debilitate his functioning. On the contrary, ambition becomes an avenue through which some of these conflicts are discharged. As already indicated, the average Nisei record is characterized by a strong drive toward organizing the Rorschach cards into integrated responses. This individual exemplifies this trend by producing 13 over-all responses, many of them of a rather complex nature (a W% of 76 compared with the mean of 35 for Nisei generally and 20 for the Normal sample). He pushes himself very hard.

This individual does not use ego constrictive defenses. While sensitive to social norms, he is not stereotyped. His is an open, rich record with both inner and outer controls of a complex nature utilized in the integration of his personality. However, he does show egocentric tendencies which are only partially offset by a readiness to respond to others with anxiety and compliance.

The greatest difficulty appears in this individual’s impulsive life. In spite of what appears to be a relaxed attitude toward people on the TAT, the Rorschach suggests that deeply felt relationships toward people are productive of considerable anxiety. He shows an underlying hostility to both male and female figures (in his perception of humans on the cards, they are distorted into witches or animals engaged in human activity). He is consciously aware of his inner tensions, as indicated by his response to color (the red symbolizing hell, blast furnaces, and sunsets hidden behind clouds). It is as if he were sitting on a volcano. His skill in organizing demonstrates the utility of an achievement drive as a safety valve enabling this individual to function adequately. The skill with which he handles the TAT cards with little indication of these underlying tensions demonstrates the value of combining projective evidence dealing with several levels of consciousness in gaining a total impression of an individual. This individual has been able to integrate himself quite well on a conscious level in terms of what are usually considered mature social attitudes. However, the Rorschach adds a note of caution about assuming that all is as well at deeper levels of his personality.

There is another and more frequent type of fairly successful Nisei adjustment which involves a much more rigid conformity to parental standards, and less conscious flexibility and ease in meeting problems. An example of this second kind of adjustment is that of a 23-year-old, single Nisei man who is completing his medical training in Chicago while his family are in California on a farm. In an interview this Nisei man frequently referred to the strictness of his parents when he was young, how his behavior was always compared unfavorably with that of an older brother, and how most of his social life centered around the Buddhist Church where his father was always on committees and
hence able to observe his son's activities. When asked how he had decided to become a physician, he said, "My mother decided for me, she thought it would be a good idea."

In the projective material there is no warmth in this Nisei man's TAT stories about his parents. The adaptive mechanism is to comply completely with the parental demands, to internalize the parents' goals and to suppress all personal individuality. Only through such a stereotyped conforming adjustment does the subject feel secure.

With this sort of conforming adjustment this Nisei man is able to strive realistically for long-range goals, but the striving is unimaginative and over-conventional. His values are the same in many areas of life as the values of the well-adjusted Nisei discussed earlier, but in his life they appear as philosophical clichés. The subject, however, is not aware that his behavior appears over-conventional, as he sincerely believes in it and it is his main source of strength. In his story to picture 1 there is competition and then identification with the father; there is also the necessity of being of benefit to society; and there is realistic recognition of the work necessary to attain father's goal.

In this man, the Rorschach analysis is in almost direct agreement with that drawn from the TAT. Whereas the first case demonstrated the utilization of achievement as an outlet for energies of a pathological as well as a healthy nature, this individual presents a picture of persistence, tenacity, and conformity in the face of severe anxiety that tends to block and immobilize his actions. The severity of his emotional blocking is well brought out by examining his time of first response to the Rorschach cards. He averaged over 95 seconds before giving a response. On two cards (VIII and IX) he took over four minutes before he was able to give a response. During all the time he was trying, he gave no indication that he considered rejecting the card. He was able to maintain a fairly systematic approach to the cards in spite of these constrictive tendencies. He showed no originality or imaginativeness, but rather a plodding persistence.

The anxiety aroused in this man by affective stimuli is countered on the Rorschach by anatomical-vocational responses indicating how his concentration on work and achievement is used to avoid difficulties with the spontaneous expression of emotions. There are indications on the Rorschach also that in spite of his rigid conscientiousness he has managed to preserve a retreat within himself so that, although he is not a particularly insightful individual, he is on fairly good terms with his impulse life. He is therefore capable of a certain level of understanding in his relationship with others, although he may be awkward in establishing contact.

In general, this is an individual who has to overcome considerable blocking and constriction in working out his drive toward achievement.

It is more difficult for Nisei women who aspire to a professional career to be successfully adjusted than it is for those Nisei women who are housewives or office workers. This can be illustrated by the case of one of the psychoanalytic patients—a 25-year-old, single Nisei woman who is a university-
trained professional worker. The TAT material reveals the lack of real satisfaction afforded this subject in her striving for education and a career. The conflict with her parents is shown in her story to picture 1.

1. NF25. This boy doesn't seem to want to play on the violin, why he's looking at the violin. And the expression on his face seems to be that of, what is it? Not rebellion but, uh, well, the feeling that he doesn't want to do it. Doesn't want to play the violin but someone like his mother has made him take lessons and is trying to make him practice. He probably feels quite (long pause) resentful of his mother's forcing him to do it against his will. He'll probably (long pause) refuse to do it at all, or else he'll play it so badly he won't have to take lessons any more.

In this story, the demands made by the mother touch off an emotional conflict for the subject, and at first the defense of being outwardly aggressive is considered—"refuse to do it at all." This defense is abandoned, probably in part because the subject's internalization of Japanese values makes her say "not rebellion but . . . " The defense finally utilized is one of negativistic compliance, suppression of hostility, and a turning inward of aggression.

The subject's story to picture 3BM shows that her parental conflicts are carried over into her relations with other people, including her employers, so that in her own words she "no longer is able to distinguish between people." The Japanese value that rebellion against one's parents is also a rebellion against the whole structure of society is shown here, along with values of correct speech, close attention to personal appearance, and careful observation of the proprieties.

3BM. NF25. Well, a young fellow who wanted very much to do something and then was told that he couldn't by his parents and he was very broken hearted about it and he is crying. I don't think he'll say or do anything externally to show how he feels toward his parents but he will carry a deep resentment towards them inside himself and probably show his hostility through devious means such as refusing to carry out an order or refusing to obey his parents when a request has been made. [What happens to him?] He becomes a delinquent and he's referred to juvenile court. He carries resentment and so becomes bad for mother and child and society. He becomes careless in his speech, his attire, his contacts with other people, and transfers this resentment towards his parents to society and no longer is able to distinguish between people.

The lack of adequate satisfaction of this woman's basic dependency needs causes her to have poor and nonrealistic interpersonal relations. She has developed an unconscious defense of using practical and intellectual interests as an approach to people (her employers, friends, etc.) from whom she actually wants nurturant affection. The people respond practically and intellectually to her, she resists and resents this, and the relationship bogs down. Another major defense for this Nisei woman lies in withdrawal from problems and situations that precipitate emotional conflict. Early in the course of therapy (the fourth hour) she said, "I keep rejecting people . . . I feel rejected and I reject them. It has something to do with my always having to fight with my mother and my family. I can't fight any more. I just withdraw instead of expressing things—withdraw completely from the situation."
The Rorschach analysis of this case brings out the interference of neurotic inhibition with need for achievement. This subject was in therapy, and was not a case in our representative sample. In comparison with the total sample of Nisei, her Rorschach record shows some interesting similarities and differences. Her most notable difference from the representative sample is her difficulty in producing a whole response. She manages to produce only one W out of 34 responses. This result suggests a neurotic difficulty in externalizing her desire for achievement. A second discrepancy, from both clinical norms and those of the Nisei group, that reinforces the impression of neurosis is the imbalance in the ratio between human and animal movement responses. Contrary to the usual picture, she has a predominance of animal movement which, along with certain features of the content, suggests definite immaturity. She also shows the tendency toward a high number of space responses that is characteristic of many Nisei. Analysis suggests that this indication of rebelliousness is on a rather immature level and may be related to the neurotic maintenance of certain impulsive and childish ways of meeting problems in daily life. There are indications in the record, however, that this rebelliousness may remain covert, as her Rorschach manifests considerable underlying passivity and dependence on others. She is more apt to modify her ideas than to assert herself openly, in spite of a critical undercurrent in her personality.

As positive characteristics, she has a strong sense of the popular and the expected, and has an ego with a great deal of strength and resiliency. Also, the over-all affective tone of her responses is more positive and optimistic than one would usually expect in an individual seeking therapeutic help. Although there is a certain tendency to force or formalize her emotions, she probably can, with help, respond positively to friendliness in others. An attempt to push herself intellectually beyond her capacity in order to meet internalized social demands may develop into a serious source of conflict.

In general, the picture presented in this Rorschach record is one of neurotic incapacitation, without the personality constriction of the second record, or the more severe underlying disturbance of the first record. Of the three, this record shows the most direct interference with achievement itself. In this it is different from the usual Nisei record with regard to the variables considered in relation to achievement.

As a summary of this case, and an indication of how the analyses of the projective data (done before therapy had commenced) fit with the clinical material, it is useful to quote part of a tentative formulation written by Dr. Babcock after 85 hours of therapy:

"The patient's problems center around her extreme dependency and helplessness which result from her early emotional deprivations, and her defenses against her hostility which are totally unacceptable to her family. Much of her hostility arises because of the failure of her emotional environment to provide for her any support adequate to meet her infantile impulses and needs of which she was ashamed and frightened. Intelligent and capable of considerable independent thinking, she has been in great conflict because of the discrepancy between her ideals for herself (one
should be independent, achieve high status, be successful in the eyes of the public, and never show any negative attitudes) and her abilities to obtain in a concrete form any of her ideals.

“She talked a great deal of her job in which she was very interested, but whenever something was hard for her at work, she would deny the reality setting of the situation. If a certain service seemed needed, and she thought her employer would not permit it, she would rebel in her feeling, but fail to take up the problem with her employer. Instead she would physically avoid the employer, and in many other withdrawing and stubbornly denying ways circumvent the problem.”

These three records demonstrate the complexity on a psychological level of the structuring of certain similar culturally induced attitudes toward achievement. Although the overt attitudes and aims of these three individuals were quite similar, they were embedded in differing over-all personality structures. Such differences in total personality have a great deal to do with how an individual attempts to actualize his desires for achievement and the degree to which he meets with success in achieving his goals.

CONCLUSION

In the consideration of the achievement orientation of the Japanese Americans we have followed a different path from the more usual consideration of genetic and learned abilities, and the attribution of discrepancies to “other factors.” The way of looking at achievement presented here stresses the need for systematic investigation and interrelation of: (a) overt and underlying culture patterns, (b) individual psychodynamic factors, (c) the structure and emotional atmosphere of crucial small group interactive settings in the home, on the job, and at recreation. A knowledge of these three related variables—the cultural, the personal, and the interpersonal—when coupled with genetic data, should greatly increase the ability to predict the achievement possibilities of particular individuals in a group. Even in the avowedly illustrative material given here, it can be seen that the inclusion of culture as a residual “other factor” is theoretically and methodologically insufficient until related to the personal and interpersonal variables. In future research a thorough analysis of individuals within a cultural context will be necessary for a better understanding of the factors making for achievement.

NOTES

1 Details of this project, and a fuller exposition of the data may be found in Caudill (1952). Briefly, the interdisciplinary team included two anthropologists, William Caudill and Adrian Corcoran; three sociologists, Setsuko Nishi, Alan Jacobson, and Lee Rainwater; a clinical psychologist, George De Vos; a psychoanalyst, Dr. Charlotte Babcock; and a psychiatric social worker, Estelle Gabriel. Collectively, the data gathered consisted of: (a) interview schedules obtained from a random sample, selected from a directory of Japanese Americans in Chicago, of 342 families representing 1,022 persons; (b) evaluations by employers of Japanese American workers in 79 firms; (c) abstracts of all the cases of Japanese American clients seen by Chicago social agencies between 1942 and 1948; (d) investigation of the child rearing practices of 50 Nisei mothers; (e) the collection and analysis of 100 TAT and 150 Rorschach records; and (f) psychiatric data consisting of diagnostic interviews with 40 Issei and Nisei, brief psychotherapy with 10 Nisei, and psychoanalysis of 3 Nisei.
In 1940 the educational level of the Nisei stood at 12.2 median years of school completed, as compared with 10.1 median years for American-born white children in the Pacific Coast states (War Relocation Authority 1946a:93).

The high level of education for the Issei in our sample demonstrates a certain selectivity in the Chicago population as compared both with the total previous West Coast population and with Japanese in Japan. The slightly higher average education in the Chicago population is probably in part due to the fact that Issei who came to Chicago were mainly urban small shopkeepers. The median education level for the total Issei population in the relocation center was eight years (War Relocation Authority 1946b:80). The average level in Japan at the time of major immigration was closer to six years than to the eight-year average of the immigrants. Hence we may assume a certain selectivity in immigration of individuals who on their own, or under family pressure, sought and found educational opportunities greater than the six years required by the laws of Japan. Nevertheless, the values which went into this emphasis on education are the values reported in the literature as generally prevailing in Japan.

Details of method, and a general personality analysis of the Japanese Americans, can be found in Caudill (1952) and De Vos (1951, 1952). Caudill collected the TAT records, De Vos collected the Rorschach records, while Babcock did psychotherapeutic interviews and psychoanalysis with Nisei patients.

The white TAT records that are here compared with those of the Japanese Americans came from normal people in everyday jobs. The middle class women's records were drawn at random from a previous study of Warner and Henry (1948) on lower-middle and upper-lower class housewives. From other research projects (carried out in the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago) with businessmen, retail department store employees, and factory workers, it was possible to obtain a sample of records from lower-middle and upper-lower class men. The terms "middle" and "lower" class are used in the text to avoid awkwardness in discussion. In all cases, what is meant are the more technical designations "lower-middle" and "upper-lower" class (see Caudill 1952; Warner et al., 1949). Sex distinctions are not recorded in Tables 3 to 5, which are based on samples divided as to sex as follows: Issei, 15 men and 15 women; Nisei and white middle class, 20 men and 20 women; white lower class, 8 men and 12 women.

The code before each story refers to the number of the picture in the Murray (1943) series, and to identifying information on the subject. For example, 1. NF25 means the picture is number 1 and the subject is a Nisei female 25 years old. NM, IF, and IM are self-explanatory; other symbols used are: Wlm and Wul, for white lower-middle class and white upper-lower class respectively.

The original study from which the details reported on this paper are derived consisted of Rorschach records from 50 Issei, 60 Nisei, and 50 Kibei (American-born Japanese Americans who were sent back to Japan for an extended period during childhood). These records were obtained by taking a random sample of Rorschachs from individuals included in the Chicago sample of 1022 persons (De Vos 1951). The American comparison groups used consisted of 60 Normal, 30 Neurotic, and 30 Schizophrenic Americans, obtained from the Normative files of Dr. S. J. Beck (Beck 1950). Two papers (De Vos 1954, 1955) give a detailed statistical analysis of the Rorschach variables. The first consists of a detailed analysis of the American and Japanese American groups in reference to (1) intellectual functions and ego control, (2) emotional organization, (3) affective symbolism. The second paper considers the quantitative results as they relate to maladjustment, and the nature and types of rigidity found prevalent in the records.

The class-stratified comparison sample of 60 white records was obtained from Beck's American Normal group (Beck 1950). Beck's group was gathered from the occupational hierarchy of a large department store and mail order house. The individuals were classified originally in a seven-status occupational scale. For purposes of simplification, this scale was reduced to the categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and executive. The class range extended from lower to upper-middle, according to the criteria of Warner (1949). The predominance of the individuals in the group were upper-lower to lower-middle. No attempt has been made to date to examine the strata of the sample separately by statistical techniques.

The material for these cases is taken from Caudill (1952), where they are presented, along with others, in more detail and within a more systematic theoretical framework.
CAUDILL AND DE VOS

Achievement and Culture

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The "Bone Tools" from Hopefield

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INTRODUCTION

In a paper, edited by Professor M. R. Drennan, Mr. K. Jolly stated "there are also a number of new occurrences, such as the presence amongst these early cultures of crude bone implements shaped to form chisels." This appeared under the title "A New Race of Prehistoric Men: The Saldanha Skull, found with stone and bone tools, and the fossil remains of extinct South African animals" in the Illustrated London News (September 26, 1953). In one of the illustrations (Figure 1) in that article, they were described as "fossilised bone chisels made by prehistoric man from the metacarpal bones of horse. Found at Hopefield and for the first time associated with the older South African cultures." Because these so-called bone tools have constantly been referred to and because visiting scientists have been sufficiently interested to ask to examine them, it is the purpose of this paper to present a re-evaluation of these specimens.

DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL

The two bones featured in the above article have now been numbered 1378 and 1379 in the Hopefield Collection housed in this Department. They are actually equid metatarsals, and their distal extremities have been fragmented. They were originally assigned to the status of man-made bone chisels because it was considered too much of a coincidence that two bones from the same site had identically shaped smooth extremities in the form of a chisel.

However, on careful examination it is noted, first, that they are not quite identical, 1378 being more crudely fashioned than 1379, and second, that the shaped ends are not smooth. The dorsal surface of 1378 presents distinct angulated longitudinal furrows, some being deeper than others (Plate 1); and similar but deeper furrows, transversely placed, are seen across the shaft of the bone half way to the proximal extremity (Plate 1a). Finer furrows are seen on the dorsal surface of the shaped end of 1379 (Plate 2). These furrows may have been produced by a human hand wielding a sharp stone, but the more likely and, as will be shown, the only explanation is that they were produced by the teeth of carnivora in their attempts to chew away the end of the bone so as to get at the marrow. Furthermore, the actual broken transverse edge of this shaped extremity is very rugged in 1378, though sharper and smoother in 1379 (Plates 1, 2).

Various carnivora have been described from this site on the farm Elandsfontein (Ewer and Singer 1956), and recently the large upper jaw of a felid, an extinct form of lion (?Panthera shawi), was discovered and is now being studied for publication. Consequently one would expect that these carnivora would have lived on and chewed the bones of some of the numerous animals found on this site (Singer 1954, 1956).
Specimens 3096 (left) and 1378. The former has numerous dental scars on the surface while the arrow indicates the transverse scar on 1378.

Magnified extremities of specimens 3096 and 1378,
Specimens 512 (left) and 1379 (right) with a bone from the Fish Hoek cave in the center. Odd scars are seen on the shafts of both 512 and 1379. The Fish Hoek specimen shows an identical V-shaped splintering effect and secondary gnawing.

The magnified extremities of the specimens on plate 2A. The V-shaped splintering effect is clearly demonstrated.
PLATE 3
Specimens 1380 and 3095

PLATE 4
Three long bones from the Fish Hoek cave exhibiting gnawed "windows" in the shafts and chewing of the cancellous extremities.
"Bone Tools" from Hopefield

PLATE 5A
Two bones from the Fish Hoek cave showing symmetrically shaped chewing of the extremities, while the specimen on the left has, in addition, been chewed and splintered right across the shaft.

PLATE 5B
The magnified extremities of the specimens in plate A.
Two bones from the Fish Hoek cave, both extensively chewed, the one on the left presenting a grooved chisel shape, the other having the form of an awl.

The magnified extremities of the bones in plate 6A.
On surveying the fossilized specimens in the Hopefield collection a number of bones were found to exhibit extreme manifestations of tooth marks or fragmentation, producing bizarre shapes, some not unlike chisels (Plate 3, specimen 1380). Specimen 512 (Plate 2), also an equid metatarsal, has been fractured at precisely the same spot as 1379, and although it has not been gnawed as much or shaped as smoothly as the latter, it has an identical V-shaped fracture line (Plate 2). Specimen 3095 is a fragment of a large mammalian pelvic bone exhibiting numerous furrows similar to those on 1378 and 1379, and the one end of the bone has been shaped by chewing to resemble the sharp edge of a "cleaver" (Plate 3). Similarly, 398 is a large bovid metatarsal irregularly shaped by teeth, and specimen 3096 is beautifully pointed by the removal of broad "flakes" and fine furrowing (Plate 1). Numerous grooves and finer furrows are identical to those on 1378, 1379 (Plate 1b). In specimens 513 and 534, both metatarsals, the proximal and distal extremities show distinct dental scars, while 534 has been heavily chewed midway along the shaft near the nutrient foramen, as in 1378. Specimen 1380, a bovid tibia, shows fragmentation and dental scars with the production of a "gouging" end (Plate 3). The smoothness of many of the scars is due to weathering. Specimen 3138 is a large bovid metatarsal, fragmented and chewed toward the distal end just beyond mid-shaft. In most of these specimens the medullary cavity is exposed, and attempts have been made to do so in the remaining.

There are many more specimens in the collection illustrating these features, but the above have been specially selected as they exhibit most closely the features of the two so-called bone chisels.

As corroborative evidence are recent bones from a "cave" in Fish Hoek about 20 yards from the famous Skildergat (Peers) Cave. This "cave" is almost completely filled with fallen-in rock and sand so that a space of only about two feet now remains between the present "floor" and the roof. Consequently, it could only have been inhabited or frequented in recent times by nonhuman visitors. From the surface of the "floor" and from the superficial 12" of dassie (Procavia capensis) humus, rotting leaves, and sand, I have recovered about 200 bone fragments, almost every one of which exhibits grooves made by teeth. There can be no doubt that they were gnawed for their marrow, as some of the bones even have "windows" chewed through the compact bone (Plate 4), but many are fragmented and these fragmented ends are shaped and smoothed, giving the appearance of pointed, awl-shaped or cutting instruments (Plates 5, 6). This assemblage of bone dates back at least 300 years, since besides ox, porcupine, wildebeest, baboon, dassie, bush pig, and other remains, there are also teeth of an elephant, and these latter animals have not been known in the Fish Hoek valley for about 300 years. This surface thus represents the floor of some animal's lair, and I tend to consider the leopard as having been the likely occupant as he is probably the only real killer of the baboon, remains of which abound in this accumulation. However, the porcupine is another contender for the collecting and gnawing of bones. A bovid mandible gnawed by a porcupine in the Milan Zoo was kindly shown to the author by Dr. L. Cardini.
in Florence, and the marks made were identical to those on the bones from Fish Hoek.

CONCLUSION

From the evidence presented there can be no doubt that the so-called bone chisels or implements previously described from Hopefield as being manufactured by human agency are in actual fact merely the fragments of bone originally chewed by carnivores, which, assisted by the process of weathering, have presented the appearance of implements.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Few groups have been studied so long and so intensively as the Lapps. The first ethnography of the Lapps, by Olaus Magnus, and the first Lappish word list, by Stephen Burrough, were published four hundred years ago. In succeeding years, Scandinavian, Finnish, Russian, and a sprinkling of British scholars added an immense scientific literature, much of it excellent, to these pioneer studies. Careful investigations covered many special fields, ranging from archeology to physical anthropology, human geography, and law. Nevertheless, this literature remained substantially ignored by, and inaccessible to, most anthropologists; in turn, Lappish research tended toward parochialism in both objectives and methods.

Over the past two decades, Lappish research has received a new impetus. In archeology, the work of G. Gjessing and A. Nummedal, among others, was instrumental in delineating distinctive, major stone-age complexes in northern Fennoscandia, the early Komsa culture, and the extensive later “Arctic slate culture.” In human geography, Ernst Manker and his collaborators at the Nordic Museum of Stockholm executed thorough researches on land use by nomads and semi-settled Lapps. Finally, in 1949, the Swedish linguist Björn Collinder synthesized much hitherto scattered work in a notable volume, The Lapps (Princeton University Press).

Collinder's study is primarily a descriptive ethnology of the Swedish Reindeer Lapps, but it also summarizes much historical and linguistic evidence on Scandinavian-Lapp contacts and brilliantly sketches the processes of contemporary acculturation:

"Nowadays the tending of the reindeer becomes more and more the specialty of middle-aged reindeer owners, aged sons, and hired herdsmen. The wives spend most of their time in the settlements in the birch zone—these can hardly be distinguished from ordinary farmers' villages. The
children are kept in boarding schools from six or seven years... The girls... to a substantial extent... are absorbed into the urban population... young men in the ages from 18 to 40 years have stuck to reindeer breeding... and the oldest are well-to-do but unmarried" (1949: 123-124).

The three works reviewed illustrate current developments in Lappish research. Manker's book closely resembles Collinder's in the subject matter covered. It is rather superficial on social organization, brief but incisive on religion and the arts, and outstanding in its detailed, excellently illustrated treatment of material culture and the subsistence economy. Throughout, Manker is keenly aware of culture dynamics and functional adaptation. In his discussion of reindeer herding, he stresses the shift to hyperextensive methods, and its control by large-scale fencing. Romanticists may note with regret growing commercialization, specialization in meat reindeer, and the substitution of more tractable and productive nanny goats for milch does (pp. 74-106).

Manker's judicious summary of the history and recent status of Lapp prehistory is most useful. In essence, Wiklund and Hallström had developed, prior to 1930, a consistent theory from the linguistic and archeological evidence then known; namely, that the first neolithic occupation of northern Scandinavia was Indo-European, with the Lapps entering the area in chase of reindeer during the cold period about 500 B.C. The discovery of the Komsa culture shook these views, stimulating hypotheses of prolonged autochthonous development, even of an arctic glacial refuge. In addition, Gjessing's researches disclosed the circumpolar distribution of a wide complex of artifacts characterizing the north-Scandinavian neolithic, e.g., polished slate tools, the semilunar knife, and pit-and-comb decorated pottery. Hence, an Arctic coastal origin seemed indicated for Lapp culture. But further research, including Gjessing's own (1942), also demonstrated extensive Baltic and Central Russian ties. In addition, the Lapponoid physical type, although identified at a number of early Central Russian neolithic sites, has thus far been dated only to 200 B.C.—200 A.D. in Fennoscandia, at Nesbyen. Thus Lapp prehistory today is rather unsettled.

In my opinion, one step basic to a clarification of Lapp prehistory is the conceptual separation of Lappish as a subdivision of the Uralic (Finno-Ugrian-Samoyedic-Yukaghiric) linguistic stock, of Lapponoid as a somatic type, and of the local cultures of northern Fennoscandia as a set of historical complexes. Certainly, recent Soviet data make imperative an isolation of the first two because of the following chain of facts:

Zbruyeva (1947; 1952:205-215) has given weighty evidence for considering the Ananino culture of the Kama River basin in Eastern Russia (ca. 700-300 B.C.) to be proto-Finno-Ugrian, and this theory is consistent with other data, e.g. Jacobsohn's (1922) on proto-Iranian contacts with proto-Finno-Ugrian. Also, Ananino culture may be traced to the shores of the White Sea, in general accord with the original Wiklund—Hallström theory of Lapp prehistory. "The presence, on the shores of the White Sea, of typical Ananino celts and their molds and, along with them, finds of round-bottomed pots of Ananino type testifies that on the shores of the White Sea were found Ananino settlements, perhaps temporary, linked to seasonal hunting or trade operations" (Zbruyeva 1952:185). Nevertheless, while Lapponoid skeletal material has been found at Yazykovo and Volosovo in Central Russia (Debets 1934; Trofimova 1949a), that at Ananino (and allied sites which are probably proto-Samoyedic) is not Lapponoid. It presents some Lapponoid features, such as low stature, low face and high frequency of concave noses, but also such marked differences as the presence of mesocranialy, high-vaultedness, and general massivity, with intensely developed supraorbital ridges (Trofimova 1951). The paradox is intensified by the fact that
modern northern Samoyed and Ostyak resemble the Lapps much more closely than either resemble the Ananino skeletons (Debets 1934; Trofimova 1949b; R. R. Gjessing 1934). The most likely explanation of these facts appears to me to deny a Lapponoid physical type to the proto-Uralic or proto-Finno-Ugrian population. Rather, I would hold that the original Lapponoids of Central Russia acquired Finno-Ugrian languages secondarily, and that the somatic similarities with modern Samoyeds are biological reflections of the historically established migration of the Ugrians, descendants of these Finno-Ugricized Lapponoids, east from north Russia to the Ob' River basin, late in the first millennium A.D. (Kannisto 1927a, 1927b; Arne 1935).

It also seems to me that insufficient attention has been paid to the magnitude and significance of ecological differences between the present and late Sub-Boreal, on the one hand, and the Atlantic and early Sub-Boreal (say 2500–700 B.C.), on the other. During these optimal periods, walnut, for instance, reached north to Arkhangel'sk (Foss 1952: 26), and temperate marine fauna, e.g. cod and herring, circulated the length of the Eurasian Arctic shore (Berg 1934). Under such conditions, a model of tundra habitat, dependence on reindeer, and some type of "ice-hunting" culture is untenable. Rather, the basic pattern was boreal in environment, with wood a ubiquitous material; with moose and fish, not reindeer and sea-mammals, the primary foods; with water, not land, being the channel of communication. Mobility over long distances, north and south, east and west, was characteristic.

Moreover, given these circumstances, and given the virtuosity of the northern Eurasian neolithic cultures in the entire field of stone, bone, and woodworking, local inventions, direct loans, stimulus diffusions with transfers of form from one technique to another (or vice versa), and convergences are most probable. Careful techniques of analysis, with emphasis upon patterns and styles on the one hand, and firmly established loan objects on the other, appear essential.

Finally, an absolute chronology based on Carbon 14 is sorely needed for Fennoscandia, since neither strandlines nor trade objects are beyond suspicion in this regard.

Gjessing's little monograph reflects the author's deep knowledge of the Lapps, and brings out many important suggestions and conclusions in a delightfully informal way. Possibly its greatest contribution is to adumbrate the culture and ancient archaeological roots of the Sea Lapps, semisedentary fishermen and sea-mammal hunters who have always constituted the bulk of the Lapp population, at Nesseby. Note-worthy is the high economic status, relative to the neighboring Norwegians, which the Sea Lapps enjoyed from the Middle Ages to World War I. Moreover, the Forest and Reindeer Lapps dominated and assimilated the impoverished Finnish (Quain) migrants to Karasjoki and (as Rolf R. Gjessing, op. cit., has pointed out) Kautokeino Parishes. The "backwardness" of the Lapps, their social isolation from the Scandinavians, is indeed of recent origin.

In another chapter, Professor Gjessing discusses Laestadianism, an ecstatic variant of Lutheranism, in which he finds a modern, half-conscious survival of shamanism. More detailed study is certainly needed, especially of the verbal content and minute behavior observed in ecstasies compared carefully with the pre-Christian patterns. At the same time, the cult might well be considered as part of the great wave of revealed sects, e.g. Mormonism, which swept Europe and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Also useful in analyzing its persistence is Siegel's (1935) concept of the conscious maintenance of high anxiety plateaus by culturally threatened yet tightly integrated communities.

Apart from Solem's classic study of Lapp customary law (1933, and Lowie 1945), social organization has been relatively neglected by Lappicists. For this reason,
Whitaker's excellent monograph on social relations among the nomadic Lapps of Karesuondo Parish, in northernmost Sweden, is especially welcome. Its broad scope includes a survey of structure, behavior, and attitudes within the kin, economic, and religious organizations of the community, plus a discussion of nomadic Lapp relations with, and attitudes toward, the Swedish State and the local peasants. Its documentation is solid, and is based upon both the author's own investigations, primarily statistical and genealogical, and on an extensive use of the historical literature. Much of Whitaker's evidence is new and most useful. He demonstrates, for example, a strong predominance of community (toel'de) endogamy today, although marriages within the community take place mostly between distant relatives or unrelated persons. Again, his discovery that the distinctive boat-shaped sledges of the Lapps are not indigenous but bought from the peasants (p. 101) adds important evidence on the role of borrowing within the Lapp reindeer complex. As a whole, Whitaker's study can be heartily recommended. It is best used in conjunction with Manker's detailed analysis (1953) of the political and ecological setting of Swedish Lapp nomadism.

General excellence does not preclude some weaknesses and unresolved problems. Whitaker has not always digested his own abundant materials. Thus, his denial of birth control (p. 45) is contradicted by his own data (pp. 134–8) on family size and spacing. (The age composition of this population is consistent with only moderate mortality rates.) Again, he generalizes that "the normal destiny of an individual is to marry... The society is so regulated that every male can accumulate by the time he is 30, if not before, sufficient capital with which to marry (p. 41)." Yet the tabulation mentioned reveals 13 bachelors out of 44 men aged 30 and over, a condition more in accord with Collinder's assessment, quoted earlier. Moreover, selective outmigration (as shown by a sex-ratio of only 80 for age 30 and over) and the reluctance of the remaining women to nomadize (pp. 32–34, 87–88) certainly are elements of social instability deserving greater emphasis.

The peculiar formlessness of modern, nomadic Lapp society should be mentioned. Pehrson, in a notable paper (1954), has brought out the complex and variable considerations determining socioeconomic leadership among these people. Whitaker (pp. 71–75) seemingly attributes such formlessness, and specifically the failure to develop a unilineal kinship system, to an ecological limitation upon the size and stability of Lapp Settlements. As a control, he uses the Skolt Lapps, to whom he attributes an emergent patrilineal clan system. In my view, this theory is implausible. Skolt Lapp evidence simply reflects heavy direct Russification. The ecological hypothesis suffers in the face of the high uniformity of all Lapp kinship systems, hyper- extensive nomads and settled Sea Lapps alike (cf. pp. 125–133; Solem 1933; Lagercrantz 1939; Markelov 1928; and Genetz 1891). The problem remains unsolved. I would, however, suggest the possibility of continued cultural loss, which even the twenty years between Rolf R. Gjessing's and Whitaker's studies discloses, e.g. the almost total disappearance of the custom of hiring non-Lapp maidservants in nomadic households. The medieval data in Changing Lapps certainly indicate a far more structured society. And two main causes may be inferred: shock, associated with the destruction of pre-Christian local cults (focal points in, say, Ostyak social organization, cf. Voronova 1900; Chernetsov 1939, 1947); and transition from cultural independence to occupational-caste status, associated with growth of a client-patron relation toward peasant merchants and the imposition of State institutions.

In this review, I have attempted to present a summary of trends in research on the Lapps, to state some current problems, and to propose a few paths toward their
solution. Above all, I have tried to indicate what this field has to offer anthropology. For those seeking fresh bodies of data to use in teaching or in the comparative treatment of cultural processes, the literature cited can serve as a guide. For the archaeologist, a sound absolute chronology in northern Fennoscandia, in conjunction with the large mass of Soviet publications on Eastern Europe and Siberia, can provide a key to cultural sequences in much of northern Eurasia. For many other specialties also, the research prospects are great.

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GENERAL AND THEORETICAL


Reviewed by MARSHALL D. SAHLINS, Columbia University

Energy and Society is an important book. Dr. Cottrell, Professor of Government and Sociology at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, has made a major contribution to the growing number of convergent studies of the relationship between energy utilization and cultural evolution. (For decades physical scientists have been indicating that this would be a fruitful line of research. In biology a similar trend has existed for over a generation in interpretations of organic evolution.) Anthropology has not been entirely left behind in this area, although the comparatively rare concern shown by modern anthropologists for problems of cultural evolution, let alone its thermodynamic aspects, should be a cause for embarrassment in the cultural science. Nevertheless, Cottrell's theoretical structure should prove intriguing to anthropolo-
gists by way of comparison with the few parallel hypotheses already developed within the discipline. The thesis of the book is: "the energy available to man limits what he can do and influences what he will do" (p. 2). The focus is upon factors which promote cultural development from dependence upon low-yield energy sources such as plants and animals, to dependence upon high-yield sources such as fossil fuels. Economic, social, and political consequences of these technological changes are analyzed in detail.

The author deals primarily with energy-based cultural changes which have occurred in Europe and North America and may occur in underdeveloped peasant cultures. But early sections of the book, given over to the "low-energy" societies, lie squarely in the area of traditional anthropological interest. Despite sketchy documentation, this study of the primitives often produces illuminating explanations of cultural processes, inspired by the concept of culture as an energy-capturing system. This, for example, although the idea is not new: "The total energy annually available does not permit any great expansion of population, and thus food gatherers have frequently fallen victim to the more numerous and powerful food raisers . . . the food gatherer has tended to be driven away from the areas in which food raising was possible. As a result, he currently exists chiefly where food gathering actually yields a higher return from existing resources than would an available alternative land use" (p. 24). And the anthropologist would be unwise if he merely scanned the remainder of the book. There follow excellent chapters on the industrialization of agriculture (highly recommended for those studying peasant cultures), on the organization of production, on distribution, and on the utilization of wind, water, electrical, and fuel energies.

It is difficult in a brief review to weigh the shortcomings of this book against its achievements. Nevertheless, and without wishing to detract from significant contributions, the reviewer is compelled to point out two major theoretical inadequacies. One is Cottrell's "values" theory of cultural change, and the second is his commitment to particularistic, historical analyses. The two are related; they occur in the same contexts, and they evidently belong to a single current of social science thought.

The central thesis of Energy and Society is not merely a form of technological determinism nor technological-environmental determinism. Would that it were so. For the chief defect of the book is its theory of culture change. In Cottrell's view, a major cultural advance is dependent on three conditions: technological and environmental potentials for greater energy capture, and "human choice." The lion's share of discussion is given to the last. Individual choice exerts effects when cultural systems are faced with alternative patterns of energy use. Choice will be exercised in conformity with the prevailing system of "values," a hierarchy of attitudes and sentiments derived from the social structure and ideology. Use of potential energy resources will be accepted or rejected depending on whether the results to be gained will be worth the values that must be sacrificed. Thus does the author expound a marginal utility theory of cultural change. This is "economic man" in a new guise, carefully weighing energy gains against their costs in value payments on the free market of culture. On this basis, cultures either buy or sit tight.

To point out Professor Cottrell's interest in economic theory does not constitute an adequate explanation of his preference for this type of interpretation. Many anthropologists who are totally unconcerned with, or even hostile to, "economic determinism" are, ironically, enamored with values in precisely this way. However, merely because the method is based on the dialectic of marginal utility is no reason for dismissing it. There is a better reason: the argument is circular. Consider the
author's exposition of the theory in regard to the development of trade (pp. 57–62). Trade will not develop unless there be present, besides appropriate geographical and technological conditions, "values that are compatible with trade" (p. 59). How are these values to be discovered? The answer is, "the fact of trade is taken as evidence that the goods chosen are considered by those who choose them to be more valuable than the goods sacrificed to secure them" (p. 57). It appears, then, that the evidence of the cause of trade is trade itself. And so it is whenever Cottrell introduces values in explanations of cultural change. In a general discussion of the role of value-determined choices in history, the illuminating statement is made: "That a value holds a place in the hierarchy is revealed by the decision to pursue it rather than to retain or to attempt to secure alternative values" (p. 113). Thus the direction of cultural change is determined by values (other things being equal), while values are evidenced by the direction of change—or by the absence thereof. As long as the concept of values is so used, it has no explanatory power.

The pursuit of value-oriented interpretations of change involves Cottrell in a second pitfall: historical particularism. Throughout the book, the aim is to construct broad propositions regarding the relationships between energy use and cultural growth. But by examining the multifarious and often unique social and value systems which have been conducive to development in different cultures, this attempt to generalize is foiled. For example, noting that population growth must be contained if high energy sources are to be effectively utilized (else energy gains would be dissipated in feeding an expanding population), Cottrell becomes interested in the social arrangements that can best serve these purposes. He makes a somewhat detailed study of the transition to high energy society in England, the United States, Germany, France, Japan, and Russia. The hope is that important general statements can be formulated about social and ideological concomitants and antecedents. But, although insights are provided about particular social changes in these nations, the over-all results do not justify the faith nor the effort. All that can be concluded of a general nature is that some sort of moral system has to be developed to encourage people to make the requisite sacrifices and changes of habit. What would be most effective by way of moral system cannot be stated, since there are too few cases and "so many variations in the cases as to make any scientific demonstration of an exact character impossible" (p. 199). Yet more cases would only mean more variations. Besides, the conclusion could easily have been arrived at without a great deal of historical research. In point of fact, different cultures have advanced to high energy society by different means. The antecedents of the spread of fuel technology in peasant Russia have little in common with the conditions of its introduction in mercantile England. It is futile to believe that significant generalizations about necessary antecedents of progress can be made by cataloging this diversity. The inherent inadequacy of attempts to generalize history as such is that the circumstances which bring processes such as cultural development into play are neither uniform nor do they explain the process—just as the circumstances which cause various objects to fall to the ground are not necessarily similar nor do they explain gravitation.

Professor Cottrell thus fails to provide a satisfactory explanation of the origins of energy-based changes, either in particular cultures or in culture as a whole. This does not, however, detract from a truly laudable contribution. In dealing with the consequences of patterns of energy use on cultural forms—i.e., the processes of cultural evolution—he presents many hypotheses of an order totally different from those we have just examined. For example, "the kinship group operates as a production-and-
consumption unit within energy limits . . . [There is a] point where the family can
no longer serve as the production unit for the number and kinds of converters necessary
to produce an increase in energy . . . . the very extensive and intensive coordination
required for high-energy technology exceeds the capacity of kinship and communally
organized structures to serve as production units" (pp. 234–235). Hypotheses of this
type are important; unlike those based on values, they lead to encompassing proposi-
tions about the interdependence between energy systems and other aspects of culture.
The reviewer regrets that they are not pursued instead of value-oriented and particular-
istic interpretations.

There are many more aspects of Professor Cottrell's work that could be discussed
profitably if space permitted. The book is to be praised highly for its explicit treatment
of culture as an energy-capturing system. Much is to be gained from acceptance and
application of many of Cottrell's postulates to studies of cultural evolution; just as
much is to be learned from critical examination of the others.

Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage.
GEORGE C. HOMANS and DAVID M. SCHNEIDER. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press,
1955. 64 pp., 2 figs. $2.00.

Reviewed by ROBERT H. LOWIE, University of California (Berkeley)

In opposition to Lévi-Strauss, the authors hold that unilinear cross-cousin marriages
are correlated with linearity, matrilateral unions with patriliney, patrilateral unions
with matriliney. This proposition is advanced as their "special hypothesis." With
engaging candor, which characterizes the entire essay, they conclude that, though
their sample of tribes supports the hypothesis, "the discovery of a few more unilateral
societies might conceivably upset our correlation" (p. 57). Nearer to their heart is
the "general theory" that the form of asymmetry is determined by the system of
interpersonal relations among kinsfolk; given cross-cousin marriage, if premaritally
a male stands under the final authority of the father, marriage will be matrilateral; in
the case of avuncular authority it will be patrilateral. "Potestality is a far better
predictor than linearity" (ibid.).

Evidently there is a gap here. What kind of interpersonal relations make for one
or the other type of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage? Drs. Homans' and Schneider's
answer is along the lines indicated by Radcliffe-Brown. Where the mother's brother
appears as a male mother, he gives "his beloved daughter" to his sister's son (p. 24 f.);
where the paternal aunt figures as a "female father" she will, so far as feminine dis-
ablelities are lacking, try to have her daughter espouse the aunt's brother's son (p. 28).

If the argument fails to carry conviction, it is chiefly because our information is
so deficient on crucial points. As the authors realize, we know lamentably little about
interpersonal relations. Nevertheless, the essay must be welcomed as a pioneering
attempt in a legitimate direction, and it should stimulate the kind of field inquiries
that would lend greater cogency to future inquiries along these lines. However much
Lévi-Strauss has stressed structural aspects in his great work, I feel certain that he is
not averse to considerations of this order, as witness his article on "L'Analyse struc-

Family, Socialization and Interaction Process. TALCOTT PARSONS, ROBERT F. BALES,
in collaboration with JAMES OLDS, MORRIS ZELDTCH, JR., and PHILIP E. SLATER.

Reviewed by GEORGE D. SPINDLER, Stanford University
This book is mainly a further contribution to the general theory of action and social systems that Parsons and collaborators have worked toward during recent years. Though a primary concern with the American family is expressed in the preface, this interest is clearly secondary to theory-building, on foundations supplied by George H. Mead, Freud, and Durkheim. No empirical, observational data are given concerning the American family, though the authors state that “in its empirical aspect” they regard the book as a study of the sociology of the American family. This is the institution subjected to the most thorough-going conceptual analysis, as a clear-cut case of a nuclear family group, isolable from the incorporating solidarities that obscure the picture in even the simplest of “simple” societies. This analysis is most important for what follows, because the hypotheses examined cross-culturally, and in small experimental groups, are derived here.

The two basic themes in the book are the analysis of certain observable and consistent differentiations of roles in small groups and in the nuclear family; and the analysis of socialization as a progressive internalization of role differentiations, using the nuclear American family as a type or model.

Bales and Slater report some of their research on fourteen separate groups of Harvard undergraduates, which they observed a total of fifty-six times, measuring social interaction and interpersonal attitudes. While they are fully conscious of the differences between their experimental groups and a nuclear family group, they do find and describe certain consistent role differentiations and combinations that parallel those abstracted for the nuclear family. For instance, the “task specialist” or “idea man” serves an “instrumental” function in the accomplishment of the group’s task (like the father). The “best liked” man, or “socio-emotional” specialist, serves an “expressive” function—he satisfies the emotional needs of the members of the group (like the mother). Anthropologists may find some of their methods and concepts applicable to the cross-cultural study of small groups.

Zelditch analyzes a sample of fifty-six “societies,” the majority nonliterate, but including French Canadian, German, Irish, and Spanish-American cases, for evidence concerning two related hypotheses: that the nuclear family will differentiate roles in such a way that instrumental and expressive leadership are discriminated; that if the nuclear family consists of male adult, female adult, and immediate children, the male will play the role of instrumental leader and the female the role of expressive leader. He furnishes careful rules for rating cases from ethnographers’ reports, and discusses at some length certain special cases, such as the Arapesh, Mundugomor, Cheyenne, Nuer, etc., and particularly the five matrilineal cases in the sample. The latter are especially interesting, for while half of the negative cases reviewed are matrilineal, there is clearly no reversal of roles, no assumption of the expressive role by the father in his own family while adopting an instrumental role in his sister’s household. The fundamental problem is the relative distribution of instrumental roles resulting from the relation of the nuclear family to the matrilineage. Anthropologists will find this whole section rewarding and full of implications, not only for the family but for social structure in general.

The analysis of socialization as a sequence of internalizations and re-integrations of a succession of social systems formed out of the interactions of members of the nuclear family, comprises a systematic and well-developed combination of psychoanalytic and social-action theory at a high level of abstraction. The application of this theoretical structure, as the authors point out, makes the socialization process analogous both to the embryological development of the individual organism and to the
development of social systems. It certainly focuses on the dynamic interaction of organism and environment, and not on given instincts or constitutive drives that are modified into socialized drives and responses by experience.

The sections written by Parsons (about half the book) are difficult to read, and many of the important hypotheses contained in them are badly obscured by unnecessary verbiage and over-involved sentence structure. But the book as a whole is well worth the effort as a contribution to theory, an exposition of methods, and a source of significant hypotheses.


Reviewed by Marvin K. Opler, Cornell University Medical College

Feuer’s book, fourth in the American Lecture Series on the philosophy of science, analyzes the possible relationship of psychoanalysis to cultural value theory. It was preceded by two volumes on scientific method (Operationism by Benjamin, and _Causality in Natural Science_ by Lenzen), and by the Dutch psychiatrist Van den Berg’s _Phenomenological Approach to Psychiatry_. Following Feuer’s work, the Series continues with an assessment of the cross-cultural data of anthropology and psychiatry (_Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values_ by Opler).

Feuer’s book paves the way for transition to anthropological data. In three sections he develops his view of cultural values, and uses this view as a basis for a critique of Freud and of cultural relativity. In Part I, Feuer seeks a psychoanalytic basis for the study of values, and he begins, as Sapir once did, by separating authentic from spurious values. But Sapir used cultural values as the framework for his famous distinction between the genuine and the spurious. Feuer is closer to Freud, for his “authentic values” are expressive of the biological organism, and they are “inauthentic” when they are anxiety-induced. Feuer, like Fromm, tells us that repressive values are contrary to individual “free choice” on this biological premise. This is a circular definition, reducible to repression equals repression. The tautology could be corrected, I believe, by attention to values conflicts as they exist in cultures, in families, and in certain individuals. We need to know what conflicts in values produce anxiety, and only epidemiological study can tell us how much damage occurs in a population. Etiological studies will also reveal what environmental or cultural systems limit individuals to their detriment. Both methods together provide the road to prevention or cure, and could lead to evaluations on a cross-cultural, comparative level.

Feuer himself provides a formula for a comparative framework “corresponding to different social structures with their different personality-forms.” Each structure has its “ethical language” (i.e., value symbols). Each requires its specific “psychosanalytic characterization” (p. 21). The attack on Freud’s pessimistic view of civilization is developed from the vantage point of cultural difference (Part II). Feuer adds the conclusion that ethics can be an applied social science because a society’s values either repress or express biological needs.

Part III begins with a critique of cultural relativity. For the cultural relativist who proclaims anything “can happen” on the human scene, Feuer reminds us that there are human values which cut across cultural boundaries. He states that an unbridled relativity means “that all ethical criticism is a soliloquy within one’s cul-

[58, 1956]
tural universe" (p. 116). A more universal yardstick of human values is present in common biological factors of our species. To measure values cross-culturally with this yardstick, only the Freudian variables of frustrations and satisfactions are needed as criteria. Feuer also notes that cultural institutions vary in the extent to which they provide satisfaction—an excellent point, though to the reviewer this amounts to only letting a concept of culture in by the back door. If the narrow base of human values is limited to those with which the organism is endowed, one wonders about acquired values and their satisfaction. On this point, Feuer speaks, like Vaihinger or Sapir, of the “necessity” of illusion and treats of social personality as if it would have to settle on illusions. With Fromm, he holds that “free thought and action” must depart from fixed ideology, and are to this extent culture-free. Would anthropologists regard anyone as 100 percent free in this sense?

The reviewer feels that this concept, whether in Feuer or in Fromm, stems from a Rankian interest in the above-average creativity of the artist. An artist in the total business of life is rare indeed. At the end, in more down-to-earth fashion, Feuer returns to an “ideal social self,” consisting simply of the affectional impulses in man. While this is like Rado’s idea of the welfare emotions, it represents the most palpable side of psychoanalysis and fits Feuer’s main theme that cultural variation is limited and so are its ethical consequences. The book corrects the dogmatism of several philosophers who have written of a single system of values by including cultural difference, and it insists equally on human values cutting across cultures.

ETHNOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY


Reviewed by Edward P. Dozier, Northwestern University

American Indian Development is a laudable field program of the National Congress of American Indians, an organization representing tribes and individuals of Indian descent in the United States and Alaska. The organization is devoted to self-help projects and leadership training in Indian communities. Its purpose is to establish a permissive atmosphere where decisions for community improvement come from the people themselves and out of their own leadership. This basic philosophy has been followed in the American Indian Development’s three projects in 1954. In the Navaho Crownpoint area a Navaho committee was formed, with subcommittees on health, education, and law and order. The most satisfying immediate outcome was the decision to build a community meeting house. The Navaho of the area contributed labor, and a small building fund was obtained in part from the Tribe and in part from private donors, who were located largely through the efforts of American Indian Development. Assistance in the construction was supplied by young workers of the American Friends Service Committee. The encouraging part of the program was that the bulk of the work and all major decisions came from the Indians themselves; representatives of American Indian Development, U. S. Indian Bureau, and the American Friends Service Committee merely provided marginal and subsidiary aid.

Progressing successfully is a workshop experiment initiated in the summer of 1953, among the Cherokee in Delaware County, Oklahoma. This program consists of helping interested families improve their homes, on a basis of contributing labor and such cash as the family could afford. In return, American Indian Development agreed
to raise money which would be paid into a revolving fund, from which advances could be made on a repayment plan. The interest engendered by these improvements has resulted in the creation of the Delaware County Association for American Home and Farm Improvement. The success of this Indian program promises to induce other neighboring Indian communities to follow the example of the Delaware County Cherokee.

The third project of the American Indian Development among the Mescalero-Apache Indians of southern New Mexico has not turned out as successfully. Internal conflicts appear to be preventing the people from working co-operatively toward a program of community improvement. In keeping with its basic philosophy, American Indian Development has not attempted to force a program, but seeks to find ways of encouraging the creation and reorganization of Mescalero leadership.

Although the author of the report is anonymous, it is clear from the reports of the community workshop meetings that D'Arcy McNickle had a major role in these projects. Experienced in the past administration of the U. S. Indian Bureau, a well known writer and authority on Indian problems, Mr. McNickle is eminently qualified to direct the activities of American Indian Development.


Reviewed by Raymond H. Thompson, University of Arizona

Kroeber and Harner provide ethnographic and archeological descriptions of some Mohave pots collected by Kroeber about 50 years ago. Kroeber's "Ethnographic Analysis" follows the native classification, with emphasis on shapes and painted designs and their Mohave names. There is considerable information on the use of the vessels, but not much detail on manufacturing processes. Harner presents "A Description for the Archaeologist," in which he defines Fort Mohave variants of Parker red-on-buff and Parker buff, using the Museum of Northern Arizona method of describing pottery types. He identifies 18 shapes (in contrast to Kroeber's 13) and emphasizes technological data such as surface treatment, paste, color, and firing. While he makes the important distinction between coiling as a constructional technique and paddling as a finishing technique, he does not give any details on the observable criteria for identifying these techniques.

The dual presentation is the most significant feature of the paper. Archeologists constantly seek to enrich their accounts of past cultures by inference from ethnographically or historically known cultures. However, ethnographic descriptions adequate for archeological purposes are often hard to come by. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the two sections of this paper are presented as completely separate contributions. The only attempt to relate these independent studies of the same group of vessels is in an appendix to Kroeber's section, where the shapes recognized by the Mohave are correlated with those defined by Harner. The obvious differences between these ethnographic and archeological shape classes indicate that archeologists must make a greater effort to relate their pottery types to those which are recognized by the makers and users of the vessels. Even slight success in this direction would add materially to the possibilities for functional interpretation of archeological data. Kroeber and Harner show that there is much to be learned about pottery types and their functional significance from combined ethnographic and archeological approaches to the pottery of contemporary peoples.

Reviewed by PEDRO CARRASCO, Human Relations Area Files

The Bajio region of Mexico had the earliest and most numerous concentration of Mexican Mestizo population, and it became the cradle of the independence movement. Wolf's essay is an interpretation of the conditions which led this region to play such an important role in the formation of the Mexican nation.

The Bajio early developed an economic complex based on mining, with related intensive agriculture, industry, and trade, and it supported a large population. The small aboriginal population in the area and its low economic development resulted in the corporate Indian communities being less important than they were in Southern Mexico, and this led to the formation, out of a heterogeneous population, of new sociocultural groups such as miners, small farmers, textile workers, muleteers, etc. The area stood in contrast with Southern Mexico, which had an agricultural economy and a large population of village Indians, and with the marginal areas of Northern Mexico, which had a small population engaged in some related agriculture and extensive cattle raising. The Bajio thus developed economic and political interests that came in conflict with the monopolistic interest and the rigid social stratification maintained by the Colonial Government, and it became the center of the movement for independence.

The essay concludes with some brief remarks on developments after the achievement of independence, when the assumption of political power by local entrepreneurs led to competition in political and military fields rather than the economic, and resulted in the failure of the region to integrate economically with the new nation. This final section lacks the careful documentation of the core of the essay, and it overlooks the collapse of the mining industry after independence as an important reason for the lack of regional economic integration. However, it formulates some very suggestive hypotheses, and highlights the important change brought about by the disappearance of Spanish bureaucracy and the assumption of political control by warring regional caudillos.

This is an important contribution to the social history of Mexico in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.


Reviewed by PEDRO CARRASCO, Human Relations Area Files

This essay is a useful compilation of data on the concept of the Devil in various periods and among different classes of Guatemalan society.

The Spanish concept of the Devil is first described as evidenced in various Colonial religious chronicles, in which native religion is interpreted as the work of the Devil. Several Maya deities which were identified with the Christian Devil are then discussed, and the assimilation of the native underworld to the Christian Hell is also mentioned.

Various evil spirits related to the Devil are described as they appear in modern folklore, both Indian and Ladino, and in literary works. The idea of the Devil as connected with witchcraft is described mainly in terms of modern Indian witchcraft, but also with references to Spanish witchcraft during the Colonial period.
A final section discusses the Devil as he enters the experiences of friars in Colonial convents, and as he appears in the kind of popular literature known as loas and in the dances performed in various Indian villages.

The author sees in his study of the evil spirit "the example of an imported concept of a complex cultural matrix which, upon penetrating the indigenous world, provokes through irradiation, attraction, and contamination, a series of semantic displacements in related or antagonistic concepts of the native culture, which are organized within a new system of meanings. . . . These vast movements of concepts from other cultures and folkloric notions in contact with a dominant imported concept are what we designate Cultural Semantics."

There is a good English summary.


Reviewed by Iwao Ishino, Ohio State University

This mimeographed report covers a wide range of ethnographic facts about a society that received little anthropological attention up to the time of World War II. Okinawa is the main island in the Ryukyu chain, situated south of Japan and north of Formosa. It has a population of one-half million residing in four cities, four towns, and some 500 villages. The culture at present is adjusting to the problems created in part by wartime dislocations and by the occupation of American troops. Problems of national identification, self-government, population pressures, family and kin relations, agricultural development, land tenure, health and sanitation, and education are only a few examples of the cultural developments that await investigation by those seeking a convenient laboratory for the study of culture change. While not a primitive culture, Okinawa has many characteristics of a folk society, with its attendant aboriginal beliefs and practices. Fairly complete census data, extensive written history, stable local governments, good transportation and communication facilities, and a substantial literate population are some of the conveniences that should facilitate the investigator's task.

Utilizing such resources and completing nine months of field work in Okinawa, Pitts, Lebra, and Suttles have tackled all of the problems listed above. Each of the writers did the major part of his work in different pairs of communities, so that the present report reflects both a generalized account of Okinawan culture and detailed information on diverse aspects of six villages.

The chapters are organized under familiar topical headings. Pitts has chapters on geography, agricultural history, rural economy, and population; Lebra on language, political organization, land tenure, and culture change; and Suttles on family and kin, health, and education. Suttles and Lebra collaborate in the concluding chapter, which is concerned with Okinawan-American relations.

It is regrettable that no integrated picture of Okinawan life emerges from this report, largely because none of the six villages investigated is presented as a community study. Neither does the report present a systematic comparative study of the six villages. These shortcomings can no doubt be justified on the ground that the report is intended to serve as a general handbook for administrators and others interested in the practical affairs of Okinawan society. (The report contains a generous sprinkling of recommendations concerning these problems.) In spite of these criticisms, this
report should serve as a handy reference for all Far Eastern specialists and students of culture change, for it contains a wealth of statistical information and descriptions of linguistic and social behavior of the Okinawans. It is hoped that the authors will collaborate on a book written expressly for their academic colleagues.


Reviewed by STANLEY SPECTOR, Washington University

Mr. Elliott's highly specialized monograph serves to modify the unbalanced emphasis that is generally placed upon the philosophical and ethical elements within the great Chinese religions. Confucianism and Taoism are frequently classified as systems of thought and guides to human relationships, rather than as roads to interaction between man and the supernatural. Even Buddhism appears to survive in modern China only at a highly sophisticated philosophical level. But Elliott's intensive field experience among Chinese nonintellectuals in Singapore seems to produce a different perspective on Chinese religious orientations. He finds that most Singapore Chinese, at some time in their lives, come into more or less active relationship with spirit-medium cults and have some experience with spirit-medium practices. His work gives the impression that the "shen" or spirits dominate the Chinese mind to a greater extent than is usually imagined.

From a sociological standpoint, Elliott's generalizations are unwarranted. It is no longer possible to speak of everyday Chinese, especially when referring to Singapore. Occupation, class, dialect groups, and education tend to break the superficial unity of the community. All may witness temple rites, funerals, magical displays, and processions. Many may at some time of crisis resort to native medical practitioners, who may rely occasionally upon spirit-medium (dang-ki) assistance. Nevertheless, as Elliott admits, spirit-media and spirit-medium cultism are rare. The overlapping features of spirit-mediumism and religious rites should not lead to an exaggeration of the importance of shamanistic practice among the Singapore Chinese.

Taken as a first-hand, scholarly description of shamanistic rites, and as a brief but illuminating analysis of the meaning of practices and incantations, Elliott's work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Chinese folk-ways. A useful, though too limited, comparison is made with religious traditions on the mainland, largely on the basis of De Groot's monumental work. Brief contrasts with similar Hindu practices found in Singapore are also provided. In both cases, the approach is neither systematic nor detailed enough to permit generalizations. If these limitations make Elliott's work the less suggestive, it must be recognized that he has deliberately limited his scope in order to do justice to the wealth of material which he gathered. This is a very complete source-book for those who wish to know exactly how spirit-medium cults operated in Singapore in the years 1950-51. It details the rites, conversations, and formulae through which Chinese reach the spirit world. Such close examination of the practitioners and of the gods and spirits with whom they deal reveals to the Westerner a formerly obscure body of knowledge passed down through the Chinese community largely by word of mouth. Elliott's achievement in overcoming the almost insuperable barriers of dialect and secrecy which prevail in occult Chinese groups must be given special notice. That he has not been able to explain more fully the meaning and significance of his study merely leads us to hope that he will publish
further. Reading in the United States and not in London, we are more interested in the anthropological and sociological implications of Chinese spirit-medium cultism than in the psychic research. Or, as one of Elliott's spirit-media wrote while in trance:

"Good man, learn this wonderful method,
When you understand it you can overcome the shortness of life."


Reviewed by GERTRUDE P. KURATH, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Carl A. Schmitz contributes a study of dance and ritual sites in Melanesia to "Die Schaubühne," a German series of scholarly dissertations on the theatre. He is a disciple of Dr. C. Niessen, editor of this series. With infinite pains he has assembled his data and tackled his problems entirely from literary sources, some 250 of them in four languages, which are given in the text as references.

From the introductory problem statement to the summary of his hypotheses, the author approaches the aspects of the primitive "stages" as cultural and religious phenomena. He gives the title "Das Ethnographische Problem" to the chapter on the forms, which he divides into natural or artificial sites—pilgrimage places of holy myths, numinous locations marked off by plantings, bamboo fences, or stones near permanent villages or central village plazas, and platforms of various materials and uses. He underscores the uses at every point. Page 28 gives the etymology of the title, "Balam," as a Tami word for circumcision and an Arapesh term for spirit place, derived from *lom*, fragrant flower or magic.

These descriptions continue through the chapters on sacred and secular uses, titled "Das Soziologische Problem," on good and evil as "Das Religiöse Problem," and on dramatic procedures, "Das Theatralische Problem." Through them thread his theories on diffusions, origins, Austro-Melanic, proto-Polynesian, megalithic typology. At times he disagrees with the authors of his source materials.

The sites, which are never diagrammed, do not always emerge very clearly. The ritual and dance activities remain sketchy, with a few exceptions such as the Horiomu ceremony (pp. 136 ff.). The theories appear shaky. This is probably due to gleaning the materials entirely from secondary sources which at times gave inadequate pictures of the sites. One wonders why the author spent these efforts on remote phenomena instead of making a first attempt at the problem from observed European folk festivals. One can ask the same question about a large number of German works which seem to show an escapist preference for exotic peoples.

However, if one accepts the choice of subject matter, a careful reader will find the approach novel and scholarly. Field workers may do well to take the hint and pay more attention to the locations of ritual and secular activities, and to the ground plans of these activities as determined by the locations. Students of culture and of the theatre arts have another reminder that these studies are not in separate compartments.

Hawaii's People. ANDREW W. LIND. With Technical Assistance of ROBERT SCHMITT. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955. xii, 116 pp., 4 figs., 2 maps, 25 tables, appendices. $2.75.

Reviewed by FELIX M. KESSING, Stanford University

The senior sociologist on the University of Hawaii staff here follows his earlier
volume on the peoples of Hawaii (An Island Community, 1938) with a much briefer but updated survey of this humanly diversified territory. The material was assembled initially as background information for members of a Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective held in Hawaii in the summer of 1954, of which the author served as Director. The 112 pages of text include thirty statistical tables showing demographic, economic, educational, and political data. These materials are tabulated in terms of the ethnic units recognized for official census purposes: Hawaiian, Part-Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Puerto Rican, and Other. Usually they involve a time grid of censuses from 1910 to 1950. Anyone interested in the broad quantitative picture of Hawaii's population will find the work most useful for reference. The rest of the text offers a necessarily rather superficial and selective description of the history, status, and problems of the Hawaiian body social.

Lind points out that reactions to Hawaii's population situation range from a kind of sentimental glow at the colorful meeting and mingling of peoples, which minimizes its problems, through suspicion and foreboding, to the idea that "it can't be true." He traces briefly the responses of the indigenous Hawaiians to contacts with the larger world, the coming of successive waves of immigration from the West and from Asia, and the main ecological and social features of contemporary Hawaii. A "neo-Hawaiian" group, still distinctively Polynesian yet by now predominantly of composite rather than full-Hawaiian ancestry, has been increasing at the rate of about 25 percent in the last two decades. In 1950 a total of 12,245 told the census taker they were full-Hawaiian, and 73,845 reported themselves as part-Hawaiian.

Other groups have increased in varying amounts except for the Filipinos, who were somewhat fewer in 1950 than in 1920; their newly developing nation has been attracting them home. Ethnic proportions of the total 1950 population of 499,769 were: Japanese 36.9 percent; Caucasian 23 percent; Hawaiian, 17.3 percent; Filipino, 12.2 percent; and Chinese, 6.5 percent. Among the Japanese and Chinese, 84.2 percent and 87.9 percent, respectively, were American born. As regards "race mixture," the 1950 census showed 18.9 percent of the population reporting some combination of ancestries. For the years 1950–1953, 31 percent of all marriages were "mixed" or out-marriages.

As this review suggests, the book can serve as a most useful initial reference work on Hawaii's population. It might also suggest numerous possibilities for new research. Unfortunately it has only scattered footnote references, and no systematic bibliography.

ARCHEOLOGY

Cultural Chronology and Change As Reflected in the Ceramics of the Virú Valley, Peru. DONALD COLLIER. (Fieldiana: Anthropology, Volume 43.) Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1955. 226 pp., frontispiece, 72 figs., 12 tables, appendices. $6.00.

Reviewed by ALFRED KIDDER II, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

The title of the final major archeological report on the work of the Virú Valley Project might well be chosen as a nutshell designation of what, in the broadest sense, the Project was designed to study. As Collier says in his Preface, "The aim was to make an intensive, co-operative study of human adaptation and culture growth in a single coastal valley over the total span of human occupancy." To reach this level of interpretation, a detailed chronological framework, reflecting changing patterns in numerous aspects of culture, had to be established. Strong and Evans, Ford, Willey, Bennett and
Bird have all added rungs to the chronological ladder, and contributed largely in both pointing out and explaining cultural change in Virú. Collier's work completes the picture with a presentation of the basic data on the archeology of the upper half of the Virú sequence, and reinforces the latter part of the lower half. Virú Valley now stands as one of the very few regions in Nuclear America that provide trustworthy data for comparative studies of culture growth on a world wide basis.

Collier, representing the Chicago Natural History Museum, had as his primary task the recovery of the stratigraphic history of the Late Epoch, which in his definition runs from the local manifestations of Coast Tiahuanaco to the Spanish Conquest. He also plugged a serious gap at the end of the Guañaape culture period, the local expression of Coast Chavin, or Chavinoid, culture, thus completing the sequence from the beginning of the use of pottery in Virú to the advent of painted pottery.

The report, like others by the participants in the Project, would be difficult to improve. All relevant observations on sites seem to be recorded, excavation is reported in detail and with excellent plans, sections, and photographs. This, with the ceramic analysis, is the core of the work. But there are sections that will be useful and more interesting to the majority of nonspecialist anthropologists who will never be concerned, for example, with distinctions between the types San Juan Molded and San Nicolas Molded.

The Introduction first orients the reader geographically; this is a brief section, in view of earlier and more detailed descriptions. There follows an historical sketch and discussion of the archeological background, in which the local terminology adopted by the Project members is related to the Moche-Chicana sequence. Of most immediate interest is the very clear and thoughtful summary of the problem of absolute dating posed by the discrepancies between earlier, reasoned estimates of period lengths and the few radio-carbon dates so far obtained from the region. It is apparent that we need many more Carbon 14 analyses from this area, not only from the early phases (Plain Pottery-Early Guañaape through Chavinoid and Mochica), where the discrepancies occur, but from the Late Epoch which so far has no Carbon 14 dates, but which appears much too long. I believe there is room for argument with Collier's views on the apparently excessive length of the Late Epoch, caused by the early dates derived from the few Mochica samples that have been submitted. Such an argument would be highly speculative, however, and would certainly be too lengthy for this review. Nevertheless, as brief as it is, this section is the best summary of the present unsatisfactory situation that I have read.

Following admirable short sections on Field Technique and Approach and Problems, setting forth Collier's methods and objectives, Sites and Excavations are presented in detail. Stratigraphic cuts were made in nine sites, structures cleared in two, and burials excavated in three; surface collections were made at a few others. There follows a short section on Architecture and a longer one on Ceramic Analysis. The latter contains a most interesting subsection on mold-made pottery of the Late Epoch, showing convincingly that from Tiahuanaco times to the Conquest most pottery vessels were made in molds, and that in the latter part of the period only large storage jars were made by hand. This finding mildly surprises me, since I believe that most observers, like myself, would not have suspected that such a high proportion of utility wares were molded. It also reinforces the opinion that the North Coast was a climax area, in terms of developing technological and social complexity in the Central Andes.

The concluding section neatly summarizes in broadly interpretive terms ceramic trends and culture change from Late Guañaape to Inca, with emphasis on the Late
Epoch. Collier has thus contributed a most valuable addition to Peruvian archeological literature, and has done his full share and more to make the Virú Valley Project a fully proven success.


Reviewed by CARLING MALOUF, Montana State University

Archeological literature on the Northern Periphery of the Southwest has been scarce. Marie Wormington's contribution is therefore especially welcome, since it contains an analysis of the known data on the region as well as information on original excavations.

The publication is divided into three parts. Part I presents raw data from sites in the vicinity of Cisco, Utah. First the local geography is described, and details are then provided on the remains of dwellings and other structures at these sites. This is followed by a description of at least a dozen types of artifacts, including pottery types, figurines, basketry, grinding implements, projectile points, and several other items. The section is well written and the description is clear. Photographs and sketches add to its value as a permanent record of the excavations. A few speculations concerning the inhabitants of the sites conclude the section.

Part II summarizes the archeology of the Northern Periphery to date. This is accomplished primarily by reviewing in brief most of the existing literature on the several subareas of the Northern Periphery. The latest trend in thinking is well expressed by Wormington (I must add that I concur on this conclusion, and I believe Jesse Jennings would also agree): "The term Northern Periphery is unfortunate, for it has come to carry a connotation of cultural subordination as well as geographic location, but no other suitable name applicable to the whole area has been found" (p. 96). It is being conceived less and less as a culture area derived from the San Juan Anasazi with a selective diffusion of Basket Maker and Pueblo traits. Instead, it is increasingly apparent that the area had a great number of its own characteristics. With these conclusions, Wormington gives new meaning or definition to older terms and concepts without slighting (as some have done) the foundations laid by earlier anthropologists.

Part III is an evaluation of the eastern half of the Northern Periphery where the Fremont Culture is centered, and constitutes one of the most valuable contributions of the publication. First, the existence of the Fremont Culture (first named by Noel Morss in 1931) is affirmed and its limits more clearly defined. Second, more of the traits and characteristics of the Fremont culture are ascertained, and those features which make it unique are discussed. Third, the idea that the Fremont Culture is composed of selected Anasazi traits now has to be modified, and more emphasis placed on local developments or elements diffused from other areas. Wormington suggests possible connections of the Fremont Culture with the Plains. Unique shield-bearing men portrayed in pictographs are found in central Montana as well as in the Fremont Culture, and their form and distribution is more than coincidental. Stone circles or "tipi rings," and possibly moccasins too, may be similarly related. Wormington's efforts to show ties between the Fremont Culture and Mexico on the basis of corn types might be a little less successful. While one may dispute some of the conjectures, they...
remain provocative and stimulating. Certainly the factual data give the publication a virtue that will make it everlastingly useful to Southwestern archeologists.


Reviewed by Stephen Foltiny, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

This outstanding monograph is a very important contribution to our knowledge of the Lower Palaeolithic of Central and Western Europe. The text was originally prepared in German by the well known Pleistocene geologist, R. Grahmann. It was translated under the direction of Dr. Hallam L. Movius, Jr., who sometimes made minor alterations, but no changes have been made in the factual material. It was also necessary to remount all the line-cuts showing the archeological material and to reorganize the descriptions of the illustrated artifacts.

After a brief introduction, the author deals with the history and significance of the Markkleeberg localities. He points out that these sites hold the key to the development of the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic of Central Europe. In the next chapter, he presents a detailed geological survey of the Pleistocene deposits near Leipzig. The existence of three series of glacial deposits which correspond to the Mindel, Riss, and Würm Glaciations of the Alps is demonstrated. The Lower Palaeolithic findings come from the river gravels. The artifact-bearing river gravels near Leipzig belong to the first part of the Riss Glaciation. This is also proven for the sites at Markkleeberg and Lindenau by the occurrence of Elephas trogontherii, which became extinct during the Third Glacial Age. The Markkleeberg gravel pits are among the most significant sites in Germany for Lower Palaeolithic artifacts; next in importance are those located near Cröbern and Zehmen.

The section on archeology is the longest. As Grahmann states, at the localities near Leipzig we are not dealing “with the stock of a single occupation, but with the cross-section of the cultural material produced over a span of many thousands of years during which similar, but not exactly identical, groups or bands of hunters lived from time to time not only on the banks of the Pleisse, but also at other places somewhere further up the valley.” He refers to the individual collections from these sites, and gives a detailed analysis of the raw material and the stone-working techniques of the Leipzig localities. He also classifies the material on the basis of types of implements (cores, coarse flakes, blades, broad flakes, points, side-scrapers, end-scrapers, awls and bifaces). In addition, the description of the archeological material includes a quantitative analysis of the implement types.

Finally, Grahmann offers a cultural evaluation of the artifacts. One part of the series shows certain technological and typological features that are characteristic of the Clactonian, others are clearly related to the Levalloisian; some Achelulian elements also are present. Taken as a whole, the implements of the Riss age show “the development of a transition from the Late Clactonian to the Early Levalloisian which was influenced to a certain extent from the west by the Achelulian.” The author suggests the term “Pleisse Stage” (Plisnian) for this mixture. The Leipzig region was probably settled during the Mindel-Riss Interglacial age—or at least by the end of this period—and these hunters did not leave the area when the climate changed.
A total of 3152 artifacts was available for this work. This material is unique in Central Europe as far as age and quantity are concerned. The excellent illustrations are arranged according to implement groups and they are accompanied by a complete description of the illustrated artifacts. Sixteen tables and a list of references make the monograph more useful. It should be added that the largest part of the archeological material from the Lower Palaeolithic sites near Leipzig was destroyed during World War II. Dr. Grahmann's fundamental addition to the field of Palaeolithic archeology will therefore be invaluable. At the same time, we have to express our heartfelt thanks and deepest gratitude to Dr. Movius and to those who assisted him in making this work accessible to the scientific world.


Reviewed by F. Clark Howell, University of Chicago

This is a popular introduction to prehistoric man, with particular emphasis on the classic French region. It should also prove useful to teachers and students of general anthropology as a well illustrated and easily read initiation into one aspect of Old World paleoanthropology. While concerned primarily with the ways of life of Pleistocene hunters and gatherers and the environments in which they lived, brief mention is also made of some of the most important human skeletal remains. Attention is drawn to the changing climates of the Pleistocene and the effects of glaciation and deglaciation on the vegetation and fauna of western Europe. Many of the examples, as well as the illustrations, are taken from the author's own careful excavations in the caves of Arcy-sur-Cure (Yonne). The over-all standard of illustration, both diagrammatic and photographic, is good and the drawing of Paleolithic techniques of tool preparation are especially well done.

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY


Reviewed by Paul Stirling, London School of Economics

Repressing, as a typical Englishman, my typically English aggression, I will endeavor to give a typically English fair-minded account of Mr. Gorer's achievement. I find this needs a conscious effort—if I may imitate Mr. Gorer's disarming frankness—because I belong firmly to the group of British social anthropologists who study social relations rather than mental states or attitudes, and I find Gorer's preoccupation with what seem to me simple-minded "psychological hypotheses" uncongenial.

The book began as a stunt for helping to sell a popular English Sunday newspaper, The People, which has a circulation of four million and an estimated readership of twelve million. It appears to attract these millions by a bias toward sex, love, marriage, and kindred topics. Readers were asked to co-operate with Mr. Gorer by filling in a questionnaire, without giving their names. On the basis of these, Mr. Gorer wrote six articles—You and Your Sweetheart, You and Your Husband or Wife, You and Your Children, You and Your Neighbours, You and the Law, You and Religion.

To his surprise, Mr. Gorer received over ten thousand completed questionnaires, in most cases filled in with apparent seriousness and honesty. Of these, he arbitrarily chose 5,000 for statistical analysis with the help of the research department of The
People's publishers, and he read through all of them for comments. The results were checked against a small, carefully selected sample of direct interviews, using the same questions as far as possible. The book is a report on this research. Whether it is fairly described as exploring character, rather than as exploring miscellaneous characteristics, is questionable; it is still more doubtful whether it is the character of the English people or only the character of some English readers of The People. Mr. Gorer deals with the second of these objections by claiming that the sample corresponds with the structure of the English population in geographical, class, and age terms within a few percent, except for the missing upper class who do not read The People; and also with the structure of the readers of The People as a whole, so far as it is known. Nevertheless, in what is explicitly an enquiry into "psychological motives," it seems at least possible that anonymous questionnaire answerers who read such a paper differ in some relevant respects from the population at large.

The value of the information obtained is necessarily limited by the design of the questionnaire. Mr. Gorer explains in Chapter II, entitled "Assumptions," why he chose most of the questions. It is a highly personal list, based partly on his own experience as an Englishman, partly on an attempt to get answers which could fit his psychological categories—for example, aggression—and partly on a desire to test some popular notions. Altogether Mr. Gorer asks 85 questions, the questionnaire varying according to the sex and marital status of the correspondents. These covered the obvious personal details (except occupation), residence, household composition, family income, class position, relations with neighbors, friends and voluntary associations, personal moral qualities, attitudes toward the police, superstitions, religion, sex and marriage, and the treatment of children. Mr. Gorer is disarmingly honest about bad wording, bad coding, and what he ought to have left out or put in. But the concept of national character is so nebulous that there is no way of saying what it includes or excludes, and Mr. Gorer's selection is as good and as bad as anyone else's.

The actual information is extremely varied. Some of it is surprising, some of it amusing, some of it seriously interesting, much of it quaint or trivial. Lists of percentages of persons who hold this view or that view alternate with sometimes juicy quotations from what correspondents said about premarital intercourse, potting babies, saying their prayers, punishing naughty boys, or the reliability of neighbors. This spate of information runs us through the body of the book (Chapters III to XIV), following the subjects of the questionnaire. The treatment is often superficial. For example, the population is divided into six classes, upper middle, middle, lower middle, upper working, working, and lower working, and all answers are broken down for these groups. Gorer tells us that, small specified exceptions apart, he agrees with people's evaluation of themselves, but he does not attempt to say on what criteria he bases his own evaluation. He apparently uses self allocation to class throughout, though he does say he had to interpret answers to fit them into these six classes. Yet surely, whether one says simply "middle" class or specifies "upper" or "lower" in answering an unguided question, is largely fortuitous. The suspicion that these distinctions are not at all consistently applied is confirmed by Gorer's own data. Twenty-seven percent of those calling themselves upper middle class left school at 14, and 22 percent of them had family incomes of under £8 (about $22) a week. So what does it mean when we are told, in a question about disapproving punishments, that cruelty and brutality are most mentioned by upper and lower middle classes living in metropolises? Who are these people and what possible significance can this fact have? And what has it got to do with English character?
Frequently, I felt, Gorer goes beyond his evidence. He seems to underestimate the degree of misunderstanding of his often vague questions, and the very different things people can mean by similar language. For example, he discusses for some pages the figures for approval and disapproval of kinds of punishment for boys and girls. Although he recognizes that the correspondents clearly mean different things by the term "corporal punishment," he assumes that they use the words "caning," "thrashing," "birching," and "punching" in the same sense, that is, in the sense in which he himself uses them, and on these grounds he distinguishes the advocates of each as separate categories. On the same theme, Gorer remarks that "parents at the top and bottom of the economic scale are much less in favor of severe physical punishments than those of intermediate incomes," but when one looks at the appropriate table, the only really considerable difference is between the "under £5" and the rest.

On larger issues, Gorer seems equally unreliable. He tells us that "the great majority of English parents . . . have most decided views on the suitability or unsuitability of specific punishments, quite apart from any differences in the children's temperaments or characters." The evidence for this accusation of stupidity is nothing more than the failure of most correspondents to criticize the over-simplification implied in his own question—and in any case, we have no idea whether these people do not what they advocate, nor whether what they advocate in actual cases is what they say on paper. It does not take much field experience to teach the lesson that what people say in answer to general questions leaves out all the complications, and is frequently inconsistent with their practice.

Again, Gorer discovers a high rate of belief in nonreligious superstitions—ghosts, mascots, fortune tellers, horoscopes. A quarter of the correspondents say they act on the advice of newspaper horoscopes. But to suggest that "belief in revealed religion is giving way to belief in magic" seems not only highly implausible in itself, but to be inconsistent with Gorer's own evidence that the religious tend also to be superstitious.

The main plot of the book is announced in the second chapter—namely, that the central problem of English character is aggression, because they are so orderly and humane a people. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gorer argues, the English were the most violent and brutal of peoples. What has happened? Clearly he is right in saying a change to greater orderliness has taken place, but I doubt whether his comparative assertions bear any weight.

His explanation is found in the last chapter and in a special appendix. Unlike most police forces, the police introduced by Peel in 1839 were to be strong, firm, upright, and kind. So much did this policy succeed, that these police came to be admired and imitated by all the English; and now we all go around with a built-in policeman to repress our aggressive impulses. Controlling our aggression is such hard work that we have little energy left over for sex; hence the low sexuality of the modern English. This "hypothesis"—I would prefer to call it a rather unattractive allegorical fantasy—is imposed on the book and does not seem to have much to do with the questionnaires, except insofar as they do reveal a widespread admiration for the police. Surely it is far too simple-minded a "theory" to be taken seriously. The complexities of English social institutions and the social history of the nineteenth century are left almost entirely out of account.

No one would deny that the English are on the whole a different sort of people from the French or the Greeks or the Egyptians. But these ill-defined differences cannot be studied by attempting first to describe "the English" in the terms we normally apply to individuals, and then to advance in simplified form the sort of psychological analysis
normally advanced for individuals. If "national character" can be studied at all, it cannot be done by a comparatively casual questionnaire. The range of Gorer's study is far too wide and vague to be scientific, and far too cluttered up with percentages and psychology to be literary. The odd facts he does collect, which are always facts about what people wrote in the reflective and anonymous moment of answering his questionnaire, are unrelated to each other or to any set of social institutions or system of social relations. The percentages tell us something, but, with so wide and indefinite a background, they tell us far less than Gorer imagines, because we never really know whom they are about. Equally, the quotations are from people the details of whose social position and psychological background is unknown. To proceed from these tables and quotations to statements about the English people is highly suspect, and sometimes decidedly wrong.

Nevertheless, the book is a source of all sorts of interesting information. All over England, working class couples tend to reside near and interact with the wife's rather than the husband's kin, so that the kinship system has a matrilateral bias. Just over half the correspondents disapprove of premarital intercourse. More people admit to "real love affairs" outside marriage (whatever that may mean) than to premarital experience. The lower working class is more likely to meet adultery with violence than other classes. The middle class contains more women than men. And so on.

Given the opportunity, Gorer was right to accept it. And only someone with journalistic gifts like his would have been offered such an opportunity. As a source for interesting facts, the work should be consulted by anyone dealing with English sociology or social psychology, so long as they check every conclusion for themselves against the tables. Those like me, who from inquisitiveness enjoy reading about other people's attitudes toward sex, marriage, children, neighbors, religion, and the like, or who enjoy party games about their friends' and neighbors' virtues and vices, will enjoy reading this book, or parts of it—if only they can stomach or skip the endless percentages.

FOLKLORE AND MUSIC


Reviewed by MARTIN GUSINDE, Catholic University

The author, well known for his interpretation of the religion and mythology of the Winnebago Indians, intended to publish this monograph in two separate parts, and promised that the second part would follow in a short time. However, the most reliable information available indicates that a long, serious illness has hindered him from realizing this plan. The second part—as projected—would bring the discussion and commentary of the long Winnebago myth about "The Two Boys." An English translation of the text itself is presented by the author in the first part. Considering the author's planned division, the reviewer will restrict himself to a simple analysis of the substantial content of this first part.

This study is primarily an attempt to analyze a specific prose epic of the Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin and Nebraska "from the viewpoint of its literary qualities and its possible history." The myth entitled "The Two Boys" is used by the author as a starting point for the secondary aim of his analysis, namely, "to examine the extent to which the conclusions drawn from this analysis can throw light on some of the many problems connected with the development of folk epics in general and those of Western
Europe in particular." Specially meant are the Homeric poems, The Chanson de Roland, The Nibelungenlied, and some others.

Obviously, as can be demonstrated in the epics mentioned as well as in the myth of "The Two Boys," several single stories, themes, and motifs have been combined and blended to form such a literary unit that only a very detailed analysis can reveal the originally independent sections. It was fortunate that independent themes and motives, versions, and some myth-incidents of the Winnebago myth were discovered. These will help reveal the process of transformation which finally created a new narrative.

The author first presents a summarized history of the Winnebago tribe, and discusses their religion and mythology; next there is a general characterization of "The Two Brothers" cycles and the history of this text. Then follows the bulk of the manuscript, the literal translation of the Winnebago original into English. Finally, there are some Supplementary Texts which parallel certain parts of the original. It is hoped that the author may soon recover from his illness and be able to publish the commentary; it promises to be of help in the analysis of the tales and myths of numerous peoples.

OTHER


Reviewed by Gertrude P. Kurath

Ann Arbor

Oskar Eberle, a Swiss playwright, producer, and authority on folk drama became interested in ceremonies of primitive peoples by chance, so he says, during his work on Swiss folk drama. He postponed his work on the theater of his compatriots to delve into the primitive drama still alive, or alive until recently. He cites some fifty sources, but especially acknowledges Martin Gusinde and Wilhelm Schmidt. It was the former who drew this reviewer's attention to Eberle's monumental study, and who observed that most of the materials were gleaned at the Library of the Anthropos-Institut in Posieux-Schweiz.

Dr. Eberle drew the book's title from a unique canoe mime of the Tierra del Fuego Yamana (Ona). He was especially fascinated by the ceremonies of this tribe and the neighboring Halakwdulp (Alacaluf) and Selk'nam (Yahgan). But he also has a long chapter on several groups of African Pygmies, another on the Negrito of Asia, and a final one on the Australian aborigines. Preliminary and concluding chapters illuminate his theories of theater fundamentals and, specifically, the importance of primitive theater. He illustrates all chapters with fine photographs acknowledged to various authors, and drawings by Hedwig Eberle-Giger from these same sources. The indispensable maps were drawn by Paul Lahner.

The author's approach is both painstaking and imaginative. His references and quotations are carefully documented. He redescribes and analyzes the procedures in a style at times vivacious, at times cumbersome. He perceives dramatic patterns the ethnologists had missed, and always relates them to the cultural setting. He juxtaposes myth and form of enactment (e.g., pp. 186–7), song text and mime (425–6). He distinguishes between acoustical and visual theater (529), theater and abstract dance (494), theater and drama (495–6), in convincing terms. One of his outstanding examples of insight is the analysis of the "build-up" (Steigerung) by acoustical and spatial means in the Kina rite witnessed in 1922 by Martin Gusinde, probably the very last
Kina rite. However, in so intuitive a critique it is a question as to how much was read into the drama and what would have been Eberle’s reaction on location. Another important contribution is the correlation of hunting cultures with realistic dance styles, agrarian cultures with abstract styles. This idea is emphasized repeatedly in the discussion of the Selk’nam Klóketen rite (267, 277, 282, 307), and also brought up in connection with the Aranda of Australia (426, 479). The theory is plausible enough and could be supported from many parts of the world, but it hardly warrants a statement to the effect that abstract features of the Klóketen prove agrarian derivation (268). At times, valid stylistic distinctions are incorporated into questionable chronologies, such as the proposed development from enactment of the self to rhythmic mime to realistic enactment of a role (29, 494).

This monumental work leaves the reader with a mixed regret and gratification: regret because it was impossible for the theater expert to report any of these enactments as an eye witness; gratification because the anthropologists did record them in the nick of time and with sufficient detail for interpretation by a specialist, and because an expert took the trouble to decipher the theatrical patterns and meanings.

Das Doppelte Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos.

Reviewed by Edwin M. Loeb
University of California, Berkeley

Hermann S. Baumann is known as an Africanist, and is co-author of the comprehensive volume Völkerkunde von Afrika, 1940. In the present book, which has taken a decade of compilation, Baumann has branched out to cover the world-wide migration of what he considers a complex of traits occurring in the regions of “Archaic Cultures,” and diffusing to neighboring areas. The “Archaic Cultures” of Thurnwald and Baumann are not confined to Egypt and its migrations of culture, as with Elliot Smith and Perry, but apply to the entire Mediterranean and extend outward through migrations of certain select traits of culture. Baumann brings these traits to the New World as well as to the Far East and the Pacific Islands. These traits include megaliths, the Divine King, as well as the sexual traits of “world parents, and the world egg, the world giant, and bisexual ideas (bisexual gods, bisexual ancestral spirits, the Platonic motive of cutting in half a bisexual being, bisexual souls, ritual change of sex, etc.)” (p. 374). Diffusion maps are in color and of excellent design, with tribes and traits fully listed. The maps show the diffusion of the above listed traits, with the exception of Divine Kingship.

The present volume will replace Das Zweigeschlechtwesen (The Two-sexed Being), 1928, by J. Winthuis, who started with Australia (where, according to Baumann, the two-sexed being actually does not exist) and pursued his subject from the evolutionary standpoint. Baumann deals with the diffusion of myths and ideas from higher centers of culture.

The central theme of this book is that people who have been influenced by the religions of “Archaic Cultures,” but who have not as yet been converted to the later, intensely patriarchal religions, believe that neither gods nor man are complete unless they have the magical powers of both the male and the female. This belief partly supersedes the sexual antagonism of more primitive peoples, who are obsessed with the idea that everything female (especially female blood) is contaminating.
Africanists will find much proof confirming this bisexual theory. For example, in my field work among the Kuanyama Ambo Bantu of Southwest Africa, I found both Divine Kingship and the relics of a megalithic culture. The Kuanyama have a god called Kalunga who usually is male, but is spoken of as "the mother of the people." The culture hero, "He Who Was Self-Created," was born from an egg. In former days, the royal maidens crawled under the legs of the king or his sons, making sexual contact in symbolic *jus primae noctis*, and thus both obtained special powers from the opposite sex. Today, girls undergoing puberty become possessed with warrior spirits. In the boys' circumcision, the boys are called "brides." When medicine men are initiated they must have contact with homosexuals, and often become homosexuals.

Baumann does not differentiate between the inspired and noninspired shaman, as did Carlyle May recently, writing on glossolalia (A.A. 58, No. 1:91); it is only the former who often are berdaches, and then only in the Old World. He believes that moieties were influenced by the bisexual idea (as the Chinese Yin and Yang idea). He thinks that moieties first were connected with clans and were exogamous; later, in many places influenced by conquest, one moiety became the male moiety of the conquerors, and the other the lower and female moiety. To keep relative positions, the moieties had to become endogamous. Unfortunately, the book contains no map of moieties. Most moieties of Africa, including the Herero and Masai, are endogamous.

Baumann was unable to use twins as a proof of his theory because he did not differentiate in the treatment of twins of like and unlike sex. The peculiar regard which the "Archaic Culture" people hold towards twins of unlike sex, combining both the male and the female in one "personality" but born as two individuals, is a valuable point that Baumann could have used to confirm his theory (see Loeb, E. M., "The Twin Cult in the Old and New World," Rivet Anniversary Volume, Mexico City: in press).

These are small details. Readers from all professions who deal with mythology and ethnic psychology will find the present book indispensable.

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**Reviewed by James B. Watson, University of Washington**

Colin Simpson is an Australian free-lance journalist and writer who has in the last decade concerned himself with native peoples of Australia and, more recently, Papua and New Guinea. To date three books have appeared using the figure "Adam" as a part of the title. The present one is the second of the series so far published in Australia, the first of two "Adam" books on New Guinea.

The background work for *Adam with Arrows* is compounded of travel (including brief visits to several remoter parts of New Guinea) and extensive tape-recorded interviews with old Territory hands and some of the present and former administrative personnel of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. Simpson went on two patrols, one into so-called Kukukuku country in Morobe District, and one from Wabag in the Western Highlands District. Both areas are in the vanguard of Australian contact and control, which is essentially the subject of the book. Simpson had official permission to read Patrol reports; he has also read the principal explorers' memoirs, and anthropological reports such as Beatrice Blackwood's on Kukukuku.

The book is rich in the legend-making material of the Australian penetration of New Guinea. In fact, the book itself is a part of that very active cultural process, for
it already is referred to for authority in many stations and outposts of the Territory. Australian legend in interior New Guinea is obviously very recent, and not a few of the legendary characters are themselves alive and flourishing and were seen by Simpson. It is this aspect of New Guinea, the beliefs, opinions, and feelings of the white man about the country and the people, that Simpson reports. The intimacy of his contacts with natives was limited through brevity, through inability to speak their languages at all or Pidgin very well, and through his identifying with his hosts, the local government authorities. Yet he has not missed the radical nature of the problem faced by native groups in the changes which are overtaking them (e.g., pp. 78f.). In evaluating New Guinea for the Australian reader and the rest of the world, Simpson’s point of view, when we consider the semi-official auspices of his trip to Papua and New Guinea, is on the whole sane and realistic. He is more frank in criticizing mission policies (pp. 147–149) than those of the civil administration. Though here and there he gives evidence that he does not underestimate the complexity (and surely not the size) of the task, he is generally optimistic and accepts the policies employed in relation to the problems. Simpson very much admires—as it would be difficult not to do—the courage and resourcefulness of the young Patrol Officers and outpost personnel. If Simpson is suspected of being over-dramatic (often by means of characteristic Australian understatement), it must be remembered that the frontier situations he particularly chooses to write about are hardly less dramatic.

A good sense of the contact situation from the point of view of some of the Australian participants, is presented by a thoughtful, though occasionally uncritical, interpreter. The writing is entertaining. It draws heavily upon Blackwood, whose help Simpson generously acknowledges to include useful sketches of the culture of the congeries of peoples known as Kukukuku, located in the interior of eastern Papua-New Guinea. Briefer material is presented on the Wabag and Telefomin (Telefolmin) areas of the far west of Australian New Guinea. Conversations with District Services and Native Affairs officers stationed in these places are liberally quoted, as well as their official reports. A tentative case is made for the presence of people of Pygmy stature (but possibly not other distinctly Pygmy traits) in eastern New Guinea (pp. 183–192). In some of the foregoing the material appears for the first time in published form and the photographs are excellent.

Simpson is seriously concerned here (and even more in his later New Guinea book) that the strategic scientific work be done in New Guinea while there is still time:

“Here at our Australian front door is concentrated the richest field for anthropological-ethnological research left in the world. If we cannot afford such research ourselves—though we can surely afford more than the present starveling allocations to scientists and museums—it seems to be some part of our duty to indicate the possibilities to Americans and others who can” (p. 191).

The book will make first-rate “contact” and general background reading for the anthropologist planning for the first time to work in interior New Guinea.

Benjamin Hawkins—Indian Agent. MERRITT B. POUND. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951. x, 270 pp., frontispiece, end-papers map. $4.00.

Reviewed by WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT, Bureau of American Ethnology

After serving as North Carolina representative in the Continental Congress and the Senate, Benjamin Hawkins (1754–1816) went in 1796 to live among the Creek as federal Indian Agent. At first his jurisdiction included all Indians south of the Ohio and
east of the Mississippi; from 1803 until his death, his title was "Agent to the Creeks." During this period the Creek came under increasing American control and influence, and Hawkins' role in the transition was a major one. He was an important agent of Creek acculturation, working for the adoption of European farming methods and household industries, and successfully reorganizing Creek political institutions. His attitudes were consistently humanitarian and sympathetic to the Indians, and his activities in helping the Creek to oppose the pressure of the Georgians were particularly significant. In some respects, Hawkins came to fill the role in Indian-American relations vacated by the death of the Creek Alexander McGillivray in 1793. Jefferson even suggested that Hawkins, "overlooking his obligations to his country, might be pursuing the interests of the Indians to an extreme." Hawkins, one of the earliest Indian agents, set an outstanding example of dedication, honesty, and intelligence.

Pound's book is a workmanlike, well-documented, and pedestrian account of Hawkins' public career. The author is a political scientist, but he shows little awareness of the importance of the Creek in international diplomacy before and during Hawkins' service among them, and he gives inadequate indication of the wider context and meaning of the policies and events touched on. The only anthropological source cited is Swanton's Early History of the Creek Indians, and this has been insufficiently used. There are no cultural summaries, and no discussions of problems of culture contact and acculturation. The best sources on Creek culture of the period remain Hawkins' own Letters and Sketch of the Creek Country.

This is a rather specialized study, without much relevance to anthropological interests. It is encouraging as further evidence of widespread interest in Indian and frontier history and biography, but disappointing in the dim light it throws on an interesting career and an important period of Creek history.


Reviewed by JOSEPH R. LEVENSON, University of California, Berkeley

This is one of those popular books with nothing to be popular for. The style is fustian: "endless drama of man's struggle for existence," "alarums of war," "decline and fall of hoary empires" are phrases that purple up a single typical sentence. Old K'ung goes a-wooing (at a time when internal dissensions are a-plenty), whence issues the "K'ung child," long since heralded in Mr. Liu's score by muffied drums, and now revealed as "our future sage—for here the secret must be told that the K'ung child was none other than the great Chinese sage K'ung Tzu (Master K'ung), whom the Sinologists have dubbed Confucius . . . ." Such infelicities and inappropriate coyness early and rightly depress one's hopes of cultural and historical insight.

There is some account of the Confucian translation of feudal hierarchical distinctions into universalist ethical distinctions, but the paradoxical historical situation of Confucius, his identification with both feudalism and the subsequent anti-feudal bureaucratic empire-system, is left totally unexplored. It is not enough to say that the Confucius of the imperial Confucianists is not the wholesome, genuine article; if Confucius had not been taken over by the gentry-literati-officialdom of the imperial state, he would never have been so prominent in Chinese history as to deserve such devoted modern attention. Why was he taken at all as the great Chinese sage K'ung Tzu (Master K'ung), whom the Sinologists have dubbed Confucius . . . ." Such infelicities and inappropriate coyness of expression early and rightly depress__(continued)
choice of sources, which vary considerably in date and polemical purpose. Hence, the
author ignores what any constructive approach to the Confucian problem demands,
the realization that two Chinese antiquities exist for the modern scholar: (1) the
Confucian version, which helps us to define the ideals of the Confucian interpreters;
(2) an “outside” version, which starts from this definition of Confucian ideals and
works back to the pre-Confucian past for the causes of their emergence. This past
was of such a character that men who came at the end of it described it as something
other than it was.

The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud: Vol. 2, 1901-1919: Years of Maturity. ERNEST

Reviewed by ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE, University of Pennsylvania

The second volume of English psychoanalyst Ernest Jones’ biography of Sigmund
Freud deals largely with the launching of the psychoanalytic movement. The writings
of these two decades were for the most part elaborations of previously enunciated
concepts, but they include Totem and Taboo, his best known excursion into anthropolog-
ical materials, and other early works on the psychoanalysis of religion.

This second volume is as tantalizing as the first (if so vast an object can properly
be called tantalizing) in its separation of professional and “personal” information about
Freud. The subject matter is carved up into sections which overlap both chronologi-
is accorded a mere 55 pages, as opposed to 208 for “Life” (business affairs) and 170
for “Work” (brief editorial notes and abstracts of all books and papers). The point
of view is somewhat—and unnecessarily—defensive. Jung’s guess that schizophrenia
might be generated by physiological disorder in the brain (the “toxin” theory) is passed
off as a peevish rebellion produced by a “squabble over priority” about something
else. Anthropologists’ refusal to accept the recapitulation theory expounded in Totem
and Taboo is fobbed off as meaningless; one learns that anthropologists have not of-
f ered any “serious arguments” against the primal horde, the primal parricide, the
Rousseauistic theory of the origin of incest taboos, etc. Important points are often
buried in masses of other data. Thus, apropos of the familiar charge that Freud’s
sexual theory is appropriate chiefly to a middle class mid-Victorian Viennese culture,
it is interesting to find that Freud’s analytic patients came largely from other cities
than Vienna (many, indeed, from outside of Austria: p. 14) and that so many of his
patients’ fathers had had syphilis that Freud believed paternal syphilis was a physio-
logically predisposing factor to neurosis. One also discovers that Freud, with a cephalic
index of 86, was dolichocephalic (p. 43)!

Pedantic criticisms, however, cannot obscure the point that anyone interested in
psychoanalysis should read Jones’ biography of Freud. Esthetically, it is not satisfying;
but it no doubt will be for many years the definitive life.

Developments Towards Self-Government in the Caribbean: A Symposium Held Under
The Auspices of the Netherlands University’s Foundation for International Cooperation

Reviewed by SIDNEY W. MINTZ, Yale University

In September, 1954, the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International
Cooperation at The Hague sponsored a symposium on colonial administration, of
Book Reviews

1956

The book is divided into three sections: a review of the present constitutional situation; a sociological analysis of the political picture; and a survey of the policies adopted "for fulfillment of national aspirations" in the various territories.

Although most of the Caribbean territories share a number of general sociological and economic characteristics—a history of slavery, plantation economies, economic "underdevelopment," and overpopulation—they differ significantly among themselves and in their political destinies, as influenced by the colonial philosophies of their respective metropolises. Some of these differences are revealed in the book under review; in some cases the differences are best exposed in the apologetics offered by certain participants for the policies they describe. The theme of political responsibility is repeatedly touched upon, usually by way of explaining why constitutional privileges have been granted so slowly to Caribbean colonies. Yet it must be admitted that, unlike much of Africa and Asia, the Caribbean poses special problems for its colonial rulers. The scarcity of natural wealth, the smallness and isolation of individual islands, the lack of national cultures with long historical traditions, make the task of political emancipation a difficult one.

This volume may prove of value to social scientists with Caribbean interests who desire some overview of political developments there, though recent changes toward federation in the British territories have already outdated it in this regard. In the same connection, it is worth noting that while the situation of Surinam is fully discussed, all participants carefully avoided the subject of British Guiana. A so-called summary of the discussions (pp. 237-53) unfortunately fails to bring together the major points made in the papers. The bibliography (pp. 271-85) is useful for political scientists, but includes a whimsical selection of historical and ethnological references which are neither representative nor inclusive.


Reviewed by CYRIL S. BELSHAW, University of British Columbia

These reports are to be welcomed for two principal reasons. They are part of the increasing evidence that new programs and concepts of international assistance are effectively replacing old colonial attitudes. And they show an awareness that international assistance, however technical it may appear to be, raises questions of individual welfare and social analysis which require much pondering.

Each report is based on approximately three months' team-work in the summer of 1955, following rapid briefing. They were written in time for publication in October and November of the same year. The members of the teams came from differing academic backgrounds: public health, economics, education, and anthropology. They
covered areas of the world populated by civilizations of different culture. It was necessary to communicate with people quickly and confidently, yet with some attempt to penetrate beyond the superficial; to remain alert and observant after weeks of hectic travel; and to write an agreed text. In such respects these United States consultants were, by their terms of reference, following a pattern already established in the United Nations.

The consultants were aware of the limitations set by the procedure but, by implication, believed nevertheless that something of value could emerge from their observation and analysis. I agree: the person practiced in such tasks can develop a theoretical framework and techniques of interview which can lead to generalizations of great administrative value.

But it is not enough to let the matter rest here. There is a sameness about such reports which is disturbing; similar recommendations are made for each culture, and made frequently. Occasionally there is an exceptionally vivid report which sets problems in a new way; but already we have reached a point at which returns have diminished to a minimal increment of additional knowledge. If knowledge about community development is to increase—and presumably administrator and anthropologist are in agreement about that—we need fresh approaches.

Two seem to be particularly appropriate. The first is to reduce some teams to one member, allowing him greater mobility and flexibility of inquiry. This seems to me to have the advantage of permitting him to develop a single, penetrating theoretical framework, and does not place him under the social obligation of reducing the sharpness of his remarks by considerations of joint signature. The second, and more important, is to sponsor independent long-term evaluation studies, based on year-long functional research in selected communities, and aimed at marshalling evidence for and against hypotheses. There can, for example, be very little space given in brief reports to chapters such as “The Projects That Failed,” or to questions such as “Do people think of Community Development Officers as another brand of social worker, missionary, or bureaucratic official?”

For these reasons, I regard the most important recommendations outlined in these reports to be those which plead for increased facilities for evaluation and case-study analysis. Other recommendations (for example, “greater encouragement and aid to road improvements, and other means of increasing the mobility of development staffs and villagers”), however valuable they may be in themselves, depend upon political and administrative judgement and not on the scientific assessment of implications, at least insofar as a short report can give space to them.

*Birthplace of the Winds.* TED BANK II. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956. xii, 274 pp., illus. $4.50.

Reviewed by GERALD D. BERREMAN, Cornell University

This book, as advertised on its dust jacket, is an “informal account of scientific exploration among the islands of the Bering Sea.” It reflects its author’s membership in the Explorers Club more than it does his professional occupation of ethnobotanist, but those who are professionally interested in this all-too-little documented part of the world will not be entirely disappointed in the book. It contains considerable data on the flora, fauna, geography, climate, and especially the people of the Aleutian Islands.

Perhaps the most valuable parts of this work are those in which the currently sur-
Book Reviews

1956

The surviving Aleuts are described in terms of the changing world they face—their wartime removal and resettlement, increasing outside contacts, changing economy, and changing values. Especially relevant for anthropologists are sections dealing with the resettlement of Attuans in the village of Atka, the effects of a nearby army installation on Atka, the role of the government school teacher in Nikolski village, and the alterations in Aleut economy resulting largely from white contacts.

It should be noted that Bank lived among the Aleuts for only a few weeks during the summer which the book reports, so that his account is often impressionistic and occasionally inaccurate, e.g. when he describes a technique of acupuncture or blood-letting under the impression that it is a technique for collapsing a lung (p. 89). Moreover, even in a book written for the lay public, one is disturbed by the high-schoolish style and regrets that the emphasis upon narration of Mr. Bank's adventures obscures a good deal of the more interesting material. The scientific aims of the expedition, other than botanical ones, are not clearly related to most of the activities of the two-man expeditionary team. For example, despite a brief admonition against unscientific artifact hunting, the archeological survey of "mummy caves" which takes up a considerable portion of the book is presented as little more than an intriguing treasure hunt motivated by antiquarian interest.

The book thus leaves much to be desired in its manner of presentation and its emphases, but it is useful to the anthropologist in some of its factual content—especially in view of the paucity of published data concerning the Aleutians and the Aleuts.

Note: Bank's main informant in Nikolski, Mr. Afenogin Ermeloff, died on December 19, 1955. Mr. Ermeloff was a man of unusual perception and intellect who had served as informant and adviser to almost every anthropologist who has gone to the Aleutians. He was known, respected, and admired among his own people, as well as by the scientists who knew and were indebted to him.


Reviewed by Louis Dupree, Air University, Maxwell AFB, Alabama

Pakistan is the lesser known of the two large nations created out of the Indian subcontinent in the 1947 partition. The voice of Pakistan is usually drowned out by the sometimes naive, sometimes stimulating, always controversial voice of India as spoken by Nehru. This little volume of essays on various aspects of Pakistani culture is therefore more than welcome. Although not stated in the foreword or text (but mentioned on the jacket), most of these essays were first printed in the excellent Pakistan Quarterly, edited by S. Amjad Ali.

The sixteen essays fall into six groups: 1, an introduction by Toynbee, who describes Pakistan as the result of the impact of Islam on Hinduism; 2-6 are, respectively, by Childe (who applies Marxist doctrine to the rise and fall of the Indus Valley civilization), Wheeler (an excellent summary of the Indus Valley civilization), Brown (who discusses cultural blending in West Pakistan but neglects to mention stone age blending, e.g. Soan and Chauntra cultures), Alcock (a preliminary report of joint American-Pakistani prehistoric excavations near Quetta in 1950), Sprengling (the latest Sassanian written sources which mention Pakistan); 7 and 8 are enjoyable, arty essays on a trip to the medieval Islamic site of Thatta (Polk), and on the Ahwal-i-Humayun, memoirs of Gulbandan Bano Begum, daughter of Babur and sister of Humayun (Holmes); 9-11 comprise essays comparing Muslim and Western art (S. Amjad Ali), on Moghul...
painting (Dickinson), and contemporary art in Pakistan (Jalaluddin Ahmed); in 12 and 13, A. S. Bokhari discusses the dilemma of the Pakistani writing Urdu novels, and Brooks viciously criticizes Kipling and E. M. Forster, but pats A. E. W. Mason lightly on the head; 14-16 are essays by Bausani and Houben on the syncretic philosophy of Mohammed Iqbal, Pakistan's 20th century intellectual giant.

As would be expected, essays 1 to 4 are somewhat repetitious, but the varied interpretations are interesting. Ethnologists will miss summaries of ethnic distributions and cultural patterns. Also, not one of the articles discusses East Pakistan, which is separated from West Pakistan by the bulk of North India. The volume is not an introduction to Pakistan, but a spiced curry of piquant essays for anyone interested in the Middle East or South Asia.

Brown (p. 28) "tentatively" associates the painted pottery of the Amri Culture with the Ubaid wares of Iran (this is obviously a misprint, for it should read "Iraq"). A comparison indicates a closer stylistic affiliation with the later Jemdet Nasr wares, but this does not imply contemporaneity. Alcock's article, "The Oldest Baluchistan," is an excellent summary of the 1950 American-Pakistani excavations in the Quetta area. However, his statement that "near the bottom of a shaft 40 feet deep (at the Mound of Kili Ghul Mohammed) we came upon the remains of an ancient people who had not known the use of pottery . . ." is a bit strong, because the cultural sample came from an excavation 1.75 meter square (W. A. Fairservis, "Preliminary report on the prehistoric archaeology of the Afghan-Baluchi areas," American Museum Novitates #1587, New York, 1952). Final site reports should clear up this point.

I would like, were there space for it, to take issue with Mr. Brooks' superficial criticism of Kipling and Forster in "Three English Novelists and the Pakistani Scene." Mr. Brooks finds "Kipling and all he stood for repugnant, if not repulsive" (p. 124) and Forster a "rather deceptive writer" (p. 125). But he seems to mean no more than that Kipling, writing of British Imperialism in the 19th century, and Forster, discussing communalism and rising nationalism in the 1920's, differ from Brooks, writing in 1955; each obviously approaches a theme in the light of his own knowledge and limitations.

The essays on the philosophy of Iqbal will be of interest to ethnosophers. Iqbal said that Western technology and Eastern spiritual values are compatible. His primary interest was to identify man with God; I have the feeling that he substituted the idea of an absolute, personal God for society, in contrast to Leslie White's substitution of culture for God and Durkheim's belief that society was (and therefore created its own) God. This reaching for a compatible world philosophy of absoluteness is best expressed by one of Iqbal's favorite mystic poets, Rumi, who lived in 13th century Persia: "Alas, what we are searching for cannot be found, But a voice within me said: 'It is just what is unfindable that I desire' " (p. 164).


Reviewed by Douglas Osborne, University of Washington

This is the first volume of a series of four: the first three will cover Cook's three voyages; the fourth, "Cook's Life and Voyages: Essays and Lists," will contain specialized studies and evaluations of Cook's explorations. The large portfolio, issued with
This book, the first volume, contains the charts and sketched views resulting from all voyages. Other drawings appear as plates in the single hefty quarto, Volume 1. It would be trite to attempt to detail the need which many scholars have felt for a trustworthy record of Cook's massive explorations. The great mariner, living in an age of discovery and expanding horizons, moved the imagination of all Europe, and there have been various and variously written accounts of his several voyages. At long last the Hakluyt Society and Dr. Beaglehole, together, have made available a Cook holograph (and it is just and proper that they should), with annotations and pertinent additions. This work will never be called a thankless task.

Once known, the book will be widely used. Following the acknowledgement there is an easy-swinging history of South Sea exploration (103 pp.). Cook's background is discussed, as is the monumental effect that he and the men who trained and worked under him had on geographical knowledge. They were, after all, the destroyers of the myths of ephemeral passages and continents. Next, an introduction of 50 pages covers the planning of the voyage.

Of value are the twenty pages on Polynesian history. These provide a suitable backdrop for an understanding of the expedition's contacts with Polynesians, especially those of the Society Islands. There follow 81 pages discussing Cook's development of his journal (like Lewis and Clark and many lesser lights, Cook depended upon others in the arduous task of keeping a daily journal), a discussion of the Hawksworth account (for over a century the only available account of the first Voyage), other journals, the graphic records, and notes on printing and text.

There are 480 pages of Cook, and much of it is ship's log. Ethnographically useful notes on the Ona (here the only confusing statement I found, a footnote, p. 44, speaks of guanaco and llama as the same animal), Society Islanders, Maori, and East Coast Australian Aborigines are found in the section. Cook's ethnographic observations are not detailed. Presumably Joseph Banks' work should be consulted; his journals are to be published separately. Cook was a keen observer; he "cannot persuade himself" that the people of the South Seas could have come from America. He understood that an explorer must leave friends behind him: on the south coast of New Guinea he would not permit his men to cut coconut trees for the nuts. The footnotes bring a large amount, probably all, of the pertinent external data to bear on the text.

The book is rounded off with official correspondence, versions of and extracts from other journals, lists and documents concerning the Voyage, and newspaper extracts.

At last we have one volume of Cook's voyages. It will be valuable to wide fields of scholarship for generations; it is a fitting monument to the many men of the 18th century who did the exploring, and it places us in the debt of those of the 20th century who produced it.
INDEX FOR VOLUME 58

A

ÅBERLE, David F., review of *Culture and Experience*, by A. Irving Hallowell, 920

Aboriginal Fish Poisons and the Diffusion Problem, by Carroll Quigley, 508

Aboriginal Population of the San Joaquin Valley, California, *The*, by S. F. Cook, reviewed by Stephen C. Cappannari, 925

Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans, by William Caudill and George De Vos, 1102

ACKERKNECHT, Erwin H., review of *Pomp and Pestilence: Infectious Disease, Its Origins and Conquest*, by Ronald Hare, 208

APAM, Thomas R., *Modern Colonialism: Institutions and Policies*, reviewed by Robert A. Manners, 371


ADAMS, Harold S., George M. Foster and Paul S. Taylor, (consultants) Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, Introduction by Louis M. Miniclier, reviewed by Cyril S. Belshaw, 1167

ADAMS, Richard N., *Cultural Components of Central America*, 881

ADAMS, Richard N., review of *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, edited by Margaret Mead, 190

Afrikanische Plastik, by Eckart von Sydow, reviewed by H. D. Gunn, 400

AGINSKY, B. W. and E. G., Selected Papers of B. W. Aginsky and E. G. Aginsky, reviewed by Arthur J. Vidich, 191

ALBERT, Ethel M., The Classification of Values: A Method and Illustration, 221

ALKER, Brian L., *La Fiesta de Santiago Apóstol en Loiza Aldea*, reviewed by Irene Diggs, 193

ALEX, Gordon and THEODORUS DORZHIANSKY, Does Natural Selection Continue to Operate in Modern Mankind? 591

ALLPORT, Gordon W., review of *A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community*, by Maurice Freedman, 401

ALPERT, Harry, review of *Déterminisme Sociaux et Liberté Humaine: Vers l'étude sociologique des cheminement de la liberté*, by Georges Gurvitch, 372

American Indian in Transition, *The: Reformation and Accommodation*, 249


ANGEI, Lawrence J., *Contributions to the Anthropology of the Caucasus*, reviewed by J. Lawrence Angel, 210

Anthropology, by J. E. Manchip White, reviewed by Edward M. Bruner, 189

APPLE, DORKIAN, *The Social Structure of Grandparenthood*, 656

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System, by Louis C. Faron, 435

Archaeological Excavations in Beef Basin, Utah, by Jack R. Rudy, reviewed by Watson Smith, 941

Archaeological Excavations in Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, by James A. Lancaster, reviewed by Neil M. Judd, 202

Archaeological Reconnaissance in Central Guatemala, by A. Ledyard Smith, reviewed by Robert Wauchopse, 942


ARIEITI, SILVANO, Some Basic Problems Common to Anthropology and Modern Psychiatry, 26

Arioi und Mamaio: Eine Ethnologische, Religionssoziologische und Historische Studie über Polynesishe Kublinde, by Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann, reviewed by H. E. Hause, 582

ARELL, A. J., *A History of the Sudan: From the Earliest Times to 1821*, reviewed by Bruce Howe, 943

ARNET, Paul, *Gesellschaftliche Verhältisse der Ngadha*, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 195

Art of Primitive Peoples, *The*, by J. T. Hooper and C. A. Burland, reviewed by Ernest S. Dodge, 399

ASIMOV, Isaac and WILLIAM C. BOYD, *Races and People*, reviewed by Frederick P. Thieme, 946

Aspectos Fundamentais da Cultura Guarani, by Egon Schaden, reviewed by Emilio Willems, 382

Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society, by Eric R. Wolf, 1065

Associations in Fiji Indian Rural Society, by Adrian C. Mayer, 97

Asymmetrical Marriage Systems, by Richard S. Salisbury, 639

Athapascan Kinship Systems, by Harry Hoijer, 309

1173
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Reviewer</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them, The</td>
<td>A. P. Elkin</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican Fossils of Santa Isabel Iztapan, Mexico, y Artefactos Asociados</td>
<td>J. Charles Kelley</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences Vol. IV</td>
<td>David M. Schneider</td>
<td>953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azande, and Related Peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Belgian Congo, The</td>
<td>P. T. W. Baxter and Audrey Butt</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba of Koro: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa</td>
<td>M. F. Smith, Preface by Daryll Forde</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang</td>
<td>Albert K. Cohen</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Civilisations Neolithiques de la France dans leur Contexte Européen</td>
<td>Marija Gitoutas</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balam: Der Tans- und Kultplatz in Melanesien als Versammlungsort und Mimischer Schauplatz</td>
<td>Carl A. Schmitz</td>
<td>1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire: Dynamique des Changements Sociaux en Afrique Centrale</td>
<td>Alan F. Merriam</td>
<td>747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket Weavers of Arizona, The</td>
<td>Bert Robinson, foreword by Wayne Pratt, photos by R. H. Peebles, reviewed by William J. Wallace</td>
<td>926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prevalence of People</td>
<td>Marston Bates, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Philip E. Slater</td>
<td>1144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace of the Winds</td>
<td>Gerald D. Berreman</td>
<td>1168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecologic Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan</td>
<td>Fredrick Barth</td>
<td>1079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejoinder to Reyher</td>
<td>Cyrit S. Betsnaw</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejoinder to Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan, and the Philippines</td>
<td>Harold S. Adams, George M. Foster, and Paul S. Taylor, introduction by Louis S. Miniclier; and Report on Community Development Programs in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Bolivia, and Peru, (consultants) Verna A. Carley and Elmer A. Starch, introduction by Louis M. Miniclier</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations</td>
<td>Georg Simmel, reviewed by Max Gluckman</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Metropolis in Modern Life</td>
<td>Robert L. Bales and Harry Horjer, George Walton Brainerd</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations</td>
<td>Georg Simmel, reviewed by Max Gluckman</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Metropolis in Modern Life</td>
<td>Robert L. Bales and Harry Horjer, George Walton Brainerd</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Prevalence of People</td>
<td>Marston Bates, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Philip E. Slater</td>
<td>1144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace of the Winds</td>
<td>Gerald D. Berreman</td>
<td>1168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecologic Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan</td>
<td>Fredrick Barth</td>
<td>1079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejoinder to Reyher</td>
<td>Cyrit S. Betsnaw</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejoinder to Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan, and the Philippines</td>
<td>Harold S. Adams, George M. Foster, and Paul S. Taylor, introduction by Louis S. Miniclier; and Report on Community Development Programs in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Bolivia, and Peru, (consultants) Verna A. Carley and Elmer A. Starch, introduction by Louis M. Miniclier</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations</td>
<td>Georg Simmel, reviewed by Max Gluckman</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Metropolis in Modern Life</td>
<td>Robert L. Bales and Harry Horjer, George Walton Brainerd</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations</td>
<td>Georg Simmel, reviewed by Max Gluckman</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Metropolis in Modern Life</td>
<td>Robert L. Bales and Harry Horjer, George Walton Brainerd</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CASTRO G., CARLO ANTONIO and ROBERTA J. WEITLANER, PAPELES DE LA CHINANTLA 1: MAYUTLINGUIAS Y TLAOCACINTLEPEC, reviewed by A. KIMBALL ROMNEY, 745

CAUDILL, WILLIAM and GEORGE DE VOS, ACHIEVEMENT, CULTURE AND PERSONALITY: THE CASE OF THE JAPANESE AMERICANS, 1102

CELLS AND SOCIETIES, by J. T. BONNER, reviewed by K. E. Boulding, 216

CENACORAS: LEIBEN, GLAUBE, TANS UND THEATER DER UROLÖHER, by Oskar Eberle, reviewed by Gertrude P. Kurath, 1161

CENTRAL MIWOK CEREMONIES, by E. W. GIFFORD, reviewed by Frank J. Essene, 378

CERAMIC STUDY OF VIRGINIA ARCHEOLOGY, A, by CLIFFORD EVANS, reviewed by Howard A. MacCord, 197

CHANGING LAPPs: A STUDY IN CULTURE RELATIONS IN NORTHERNMOST NORWAY, by Gutorm Gjesing, reviewed by D. B. Shinkin, 1136

CHARD, CHESTER S., REVIEW OF HAIR EMBROIDERY IN SIBERIA AND NORTH AMERICA, by Geoffrey Turner, 387

CHILDE, HENRY, CAREER, CULTURE AND CHANGE AS REFLECTED IN THE CERAMICS OF THE VIRü VALLEY, PERU, reviewed by Alfred Kidder, 1153

CHRONOLOGY AND CHANGE AS REFLECTED IN THE CERAMICS OF THE VIRÜ VALLEY, PERU, by Donald Collier, reviewed by Alfred Kidder, II, 1153

CLOUET, W. FREED, SCIENCE AND MODERN LIFE, by Sir E. John Russell, 955

COTTRELL, W. FREDERICK, ENERGY AND SOCIETY: THE RELATION BETWEEN ENERGY, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, Foreword by Joseph M. Mayer, reviewed by Marshall D. Sahlins, 1141

COUNT, EARL W., REVIEW OF DAS PROBLEM DES VÖLKERKDES: EINE STUDIE ZUR HISTORISCHEN BEVÖLKERUNGSBIOLOGIE, by Ilse Schwidetzky, 945

CRESCEINT AND GREEN: A MISCELLANY OF WRITINGS ON PAKISTAN, reviewed by Louis Dupree, 1169

CULTURAL CHRONOLOGY AND CHANGE AS REFLECTED IN THE CERAMICS OF THE VIRÜ VALLEY, PERU, by Donald Collier, reviewed by Alfred Kidder, II, 1153

CULTURAL COMPONENTS OF CENTRAL AMERICA, by Richard N. Adams, 188

CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE, edited by Margaret Mead, reviewed by Richard N. Adams, 190

CULTURAS PRECOLOMBINAS DE CHILE, by Greta Mostny, reviewed by Richard Schaedel, 1169

CULTURE AND EXPERIENCE, by A. IRVING HALLOWELL, reviewed by David F. Aberle, 920

CULTURE AND MENTAL DISORDERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE HUTTERITES AND OTHER POPULATIONS, by Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, reviewed by George Devereux, 211

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY, by JOHN J. HONIGMANN, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 388

CULTURE AS A SIGNIFICANT VARIABLE IN LEXICAL CHANGE, by André F. Sjoberg and Goideon Sjoberg, 206
Index

Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans, 1102

Does Natural Selection Continue to Operate in Modern Mankind? by Theodosius Dobzhansky and Gordon Allen, 591

Discovering Buried Worlds, by André Parrot, Translated by Edwin Hudson, reviewed by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., 758

Distribution of the Human Blood Groups, The, by A. E. Mourant, reviewed by Joseph B. Birdsell, 206

Dobzhansky, Theodosius, Evolution, Genetics, and Man, reviewed by Fred P. Thieme, 944

Dobzhansky, Theodosius and Gordon Allen, Does Natural Selection Continue to Operate in Modern Mankind? 591

Dodge, Ernest S., review of The Art of Primitive Peoples, by J. T. Hooper and C. A. Burland, 399


Does Natural Selection Continue to Operate in Modern Mankind? by Theodosius Dobzhansky and Gordon Allen, 591

Dole, Gertrude E. and Robert Carneiro, review of The Truman Indians of Central Brazil, by Robert F. Murphy and Buell Quain, Foreword by Charles Wagley, 747

Double Descent and Its Correlates among the Herero of Ngamiland, by Gordon D. Gibson, 109

Down to Earth: A Practical Guide to Archae-

D

Dark Child, The, by Camara Laye, trans. by James Kirkup, reviewed by Elizabeth Colson, 386

Darrah, William Culp, Powell of the Colorado, reviewed by William N. Fenton, 403

Dart, Raymond A., The Myth of the Bone-Accumulating Hyena, 40

Das Doppelte Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos, by Hermann Baumann, reviewed by Edwin M. Loeb, 1162

Das Mutterrecht, by Wilhelm Schmidt, Foreword by Fritz Bornemann, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 739

Das Problem des Vilkertodes: Eine Studie zur Historischen Bevölkerungsbioiogie, by Ilse Schwidetzky, reviewed by Earl W. Count, 945

Davis, Kingsley, review of The Prevalence of People, by Marston Bates, 586

De Bie, Pierre, et al., The University Teaching of Social Psychology and Anthropology, reviewed by George H. Fatthauer, 191

De Boofheim, P. Mieg and G. Balloud, Les Civilisations Neolithiques de la France dans leur Contexte Européen, reviewed by Marija Gimbutas, 393

De Chardin, Pierre Teilhard, S. J., 1881-1955, by Hallam Movius, Jr., 147

De Kunst von Nieuw-Guinea, by S. Kooijman, reviewed by H. D. Gunn, 767

Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, by Albert K. Cohen, reviewed by Wilfrid C. Bailey, 215

De Neessey-Wojkowitz, R., review of Die Tibetische Medizinphilosophie: Der Mensch als Mikrokosmos, by P. Cyrill von Korvin-Krasinski, 936

Déterminisme Sociaux et Liberté Humaine: Vers l’étude sociologique des cheminements de la liberté, by Georges Gurvitch, reviewed by Harry Alpert, 372

Developmental Approach to Cognition, The, by Heinz Werner and Bernard Kaplan, 866


Devereux, George, review of Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations, by Joseph W. Eaton and Robert J. Weil, 211

Devereux, George, A Study of Abortion in Primitive Societies, reviewed by Marston Bates, 213

De Vos, George and William Caudill,
do, by Robin Place, reviewed by Harold S. Colton, 205
DOZIER, EDWARD P., review of Navaho Acquisitive Values, by Richard Holton, 744
DOZIER, EDWARD P., review of Third Annual Report of American Indian Development 1954, 1147
DRAABE, P., Spraakbunst Van Het Marind: Zuidhust Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, Preface by J. Gonda, reviewed by Robert A. Hall, Jr., 762
DRIVER, HAROLD E., Ethnographic Maps, 184
DUBE, S. C., Indian Village, reviewed by David G. Mandelbaum, 579
DUPREE, LUIS, review of Crescent and Green: A Miscellany of Writings on Pakistan, 1169
DYEN, ISIDORE, review of Hands Off Pidgin English, by Robert A. Hall, Jr., foreword by R. W. Robson, 398
DYSON, ROBERT H., review of Digging Beyond the Tigris, by Linda Braidwood, 205
DYSON, ROBERT H., Jr., review of Discovering Buried Worlds, The Flood and Noah's Ark, The Tower of Babel, by André Parrot, Translated by Edwin Hudson, 758
DYSON, ROBERT H., review of Quataban and Sheba: Exploring the Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia, by Wendell Phillips, 205
EATON, JOSPEH W. and ROBERT J. WEIL, Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Huторies and Other Populations, reviewed by George Devereux, 211
EBERLE, OSKAR, Cenalora: Leben, Glaube, Tanz und Theater der Urvilker, reviewed by Gertrude P. Kurath, 1161
ECLOGIC Relationships of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan, by Fredrik Barth, 1079
Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, The by M. G. Smith, reviewed by Joseph H. Greenberg, 931
EGGAN, FRED and W. LLOYD WARNER, Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, 544
EHRENFELS, U. R., Some Observations on American Kinship, 918
EISENSTADT, S. N., review of Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, by Melford E. Spiro, 934
El Espíritu del Mal en Guatemala: Ensayo de Semántica Cultural, by Gustavo Correa, reviewed by Pedro Carrasco, 1149
El Segundo Mano Fossil de Santa Isabel Isla-pan, México, y Arquefactos Asociados, by Luis Avelaya A. de Anda, reviewed by J. Charles Kelley, 760
ELKIN, A. P., The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand them, reviewed by Elman R. Service, 580
ELLIOTT, ALAN, J. A., Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore, reviewed by Stanley Spector, 1151
ELMENDORF, WILLIAM W., review of Wielbild und Kult der Kwakiutl-Indianer, by Werner Müller, 746
ELWIN, VERRIKE, The Religion of an Indian Tribe, reviewed by Oscar Lewis, 753
EMENEAU, M. B., Kolami: A Dravidian Language, reviewed by Murray Fowler, 950
ENEMY WAY Music: A Study of Social and Esthetic Values as Seen in Navaho Music, by David P. McAllester, reviewed by Alan P. Merriam and Harvey C. Moore, 219
Evers, J., Some Observations on American Kinship, 918
Evans, CLIFFORD, A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archaeology, reviewed by Howard A. MacCord, 197
Evans, CLIFFORD, review of Proto-Lima: A Middle Period Culture of Peru, by A. L. Kroebner, 204
Evolution, Genetics, and Man, by Theodosius Dobzhansky, reviewed by Fred P. Thieme, 945
The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic: A Study in Comparative Literature, Part I, by Paul Radin, reviewed by Martin Gusinde, 1160
Ewers, JOHN C., The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, reviewed by William E. Bittle, 192
Exhibit of the Month, by Schuyler Cammann, 540
Exploring English Character. A Study of the Morals and Behaviour of the English People,
by Geoffrey Gorer, reviewed by Paul Stirling, 1157

F

FALSO-BORDA, ORLANDO, Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Sauce, reviewed by Eric R. Wolf, 929

FAMILY and Fertility in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Lower Income Group, by J. Mayone Stycos, reviewed by Ronald Freedman, 927

FAMILY, Socialization and Interaction Process, by Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Philip E. Slater, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 1144

FARMER, MALCOLM F., review of The American Southwest: A Guide to the Wide Open Spaces, by Natt N. Dodge, 402

FARON, LOUIS C., Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System, 435

FAITHAUE, GEORGE H., review of The University Teaching of Social Psychology and Anthro- pology, by Pierre de Bie, et al., 191

FAVERET, FREDERIC E., Matthew: Arnold the Estheteologist, review 1 by J. N. Spuhler, 402

FENENGA, FRANKLIN, review of Studies of California Indians, by C. Hart Merriam, 379

FENTON, WILLIAM N., review of Powell of the Southwest, by Stephen H. Foster, 588

FEET, LEWIS, S., Psychoanalysis and Ethics, reviewed by Marvin K. Opler, 1146

FIELD, HENRY, Contributions to the Anthropology of the Caucasus, reviewed by J. Lawrence Angel, 210

FISHER, ROBERT MOORE (ed.), The Metropolis in Modern Life, reviewed by Ralph L. Beals, 214

FISHER, SYDNEY NETTLETON (ed.), Social Forces in the Middle East, reviewed by H. A. R. Gibb, 218

FLIGHT and Restitution, by H. B. M. Murphy (UNESCO), reviewed by John Buettner- Janusch, 217

FLOOD and Noah's Ark, by André Parrot, translated by Edwin Hudson, reviewed by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., 758

FOLTINY, STEPHEN, review of The Lower Palaeolithic Site of Markelbeeck and Other Comparable Localities, by Rudolf Grahmann, edited by Hallam L. Movius, Jr., 1156

Fondamenti di una Scienza Della Origine del Linguaggio e Sua Storia Remota, Vol. 5, by Paolo Ettore Santangelo, reviewed by Ernst Werner, 588

FORD, JAMES A., PHILIP PHILLIPS, and WILLIAM G. HAAG, The Jaketown Site in West-Central Mississippi, reviewed by A. J. Waring, Jr., 198


FORD, THOMAS R., Man and Land in Peru, reviewed by John V. Murra, 930

FORDE, DARYLL, Preface to Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa, by M. F. Smith, reviewed by Joseph H. Greenberg, 749

FORSTER, GEORGE M., HAROLD S. ADAMS, and PAUL S. TAYLOR (consultants), Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, Introduction by Louis M. Minichlic, reviewed by Cyril S. Belshaw, 1167

FOWLER, MURRAY, review of Kolomi: A Dra- vidian Language, by M. B. Emeneau, 950

FRAKE, CHARLES O., Malay-Polynesian Land Tenure, 170

FREEDMAN, MAURICE, A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Com- munity, reviewed by Gordon W. Allport, 401

FREEDMAN, RONALD, review of Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Lower Income Group, by J. Mayone Stycos, 927

FREEMAN, LINTON C. AND A. P. MERRIAM, Statistical Classification in Anthropology, 464

French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life, by Philip Garigue, 1090

FRIEDL, ERNEISTINE, Persistence in Chippewa Culture and Personality, 814

FULLER, JOHN L., Nature and Nurture: A Mod- ern Synthesis, reviewed by Laurence K. Snyder, 396

Further Comment on Primitive Heritage, by Mead and Calas, by Omer C. Stewart, 559

G

GARIGUE, PHILIP, French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life, 1090

GARVIN, PAUL L., review of Language in Culture: Proceedings of a Conference on the Inter- relations of Language to Other Aspects of Culture, by Harry Hoijer (ed.), 568

GARVIN, PAUL L., sel. and trans, of A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style, reviewed by Uriel Weinreich, 587

GAVAN, JAMES A., The Non-Human Primates and Human Evolution, reviewed by Adolph H. Schultz, 396


GEochronology: With Special Reference to Southwestern United States, by Terah L. Smiley, reviewed by Frederick Johnson, 756

GEOGRAPHY of the Northlands, by George H. T. Kimble and Dorothy Good (eds.), reviewed
by Lawrence Krader and Demitri B. Shimkin, 773

Gesellschaftliche Verhältnisse der Ngadha, by Paul Arndt, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 195

Gibb, H. A. R., review of Social Forces in the Middle East, edited by Sydney Nettleton Fisher, 218

Gibson, Gordon D., Double Descent and its Correlates among the Herero of Ngamiland, 109

Gifford, E. W., Central Miwok Ceremonies, reviewed by Frank J. Essene, 378


Gimbutas, Marija, review of Les Civilisations Neolithiques de la France dans leur Contexe Europeen, by G. Bailloud and P. Mieg de Boofzheim, 393

Gingrich, Gourtom, Changing Lapps: A Study in Culture Relations in Northernmost Norway, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 1136

Givens, Thomas, review of Childhood in Contemporary Cultures, by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein (eds.), 764


Gladwin, Henry Allan, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics; and Workbook in Descriptive Linguistics, reviewed by Raven J. McDavid, Jr., 946

Gleason, Henry Allan, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics; and Workbook in Descriptive Linguistics, reviewed by Raven J. McDavid, Jr., 946


Gladwin, Thomas, review of Childhood in Contemporary Cultures, by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein (eds.), 764

Gluckman, Max, review of Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations, by Georg Simmel, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix, 373

Goffman, Erving, The Nature of Deference and De-meanor, 473

Gott, S. D., Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages, reviewed by Clark Hopkins, 769


Gonda, J., Preface of Spraakkunst Van Het Marind: Zuidkust Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, by P. Drabbe, reviewed by Robert A. Hall, Jr., 762

Good, Dorothy and George H. T. Kimble, Geography of the Northlands, reviewed by Lawrence Krader and Demitri B. Shimkin, 773

Goode, William J., review of Religion and Society, by Elizabeth K. Nottingham, 740

Goodenough, Ward H., Reply (To Frake), 173

Gorer, Geoffrey, Exploring English Character. A Study of the Morals and Behaviour of the English People, reviewed by Paul Stirling, 1157

Gough, E. Kathleen, Brahman Kinship in a Tamil Village, 826

Grahemmann, Rudolf, The Lower Palaeolithic Site of Markleeberg and Other Comparable Localities Near Leipzig, edited by Hallam L. Movius, Jr., reviewed by Stephen Foltiny, 1156

The Great Loochoo: A Study of Okinawan Village Life, by Clarence J. Glacken, reviewed by Wayne Suttles, 750

Greenberg, Joseph H., review of Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa, by M. F. Smith, Preface by Daryll Forde, 749

Greenberg, Joseph H., review of The Economics of Hausa Communities of Zaria: A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, by M. G. Smith, 931


Griffin, James B., review of Recent Discoveries Suggesting an Early Woodland Burial Cult in the Northeast, by William A. Ritchie, 196

Gunn, H. D., review of Afrikanische Plastik, by Eckart von Sydow, 400

Gunn, H. D., review of De Kunst van Nieuw-Guinea, by S. Kooijman, 767

Guwvitich, Georges, Determinisme Sociaux et Liberte Humaine: Vers l'étude sociologique des cheminement de la liberté, reviewed by Harry Alpert, 372

Gusinde, Martin, review of The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic: A Study in Comparative Literature, Part I, by Paul Radin, 1160

Goode, William J., review of Religion and Society, by Elizabeth K. Nottingham, 740

Goodenough, Ward H., Reply (To Frake), 173

Gorer, Geoffrey, Exploring English Character. A Study of the Morals and Behaviour of the English People, reviewed by Paul Stirling, 1157

Gough, E. Kathleen, Brahman Kinship in a Tamil Village, 826

Grahemmann, Rudolf, The Lower Palaeolithic Site of Markleeberg and Other Comparable Localities Near Leipzig, edited by Hallam L. Movius, Jr., reviewed by Stephen Foltiny, 1156

The Great Loochoo: A Study of Okinawan Village Life, by Clarence J. Glacken, reviewed by Wayne Suttles, 750

Greenberg, Joseph H., review of Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa, by M. F. Smith, Preface by Daryll Forde, 749

Greenberg, Joseph H., review of The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, by M. G. Smith, 931

Greenberg, Joseph H., Studies in African Linguistic Classification, reviewed by Henry Allan Gleason, Jr., 948

Griffin, James B., review of Recent Discoveries Suggesting an Early Woodland Burial Cult in the Northeast, by William A. Ritchie, 196

Gunn, H. D., review of Afrikanische Plastik, by Eckart von Sydow, 400

Gunn, H. D., review of De Kunst van Nieuw-Guinea, by S. Kooijman, 767

Guwvitich, Georges, Determinisme Sociaux et Liberté Humaine: Vers l'étude sociologique des cheminement de la liberté, reviewed by Harry Alpert, 372

Gusinde, Martin, review of The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic: A Study in Comparative Literature, Part I, by Paul Radin, 1160


Haennel, Fritz, Probleme der Vor-Volkser-Forschung: Grundzüge einer Einer Ethnologischen Urgeschichte, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 924

Haines, Francis L., The Nee Pecæ, reviewed by Theodore Stern, 574

Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America, by Geoffrey Turner, reviewed by Chester S. Chard, 387
American Anthropologist [58, 1956]

I

Importance of Space in Primitive Kinship, The, Mischa Titiev, 854
Indian and the Horse, The, by Frank Gilbert Roe, reviewed by William E. Bittle, 192
Indian Corn in Old America, by Paul Weatherwax, reviewed by Volney H. Jones, 768
Indian Health in Arizona: A Study of Health Conditions Among Central and Southern Arizona Indians, by Bertram S. Kraus, with Bonnie M. Jones, reviewed by John Buettner-Janusch, 209
Indian Sketches Taken During an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes (1833), by John Treat Irving, Jr., reviewed by John M. Roberts, 377
Indian Village, by S. C. Dube, reviewed by David G. Mandelbaum, 579
Individuality in the Behavior of Chimpanzees, by Henry W. Nissen, 407
Industrial Applications of Body Measurements, by D. F. Roberts, 526
Industrialisation and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development, by Wilbert E. Moore, reviewed by Ralph L. Beals, 405
Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, An, by H. A. Gleason, Jr., reviewed by Raven J. McDavid, Jr., 946
Irving, John Treat, Jr., Indian Sketches Taken During an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes (1833), reviewed by John M. Roberts, 377
Ishino, Iwao, review of Post-War Okinawa, by F. R. Pitts, W. P. Lebra, and W. P. Suttles, 1150

J

Jackson, Earl and Sallie Pierce Van Valkenburg, Montezuma Castle Archaeology, Part I, Excavations, reviewed by Elaine A. Bluhm, 392
Jachetown Site in West-Central Mississippi, The, by James A. Ford, Philip Phillips, and William G. Haag, reviewed by A. J. Waring, Jr., 198
Jeffreys, M. D. W., Some Rules of Directed Culture Change Under Roman Catholicism, 721
Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages, by S. D. Goitein, reviewed by Clark Hopkins, 769
Johansen, J. Petyt, The Maori and His Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects, reviewed by Alexander Speoorh, 581
Johansen, Ulla, Die Ornamentik der Jakuten, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 194
Johnson, Frederick, chap. in Radiocarbon Dating, by Willard F. Libby, reviewed by R. F. Heizer, 394

Johnsen, Frederick, review of Geochronology: With Special Reference to Southwestern United States, by Terah L. Smiley, 756
Jones, Volney H., review of Indian Corn in Old America, by Paul Weatherwax, 768
Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Volume 1: The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771, The, by J. C. Beaglehole (Editor), Preface by Malcolm Letts, reviewed by Douglass Osborne, 1170
Judd, Neil M., The Material Culture of Pueblo Bonito, reviewed by Charles C. DiPeso, 200
Judd, Neil M., review of Archaeological Excavations in Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, by James A. Lancaster, 202

K

Kaplan, Bernard and Heinz Werner, The Developmental Approach to Cognition, 866
Kaut, Charles R., Western Apache Clan and Phratry Organization, 140
Keeling, Felix M., review of Hawaii’s People, by Andrew W. Lind, with technical assistance of Robert Schmitt, 1152
Kelley, J. Charles, review of El Segundo Mamút Fósil de Santo Isabel Isla, México, y Artefactos Asociados, by Luis Aveleyra A. de Anda, 760
Kelley, J. Charles, review of The Present Status of the Archaeology of Western Mexico: A Distributional Study, by Robert H. Lister, 756
Kelley, Isabel, review of La Comarca Laguna: A Fines del Siglo XVI y Principios del XVII según las Fuentes Escritas, by Pablo Martinez del Rio, 381
Kent, Kate Peck, Montezuma Castle Archaeology: Part II, Textiles, reviewed by Elaine A. Bluhm, 392
Keur, Dorothy L., review of Enkele Aspecten van de Mimika-Cultuur, by Jan Pouwer, 938
Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, by Melford E. Spiro, reviewed by S. N. Eisenstadt, 934
Kidd, Alfred, II, review of Cultural Chronology and Change as Reflected in the Ceramics of the Virú Valley, Peru, by Donald Collier, 1153
Kimbler, George H. T. and Dorothy Good (eds.), Geography of the Northlands, reviewed by Lawrence Krader and Demitri B. Shimkin, 773
Kirk, James, trans. of The Dark Child, by Camara Laye, reviewed by Elizabeth Colson, 386
Klineberg, Otto, Social Psychology, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 772
Index

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE, review of Language in Culture: Proceedings of a Conference on the Interrelations of Language to Other Aspects of Culture, by Harry Hoijer (ed.), 569

Kolami: A Dravidian Language, by M. B. Emeneau, reviewed by Murray Fowler, 950

KOOGMI, S., De Kunst van Nieuw-Guinea, reviewed by H. D. Gunn, 767

KRADER, LAWRENCE, A Nativist Movement in Western Siberia, 282

KRADER, LAWRENCE, Recent Studies of the Russian Peasant, 716

KRADER, LAWRENCE and DEMITRI B. SHIMKIN, review of Geography of the Northlands, by George H. T. Kimble and Dorothy Good (eds.), 773

KRAUS, BERTRAM S. and CHARLES B. WHITE, Micro-evolution in a Human Population, 1017

KRAUS, BERTRAM S., with BONNIE M. JONES, Indian Health in Arizona: A Study of Health Conditions Among Central and Southern Arizona Indians, reviewed by John Buettner-Janusch, 209

KRIEPER, ALEX D., review of New Interpretations of Aboriginal American Culture History, 939

KROEGER, A. L., The Place of Boas in Anthropology, 151

KROEGER, A. L., Proto-Lima: A Middle Period Culture of Peru, reviewed by Clifford Evans, 204

Kroeger, A. L. and Michael J. Harner, Mohave Pottery, reviewed by Raymond H. Thompson, 1148

KURATH, GERTRUDE P., Chorology and Anthropology, 177

KURATH, GERTRUDE P., review of Balam: Der Tanz- und Kuliplatz in Melanesien als Versammlungsort und Mimischer Schauplatz, by Carl A. Schmitz, 1152

KURATH, GERTRUDE P., review of Cenalora: Leben, Glaube, Tanz und Theater der Urvölker, by Oskar Eberle, 1161

KURATH, GERTRUDE, review of The Chippewa Indians, Rice Gatherers of the Great Lakes, by Sonia Bleeker, 376

L

La Agricultura en la Comunidad de San Pedro Huancayo, by Eduardo Soler Bustamente, reviewed by Joseph A. Hester, Jr., 1557

La Barre, Weston, review of Present-Day Psychology, by A. A. Roback (ed.), 770

La Comarca Lagunera a Fines del Siglo XVI y Principios del XVII segun las Fuentes Escritas, by Pablo Martinez del Rio, reviewed by Isabel Kelly, 381

La Fiesta de Santiago Apostol en Loiza Aldea, by Ricardo E. Alegria, reviewed by Irene Diggs, 1549


LANDGRAF, JOHN L., Land-Use in the Ramah Area of New Mexico: An Anthropological Approach to Areal Study, reviewed by Harvey C. Moore, 377

LANDGRAF, JOHN L., Land-Use in the Ramah Area of New Mexico: An Anthropological Approach to Areal Study, reviewed by Harvey C. Moore, 377

Language and Society, by Joseph Bram, reviewed by Joseph B. Casagrande, 211

Language in Culture: Proceedings of a Conference on the Interrelations of Language to Other Aspects of Culture, by Harry Hoijer (ed.), reviewed by Paul L. Garvin, 568; and Clyde Kluckhohn, 569

The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Legal Dynamics, by E. Adamson Hoebel, reviewed by C. W. M. Hart, 565

Laye, Camara, The Dark Child, trans. by James Kirkup, reviewed by Elizabeth Colson, 386

Lazarsfeld, Paul F. (ed.), Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences, reviewed by Frederick Mosteller, 736

Le Tourneau, Roger, review of Tra i Libici del Sud Tripolino; Etnologia e Criminologia, by Giorgio Prosciocco, 578

Leavell, Hugh R., Foreword to Health, Culture and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs, by Benjamin D. Paul (ed.), With the collaboration of Walter B. Miller, reviewed by Emilio Willems, 763

Lerta, W. P., F. R. Pits, and W. P. Suttles, Post-War Okinawa, reviewed by Iwao Ishino, 1150

Lees, Robert B., Shiro Hattori on Glottochronology and Proto-Japanese, 176

Lemert, Edwin M., On Alcoholism Among the Northwest Coast Indians, 561

L'enfant au Ruanda-Urundi, by Marc Vincent, reviewed by John J. Honigmann, 952

Les Civilisations Neolithiques de la France dans leur Contexte Europeen, by G. Bailloud and P. Mieg de Boofzheim, reviewed by Marija Gimbutas, 393

Les Hommes de la Prehistoire: Les Chasseurs, by Andre Leroy-Gourhan, reviewed by F. Clark Howell, 1157

Les Montages des Montagnes Sudoise, by Ernst Manker, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 1136
LETT, Malcolm, Preface to The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Volume 1: The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768–1771, by J. C. Beaglehole (Editor), reviewed by Douglas Osborne, 1170

LEVY, Joseph R., review of Confucius: His Life and Time, by Liu Wu-Chi, 1165

LEVY-STRAUSS, C., Tristes Tropiques, reviewed by Emilio Willems, 928

LEWIS, I. M., Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho, reviewed by Horace Miner, 749

LEWIS, Oscar, review of The Religion of an Indian Tribe, by Verrier Elwin, 753

LIBBY, Willard F., Radiocarbon Dating, chap. by Frederick Johnson, reviewed by R. F. Heizer, 394


Limitations of Boas' Anthropology, The, by Murray Wax, 63

LIND, Andrew W., Hawaii's People, with technical assistance of Robert Schmitt, reviewed by Felix M. Keesing, 1152

LINDSLEY, Gerhard, review of Die Tierverkleidungen der Afrikanischen Naturvölker, by Helmut Straube, 384

Linguistics Laboratory Serves Cultural Anthropology, A, by Norman McQuown, 536

LINTON, Ralph, The Tree of Culture, reviewed by Fay-Cooper Cole, 188

LISTER, Robert H., The Present Status of the Archaeology of Western Mexico: A Distributional Study, reviewed by J. Charles Kelley, 756

Little Community. Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole, The, by Robert Redfield, reviewed by Julian H. Steward, 564

LOEB, Edwin M. review of Das Doppelt Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexuality in Ritual and Mythos, by Hermann Baumann, 1162

Los Macuecos and the Problema Indigena de la Cuencal del Papaloapan, by Alfonso Villa Rojas, reviewed by H. B. Nicholson, 379

Lower Palaeolithic Site of Markkleeberg and Other Comparable Localities Near Leipzig, The, by Rudolf Grahmann, Edited by Hal-lam L. Movius, Jr., reviewed by Stephen Foltzey, 1156

LOWE, Robert, Reminiscences of Anthropological Currents in America Half a Century Ago, 993

LOWE, Robert H., Boas Once More, 159

LOWE, Robert H., review of Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage, by George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, 1144

MAASSI GRAMMAR WITH VOCABULARY, A, by A. N. Tucker and J. Tompo ole Mpaayei, reviewed by Mark Hanna Watkins, 949

MACCORD, Howard A., review of A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archaeology, by Clifford Evans, 197

MACWHITE, Edith, On the Interpretation of Archeological Evidence in Historical and Sociological Terms, 3

Malayo-Polynesian Land Tenure, by Charles O. Frake, 170

MALOUF, CARLING, review of A Reappraisal of the Fremont Culture: With A Summary of the Archaeology of the Northern Periphery, by H. M. Wormington, supplementary reports by Norton H. Nickerson, Erik K. Reed, Albert H. Schroeder, and Gilbert R. Wenger, 1155

Man and Land in Peru, by Thomas R. Ford, reviewed by John V. Murra, 930

Mandelbaum, David G., review of Indian Village, by S. C. Dube, 579

MANKER, Erna, Les Lapons des Montagnes Sudouest, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 1136

MANNERS, Robert A., review of Modern Colonialism: Institutions and Policies, by Thomas R. Adam, 371

MANNERS, Robert A., review of Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Frontier Community, by Evon Z. Vogt, 742

MANNHEIM, Karl, Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology, reviewed by John W. Bennett, 376


The Maori and His Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects, by J. Prytz Johansen, reviewed by Alexander Spoehr, 581

Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage, by George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, reviewed by Robert H. Lowie, 1144

MARTINEZ DEL RIO, Pasio, La Comarca Lagunera a Fines del Siglo XVI y Principios del XVII segun las Fuentes Escritas, reviewed by Isabel Kelly, 381

The Material Culture of Pueblo Bonito, by Neil M. Judd, reviewed by Charles C. DiPeso, 200

Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld (ed.), reviewed by Frederick Mosteller, 736

Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society, by Robert F. Murphy, 414

Matthew Arnold the Ethnologist, by Frederic E. Faverty, reviewed by J. N. Spuhler, 402

May, L. Carlyle, A Survey of Glossolalia and

1184 American Anthropologist [58, 1956]
Index 1185

Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Reli-
gen, 75
MAYER, ADRIAN C., Associations in Fiji Indian
Rural Society, 97
MAYER, JOSEPH, foreword to Energy and So-
society: The Relation between Energy, Social
Change, and Economic Development, by W.
Frederick Cottrell, reviewed by Marshall
D. Sahlin, 1141
MAYER, KURT B., Class and Society, reviewed
by Melvin Tumin, 769
MAYER-OAKES, WILLIAM J., Prehistory of the
Upper Ohio Valley: An Introductory Archae-
ological Study, reviewed by William A.
Ritchie, 196
MCALLESTER, DAVID P., Enemy Way Music:
A Study of Social and Esthetic Values as
Seen in Navaho Music, reviewed by Alan
P. Merriam and Harvey C. Moore, 219
MCDAVID, RAVEN J., Jr., reviews of An Intro-
duction to Descriptive Linguistics, and Work-
book in Descriptive Linguistics, by Henry
Allan Gleason, Jr., 946
McKEEN, W. C., on Willey and Phillips' "Method and Theory in American Ar-
cheology," 360
MCQUOWN, NORMAN A., A Linguistics Labo-
atory Serves Cultural Anthropology, 536
MEAD, MARGARET (ed.), Cultural Patterns and
Technical Change, reviewed by Richard
N. Adams, 190
MEAD, MARGARET, rejoinder to Stewart, 560
MEAD, MARGARET and MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN
(eds.), Childhood in Contemporary Cultures,
reviewed by Thomas Gladwin, 764
MEDNICK, LOIS W. and MARTIN ORANS, The
Sickle-Cell Gene: Migration Versus Select-
ion, 293
MERRIAM, ALAN P., review of Enemy Way
Music: A Study of Social and Esthetic Values
as Seen in Navaho Music, by David P.
McAlester, 219
MERRIAM, ALAN P., review of Sociologie Actuelle
dele l'Afrie Noire: Dynamique des Change-
ments Sociaux en Afrique Centrale, by Georges
Balandier, 747
MERRIAM, A. P. and LINTON C. FREEMAN,
Statistical Classification in Anthropology,
464
MERRIAM, C. HART, Studies of California In-
dians, reviewed by Franklin Fenenga, 379
MÉTODOS Y RESULTADOS DE LA POLÍTICA INDIGENISTA
EN MÉXICO, by Alfonso Caso, Silvio Zavala,
José Miranda, Moises González Navarro,
Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, Ricardo Pozas A.,
reviewed by Pedro Carrasco, 575
METROPOLIS IN MODERN LIFE, THE, edited by
Robert Moore Fisher, reviewed by Ralph L.
Beals, 214
METSGER, DUANE and A. KIMBALL ROMNEY,
On the Processes of Change in Kinship Terminology, 551
MEXICAN BARRIO IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: AN
ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL INTEGRATION, THE, by
Eric R. Wolf, reviewed by Pedro Carrasco,
1149
MICHAELIS, ANTHONY R., Research Films in
Biology, Anthropology, Psychology and Medi-
cine, Foreword by Sir Robert Watson-Watt,
reviewed by J. E. Weckler, 775
MICHEL, WILHELM, Theorie der kulturellen
Ähnlichkeit, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer,
924
MILLER, ROBERT J., review of Himalayan
Barbary, by Christoph von Fürer-Haimen-
dorf, 752
MILLER, ROBERT and BEATRICE, On Two
Bhutanese New Year's Celebrations, 179
MILLER, WALTER B., Collaboration on Health,
Culture and Community: Case Studies of
Public Reactions to Health Programs, by
Benjamin D. Paul (ed.), Foreword by Hugh
R. Leavell, reviewed by Emilio Willems,
763
MINER, HORACE, Body Ritual among the
Nacirema, 503
MINER, HORACE, review of The Azande and
Related Peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
and Belgian Congo, by P. T. W. Baxter and
Audrey Butt, and review of Peoples of the
Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho, by
T. M. LEWIN, 749
MINER, HORACE, review of Nupe Religion, by
S. F. Nadel, 383
MINICLER, LOUIS S., introduction to Report on
Community Development Programs in India,
Pakistan and the Philippines, (consultants)
Harold S. Adams, George M. Foster, and
Paul S. Taylor; and Report on Community
Development Programs in Jamaica, Puerto
Rico, Bolivia, and Peru, (consultants)
Verna A. Carley, and Elmer A. Starch,
reviewed by Cyril S. Belshaw, 1167
MINORITY IN BRITAIN: SOCIAL STUDIES OF THE ANGIO-
JEWISH COMMUNITY, A, by Maurice Freed-
man, reviewed by Gordon W. Allport, 401
MINTZ, SIDNEY W., review of Developments
Toward Self-Government in the Caribbean:
A Symposium Held Under the Auspices of the
Netherlands Universities Foundation for Inter-
national Cooperation at The Hague, Sep-
tember, 1954, 1166
MIRANDA, JOSÉ, with ALFONSO CASO, SILVIO
ZAVALA, MOISES GONZÁLES NAVARRO, GON-
NADEL, S. F., *Nupts Religion*, reviewed by Horace Miner, 383
Na-Déne and Positional Analysis of Categories, by D. H. Hymes, 624
NAROLL, JACQUET, *A Preliminary Index of Social Development*, 687
Nativistic Movement in Western Siberia, by Lawrence Krader, 282
Nature and Nurture: A Modern Synthesis, by John L. Fuller, reviewed by Laurence K. Snyder, 396
Nature of Deference and Deemoan, The, by Erving Goffman, 473
Navaho Acquisitive Values, by Richard Hobson, reviewed by Edward P. Dozier, 744
Navarro, MOISES GONZALEZ, with ALFONSO CASO SILVIO ZAVALA, JOSÉ MIRANDA, GONZALO AGUIRRE BELTRÁN, RICARDO POZAS A., *Métodos y Resultados de la Política Indigenista en México*, reviewed by Pedro Carrasco, 575

NESHEIM, SIGVARD, preface to *Social Relations in a Nomadic Lappish Community*, by Ian Whitaker, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 1136
New Interpretation of the Wild Rice District of Wisconsin, A, by H. Clyde Wilson, 1059
New Interpretations of Aboriginal American Culture History, reviewed by Alex D. Krieger, 939

NEWMAN, MARSHALL F., review of *Observaciones Sobre Geografía: Geografía Ecológica del Hombre*, by M. M. Valle, 397

NES PERCES, THE, by Francis L. Haines, reviewed by Theodore Stern, 574

NICOLSON, H. B., review of *Los Matasocos y el Problema Índigena de la Cuenca del Papaloapan*, by Alfonso Villa Rojas, 379

Nickerson, NORTON H., ERIK K. REED, ALBERT H. SCHROEDER, and GILBERT R. WENGER, supplementary reports in *A Reappraisal of the Fremont Culture: With A Summary of the Archaeology of the Northern*
Index

1187

Periphery, by H. M. Wormington, reviewed by Carling Malouf, 1155

Nissen, Henry W., Individuality in the Behavior of Chimpanzees, 407

Notes on Loans and Native Replacements in Kannada, by T. N. Sreekantanayiyi, 306

Nottingham, Elizabeth K., Religion, reviewed by William J. Goode, 740

Nuyy Religion, by S. F. Nadel, reviewed by Horace Miner, 383

O

Oberg, Kaleervo, review of Rondonia: Eine Reise in das Herzstück Sudamerikas, by E. Roquette-Pinto, trans. by Etta Becker-Donner, 577

Observaciones Sobre Geografía: Geografía Ecológica del Hombre, by M. M. Valle, reviewed by Marshall F. Newman, 397

Olds, James, Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Philip E. Slater, collaboration on Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, by Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 1144

On Alcoholism Among the Northwest Coast Indians, by Edwin M. Lemert, 561

On Australian Local Organization, by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 363

On the Interpretation of Archeological Evidence in Historical and Sociological Terms, by Edén MacWhite, 3

On Melanesian Pidgin in Education, by Robert A. Hall, Jr., 917

On Murphy’s Review of Wind River Shoshone Ethnography, by D. B. Shimkin, 361

On the Processes of Change in Kinship Terminology, by A. Kimball Romney and Duane Metzger, 555

On the Psychology of Role Relations in American Kinship Terminology, by Jules Henry, 558

On the Review of The Fon and His Hundred Wives, by Rebecca Reyher, 562

On the Review of The Indo-Tibetans, by Fr. M. Hermanns, 917

On Slotkin’s “Fermented Drinks in Mexico,” by Frans Blom, 185

On the Use of Native Language Categories in Ethnology, by Paul Bohannan, 557

On Two Bhutanese New Year’s Celebrations, by Robert and Beatrice Miller, 179

On Willey and Phillips’ "Method and Theory in American Archeology," by W. C. McKern, 360

Opler, Marvin K., review of Psychoanalysis and Ethics, by Lewis S. Feuer, 1146

Opler, Marvin K., review of Social Science in Medicine, by Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolf, 212

Orans, Martin and Lois W. Mednick, The Sickle-Cell Gene: Migration Versus Selection, 293

Osborne, Douglas, review of The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Volume 1: The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768–1771, by J. C. Beaglehole (Editor), Preface by Malcolm Letts, 1170

P

Papeles de la Chinantla I: Mayultisguis y Tlacozticinipe, by Roberto J. Weitlaner and Carlo Antonio Castro G., reviewed by A. Kimball Romney, 745

Paracas Fabrics and Nazca Needlework: 3rd Century B.C.-3rd Century A.D., by Junius Bird and Louis Bellinger, reviewed by A. H. Gayton, 202

Parrot, André, Discovering Buried Worlds, The Flood and Noah’s Ark, The Tower of Babel, all translated by Edwin Hudson, reviewed by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., 758

Parsons, Talcott, Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Philip E. Slater, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 1144

Paul, A., A History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan, reviewed by Carleton S. Coon, 385

Paul, Benjamin D. (ed.), Health, Culture and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs, With the collaboration of Walter B. Miller, Foreword by Hugh R. Leavell, reviewed by Emilio Willems, 763

Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Saucate, by Orlando Fals-Borda, reviewed by Finch R. Wolf, 929

Peck, Stuart L., An Archaeological Report on the Excavation of a Prehistoric Site at Zuma Creek, Los Angeles County, California, reviewed by William James Wallace, 761

Peebles, R. H., photos, The Basket Weavers of Arizona, by Bert Robinson, foreword by Wayne Pratt, reviewed by William J. Wallace, 926

Persson, Robert Niel, 1926–1955, by Robert Redfield, 357

Peuples de Panama, The, by John and Mavis Biesanz, reviewed by Robert L. Rands, 381

Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho, by I. M. Lewis, reviewed by Horace Miner, 749

Persistence in Chippewa Culture and Personality, by Ernestine Friedl, 814

Peyotism, 1521–1891: Supplement, by J. S. Slotkin, 184

PHILLIPS, WENDELL, Quataban and Sheba: Exploring the Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia, reviewed by Robert H. Dyson, 205

Piltdown Forgery, The, by J. S. Weiner, reviewed by F. Clark Howell, 395

PITTS, F. R., W. P. LEBRA and W. P. SUTTLES, Post-War Okinawa, reviewed by Iwao Ishino, 1150

Place of Boas in Anthropology, The, by A. L. Kroeber, 151

PLACE, ROBIN, Down to Earth: A Practical Guide to Archaeology, reviewed by Harold S. Colton, 205

Plant Ecology, by UNESCO, reviewed by Omer C. Stewart, 216

Pomp and Pestilence: Infectious Disease, Its Origins and Conquest, by Ronald Hare, reviewed by Erwin H. Ackerman, 208

Post-War Okinawa, by F. R. Pitts, W. P. Lebra, and W. P. Suttles, reviewed by Iwao Ishino, 1150

Potgieter, E. F., The Disappearing Bushmen of Lake Christie: A Preliminary Survey, notes by D. Ziervogel, photos by E. F. Potgieter, reviewed by E. Colson, 933

POUND, MERRITT B., Benjamin Hawkins—Indian Agent, reviewed by William C. Sturtevant, 1164

POUWER, JAN, Enkele Aspecten van de Mimiksc-Cultuur, reviewed by Dorothy L. Keur, 938

Powdermaker, Hortense, Social Change through Imagery and Values of Teen-Age Africans in Northern Rhodesia, 783

Powell of the Colorado, by William Culp Darrah, reviewed by William N. Fenton, 403

POZAS A., RICARDO, with ALFONSO CASO, SILVIO ZAVALA, JOSÉ MIRANDA, MOISES GONZÁLEZ NAVARRO, GONZALO AGUIRRE BELTRÁN, Métodos y Resultados de la Política Indigenista en México, reviewed by Pedro Carrasco, 575

Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style, A, selected and translated by Paul L. Garvin, reviewed by Uriel Weinreich, 587

Pratt, WAYNE, foreword, The Basket Weavers of Arizona, by Bert Robinson, photos by R. H. Peebles, reviewed by William J. Wallace, 926

Prehistoric Stone Implements of Northeastern Arizona: Reports of the Avatoro Expedition, Report No. 6, by Richard B. Woodbury, reviewed by Walter W. Taylor, 582

Prehistory of the Upper Ohio Valley: An Introductory Archeological Study, by William J. Mayer-Oakes, reviewed by William A. Ritchie, 196

Preliminary Index of Social Development, A, by Raoul Naroll, 687

Present-Day Psychology, by A. A. Roback (ed.), reviewed by Weston La Barre, 770

Present Status of the Archaeology of Western Mexico: A Distributional Study, The, by Robert H. Lister, reviewed by J. Charles Kelley, 756

Prevalence of People, The, by Marston Bates, reviewed by Kingsley Davis, 586

Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation, by Edward M. Bruner, 605

Probleme der Vor-Völker-Forschung: Grundzüge Einer Ethnologischen Urgeschichte, by Fritz Haensel, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 924

Prodocimo, GIORGIO, Tra i Libici del Sud Trípolíno: Etnologia e Criminologia, reviewed by Roger le Tourneau, 578

Proto-Lima: A Middle Period Culture of Peru, by A. L. Kroeber, reviewed by Clifford Evans, 204

Psychoanalysis and Ethics, by Lewis S. Feuer, reviewed by Marvin K. Opler, 1146

Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences Vol. IV, by Warner Muensterberger and Sidney Axelrad (eds.), reviewed by David M. Schneider, 953

Pulgram, ERNST, review of Fondamenti di una Scienza Della Origine del Linguaggio e Sua Storia Remota, Vol. 5, by Paolo Ettore Santagelo, 588

Quain, BUELL and ROBERT F. MURPHY, The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil, Foreword by Charles Wagn-y, reviewed by Gertrude E. Dole and Robert Carneiro, 747

Quataban and Sheba: Exploring the Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia, by Wendell Phillips, reviewed by Robert H. Dyson, 205

Quigley, CARROLL, Aboriginal Fish Poisons and the Diffusion Problem, 508

RACES AND PEOPLE, by William C. Boyd and Isaac Asimov, reviewed by Frederick P. Thieme, 946

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., On Australian Local Organization, 363

Radcliffe-Brown, ALFRED REGINALD, 1881-1955, by Fred Eggan and W. Lloyd Warner, 544

Radin, PAUL, The Evolution of an American Indian Prose Epic: A Study in Comparative Literature, Part 1, reviewed by Martin Gusinde, 1160

Radiocarbon Dating, by Willard F. Libby, chapt. by Frederick Johnson, reviewed by R. F. Heizer, 394

RANDS, ROBERT L., review of The People of Panama, by John and Mavis Biesanz, 381
Index

RANDS, ROBERT L., review of The Study of Prehistory: An Inaugural Lecture, by J. G. D. Clark, 574.

RAY, VERNE F., Rejoinder (Boas Once More), 164

Reappraisal of the Fremont Culture: With a Summary of the Archaeology of the Northern Periphery, by H. M. Wormington, supplementary reports by Norton H. Nickerson, Erik K. Reed, Albert H. Schroeder, and Gilbert R. Wenger, reviewed by Carling Malouf, 1155

Recent Discoveries Suggesting an Early Woodland Burial Cult in the Northeast, by William A. Ritchie, reviewed by James B. Griffin, 196

Recent Studies of the Russian Peasant, by Lawrence Krader, 716

REDFIELD, ROBERT, The Little Community. Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole, reviewed by Julian H. Steward, 564

Rejoinder (to Lemert), by Helen Codere, 561

Rejoinder (to Reyher), by William Bascom, 562

Rejoinder (to Romney and Metzger), by Edward M. Bruner, 554

Rejoinder (to Stewart), by Margaret Mead, 560

RELIGION AND SOCIETY, by Elizabeth K. Notingham, reviewed by William J. Goode, 740

Religion of an Indian Tribe, The, by Verrier Elwin, reviewed by Oscar Lewis, 753

Reminiscences of Anthropological Currents in America Half a Century Ago, by Robert Lowie, 995

Reply (to Frake), by Ward H. Goodenough, 173

Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, (consultants) Harold S. Adams, George M. Foster and Paul S. Taylor, Introduction by Louis S. Miniclier, reviewed by Cyril S. Belshaw, 1167

Report on Community Development Programs in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Bolivia, and Peru, (consultants) Verna A. Carley, and Elmer A. Starch, Introduction by Louis S. Miniclier, review by Cyril S. Belshaw, 1167

Research Films in Biology, Anthropology, Psychology and Medicine, by Anthony R. Michaelis, Foreword by Sir Robert Watson-Watt, reviewed by J. E. Weckler, 775

Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for Their Comparative Study, by Anthony F. C. Wallace, 264

REYHER, REBECCA, On the Review of The Fon and His Hundred Wives, 562

RHODES, WILLARD, Toward a Definition of Ethnomusicology, 457

RITCHE, WILLIAM A., Recent Discoveries Suggesting an Early Woodland Burial Cult in the Northeast, reviewed by James B. Griffin, 196


ROBAK, A. A., (ed.), Present-Day Psychology, reviewed by Weston La Barre, 770

ROBERTS, D. F., Industrial Applications of Body Measurements, 526


ROBERTS, JOHN M., review of Indian Sketches Taken During an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes (1833), by John Treat Irving, Jr., 377

ROBINSON, BERT, The Basket Weavers of Arizona, foreword by Wayne Pratt, photos by R. H. Peebles, reviewed by William J. Wallace, 926

ROBBIN, R. W., foreword of Hands Off Pidgin English, by Robert A. Hall, Jr., reviewed by Isidore Dyen, 398

ROE, FRANK GILBERT, The Indian and the Horse, reviewed by William E. Bittle, 192

ROME BEYOND THE IMPERIAL FRONTIERS, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, reviewed by J. J. Van Nostrand, 757

ROMNEY, A. KIMBALL, review of Papeles de la Chinantla I: Mayaultian y Tlacoatzintepec, by Roberto J. Weitlaner and Carlo Antonio Castro G., 745

ROMNEY, A. KIMBALL and DUANE METZGER, On the Processes of Change in Kinship Terminology, 551

Rondonia: Eine Reise in das Herzstück Südamerikas, by E. Roquette-Pinto, trans. by Etta Becker-Donner, reviewed by Kalervo Oberg, 577

ROQUETTE-PINTO, E., Rondonia: Eine Reise in das Herzstück Südamerikas, trans. by Etta Becker-Donner, reviewed by Kalervo Oberg, 577

RUDY, JACK R., Archaeological Excavations in Beef Basin, Utah, reviewed by Watson Smith, 941

SAHLINS, MARSHALL D., _Asymmetrical Marriage Systems_, 639

SANTANGELO, PAOLO ERRE, _Fondamenti di una Scienza Della Origine del Linguaggio e Sua Storia Remota_, Vol. 5, reviewed by Ernst Pulgram, 588

SCHADEN, Egon, _Aspears Fundamentais da Cultura Guarani_, reviewed by Emilio Willems, 382

SCHAEDEL, RICHARD, review of _Culturas Precolombinas de Chile_, by Greta Mostny, 584

SCHIMMEL, Wilhelm, _Das Mutterrecht_, Foreword by Fritz Bornemann, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 739

SCHMITT, ROBERT, technical assistance on _Hawaii's People_, by Andrew W. Lind, reviewed by Felix M. Keesing, 1152

SCHMITZ, C. A., _Balam: Der Tanz- und Kultplatz in Melanesien als Versamm lungs- und Mimischer Schauplat_, reviewed by Gertrude P. Kurath, 1152

SCHNEIDER, DAVID M., review of _Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences Vol. IV_, by Warner Muensterberger and Sidney Axelrad (eds.), 953

SCHNEIDER, DAVID M. and GEORGE C. HOMANS, _Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage_, reviewed by Robert H. Lowie, 1144

SCHROEDER, ALBERT H., NORTON H. NICKERSON, ERIC K. REED, and GILBERT R. WENGER, supplementary reports in _A Reappraisal of the Fremont Culture: With A Summary of the Archaeology of the Northern Periphery_, by H. M. Wormington, reviewed by Carling Malouf, 1155

SCHULTZ, ADOLPH H., review of _The Non-Human Primates and Human Evolution_, by James A. Gavan, 396

SCHWARTZ, TED, review of _In Search of Wealth: A Study of the Emergence of Commercial Operations in the Melanesian Society of Southeastern Papua_, by Cyril J. Belshaw, 387

SCHWIDETZKY, ILSE, _Das Problem des Vólkertodes: Eine Studie sur Historischen Bevölkerungsbiologie_, reviewed by Earl W. Count, 945

Science and Modern Life, by Sir E. John Russell, reviewed by W. Fred Cottrell, 955

SEARE, WILLIAM H., _Excavations at Kolomoki: Season I—1948; Excavations at Kolomoki: II—1950; Mound E, and Excavations at Kolomoki: Season III and IV, Mound D_, reviewed by James A. Ford, 198

SELECTED PAPERS OF B. W. AGINSKY AND E. G. AGINSKY, by B. W. and E. G. Aginsky, reviewed by Arthur J. Vidich, 191

SERVICE, ELMAN R., review of _The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them_, by A. P. Elkin, 580

SHEAHAN, M. W., Foreword to _Society and Health_, by Walter E. Boek and Jean K. Boek, with foreword by H. E. Hilleboe, reviewed by Ozzie G. Simmons, 774

SHINKIN, D. B., _On Murphy's Review of "Wind River Shoshone Ethno geography,"_ 361

SHINKIN, D. B., review of _Die Ornamentik der Jüdenhauser_, by Ulla Johansen, 194

SHINKIN, D. B., review of _Les Lapone des Montagnes Suédoises_, by Ernst Manker; _Changing Lapps: A Study in Culture Relations in Northernmost Norway_, by Gunvor Gjesing; and _Social Relations in a Nomadic Lappish Community_, by Ian Whitaker, Preface by Sibjorn Nesheim, 1136

SHINMIN, DEMITRI B., and LAWRENCE KRADER, review of _Geography of the Northlands_, by George H. T. Kimble and Dorothy Good (eds.), 773

SHIRO HATTORI ON GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY AND PROTO-JAPANESE, by Robert B. Lees, 176

SICKLE-CELL GENE: Migration Versus Selection, The, by Lois W. Mednick and Martin Orans, 293

SIMMEL, GEORGE, _Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations_, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix, reviewed by Max Gluckman, 373

SIMMONS, LEO W. and HAROLD G. WOLFF, _Social Science in Medicine_, reviewed by Marvin K. Opler, 212

SIMMONS, OZZIE G., review of _Society and Health_ by Walter E. Boek and Jean K. Boek, with forewords by H. E. Hilleboe and M. W. Sheahan, 774

SIMPSON, COLIN, _Adam with Arrows: Inside Aboriginal New Guinea_, reviewed by James B. Watson, 1163

SINGER, RONALD, The "Bone Tools" from Hopefield, 1127

SJOBERG, ANDRÉE F. and GIDEON SJÖBERG, Culture as a Significant Variable in Lexical Change, 296

SLATER, PHILIP E., _James Olds and Morris ZELDITCH, JR., collaboration on Family, Socialization and Interaction Process_, by Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 1144
Index

SLOTKIN, J. S., Peyotism, 1521—1891: Supplement, 184
SMILEY, TERAH L., Geochronology: With Special Reference to Southwestern United States, reviewed by Frederick Johnson, 756
SMITH, A. LIVIARD, Archaeological Reconnaisance in Central Guatemala, reviewed by Robert Wauchope, 942
SMITH, M. F., Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa, Preface by Darryl Forde, reviewed by Joseph H. Greenberg, 749
SMITH, M. G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria: A Report to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, reviewed by Joseph H. Greenberg, 931
SMITH, MARIAN W., Gladys Armanda Reichard, 913
SMITH, WATSON, review of Archaeological Excavations in Beef Basin, Utah, by Jack R. Rudy, 941
Snyder, Laurence K., review of Nature and Nurture: A Modern Synthesis, by John L. Fuller, 396
Social Aspect of Huron Property, The, by Mary W. Herman, 1044
Social Change through Imagery and Values of Teen-Age Africans in Northern Rhodesia, by Hortense Powdermaker, 783
Social Forces in the Middle East, edited by Sydney Nettleton Fisher, reviewed by H. A. R. Gibb, 218
Social Psychology, by Otto Klineberg, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 772
Social Relations in a Nomadic Lappish Community, by Ian Whitaker, Preface by Sibjorn Nesheim, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 1136
Social Science in Medicine, by Leo W. Simmons and Harold G. Wolff, reviewed by Marvin K. Opler, 212
Social Structure of Grandparenthood, The, by Dorrian Apple, 656
Society and Health, by Walter E. Bock and Jean K. Bock, Forewords by H. E. Hilleboe and M. W. Sheaan, reviewed by Ozzie G. Simmons 774
Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation, by George D. Spindler, reviewed by Evon Z. Vogt, 390
Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth, by Nicholas S. Timasheff, reviewed by David Bird, 374
Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire: Dynamique des Changements Sociaux en Afrique Centrale, by Georges Balandier, reviewed by Alan P. Merriam, 747
SOME Basic Problems Common to Anthropology and Modern Psychiatry, by Silvano Arieti, 26
Some Limitations of Diffusional Change in Vocabulary, by Morris Swades, 301

Some Observations on American Kinship, by U. R. Ehrenfe, 918
Some Rules of Directed Culture Change Under Roman Catholicism, by M. D. W. Jeffreys, 721
SPECTOR, STANLEY, review of Chinese Spirit—Medium Cults in Singapore, by Alan J. A. Elliott, 1151
SPENCER, ROBERT F., review of Das Mutterrecht, by Wilhelm Schmidt, foreword by Fritz Bornemann, 739
SPENCER, ROBERT F., review of Gesellschaftliche Verhaltnisse der Ngadha, by Paul Arndt, 195
SPENCER, ROBERT F., review of Probleme der Vor-Volk-Verforschung: Grundstige Einer Ethnologischen Urgeschichte by Fritz Haensel; and Theorie der kulturellen Ahnlichkeit, by Wilhelm Milke, 924
SPINDLER, GEORGE D., review of Culture and Personality, by John J. Honigmann, 388
SPINDLER, GEORGE D., review of Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, by Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, in collaboration with James Olds, Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Philip E. Slater, 1144
SPINDLER, GEORGE D., review of Social Psychology, by Otto Klineberg, 772
SPINDLER, GEORGE D., Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation, reviewed by Evon Z. Vogt, 390
SPIRO, MELFORD E., Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, reviewed by S. N. Eisenstadt, 934
SPOHR, ALEXANDER, review of The Maori and His Religion in its Non-Ritualistic Aspects, by J. Fryta Johansen, 581
Spraakkunst Van Het Marind: Zuidkust Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea, by P. Drabbe, Preface by Robert A. Hall, 762
SPRUCE, J. N., review of Matthew Arnold the Ethnologist, by Frederic E. Faverty, 402
Sreekantayya, T. N., Notes on Loans and Native Replacements in Kannada, 306
STARR, ELMER A. and VERA A. CARLEY (consultants), Report on Community Development Programs in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Bolivia, and Peru, Introduction by Louis S. Minicic, reviewed by Cyril S. Belahav, 1167
Statistical Classification in Anthropology, by Linton C. Freeman and A. P. Merriam, 464
STEIN, THEODORE, review of The Nes Peres, by Francis L. Haines, 574
STEWARD, JULIAN H., review of The Little Community, Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole, by Robert Redfield, 564
STEWART, OMER C., Further Comment on Primitive Heritage by Mead and Calas, 559
STEWART OMER C., review of Plant Ecology, UNESCO, 216
The Stone Age Races of Northwest Africa, by L. Cabot Briggs, reviewed by F. Clark Howell, 584
STRAUBE, Helmut, Die Tierverkleidungen der Afrikanischen Naturvölker, reviewed by Gerhard Lindblom, 384
Structure and Function: Family Organization and Socialization in a Jamaican Community, by Yehudi A. Cohen, 664
Structure of Ancient Maya Society, The, by Gordon R. Willey, 777
Studies in African Linguistic Classification, by Joseph H. Greenberg, reviewed by H. A. Gleason, Jr., 948
Studies of California Indians, by C. Hart Merriam, reviewed by Franklin Fenega, 379
Study of Abortion in Primitive Societies, A, by George Devereux, reviewed by Marston Bates, 213
Study of Prehistory: An Inaugural Lecture, The, by J. G. D. Clark, reviewed by Robert L. Randis, 574
STURTEVANT, William C., review of Benjamin Hawkins—Indian Agent, by Merritt B. Pounds, 1164
Stycos, J. Mayone, Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Lower Income Group, reviewed by Ronald Freedman, 927
Survey of Glossolalia and Related Phenomena in Non-Christian Religions, A, by L. Carlyle May, 75
SUTTLES, Wayne, review of The Great Loocaho: A Study of Okinawan Village Life, by Clarence J. Glacken, 750
Swadeshi, Morris, Some Limitations of Diffusional Change in Vocabulary, 301

T
TAYLOR, Paul S., Harold S. Adams, George M. Foster, (Consultants), Report on Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, Introduction by Louis M. Miniclier, reviewed by Cyril S. Belshaw, 1167
TAYLOR, Walter W., review of Prehistoric Stone Implements of Northeastern Arizona: Reports of the Anasazi Expedition, Report No. 6, by Richard B. Woodbury, 582
TEMMER, Franz, Die Halbinsel Yucatán, reviewed by Eric R. Wolf, 214
Theorie der kulturellen Ähnlichkeit, by Fritz Haensell, reviewed by Robert F. Spencer, 924

THIEME, Fred P., review of Evolution, Genetics, and Man, by Theodosius Dobzhansky, 944
THIEME, Frederick P., review of Races and People, by William C. Boyd and Isaac Asimov, 946
Third Annual Report of American Indian Development 1954, reviewed by Edward P. Dozier, 1147
THOMPSON, Raymond H., review of Mohave Pottery, by A. L. Kroeber and Michael J. Harner, 1148
TIMASHEFF, Nicholas S., Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth, reviewed by David Sidney, 374
TTIEV, Mischa, The Importance of Space in Primitive Kinship, 854
Toward a Definition of Ethnomusicology, by Willard Rhodes, 457
Tower of Babel, The, by André Parrot, translated by Edwin Hudson, reviewed by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., 758
Tra i Libici del Sud Tripolitano: Etnologia e Criminologia, by Giorgio Prosdocimo, reviewed by Roger le Tourneau, 578
Tree of Culture, The, by Ralph Linton, reviewed by Fay-Cooper Cole, 188
Tristes Tropiques, by C. Levi-Strauss, reviewed by Emilio Willems, 928
Tucker, A. N. and J. Tompo ole Mpaaye, A Moosai Grammar with Vocabulary, reviewed by Mark Hanna Watkins, 949
Trumai Indians of Central Brazil, The, by Robert F. Murphy and Buell Quain, Foreword by Charles Wagle, reviewed by Gertrude D. Dole and Robert Carneiro, 747
Tumin, Melvin, review of Class and Society, by Kurt B. Mayer, 769
TURNER, Geoffrey, Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America, reviewed by Chester S. Chard, 387

U
UNESCO, Plant Ecology, reviewed by Omer C. Stewart, 216
University Teaching of Social Psychology and Anthropology, The, by Pierre de Bie, et al., reviewed by George H. Fathauer, 191

V
VAN NOSTRAND, J. J., review of Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontier, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 757
VAN VALENBERGHE, Sallie Pierce and Earl Jackson, Montezuma Castle Archeology, Part 1, Excavations, reviewed by Elaine A. Bluhm, 392
VIDICH, Arthur J., review of Selected Papers of
Index 1193

Villa Rojas, Alfonso, Los Mazatecos y el Problema Indígena de la Cuenca del Papaloapan, reviewed by H. B. Nicholson, 379
Village Life in Modern Thailand, by John E. deYoung, reviewed by L. M. Hanks, Jr., 751
Vincent, Marc, L'enfant au Ruanda-Urundi, reviewed by John J. Honigmann, 952
Voget, Fred W., The American Indian in Transition: Reformaition and Accommodation, 249
Voget, Evon Z., Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Frontier Community, reviewed by Robert A. Marner, 742
Voget, Evon Z., review of Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation, by George D. Spindler, 390
von Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph, Himalayan Barbary, reviewed by Robert J. Miller, 752
von Korvin-Krasinski, Piotr, Die Tibetische Medizinphilosophie. Der Mensch Als Mikrokosmos, reviewed by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 936
von Sypow, Eckart, Afrikanische Plastik, reviewed by H. D. Gunn, 400

W
Wagley, Charles, Foreword to The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil, by Robert F. Murphy and Buell Quain, reviewed by Gertrude E. Dole and Robert Carneiro, 747
Wallace, Anthony F. C., Revitalization Movements: Some Theoretical Considerations for their Comparative Study, 264
Wallace, William J., review of The Basket Weavers of Arizona, by Bert Robinson, foreword by Wayne Pratt, Photos by R. H. Peebles, 926
Wallace, William James, review of An Archaeological Report on the Excavations of a Prehistoric Site at Zuma Creek, Los Angeles County, California, by Stuart L. Peck, 761
Warner, W. Lloyd and Fred Eggan, Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown, 544
Watkins, Mark Hanna, review of A Moaian Grammar with Vocabulary, by A. N. Tucker and J. Tompo de Mpaayei, 949
Watson, James B., review of Adam with Arrows: Inside Aboriginal New Guinea, by Colin Simpson, 1163

Watson-Watt, Sir Robert, Foreword to Research Films in Biology, Anthropology, Psychology and Medicine, by Anthony R. Michaelis, reviewed by J. E. Weckler, 775
Waunakee, Robert, review of Archaeological Reconnaissance in Central Guatemala, by A. Ledym Smith, 942
Wax, Murray, The Limitations of Boas' Anthropology, 63
Weatherwax, Paul, Indian Corn in Old America, reviewed by Volney H. Jones, 768
Weckler, J. E., review of Research Films in Biology, Anthropology, Psychology and Medicine, by Anthony R. Michaelis, Foreword by Sir Robert Watson-Watt, 775
Weil, Robert J. and Joseph W. Eaton, Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations, reviewed by George Devereux, 211
Weiner, J. S., The Piltdown Forgery, reviewed by F. Clark Howell, 395
Weinreich, Uriel, review of A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure, and Style, sel. and trans. by Paul L. Garvin, 587
Weitlaner, Roberto J. and Carlo Antonio Castro G., Papeles de la Chinantla I: Mayultianguis y Tlacoatzintepec, reviewed by A. Kimball Romney, 745
Weltbild und Kult der Kwakiutl-Indianer, by Werner Müller, reviewed by William W. Elmendorf, 746
Wendorf, Fred, et al., Highway Salvage Archaeology, Vol. I, reviewed by Waldo R. Wedel, 201
Wendorf, Fred, et al., The Midland Discovery: A Report on the Pleistocene Human Remains from Midland, Texas, reviewed by Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., 754
Wenger, Gilbert R., Norton H. Nickerson, Eric R. Reed, Albert H. Schroeder, supplementary reports in A Reappraisal of the Fremont Culture: With A Summary of the Archaeology of the Northern Periphery, by H. M. Wormington, reviewed by Carling Malouf, 1155
Werner, Heinz and Bernard Kaplan, The Developmental Approach to Cognition, 866
Western Apache Clan and Phratry Organization, by Charles R. Kaut, 140
Wheelbar, Sir Mortimer, Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, reviewed by J. J. Van nostrand, 757
Whittaker, Ian, Social Relations in a Nomadic Lappish Community, Preface by Sibjorn Nesheim, reviewed by D. B. Shimkin, 1136
White, Charles B. and Bertram S. Kraus, Micro-evolution in a Human Population, 1017
White, J. E. Manchip, Anthropology, reviewed by Edward M. Bruner, 189
White, Leslie A., Norman Daymond Humphrey, 548
Whiteford, Andrew H., The Museum in the School, 352
Willems, Emilio, review of Health, Culture and Community: Case Studies of Public Re-actions to Health Programs, by Benjamin D. Paul (ed.), with the collaboration of Walter B. Miller, Foreword by Hugh R. Leavell, 763
Willems, Emilio, review of Aspectos Funda-mentais da Cultura Guarani, by Egon Schaden, 382
Willems, Emilio, review of Tristes Tropiques, by C. Levi-Strauss, 928
Willey, Gordon R., The Structure of Ancient Maya Society, 777
Wilson, H. Clyde, A New Interpretation of the Wild Rice District of Wisconsin, 1059
Wolf, Eric R., Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society, 1065
Wolf, Eric R., review of Die Halbinsel Yucatán by Franz Termer, 214
Wolf, Eric R., review of Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Saucio, by Orlando Fals-Borda, 929
Wolfenstein, Martha and Margaret Mead (eds.), Childhood in Contemporary Cultures, reviewed by Thomas Gladwin, 764
Wolff, Harold G. and Leo W. Simmons, Social Science in Medicine, reviewed by Marvin K. Opler, 212
Wolff, Kurt H. and Reinhard Bendix, trans. of Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations, by Georg Simmel, reviewed by Max Gluckman, 373
Woodbury, Richard, Prehistoric Stone Imple-ments of Northeastern Arizona: Reports of the Awanoti Expedition, Report No. 6, reviewed by Walter W. Taylor, 582
Workbook in Descriptive Linguistics, by Henry Allan Gleason, Jr., reviewed by Raven J. McDavid, Jr., 946
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Wu-Chi, Liu, Confucius: His Life and Time, reviewed by Joseph R. Levenson, 1165

Z

Zavala, Silvio, with Alfonso Caso, José Miranda, Moises González Navarro, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, Ricardo Pozas A., Métodos y Resultados de la Política Indigenista en México, review by Pedro Carrasco, 575
Zelditch, Morris, Jr., James Olds, and Philip E. Slater, collaboration on Family, Socialisation and Interaction Process, by Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, reviewed by George D. Spindler, 1144
Ziervogel, D., notes, The Disappearing Bush-men of Lake Chrissie: A Preliminary Survey, by E. F. Potgieter, photos by author, reviewed by E. Colson, 933
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