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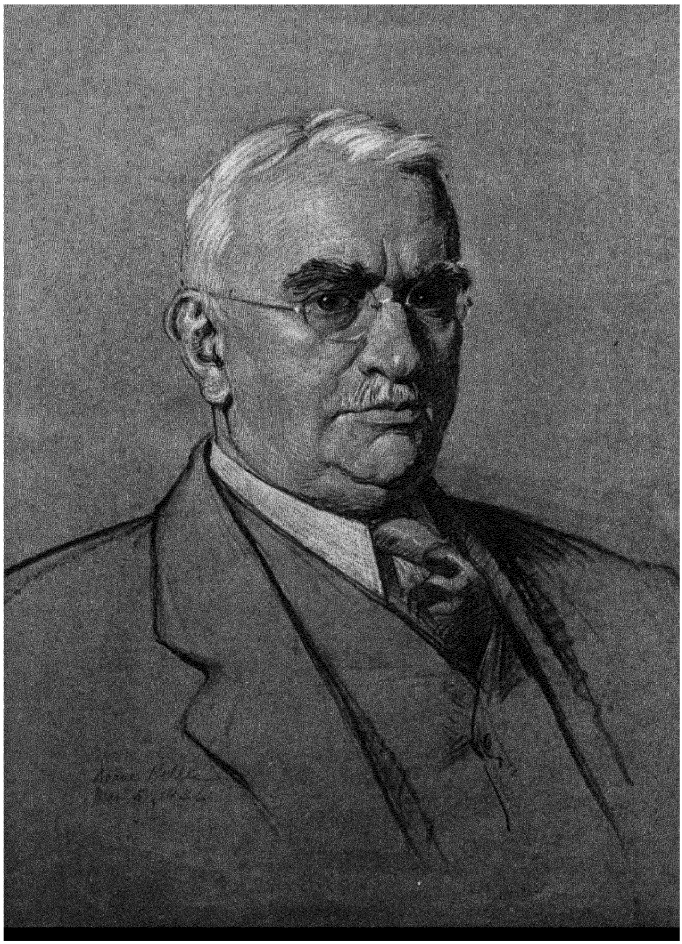
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STUDIES IN THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

PRESENTED TO

ALBERT GALLOWAY KELLER

IN CELEBRATION OF

HIS COMPLETION OF THIRTY YEARS

AS

PROFESSOR OF THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

IN YALE UNIVERSITY

EDITED BY

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

NEW HAVEN

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON · HUMPHREY MILFORD · OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1937

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Printed in the United States of America

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TO

ALBERT GALLOWAY KELLER

WE, A FEW AMONG THE MULTITUDE OF HIS STUDENTS AND ADMIRERS, PRESENT THIS VOLUME IN TOKEN OF OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SCHOLAR AND OUR AFFECTION FOR THE MAN

Harold E. Adams
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EDITORIAL PREFACE

For Albert Galloway Keller the year 1937 marks the completion of his third decade, and the commencement of his fourth, as Professor of the Science of Society in Yale University. His students, friends, and admirers, rather than await his retirement from active academic life, welcome this anniversary occasion as a fitting opportunity to express some measure of their indebtedness and their allegiance to one of the most forthright and inspiring of teachers, most genuine and loyal of friends, most sympathetic and helpful of colleagues, and most creative yet humble of scientists.

This volume owes both its initial inspiration and its materialization to the Sumner Club,[1] an organization formed in 1915 to lend support to Professor Keller in carrying through to completion *The Science of Society*, a monumental work conceived and begun by another great teacher and scholar, William Graham Sumner. Not content with the achievement of its original objective in the publication of this work in 1927, and of a popular edition, *Man's Rough Road*, in 1932, the Sumner Club reorganized itself on a permanent basis in 1936 with Julius C. Peter as President, Dr. Arthur B. McGraw as Vice-President and Treasurer, and John S. Ellsworth, Jr., as Secretary. Its avowed aim, expressed in its by-laws, is to make continuously effective its support "of the sociology faculty [in Yale University] in promoting an objective and scientific approach to the study of social phenomena."

It seems singularly appropriate that the first act of the reorganized Sumner Club should be the publication of a volume of studies in the science of society in honor of Professor Keller. His excessive modesty, an outstanding personal characteristic, has led Professor Keller to subordinate his personal achievements to the genius of Sumner. All who have come into close contact with him as students, however, realize full well that he has contributed no less significantly than Sumner to a valid science of society. The members of the Sumner Club, by their participation in the publi-

1. For the story of the Sumner Club, see *Bulletin of the Associates in the Science of Society at Yale University*, Vol. V, No. 4 (May, 1936), pp. 1–8; *Yale Alumni Weekly*, XL (1931), 763–4.

cation of the present volume, acknowledge their appreciation of this fact and admit that, in all save name, they are adherents equally of Sumner and of Keller.

To the financing of this volume approximately one hundred and ninety persons have contributed. Their donations have been limited to a small but fixed sum despite several generous offers of much larger contributions. This democratic procedure has made it necessary to secure many more donations than are usual in volumes of this character, but the ease with which these subscriptions have been obtained and the expressions of enthusiasm that have accompanied them amply testify to Professor Keller's widespread support, and constitute of themselves no slight tribute.

Those who have known Professor Keller as teacher, colleague, or friend respect and love him for his personal and intellectual honesty, which leads him to deal openly with others and to abhor all political maneuvering; for his surface bluntness, which cloaks a shy and sensitive nature; for his scientific integrity, which makes him impatient of fools and charlatans, of whom there are more in sociology than in disciplines further advanced toward preciseness; for his paradoxical combination of a fundamental tolerance of attitude with a dogmatism of exposition, found effective in long years of successful undergraduate teaching; for his stability and toughness of mind, his utter lack of pretense, his austerity. Defects reside in these as in all virtues, as Professor Keller would be the last to deny, and they are readily magnified by those whom circumstances have insulated from the full incandescence of his personality. If his students and colleagues, just as naturally, tend to minimize these, the fact nevertheless remains that they are in a position to know far better than others the many facets of the man and their total integration. They perceive, for example, as even a personal friend might not, a genuine scientist imbued with a deep humility in the face of the mountain of the unknown beside the molehill of the known. To Professor Keller a true science of society lies in the future, not in the past. One illustration must suffice. Recently, in a departmental discussion of a proposed doctoral dissertation, the present writer suggested that the issue in question had not been settled in the section devoted to it in *The*

Science of Society. "Settled!" blazed Professor Keller. "Nothing is settled in that book. Every paragraph is tentative."

The present volume is more than a personal tribute to Professor Keller; it is an exemplification of the type of research in the social sciences which he has sponsored or which has developed as a reflection, in part at least, of his influence. Articles were solicited from each of the forty persons who have received the Ph.D. degree from Yale University for work done under Professor Keller. Contributions from twenty-six of them appear herewith.[2] Since no article was rejected on the score of its quality, they represent an unselected sample, revealing varying degrees of excellence. They typify the kinds of research being conducted today on the various frontiers of social science by men trained under Professor Keller. For this reason they may be taken as the text for an analysis of what constitutes today the distinctive character of the Sumner-Keller approach to a science of society.

A feature distinguishing all the articles is their factual character.[3] In two seemingly exceptional instances, where the scope of the subject precludes a full citation of the evidence, the generalizations have a solid foundation in the previous writings and professional experience of the authors. Contributions of a strictly interpretive, analytical, speculative, or methodological character are conspicuously absent. Sociological writings of this nature are frequently suggestive and occasionally significant. Nevertheless, conclusions thus arrived at, while they may be highly logical, satisfying, and persuasive, bear no necessary relation to reality. They can be granted no scientific validity until they have been subjected to rigorous verification, that is, until an adequate body of relevant

2. Not represented in the present volume are Doctors Esther Lucile Brown, Charles W. Coulter, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Loomis Havemeyer, Frederic E. Lee, Edwin M. Loeb, Ernest F. McGregor, John Lee Maddox, Earl E. Muntz, Victor A. Rapport, James Hathaway Robinson, Harris E. Starr, Arthur J. Todd, and Edward M. Weyer, Jr. One manuscript was submitted too late for inclusion, and in two other instances, owing to the failure of the editor adequately to inform the authors, articles otherwise worth-while proved unsuited to the nature of a *Festschift.* The eleven remaining eligible persons were prevented from contributing by ill health, pressure of other work, or absence from the country.

3. By "facts" we mean, of course, merely recorded sense data as distinct from the observers' evaluations thereof.

facts has been assembled, analyzed by the best available methods, and found consistent with the hypothesis. Even then, they require repeated testing, as Professor Davie's article well demonstrates in a particular case. Every established science has passed through a sterile metaphysical phase, to use Comte's expression, and has attained maturity only when it has discarded uncontrolled speculation in favor of strict verification. Sociology still languishes very largely in the metaphysical stage. It has a plethora of hypotheses. What it needs most today, in the opinion of Professor Keller and his disciples, is more factual studies to test them.

The articles deal, not merely with facts, but with facts of a particular description, namely, those of human behavior. With such data as "social attitudes," which are difficult of verification with existing instruments of research,[4] and with intuitively given data, which tend to be entangled with unacknowledged biases and presuppositions, the authors are little concerned. In the current controversy between the "behaviorists" and the "introspectionists" in American sociology, they are aligned squarely with the former. "Eloquent defenses of insight and understanding," as Lundberg[5] points out, "merely draw a red herring across the trail of the real question, namely, What are the methods of attaining understanding and insight? . . . Since verification by other qualified minds is the essence of scientific knowledge, the progress of science has been characterized by increasingly searching demands that the author of a generalization specify the steps by which he reached it."

The facts utilized by the several authors are, in the main, not only behavioristic but also cultural in nature. They are the observed and verified patterned forms of behavior, or folkways, which members of a social group share with their fellows. Facts expressed in terms of "interhuman relations" or "processes of human interaction" may, theoretically, be equally valid as a basis for scientific study. The obstinate truth remains, nevertheless,

4. On the difficulty of verifying attitudes, see Bain, R., "An Attitude on Attitude Research," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXIII (1928), 940–57; idem, "Stability in Questionnaire Response," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXVII (1931), 445–53; Smith, M., "A Note on Stability in Questionnaire Response," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXVIII (1933), 713–20.

5. Lundberg, G. A., "Quantitative Methods in Social Psychology," *American Sociological Review,* I (1936), 41.

that historians, travelers, anthropologists, and other observers have not reported social phenomena in such terms; what they habitually record are patterns of behavior, folkways and mores—in short, culture. Thus there exists, ready at hand for scientific study, an enormous body of data phrased in cultural terms. The sociologist does not need to start afresh and collect all his facts himself.

Patterned or cultural behavior does not, however, exhaust the data available to the student of society. Realizing that culture is merely an abstraction from observed likenesses in the behavior of individuals organized in groups, the authors of several of the articles, especially those dealing with aspects of modern society, find themselves interested in the culture-bearing groups, subgroups, and individuals themselves. To them sociology is not merely the science of culture; it is also the science of society. While it is perfectly legitimate conceptually to exclude all data save cultural patterns, and while this particular procedure has proved exceedingly fruitful in the hands of anthropologists and others, this does not appear to exhaust all the possibilities of social science. In this respect our authors find themselves in disagreement with certain American sociologists who, discouraged by the apparently chaotic situation within their own discipline, have turned in desperation to cultural anthropology and have imported into sociology a whole series of anthropological concepts: diffusion, invention, culture area, etc. Applying these to phenomena in our own culture, they believe they have achieved an objectivity which their colleagues have missed. The followers of Sumner and Keller, who have been "cultural sociologists" for a much longer time—who have, indeed, always been such—do not, however, see any impelling reason why the sociologist should thus arbitrarily limit his field.

If he is dealing with materials from primitive cultures or from the historical civilizations of the past, to be sure, the sociologist ordinarily has nothing available except patterns; only rarely does an individual peep timidly from behind a folkway. The situation is otherwise with respect to his own culture. As a participant therein, he already knows most of the patterns. He is interested in learning a great deal more about modern society than its folkways and institutions. He wants to know, for example, something about their

distribution and variation regionally and among sub-groups. How many Baptists, bachelors, beggars, burglars, and brewers are there in the country? Are they concentrated in the North or the South, and in what districts; in the country or the city, and in what sections? How, he inquires, are these and other sub-groups constituted, integrated, interrelated? What, moreover, are the particular conditions underlying or giving rise to these numerical and distributional phenomena, as well as to other forms of social behavior? The historian and the anthropologist commonly give but scanty information for other cultures about such facts as these, yet the sociologist has always, and legitimately, concerned himself with them and with much besides that is not cultural in the strictest sense. The practical sociologist, in particular, cannot afford to neglect the individual. The actual unemployed man, for example, is never far behind the scene in Professor Bakke's consideration of unemployment benefits; the facts are mirrored, as it were, through his eyes. A social worker with naught save culture patterns in his kit of tools would be at a complete loss in attempting to apply social science knowledge to a specific problem of juvenile delinquency or family disorganization.

The anthropologists, indeed, might well profit by pausing now and then in their pursuit of the primitive to listen to the sociologist. Although they argue endlessly, for example, about diffusion and the reconstruction of history from distribution by the age-area hypothesis, they have not thought to test their hypotheses in the field of historical civilizations where diffusion is recorded in actual documents.[6] The article by Dr. Chakerian in the present volume, in which an actual case of "invention" and "diffusion" is documented in terms of specific individuals, organizations, places, and dates, might possibly teach the anthropologist as much about the actual cultural processes in question as a dozen distribution maps or comparative trait lists.

A casual glance at the table of contents will reveal that approximately half of the articles deal with some aspect of contemporary society and half with cultures remote from our own in time or place—China, Indonesia, ancient India, aboriginal Australia,

6. An exception must be noted in the case of Wilson D. Wallis, himself equally a sociologist; *cf.* his *Culture and Progress* (New York, 1930), pp. 63–5.

the frontiers of Siberia and South Africa, etc. This distribution accurately reflects the balance of interests among the followers of Sumner and Keller, to whom sociology is a comparative science concerned with human social behavior wherever and whenever recorded, not merely with its manifestations within our own particular historical tradition. They regard the cleavage between cultural anthropology and sociology as an essentially arbitrary one, and ignore the elaborate rationalizations evolved by certain adherents of each discipline to justify their ignorance of, or lack of interest in, the other.

The valid generalizations of social science seem to fall into two groups, which may be termed the cross-cultural and the intra-cultural. The former are those that hold true for all mankind. An example would be the principle variously termed, with differing degrees of appropriateness, the basic character of the self-maintenance mores, economic determinism, and the materialistic interpretation of history. Within the framework of such general principles there are others of more restricted application, which hold true only within a specific historical tradition or cluster of related cultures. An illustration of an intra-cultural generalization would be the principles governing the growth of modern cities, as formulated in the article by Professor Davie. They would not be found applicable in Canton, Babylon, or Chichen-Itza, but they hold uniformly true today throughout the United States and, with certain modifications, in western Europe. They are, in other words, dependent upon a particular economic and social context.

For our own society, sociologists have gradually accumulated a significant body of verified and dependable intra-cultural generalizations in such fields as criminology, dependency, social insurance, and urban ecology. They are likewise applying these principles with increasing effectiveness to the practical problems of our common life. Having limited their horizon in most instances to their own culture, however, they have contributed few cross-cultural generalizations which stand up under the test of an ethnographical perspective. They tend, for example, without sufficient foundation to expand intra-cultural into cross-cultural generalizations. That the sociologist does not stand alone in this respect is indicated in the article by Professor Miller, who shows that

certain of the principles of political economy are intra-cultural rather than cross-cultural as commonly assumed.

The anthropologist has the perspective to exercise the needed corrective, and he has, as a matter of fact, contributed a large proportion of the cross-cultural generalizations which can be granted probable validity today. He has gradually elaborated, moreover, a fund of admirably sound techniques for the field investigation of primitive cultures, and with these he has built up a body of careful ethnographical descriptions at both the quality and quantity of which the sociologist can look only with envy. These works provide a broad basis for the derivation, through analysis and comparison, of further cross-cultural generalizations.

The credit for these achievements must go in large measure to Franz Boas and his followers in the United States. They have rid the science of anthropology of a quantity of débris deposited by earlier and overhasty theorists. They have done so by becoming historically minded, by paying acute attention to individual primitive cultures and their demonstrable relations with their neighbors. They have proved that the student of cultural processes cannot safely ignore historical data. In becoming historically minded, however, they have lost sight of several things of importance. They have overlooked the bearers of culture—societies and individuals—in their quest of "patterns" and "traits." They have forgotten that scientific research must be relevant as well as technically sound, and have lost themselves in a maze of inconsequential details. By engrossing themselves in their data they have converted a means into an end and have lost sight of the primary function of a science, the formulation and testing of generalizations.[7] In a generation when physics and genetics, for example, have advanced with seven-league boots by making daring hypotheses and keeping research close to vital issues in testing them, the anthropologists have been content to pile up miscellaneous facts; they have timidly proposed but few cross-cultural hypotheses, and these mostly of a negative tenor. They have, in a sense, isolated their discipline from the main currents of modern thought

7. Elaborate and plausible justifications of this procedure are, to be sure, not lacking. See, for example, Kroeber, A. L., "So-called Social Science," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, I (1936), 317–40.

and made of it a sort of antiquarian appendage to the social sciences.

With sociology arbitrarily limiting its horizon to a single civilization, and with anthropology abdicating its scientific responsibility in the matter of formulating working hypotheses, there would seem to be a place for a science of society encompassing both fields and canceling out their respective defects. Sumner and Keller have laid the foundations for such a discipline, upon which the authors of the articles in this volume have sought to build.

Cross-cultural generalizations are of two main types. One type springs from the facts, is compelled by their nature, as it were, and is verifiable with reference to them. *The Science of Society* advances a mass of tentative generalizations of this kind. No fewer than nine hundred of its expressed and implied correlations, for example, are put to the test in the statistical article by Dr. Simmons, with substantiation resulting in eighty per cent of this number. Cross-cultural generalizations of the other type spring from language rather than from facts. They consist of verbalizations according to which data may be conceptually arranged, to be sure, but which do not lend themselves to proof or disproof. In those schools of sociology, consequently, whose systematic generalizations are couched in such terms as competition and coöperation, conflict and accommodation, or subordination and superordination, scientific progress is effectually inhibited. Factual studies, however excellent, can only illustrate the old verbalizations; they cannot correct or refine them.

Scores of the generalizations advanced by Sumner and Keller have been modified, refined, or overthrown by their students and others since the publication of their joint work. The present volume contains a number of examples. The editor, from his own research and reading in ethnology, is painfully aware of many further deficiencies, some of them of major importance. He knows from personal contact, however, that Professor Keller is even more painfully conscious of most of them, and of many others. *The Science of Society* is admittedly only a first approximation, a courageous pioneer effort, but—and this is the important point—it furnishes targets for future research to aim at, not verbalizations intended only to be illustrated. Moreover, despite its innumerable

defects, the work remains sound in its heart and core. This is the conclusion not only of the present writer but also of a succession of his graduate students who have combined extensive work in cultural anthropology with their studies in sociology. Without exception, they have found anthropology corrective of, but fundamentally consistent with, *The Science of Society*. They have also found the former technically sound but, by comparison with the latter, relatively lacking in vitality and meaning. The contrast, figuratively speaking, is roughly that between a photograph and a painting of a similar scene by a great master. The one is accurate in all details but lacks internal consistency and meaning; the other sometimes slurs, omits, or distorts details, but it brings them all into relationship and gives a true significance to the whole.

That which, probably more than anything else, lends substance and verisimilitude to *The Science of Society* is the conception of adjustment in social life.[8] This position is widely accepted among sociologists. W. I. Thomas,[9] for example, says: "The central problem in the general life process is one of adjustment. . . ." Among anthropologists, Malinowski and a few others hold similar views, but the majority persist in interpreting social processes in terms of fortuitous historical causation with but lip service, at best, to the question of the adaptation of invented or borrowed traits to man's biological nature, his geographical environment, and his prevailing social or cultural configurations.

The recognition of adjustment as the crucial fact in social life makes of sociology an evolutionary study. The term "evolution," of course, means merely a process of adaptive change. Since such a process is observable on the social as well as on the biological level, the term has a perfectly legitimate place in social science, and its use by no means commits the sociologist to "social Darwinism" or other biological implications. The two evolutionary processes, despite occasional accusations to the contrary, are kept rigidly distinct, not only by Professor Keller but by other sociologists. Another distinction, consistently overlooked by anthropolo-

8. The idea of evolutionary adjustment in the folkways is a contribution of Keller's, not of Sumner's; *cf.* Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1915), pp. 248, 329.

9. Thomas, W. I., *Primitive Behavior* (New York, 1937), p. 1.

gists, is that between "evolutionary," which is nearly synonymous with "sociological," and "evolutionist," which is associated with the now outmoded unilateral developmental theories of Morgan, Tylor, Spencer, and other anthropological and sociological pioneers. The present writer has been at some pains, in his own article in this volume, to distinguish the evolutionist from the sociological position in anthropology, and repetition here is unnecessary. Suffice it to say that the position of Sumner and Keller is fundamentally sociological or "evolutionary"; it is not "evolutionist," save for certain survivals which may be pruned away without loss.

On the subject of the adjustment of culture to the geographical environment, modern social scientists are in essential agreement.[10] The adjustment of elements of culture to one another, involving the strain toward consistency in the mores noted by Sumner,[11] is discussed by several authors in the present volume and is recognized by many sociologists[12] and by the "functionalists" among anthropologists. Rather less attention has been paid to the adjustment of culture to the original nature of man, largely because the physiologist and the psychologist have yet to give us an adequate definition of the latter.

Since the downfall of instinct theories, social scientists have had to content themselves with rough-and-ready approximations to the impulses in the individual with which societies have to deal, and they have postulated various "wishes," "drives," "interests," "dispositions," "prepotent reflexes," and other "social forces." Sumner and Keller make use of five, namely, the four explicitly mentioned "socializing forces"[13]—hunger, love, vanity, and ghost-fear —and a fifth, roughly equivalent to "aggression" as used by psychologists, which is nowhere expressly defined but which is implicit in the concept of "antagonistic coöperation,"[14] according to which antagonistic impulses are subordinated within the group in order

10. Febvre, L., *Geographical Introduction to History* (New York, 1925) may be taken as representative of a considerable number of excellent modern works on this subject.

11. Sumner, W. G., *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), pp. 5–6.

12. See, for example, Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change* (New York, 1922).

13. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), I, 21–6; Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

14. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 12–14, 28–9; Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–18.

to realize the advantages of united action, and in the concept of the "in-group" and "out-group,"[15] according to which antagonistic impulses, leashed within the former, are vented against the latter in forms ranging all the way from ethnocentric prejudices to open conflict. All such formulations, however, are admittedly tentative. For their definitive expression the sociologist and anthropologist must await the development of a valid social psychology—an event still in the future—which will consider not only the physiological and psychic foundation of human impulses but also their cultural relevancy.

Not only must culture adjust to these basic impulses, as to the natural and social environments, but its forms represent the socialized ways in which the impulses find expression. Underlying and vivifying all patterned behavior—the folkways and especially the mores[16]—there is, in the view of Sumner and Keller, the surging pressure of impulse. Cultural forms are not threadbare habits; they are habits charged with emotional force. Such terms as "culture pattern" and "culture trait," current among anthropologists, and comparable terms, e.g., "action pattern," used by sociologists, invariably impress the student of Sumner and Keller as but pale reflections of folkways and mores, as mere ghostly mirror-images of the flesh-and-blood reality of socialized behavior. Cultural forms do not exist in the abstract; behind them and actuating them there are always human beings.

That societal adjustment is achieved in the main automatically, through the operation of massive impersonal forces of which the individuals concerned are rarely more than dimly aware, is perhaps the major single contribution of Professor Keller.[17] Social movements spring from the blind reactions of men in the mass to largely unanalyzed economic and emotional incentives. The individual can do little to thwart, direct, or accelerate such movements. He can, however, accomplish something, especially if he

15. Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13; Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–62.

16. In this connection it is perhaps significant that Dr. John Dollard, trained in another sociological tradition, and later in psychoanalysis, finds the sociological position of Sumner, especially the concept of the mores, fundamentally congruent with the psychological position of Freud. See Dollard, J., "Musings on Freud and Sumner," *News-Letter of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers*, VI (1936), 1, 1–6.

17. *Cf.* Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–89; idem (2d ed., New York, 1931), pp. 141–97.

understands their nature. To the practical sociologist, awareness of the automatic character of the adjustment process proves an invaluable aid. It stimulates him to study, rather than to advocate, schemes for human betterment. It enables him to mobilize his energies where they will count, i.e., in instituting and promoting specific adjustments on a modest rather than a grandiose scale. If orderly evolution is to be promoted, changes must harmonize with established folkways and institutions. Interference with the automatic process of adjustment, when not based upon thorough knowledge of the factors and forces involved, tends to create more problems than it settles. The practical sociologist who understands the nature of the adjustment process is likely to be less inspirational than another, perhaps, but also more effective. It is not improbable, moreover, that his meticulous and detailed studies of the adjustment process in various phases of contemporary society may eventually contribute as significantly as the researches of the field anthropologist to our knowledge of the dynamics of social life.

The reader will now be prepared to understand why the articles in this volume are characterized by a striking absence of normative or melioristic views. These relate to policy, with which pure science has no concern. The scientist, as an individual, may, of course, favor any social policy which seems to him desirable, whether it be that of a Mussolini, a Stalin, a Hoover, or a Roosevelt, but he cannot import such views into his scientific writing and remain true to science. The authors of the articles in this volume hold personal opinions on social and political questions ranging from reactionary, through conservative and liberal, to radical. Since they are here speaking as scientists, however, a fundamental consistency, representing the common ground of science, runs through their various contributions.

The sociologist does not step out of his rôle of scientist even when he offers practical advice to legislators and administrators, as do Professors Bakke and Diamond in their articles touching respectively upon the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Act. These authors may or may not favor the legislation in question; their personal views on the matter are quite irrelevant. They are not determining policy; this has been done for them. They simply command a body of specialized scientific knowl-

edge which enables them to comment objectively upon the practicability of the means devised to execute the policy. The several authors in this volume, in short, assume sometimes the rôle of the pure scientist, who is indifferent to policy; sometimes that of the applied scientist, who may offer technical advice about policies; never that of the private citizen, who advocates and helps to make policies.

* * * * *

It is the practice of the Department of Sociology in Yale University, in considering proposals for doctoral dissertations, to favor subjects that involve further research after the attainment of the degree. In consequence of this practice, a number of the articles included herewith, especially those by younger men, represent elaborations of research originally undertaken in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Yale University Graduate School for the doctorate. The articles to which this statement applies are those by Doctors Bernard, Chakerian, Cobbledick, Donald, Eldredge, Ford, Kennedy, Koenig, Lawrence, Lobb, and Weiler.

In view of the fact that the number of articles submitted, and their average length, considerably exceeded the plans and expectations of those responsible for this volume, the editor found himself compelled correspondingly to exceed the usual editorial prerogatives in the matter of revision, in order to reduce the size of the volume and hence the cost of publication. If he has in any case unintentionally altered the meaning of, or otherwise changed an article to its detriment, he accepts full responsibility therefor and offers his apologies to the author. For invaluable assistance and advice in the preparation of the volume the editor wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the officers of the Sumner Club; to Professors E. Wight Bakke, Maurice R. Davie, James G. Leyburn, and Cornelius Osgood; to Doctors John Dollard, Clellan S. Ford, Raymond Kennedy, Samuel Koenig, and Bennet B. Murdock; to Mrs. Ruth Chapman; and to his wife, Carmen Rothwell. The volume itself must suffice as a testimonial to the ineradicable debt under which he, with the other contributors and subscribers, stands toward Albert Galloway Keller.

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

Yale University,
January, 1937.

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MINORITY CARICATURES ON THE AMERICAN STAGE

HAROLD E. ADAMS

THE interest which native Americans have had in the minority elements of the population has occasionally been diverted from a deep concern over the serious problems involved to the enjoyment of the comic aspects of their lives. Negroes and immigrants have furnished some of the raw material out of which comedy has been produced in stories, songs, cartoons, on the stage, in the movie, and over the radio. Commercialized amusements are so widespread and standardized that almost every one has enjoyed the characterizations based on these elements in the nation. This study of the influence of minority peoples on the stage is limited mainly to the minstrel show, variety and vaudeville, musical comedy, and burlesque. Prior to the movie and radio these theatrical patterns were most widely popular, and, reflecting the relationship between public tastes and the ingredients of amusement, they are very significant to the student of folkways and mores.

The presence of Negroes in the United States, first as slaves and later as freedmen and citizens, has given rise to a long series of popular stage characterizations. The author of an excellent history of minstrelsy[1] states that it is impossible to determine when the first black-face performance appeared on the American stage, or who it was who made the first characterization. In 1769, in a New York theater, Lewis Hallam, the younger, first played the part of Mungo in the comic opera, *The Padlock*. The character called for an impersonation of a Negro slave, which Hallam, drawing from his own study of the slave character, gave with greater accuracy than was provided by the writer of the opera. In 1799, Gottlieb Graupner, appearing in Negro make-up in Boston, sang "The Negro Boy" between the acts of a play. His act won such applause that he had to repeat it again and again. In 1809, he was playing black-face parts with a circus in Massachusetts. In

1. Wittke, C., *Tambo and Bones* (Durham, 1930), p. 9.

the early nineteenth century black-face clowns were extremely popular and were an important part of a circus performance.[2]

In the early 1820's, Edwin Forrest represented the plantation Negro in a Cincinnati theater. The characterization included all of the peculiarities of the slave in dress, gait, accent, dialect, and manners. As evidence of the accuracy of his portrayal, it is claimed that Forrest, while in make-up and strolling through the streets, was mistaken by an old Negro woman for a Negro whom she knew. Forrest played both a "modern dandy" and a Kentucky Negro at that time, and his singing and dancing won the compliment of a Negro in the audience that he was "nigger all over!"[3] One of the best known early impersonators of Negroes was George Washington Dixon who made his debut in Albany in 1827 playing with a circus. The next year he appeared in New York City in "Negro burlesque." Dixon was one of the first to sing "Coal Black Rose" and "Long Tailed Blue." It was common for a theater program, whether farce, comedy, or tragedy, to include such character songs. Dixon's popularity in New York in 1829 indicated the growing interest in Negro impersonations.[4]

Before 1830, many actors appearing in black-face between acts had impersonated plantation and steamboat darkies, and numerous circus clowns had sung Negro songs while riding horses around the sawdust ring. But the first really great song-and-dance sketch impersonating a Negro was that given somewhere between 1828 and 1831 by Thomas D. Rice (often called "Daddy" Rice or "Jim Crow" Rice).[5] This great sketch of "Jim Crow" by Rice had its origin in a studied observation of an old and decrepit slave who, having assumed his master's name, called himself Jim Crow. Jim was greatly deformed: one shoulder was drawn up higher than the other, his left leg was stiff and crooked, and he had a ludicrous limp. He crooned a peculiar tune for which he provided his own

2. Hutton, L., *Curiosities of the American Stage* (New York, 1890), p. 94; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f., 12.

3. Rourke, C. M., *American Humor* (New York, 1931), pp. 79 f.; Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 f.

4. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

5. Matthews, B., *A Book about the Theater* (New York, 1916), pp. 221 f.; Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f., 27. It has been suggested that the application of the name of "Jim Crow" to legislation segregating Negroes in transportation facilities may have had its origin in Rice's song.

words, and at the end of each verse he made a queer step called "rocking de heel." The words of his song were:

Wheel about, turn about,
Do jis so,
An' ebery time I wheel about
I jump Jim Crow.

Rice found in this old slave the traits essential to a successful characterization. So he changed the tune slightly, wrote additional verses, and made himself up like the original. When he appeared on the stage attired in worn-out shoes, straw hat, and dilapidated coat and sang and "jumped Jim Crow," the audience was so wild with delight that he was recalled at least twenty times.[6] Rice's dramatic success was due to his ability to imitate the singing and eccentricities of Negroes; he could reproduce perfectly the dialect and shambling gait of the plantation Negro. He also presented, with equal success, sketches of other types of Negroes, the flatboat man and the "dandy darky" or "fancy Negro" of the river towns. The latter is found in his creations of "Dandy Jim of Caroline" and "Spruce Pink." He likewise created what was known as "Ethiopian Opera," extravaganzas like *Bone Squash* containing cornfield dances, plantation melodies, and music of his own composition.[7]

Wittke lists fifteen actors, among whom were Barney Williams and Jack Diamond, who were doing Negro songs and dances during the period 1830–41. Many of them were imitators of Rice, and all of them were eager to reap the rewards resulting from the popularity of "Negro specialists." But to "Jim Crow" Rice is given the credit for the presentation of the sketches which later developed into American minstrelsy.[8] The origin of the minstrel show was in the singing and dancing of plantation slaves and in the imitation of them by white actors whose black-face songs and skits were popular features in menageries, circuses, museums, and theaters. A few of these artists gathered into a single group and arranged their specialties in a coördinated program providing a

6. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
7. Brown, T. A., *History of the American Stage* (New York, 1870), p. 310; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 29; Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
8. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 33 f.

full evening's performance, and thus the minstrel show was born. But without the large Negro population of the South, this purely native form of amusement and distinctly American contribution to the theater would not have arisen.[9]

The Virginia Minstrels and Christy's Minstrels have disputed the honor of having staged the first minstrel show about 1843. Regardless of which came first, other companies formed quickly and, together with the originals, made an astonishing appeal to all classes of people. Since the minstrel arose at a time when the theater was not commonly patronized, it is likely that the minstrel craze made the stage widely popular for the first time.[10] The rage for minstrelsy is suggested by a few facts gleaned from Wittke and Leavitt:[11] morning concerts and three shows a day were necessary to satisfy public demand; any good minstrel company could fill to capacity the best theater, in any city; the minstrel monopolized theater-going and made great inroads on other forms of amusement, to the alarm of other producers. Even Boston and New England gave the minstrel a warm reception in the Fifties and Sixties.

This distinctly American form of entertainment, which was well received in England also, reached the peak of popularity between 1850 and 1870. Some of the professional companies were permanently established in the theaters of our large cities while others were touring the less populous parts of the country. Even amateur companies began to appear after the close of the Civil War. After the Eighties, the decline in the importance of minstrelsy was reflected in the decreasing number of shows. In the 1880's there were at least thirty companies appearing simultaneously; in 1896 there were ten; in 1919 there were but three first class organizations playing in the United States. Before this virtual death of the minstrel in the second decade of the twentieth century, there occurred a significant change in the content of the performance itself. At the peak of its popularity during the 1870's, with the emphasis on "bigger and better" minstrelsy, the performance was greatly

9. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 6, 39, 41; Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

10. Leavitt, M. B., *Fifty Years in Theatrical Management* (New York, 1912), p. 25; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f., 58.

11. Leavitt, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

modified in details to the equivalent of a variety or burlesque show.[12]

While the minstrel semi-circle was still popular, many "Ethiopian" celebrities, banjoists, and dancers were giving individual performances with circuses, in concert halls, and in saloons.[13] Marks[14] gives a list of three hundred and forty famous names in minstrelsy, indicating the specialty of each. In a much longer list of artists in variety and vaudeville, there were at least forty names which could easily be identified as black-face comedians, and twenty-two names of Negro actors presenting songs, dances, and other skits. Early in his career (1850), Edwin Booth sang Negro melodies and acted the "Dandy Nigger," while his father, in the Forties, played Sam Johnson in *Bone Squash*. As it had happened before and has since, many performers passed back and forth from the sawdust ring to the burnt cork circle.[15]

While the minstrel show has virtually disappeared, with the exception of a small number of troupes composed mostly of colored performers and touring the South under canvas tents, interest in the Negro has not gone with it. During the last decade, all-Negro shows presenting musical revues and drama have been popular. Stage and movie productions of *Porgy* and *The Green Pastures* have played to large audiences. Musical comedies have included burnt cork artists like Al Jolson and Eddie Cantor; in vaudeville and variety, Negro artists and black-face performers appear frequently. In 1929, the "talkies" revived the old minstrel show, starring such former minstrel men as Eddie Leonard, McIntyre and Heath, and Al Jolson.[16] Since then, Negro actors like Bill Robinson and Step'nfetchit have made successful appearances in Will Rogers' productions. Likewise, the radio has demonstrated the continued interest in the Negro by giving us such performers as Moran and Mack, "The Two Black Crows," and the perennial Amos and Andy.

The immigrant has been secondary to the Negro in furnishing

12. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 85, 103, 110 f.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
14. Marks, E. B., *They All Sang* (New York, 1934), pp. 270–7, 278–93.
15. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 f.
16. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff., 132 f.

comic material for the American stage. Certainly, neither aliens as a whole nor any particular nationality group has given rise to a theatrical production comparable to the minstrel show. Nevertheless, Irishmen, Germans, Jews, and many other nationality groups have been characterized on the stage. Frequently they have been presented in comedies, farces, and revues among numerous other character types; and perhaps much more frequently they have been caricatured in burlesque and in variety and vaudeville acts along with numerous other "turns."

While the English colonists constituted a considerable proportion of the original population of the United States, we have also had English immigrants. Certain types of Englishmen have been caricatured on the American stage; whether they were presented as natives of England or as our immigrants is unimportant because theater-goers would regard the sketch as typical of both. In the late 1830's and early 1840's, English low comedy of an eccentric nature was furnished by both American and English actors. Another of the early examples of English caricature is found in the play, *Our American Cousin*, in which Edward A. Sothern played the foppish Lord Dundreary. He captured the show with his extravagant portrait of a "mincing, tripping, lisping, stuttering, hopelessly silly" character. This play appeared as early as 1858.[17] In the 1880's the Harrigan and Hart comedies included English comic types; and between 1890 and 1910, Vesta Victoria sang "Daddy Wouldn't Buy Me a Bow-Wow."[18] The English comical character has been present for a long time and is current in movies and on the radio, the most prominent example "on the air" being Bottle of Phil Baker's weekly broadcast.

Of all the immigrants, the Irish have furnished the most comical material for the stage, standing second to the Negro in this respect. From 1828 to 1859, before and during the early period of minstrelsy, Irish plays and farces appeared in our theaters. The early plays were Irish in scene, full of singing and dancing, and very romantic in theme. Those which came in the 1840's were nationalistic and historical, reflecting interest in Irish freedom. In

17. Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 146 f.; Leavitt, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

18. Quinn, A. H., *History of American Drama* (2 vols., New York, 1927), I, 96; Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

the 1850's native Irish and Yankee characters appeared together in the same plays and thus gradually the interest shifted from the native Irishman to those transplanted in America.[19]

The important years of Irish immigration were 1840–60, when more immigrants were coming from Ireland than from any other source; 1847 to 1854 were the years during which the greatest number of Irish arrived; and the 1850's were the peak years.[20] This Irish "flood" was, doubtless, influential in the transformation of the stage character and play. Likewise, the activities of the Molly Maguires between 1854 and 1877 may have changed the American attitude toward the Irish from glossy sentimentalism to hostility and ridicule.

From 1870 to 1910, the Irish immigrant was caricatured in plays, in variety and vaudeville sketches, and in songs. Through the 1870's and 1880's the Harrigan and Hart sketches were prevalent; for two decades following 1888, Irish comic songs were sung; and from the 1870's to 1910 variety actors portrayed the Irishman. Marks's list[21] of such artists includes fifty who have played Irish comedy skits. Harrigan's farces were the most significant of the Irish caricatures. These began with a succession of over eighty variety sketches, played by Harrigan and Hart, dealing with the Irish, German, and other minority types. Harrigan soon enlarged these sketches into a series of farces which were popular for thirty years. These plays reflected the tenement-house life of New York City, and the characters were drawn from the Ghetto and the "Five Points." The Irish types were based upon the immigrants who had arrived in the United States after 1847, and did not represent the earlier arrivals who had become assimilated.[22]

19. Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 f.; Odell, G. C. D., *Annals of the New York Stage* (7 vols., New York, 1931), VII, 116. Full bibliographical references to the sources cited in Tables I, II, and III will be found in the footnotes to this article, with the exception of the following two works, not elsewhere referred to: Seldes, G., *The Seven Lively Arts* (New York, 1924); Tompkins, E., and Kilby, Q., *The History of the Boston Theatre, 1854–1901* (Boston, 1908).

20. Davie, M. R., *World Immigration* (New York, 1936), pp. 55, 64 f.

21. Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

22. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 82–7; Grau, R., *Forty Years Observation of Music and Drama* (New York, 1909), p. 326; Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 240.

Table I: Irish Characterizations

Date	*Kind of Performance*	*Source*
1828	Irishman with shillalah was popular	Wittke, 25
1830's–40's	Irish plays—characters represented native Irish	Rourke, 138–9
1840	Barney Williams as Pat Rooney in *The Omnibus*	Hutton, 104
1859	G. C. Charles in Irish farces	Odell, VII, 116, 147
1860's on	Irish ballads sung in minstrel	Wittke, 121, 199 f.
1870–79	Harrigan and Hart vaudeville sketches—Irish immigrant types	Quinn, I, 83
1870's–80's	Weber and Fields—Irish comedy acts	Isman, 50
1873–1903	Harrigan farces—Irish immigrant types	Quinn, I, 83
1874	*Doyle Brothers*—contained Irish types	Quinn, I, 84
1874–1910	John T. Kelley—Irish character changes	Marks, 287; Leavitt, 152
1876	Pat Rooney, the first—Irish type comedian	Marks, 291
1879	*Dutch Justice*—contained Irish type comedians	Sobel, 88
1880–1910	Ryan and Richfield—Irish type comedians	Marks, 291; Leavitt, 44, 210
1881–91	Scanlan and Cronin—Irish type comedians	Marks, 291
1888–89	Sheridan and Flynn—sang Irish comic songs	Marks, 223 ff.
1888–94	J. W. Kelley—"The Rolling Mill Man"	Marks, 287
1888–98	Charles B. Lawlor—sang Irish songs	Marks, 223 ff.
1888–1910	Maggie Cline—sang Irish comic songs	Marks, 223 ff.
1890	Joe Flynn—sang Irish comic songs	Marks, 223 ff.
1890–96	Maude Nugent—sang Irish songs	Marks, 223 ff.
1891–99	Johnny Carroll—sang Irish comic songs	Marks, 223 ff.
1892	Polly Holmes—Irish character comedienne	Marks, 25
1892–97	Russell Brothers—"The Irish Servant Girls"	Marks, 281
1892–1900	Andrew Mack—sang Irish songs; Irish plays	Marks, 223 ff.
1897–1912	Chauncey Olcott—star in Irish plays	Marks, 223; Leavitt, 451
1899–1907	W. C. Davies—Irish type comedian	Marks, 248
1904–08	Blanche Ring—sang Irish comic songs in musical comedy	Marks, 223 ff.
1913–19(?)	Charlie Murray and Ollie Mack—Irish comedy in movies	Marks, 289
1922	Gallagher and Shean—Irish comedy team in the "Follies"	Marks, 248
1922	*Abie's Irish Rose*—play	Quinn, II, 319
1920's	*The Cohens and the Kelleys*—movie	

The central characters of this farcical series were the Mulligans and the Lochmullers. The Mulligans furnished the foundation for

Harrigan's comical plays, while the Lochmullers and other types provided contrast. Dan Mulligan was portrayed as "honest, courageous, loyal, impulsive, irrational, likely to become drunk and disorderly at slight provocation, and while irascible and quarrelsome, is forgiving and generous to his enemies." The prudent and frugal Cordelia Mulligan was Dan's motherly wife. Their marital relation was described as "twenty-five years married and wid niver an angry word, only what passed between ourselves." A contrast to the Celtic temperament is found in Gustave Lochmuller, the German butcher, enemy and rival of Dan. The antipathy of Celt and Teuton and their conflicting points of view provide the comedy. These plays also included Negro types as servants, waiters, and barbers. Howells, describing the "Mulligan cycle" with enthusiasm, credited Harrigan with having gone further than the minstrel show in the creation of a native art.[23]

Not only Irish ballads (1860's and later), but also "Dutch" slap-stick comedy (in the 1850's) were features of the minstrel olio, and many black-face soloists sang in "Dutch" dialect.[24] The German immigrant appeared on the stage simultaneously with his first great migration to America. While Germans had come to us since the early eighteenth century, the first major influx arrived between 1847 and 1855. This was followed by a second wave from 1866 to 1873 with the climax of the movement coming in the 1880's.[25]

For sixty-five years the comedy displayed at the expense of the transplanted German has come largely over the footlights of the variety and vaudeville stage (see Table II). During a period of less than thirty years, the Harrigan farces presented the German immigrant, but the type was third in importance. Through the 1880's and 1890's, German comedians were popular in burlesque, musical comedy, and revues. Weber and Fields' "Dutch" knockabout act, which emphasized ridiculous chin whiskers, dialect, and slap-stick comedy, was doubtless the typical conception of German comedy.[26] The list of vaudeville artists prepared by Marks[27]

23. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 86 f., 90; Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
24. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 191; Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
25. Davie, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.
26. Sobel, B., *Burleycue* (New York, 1931), pp. 53, 83, *et passim.*
27. *Op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

Table II: German Characterizations

Date	*Kind of Performance*	*Source*
1850's	"Dutch" dialect songs in minstrel	Wittke, 191
1868–97	Gus Williams—German type comedian	Marks, 293; Leavitt, 296
1870–79	Harrigan and Hart vaudeville sketches—German type comedians	Quinn, I, 83
1875–1903	Harrigan farces—German immigrant characters	Quinn, I, 88 ff.
1879	*Dutch Justice*—contained German type comedians	Sobel, 38
1870's or 1880's	George S. Knight—German type comedy	Leavitt, 311; Tompkins and Kilby, 260, 288, 343
1880's	Weber and Fields—German knock-about act	Sobel, 55, 83
1880's	Bonnie Runnells—German type comedian	Leavitt, 123–4
1886	J. K. Emmett—star of *Fritz*—German type comedian	Marks, 283; Tompkins and Kilby, 339, 353
1888	Harry Morris—German type comedian	Sobel, 67
1902	Jess Dandy—star of *Prince of Pilsen*	Marks, 282
1904	Louis Mann—unexcelled as German type comedian	Isman, 292
1900–05	Sam Bernard—German type comedy	Marks, 223 ff.; Leavitt, 529; Tompkins and Kilby, 479
1917	German type comedians tabooed	Marks, 191

includes thirty comedians playing German types of comedy. The anti-German sentiment resulting from the World War prevented further performances by German type comedians unless their character skits depicted "touching loyalty" to the United States.[28] With the lessening of this feeling against the Germans, in the last few years a number of German type comedians have appeared. The most popular one has been Jack Pearl, as Baron Munchausen.

The immigration of German Jews began in 1815, attained considerable volume in the 1840's and 1850's, declined in the 1870's, and reached its climax in the 1880's. From 1882 to 1914 Jewish immigration was largely Russian in origin.[29]

28. Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

29. Davie, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 155, 162 ff.

Table III: Jewish Characterizations

Date	*Kind of Performance*	*Source*
1870's–90's	Frank Bush—originator of Jewish type comedian	Marks, 14; Grau, 96; Sobel, 142
1870's–80's	M. B. Curtis—*Sam'l of Posen*	Grau, 95; Leavitt, 246, 305; Quinn, I, 89
1879	*Mulligan Guard Ball*—contained Jewish character	Quinn, I, 89
1880's	Weber and Fields—Jewish type comedy	Isman, 128
1890's	David Warfield—Jewish type comedy	Isman, 289, 312
1896	Jewish comic types in burlesque	Sobel, 120
1909	"Yiddle on Your Fiddle"—first "Yid" song	Marks, 174, 268
1920	Fannie Brice—*The Yiddish Squow*	Seldes, 198; Marks, 257
1920	Eddie Cantor—Jewish comic types	Seldes, 179
1920's	*The Cohens and the Kelleys* (movie)	
1922	*Abie's Irish Rose*	Quinn, I, 319

It is difficult to determine with exactness the first appearance of the caricature of the immigrant Jew. The Jewish type appeared in the minstrel in black-face much later than the Irish and German characters.[30] The 1870's seem to be the decade in which his "first night" occurred (see Table III). The *Mulligan Guard Ball* (1879) included a Jewish character, Rosenfelt, the tailor. The early delineators were Frank Bush, who was credited with having originated the Jewish comic type and who portrayed the East Side Jewish pawnbroker; M. B. Curtis, who first depicted the Hebrew "drummer"; and David Warfield, who played the Jewish peddler of the East Side. The available references show that Jewish types have been ranking comics in burlesque, have appeared in vaudeville and musical comedies, and have exploited a series of "Yid" songs. For a very brief period in the 1920's, the "Nize Baby" series by Milt Gross mirrored in the newspapers the daily life of the East Side Jews.

Doubtless the most significant and certainly the most successful portrayal of the Jewish immigrant was *Abie's Irish Rose* (1922), which, according to a court decision, was founded upon a burlesque after-piece, *Krausmeyer's Alley*.[31] The theme of the former

30. Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

31. Sobel, *op. cit.*, p 125.

play has since been exploited by Hollywood in *The Cohens and the Kelleys*. These stories of immigrant life are important not only because they contain comical types, but also because they base their comedy upon the antipathies existing between minority groups. Thus, the two plays mentioned above join the "Mulligan cycle" in presenting genuinely American social situations.

The Jew in caricature is still with us. Moving pictures occasionally present him, and certain radio programs regularly include the type. A few years ago the Goldbergs prevailed; last year the program featuring Jack Benny included a "Slepperman" who greeted his unseen audience with "Hello stranger." Other current broadcasts featuring prominent stars, like Eddie Cantor, who formerly did black-face and Jewish comedy but now does "straight" comedy, include Jewish characters taking minor parts.

If the paucity of information regarding the theatrical caricature of the Italian immigrant is an indication, then he has made a very small contribution to the American stage. The same scantiness of information exists concerning Scotchmen, Chinese, Scandinavians, and Greeks. No reference to Slavic types was found. The period of heaviest immigration from Italy was 1886 to 1914.[32] However, Harrigan played Italian parts in his variety sketches and in the *Doyle Brothers* before there were many such aliens in the country. He played Italian types in *Waddy Googan* at the beginning of their heavy immigration, but the characters were not portrayed with vivid reality.[33] Marks[34] mentions the Carroll family as having played a famous vaudeville sketch called *The Italian Padrone*, but gives no date for the occurrence. Interest in the Italian immigrant is clearly reflected in the "Mariuch" and other type-songs, such as "Mariuch, She Take da Steamboat," "My Brudda Sylvest," and "Dorando Winna da Race." The author has seen an occasional Italian organ grinder and accordian player appear in comic sketches in vaudeville. A recent burlesque show in Cleveland, Ohio, had an Italian type as chief comedian; his contribution was an Italian-American dialect and the usual "double entendre." The movies and the radio infrequently utilize the type. Jack Benny's program of November 15, 1936, contained

32. Davie, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.
33. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 83 ff., 93.
34. *Op. cit.*, pp. 280, 132.

a small "bit" in which an Italian, highly excited over the smashing of his push-cart shouted: "My banana she asquash, my appla asquash," etc.

The Chinese have made a small gift of comedy to the theater. Quinn[35] states that Harrigan included Chinese types in the latter part of his "Mulligan-Lochmuller" series. Marks[36] mentions but one in his list of variety artists—a certain Ah Sid, one of the first impersonators of the Chinese kid in a laundry scene. In 1891, *A Trip to Chinatown* began its long run, and in 1896, Weber and Fields' burlesque, *The Geezer*, thoroughly distorted Chinese, German, and Irish types.[37] Currently, Chinese characters appear in Foo Man Chu's movie murder mysteries, in Charlie Chan's mystery stories, and in Wun Long Pan, Fred Allen's occasional impersonation of a Chinese detective.

The Greeks conclude our list of minority types. None of the sources mention them, yet the author has seen an occasional caricature in vaudeville. Radio programs have included several; last year George Givot was featured as the "Greek Ambassador," and the recent Cantor broadcast includes "Parkyakarkus," a rather vague caricature with a dubious Greek accent and a mutilation and a misunderstanding of the American language.

The student of social processes can find in the folkways of the theater very interesting material with which to work. That such cultural processes as variation, selection, transmission, and adjustment are operative in this phase of the gratification mores is readily demonstrable. An illustration of the operation of these processes is found in the minstrel show and burlesque. At the first minstrel show, the chairs of the performers were accidentally arranged in a semi-circle, with the "middleman" at the center, two "endmen," one with castanets, the other with a tambourine, at the extremities. The costumes chosen were highly colored suits, swallow-tail coats, and big collars. The songs, jokes, and repartee were coördinated into a "first part," which was followed by a "second part," or olio, consisting of a series of variety acts, and closing with a farce or a singing and dancing number involving the entire

35. *Op. cit.*, I, 96. 36. *Op. cit.*, p. 285.
37. Quinn, *op. cit.*, II, 306; Isman, F., *Weber and Fields* (New York, 1924), p. 204.

company. Thus, a variant in amusement arose and became a pattern for all other minstrels, although there was no conscious design to set a standard.[38]

Thereafter, the curtain rose upon a group of minstrels dressed in gaudy silks and arranged in stereotyped manner. At the conclusion of the opening chorus, the interlocutor, in regulation full-dress, gave the standard command, "Gentlemen, be seated." Thereupon, the "middleman" announced a ballad by "our silver-tongued tenor" or began his chatter with Tambo or Bones, whose nimble wits always brought discomfort to the pompous "stuffed-shirt." Songs, dances, and jokes followed until the "first part" concluded with "The Essence of Old Virginny," a dance and "breakdown" by the company.[39] A monologue, or "stump speech," generally opened the olio. The last act of the "second part" was a boisterous and noisy darky "hoedown," in which each member of the company did a dance in the center of the stage accompanied by the rhythmic and vigorous hand-clapping of the others. For some years there was a "third part" consisting of a farce, burlesque, or comic opera, but this gradually merged with the olio.[40]

During the early years of minstrelsy the stage sets were fairly standardized. They were consistent with the theme of the "first part" and included such scenes of southern life as Negro cabins beside the cotton patch, river boats, and levees piled high with bales of cotton. In later years, as the theme itself became less Negroid, the sets presented gaudy and elaborate scenes of lawn parties and Broadway roof gardens. Likewise, the olio lost its relationship to plantation life and became variety and burlesque. This medley moved forward into the "first part," so that the whole performance lost all connection with the Negro, with the possible exception of burnt cork.[41] The evolution of the minstrel show illustrates the process of variation in its rise as a new form of amusement; the process of selection in its successful competition with other theatricals; the process of transmission in its perpetuation in a standardized pattern; and a repetition of these processes in the gradual modifications of the old type and development of a new one.

38. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 135 f.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 137 f.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 168.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 143, 148.

A further illustration of the tendency of human behavior to become standardized is found in burlesque. For a time, burlesque companies were stereotyped, having alternately a Jew and an Irish type as first and second comic, a prima donna, a successor to principal boy, two soubrettes, one "straight" man, a male quartet, one "bit" man, and sixteen chorus girls. Later, however, burlesque varied and took on the conventions of musical comedy.[42] Vaudeville presents similar examples. The "fright wig," red noses, silk hats, monocles, chin whiskers, low derbies, burnt cork, dialects, accents, and gestures became standardized ways of enabling the audience to identify a type immediately.

A small illustration of how variations in types occur is found in the case of a variety actor who tried to put on his act without wearing his usual make-up. The manager discovered him before he went on the stage and asked where his beard was. The actor replied that he was going without one to try something new, but the manager objected that if he didn't wear a beard, the audience wouldn't know he was a Jewish comedian. The actor, however, evaded his manager and succeeded in his venture.[43] It is very evident that much of the standardization of "bits," gags, jokes, acts, and plots on the stage has its origin in successful experimentation by certain artists and in the imitation of these by other actors. "Jim Crow" Rice was one of the best examples of this, but there have been many others. The theater, like society, depends upon expediency and follows a "prosperity-policy."[44] Likewise the sketches of minority types might be used to demonstrate the operation of the principles of societal evolution, if time and space permitted. Our chief purpose, however, is to show that the types of stage characters included in this study are inaccurate representations resulting from ethnocentric majority attitudes.

There is evidence that a half-dozen of the pre-minstrel delineators of Negroes made efforts to portray their subjects with some degree of accuracy. "Jim Crow" Rice gave a true imitation of a Negro individual, but he modified the tune and wrote additional verses for the song he borrowed. Rice had many imitators; how

42. Sobel, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 213 f. 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 142 f.

44. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), *s. v.* "prosperity-policy," IV, 1311.

well they reproduced his act or how much they altered it is not recorded. Edwin Forrest was credited with having faithfully depicted the peculiarities of the plantation Negro.[45] The popular sketch of "The Watermelon Man" was an exact reproduction of an old darky discovered by J. W. McAndrews, who memorized his manner and speech, purchased his garments and stock of melons, and acted the part on the stage for thirty years.[46] Ben Cotton achieved distinction in his characterizations of aged darkies whom he studied while going up and down the Mississippi on a river boat. George Nichols, likewise, learned many of the airs he sang as a minstrel from a curious darky called "Old Corn Meal."[47] Wittke[48] summarizes the nature of the portrayals of southern Negroes by early black-face artists when he states that their impersonations were clever and occasionally true to life. Most significant is the fact that these sketches were of individual Negroes whose eccentricities were so obvious that they attracted attention, or that the Negro traits seized upon were those in which he supposedly varied from other human beings rather than those which he had in common with white people.[49] Yet it is possible that they were represented as typical of all southern Negroes, and it is likely that they were so accepted by the audience.

Evidence of the inaccuracy of portrayal of the Negro is much more abundant in the details of the minstrel show. The costumes were novel artistry and not genuine Negro dress. The burnt cork make-up standardized all Negroes as coal black, and the light circle around the mouth was an extravagant distortion of the supposedly typical lips of the Negro. A few of the pre-minstrel songs, like that of "Jim Crow," had a genuine Negro basis, but most of the minstrel songs did not. Emmett, who had had close contact with Negroes, wrote his own songs; Stephen Foster did not live in the South until after most of his songs had appeared. The majority of minstrel songs were written by white men and were the product of their imaginations rather than of actual contact with

45. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 103, 117; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 f.; Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f.

46. Leavitt, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

47. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 216 f.; *cf.* Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

48. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

49. *Cf.* Young, D., *American Minority Peoples* (New York, 1932), p. 13.

plantation life.[50] A southern slave owner complained that in a whole volume of minstrel songs only ten had traces of genuineness. Another deplored the geographical hash found in "African" ditties: Tennessee bananas, South Carolina pumpkin pie, and a Kentucky sugar mill going full blast in June. A verse of "Old Dan Tucker" attributed to the colored man traits which had been long assigned to the bragging, "rip-roaring" frontier type. And the most extreme unreality occurred when white men in black face sang "Negro" songs in an alleged Irish brogue or dislocated German dialect.[51]

Wittke, in support of his conclusion that most of the great minstrel songs were written by white men and that less than ten per cent were genuinely Negro, cites the investigations of Newman I. White into the origins of Negro secular folksongs. White's thesis was that many of the songs contained definite "verbal echoes" from the old minstrel songs; that the Negro got these songs from white men; and that, after singing them for a long time, he regarded them as his own. Thus it appears that the Negro was influenced by the minstrel, not *vice versa*. N. N. Puckett's investigation of the origins of Negro folk beliefs showed a similar kind of white influence on Negro "superstitions."[52]

The count against minstrel dances seems to be two to one. Whereas the "walk-around," with its competitive dancing, is claimed to have been patterned on Negro dances, Brander Matthews deplores the remoteness of the clog-dances from the buck-and-wing dancing of the real Negro and regrets the failure of the minstrels to include the cake-walk. The latter dance, however, was brought to the stage in post-minstrel days and was performed by both Negro and white actors.[53] Whether the musical instruments, the bones, tambourine, and banjo, were commonly used by Negroes is questionable. The sources virtually agree that the tambourine and castanets were less characteristic of the Negro than

50. Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 f.

51. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 176, 181; Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 f.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 f.

52. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.; *cf.* Puckett, N. N., *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (Chapel Hill, 1926).

53. Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 f.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 229 f.; Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

the fiddle, and that the banjo might have evolved from a primitive African instrument.[54] The jokes and endmen's "gags," popular in minstrelsy, dealt in part with Negro life, but in the main used the whole world for comical material. The "stump speech," likewise, contained Negro material interwoven with comments on local celebrities, politics, and public affairs. Even the audience must have been "stumped" when Lew Dockstader, in black-face, impersonated Theodore Roosevelt.[55]

The standard minstrel portrait of the plantation Negro emphasized traits suggested by the adjectives lazy, shiftless, improvident, superstitious, stupid, ignorant, and slow, and those reflected in a fondness for watermelons, chickens, gin, crap games, razors, and big words.[56] This stereotyped picture conforms closely to the concept of the "average" Negro which exists in the heads of many white people today.[57] According to an authority on southern plantation life,[58] this is a stage distortion of "the folk-figure of a simple, somewhat rustic character, instinctively humorous, irrationally credulous, gifted in song and dance, interesting in spontaneous frolic, endowed with artless philosophy."

The evidence presented makes it clear that the pre-minstrel delineations of the Negro were based on exceptional varieties of Negroes, the oddities of the race, and upon the dissimilarities rather than likenesses of Negroes to white people. Touch up this picture with additional strokes by actors and song writers interested in art rather than reality, and the caricature becomes defined. The minstrel show accepted this misrepresentation and distorted it further, in a manner suggested by the evidence concerning the lack of reality in the costumes, make-up, songs, dances, jokes, and traits depicting the minstrel Negro. As the minstrel show developed, it increased the distortion. The sources[59] emphasize again and again how it departed more and more from the semblance of

54. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 f.; Paskman, D., and Spaeth, S., *Gentlemen, Be Seated* (Garden City, 1928), p. 32.

55. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 168; Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 f.

56. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff., 142.

57. *Cf.* Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–14, 143, 284, 316 f., 535.

58. Gaines, F. P., *The Southern Plantation* (New York, 1925), p. 3, quoted in Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

59. Leavitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.; Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 104 f., 120 ff.

reality it had earlier possessed, until it presented a complete burlesque of the Negro. Some of the critics, indeed, attribute the decline of minstrelsy to its failure accurately to represent the Negro.[60] This may be doubted; possibly the long period of popularity of the minstrel was due to its conformity to popular opinion.

The minstrel, however, established a type to which most actors have since conformed. Even colored actors ape their white brothers in perpetuating the myth. They sing "coon" songs, joke about "niggers," and accept their success as a gift of the gods.[61] Young[62] believes that Negro actors are confined to comedy and must conform to the white man's stereotype of the Negro largely because of race prejudice. From the passing of the minstrel to the present time, Negro actors, such as Step'nfetchit, variety stars like Cantor and Jolson, and radio acts like those of "The Two Black Crows" and Amos and Andy have conformed to the stage stereotype. During the last century, then, there evolved a stage type which had slight basis in reality but which conformed to what white people thought the Negro was or should be.

Any analysis of the accuracy of the stage representations of immigrants is seriously limited by the scarcity of details concerning the types. Most of the sources examined deal only incidentally with immigrant sketches and usually give few details. Much of the material useful for such a study, such as the lines, action, and costumes used in vaudeville or burlesque, has not been published and may be non-existent.[63] Nevertheless, the evidence available coincides with the more abundant facts concerning the stage caricature of the Negro.

The minstrel show was a poor environment in which to originate German, Irish, and Jewish types because it blackened their characters as well as their faces. However, Harrigan was not influenced by the minstrel types, and is credited with having created his own with fidelity and insight. He is even said to have provided his subjects with temporary homes in which they could be thor-

60. Matthews, *op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.
61. Leavitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 f.; Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
62. *Op. cit.*, pp. 545 f.
63. Possible sources not available in Cleveland libraries are the *New York Clipper, New York Dramatic Mirror,* old copies of *The Billboard,* and special collections of play bills.

oughly studied by those who portrayed their rôles.[64] Nevertheless, the quality of his sketches varied, the Irish and Negro characters being drawn more vividly than the German and the Italian still less realistically, while the Jewish tailor was very incidental.[65] In like manner, Bush's variety sketch of an East Side Jewish pawnbroker was drawn from life; he studied the man for a long time and imitated perfectly his stories, mannerisms, speech, black beard, spectacles, and Prince Albert coat.[66] Curtis as a drummer and Warfield as an East Side peddler also represented individual types of Jews. The characterizations presented by these three delineators of the Jewish immigrant, and by the actors in the Harrigan farces, were sketches of individuals possessing personal idiosyncrasies, and the essence of their comicality was their variant traits. Yet it is fair to assume that theater-goers accepted these characters as typical of their respective nationalities.

As contrasted with the careful portraiture of the preceding cases, many nationality sketches have been burlesqued very candidly. The staple English low comedy characters of the 1840's were drawn eccentrically even when presented by English actors. Twenty years later, Sothern caricatured the foppish Englishman in *Our American Cousin.* His interpretation was so exaggerated that it submerged the action of the play and all the other characters, including a well-drawn Yankee type. Americans must have liked the caricature because Sothern played the part for more than ten years.[67] Early in the twentieth century, Vesta Victoria became the prototype of a long line of English low comediennes with broad cockneyisms, outlandish dress, and other exaggerations.[68] An example of the continuation of the type appears weekly on Phil Baker's program:

BAKER: Bot, another crack like that and I'll take away your kiddie car (or butterfly net, etc.).
BOTTLE: Oh, no, *not that,* Mr. Baker!

Many of the sketches of minorities shown in variety halls, dime museums, beer gardens, and burlesque were very obviously not

64. Quinn, *op. cit.,* I, 82, 85; Matthews, *op. cit.,* p. 240; Grau, *op. cit.,* p. 326.
65. Quinn, *op. cit.,* I, 87, 89, 93 f.
66. Marks, *op. cit.,* p. 14.
67. Rourke, *op. cit.,* pp. 117, 147.
68. Marks, *op. cit.,* p. 182.

based on careful studies of immigrants. Their very intent was low comedy, not portraiture. The "Dutch" knock-about act which made Weber and Fields famous was essentially slap-stick comedy and only incidentally German. Likewise, the Baron Munchausen of Jack Pearl was a reincarnation of the "tall tales" of the earlier frontier type. One of the most extreme cases of distorted types occurred in the Weber and Fields burlesque of *The Geisha,* which they named *The Geezer.* John T. Kelley, an Irish comedian, was dressed in the ceremonial robes of a Chinese viceroy but spoke his lines in a "peat-bog brogue." Sam Bernard, a German comedian, wore a Chinese costume made ludicrous by the addition of a low-comedy Dutch chin piece. Some examples of the pidgin English used are: "Velly good, py gollies," and "One piecee beer mit pretzels." Less preposterous was the act which Weber and Fields created to do triple duty early in their careers. Presenting a black-face, German, or Irish act, they opened their song with "Here we are, a colored (German or Irish) pair"; then, without changing the words or their jokes, they altered their make-up and costumes to fit the other types. For the Irish act they wore green satin breeches, black velvet coats, green bow ties, and green derbies. One of their Irish songs began with "Success to the shamrock" and ended with "Achushla Gall Machree." What the latter phrase meant, they never learned. At one of their appearances, as they sang "an Irish pair," they covered their Semitic noses and the audience howled.[69]

Early in his career, Eddie Cantor collected a group of gags and jokes borrowed from headliners at first-class theaters, and made them into an act. Repeating his circuit of four third-rate vaudeville houses, he used the same lines in white-face comedy, black-face comedy, dressed as a "Dutchman," and finally as a Jewish comedian.[70] Similar examples of versatility are found in the cases of Joe Murphy and Alexander Carr. The former began his activities as the champion bones player of West Coast minstrels, later became an imitator of English comedians, then in one of his own plays impersonated a Chinaman, a Negro, an Irishman, and a German, and finally ended his career as an Irish comedian.

69. Isman, *op. cit.,* pp. 50 f., 204.
70. Cantor, E., *My Life is in Your Hands* (New York, 1928), pp. 113 ff.

Carr, while with a burlesque company, played a different nationality every week—Irish, French, Spanish, Scotch, and Turkish.[71]

One actor can present a great variety of types because the sketches are not based upon a personal study of the actual characteristics of each individual type, but upon stock figures which have become stereotyped. Stage devices like a foreign accent, a red nose, a "chin piece," a "fright wig," a monocle, green clothing, and a black face become symbols which are easily recognized by an audience and promptly associated each with its proper type. Foreign accents, ungrammatical constructions, and mispronounced or misused words are examples both of symbolism and of inaccuracy of type portrayal. An actor using a foreign accent and jumble of American words is immediately classified by the audience as a Jew, Italian, Irishman, etc., although in some cases the identification must be aided materially by other symbols, such as a low-crowned derby, a beard, or an immigrant name, e.g., Fritz, Abie, or Tony.

A genuine Chinese trait which is commonly used in caricatures results from the fact that the southern Chinese find our *r* difficult to pronounce and often change it to *l* or *h*. In contrast to this is the habit among Swedish delineators of using *bane* for *been* and other forms of *to be*, whereas, according to Mencken, its use is not common among Swedish Americans. In addition to the above stage traits, one genuine and the other false, there is lacking in caricatures of the German a linguistic habit that actually exists. The Pennsylvania Germans have a peculiar intonation consisting of a rise in the voice at the beginning of a question and a lowering at the end.[72] It is interesting that this is absent in the stage type because soldiers from Ohio training in Pennsylvania during the World War found it amusing and used to mock the local inhabitants with imitations.

Many first and second generation immigrants speak, not the dialect attributed to them by the stage, but an Americanized form of their own native language, such as Americanized Italian, German, and Yiddish. These consist of the incorporation into their

71. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 *f.*; Sobel, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

72. Mencken, H. L., *The American Language* (4th ed., New York, 1936), pp. 689, 626, 160.

own languages of American words which are given foreign suffixes, inflections, and spellings. A few examples of Americanized Italian are: *visco* (whiskey), *ais crima* (ice cream), *ghenga* (gang), *sanemagogna* (son-of-a-gun); of Americanized Greek: *grihonnis* (greenhorn), *launtzi* (lunch), and *saina* (shine).[73] The substance of Americanized German is found in the comic verses by Kurt M. Stein:

> Wenn die Robins Loff tun mache',
> Wenn der Frontlawn leicht ergrunt,
> Wenn der Lilacbushes shprouteh,
> Peddlers in der Alley shouteh,
> Da wird bei uns hausgecleant.[74]

An example of American Yiddish sentences: "Sie wet *clean'n* die *rooms*, *scrub'n* dem *floor*, *wash'n* die *windows*, *dress'n* dem *boy* und gehn in *butcher-store* und in *grocery*. Dernoch vet sie machen *dinner* und gehn in *street* für a *walk*."[75]

Since, obviously, these foreign-American mixtures cannot be copied on the stage, highly inaccurate substitutes are devised. A further bit of evidence concerning the inaccuracies of stage dialects occurs in the discussion of the origin of certain American slang words by Mencken,[76] according to whom "it listens well" was probably introduced by German comedians, who have joined with their Irish and Yiddish colleagues in enriching current slang with many "fantastic locutions." It is, therefore, quite probable that the stage dialects attributed to immigrants, while containing some elements of truth, are largely products of imagination or necessity; yet they may be accepted commonly by audiences as characteristic of immigrants. The available evidence harmonizes with statements by several authorities[77] concerning the distortion of immigrant characterizations. Quinn, in discussing comedy-type plays such as Harrigan's series and *Abie's Irish Rose*, concludes that the characters were overstressed for purposes of comedy and that frequently their success was determined by their exaggeration. Rourke states that, since actors were concerned primarily

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 620, 633 ff., 640, 643, 686.
74. Quoted in Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 620.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 635.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
77. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 113 ff.; Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 f., 313.

with idiosyncrasies, the caricatures of Irish, German, and Jewish people embodied persistent obsessions and were no more intimate and human than were those of the Negro.

It is the thesis of this paper that minority caricatures are the result of the ethnocentrism of the majority. Ethnocentrism, as defined by Sumner,[78] is the tendency of an "in-group" to distinguish between itself and an "out-group" to the disadvantage of the latter. "Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn. Opprobrious epithets are derived from these differences."

That majority Americans have such attitudes toward minorities is illustrated by the names they apply to the latter. The English, according to Mencken,[79] having few aliens in their midst, have developed "nothing comparable to our huge repertory of opprobrious names for them." He presents a list of sixty-two names which Americans apply to sixteen immigrant groups. His description of our attitude toward the English, moreover, applies admirably to ethnocentrism as it affects the stage. "To the common people everything English, whether an article of dress, a social custom, or a word or phrase has what James M. Cain has called 'a somewhat pansy cast.' That is to say, it is regarded as affected, effeminate and ridiculous. The stage Englishman is never a hero, and in his rôle of comedian he is laughed at with brutal scorn. To the average red-blooded he-American his tea-drinking is evidence of racial decay, and so are the cut of his clothes, his broad *a*, and his occasional use of such highly un-American locutions as *jolly*, *awfully* and *ripping*."

Stage caricatures of minorities are comical because they present forms of dress, dialect, and manners which vary from those of the majority. The folkways of the latter constitute the norm, the centric, while those of minorities constitute the abnormal and eccentric. Some of the evidence presented above suggests, as an addi-

78. Sumner, W. G., *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), pp. 12 ff.; *cf.* Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 356 ff. and *s. v.* "ethnocentrism," IV, 1286.

79. Mencken, *op. cit.*, pp. 294 ff., 264.

tional characteristic of ethnocentrism, that an "in-group," observing a few individuals of an "out-group" who possess personal eccentricities, readily accepts these peculiarities as characteristic of the whole "out-group," i.e., that there is an ethnocentric tendency to stereotype racial, cultural, and nationality groups on faulty and limited observation.[80]

Stereotypes, once they have arisen, become so thoroughly a part of the folkways that it is exceedingly difficult to dislodge them. For example, white people conceive of all Negroes as being comical; hence a black face on the stage always represents comedy. The type has become so conventionalized that Negro actors find it almost impossible to play other than comic rôles, and in playing these to do otherwise than conform to the stereotype by blackening their faces, even when appearing before Negro audiences. Similarly, many Negro plays are popular with white people because they are accepted as typical of the Negro.[81] After the minstrels had departed widely from reality, Al G. Field tried to stage a return to the genuine Negro without success. In like manner, "Lassus" White, whose vaudeville sketches were excellent delineations of real Negro humor, found it difficult to get audiences.[82] It appears that theater-goers were not interested in reality, but only in conformity to their beliefs. Ethnocentrism can be based on observable differences,[83] but it matters not whether the peculiarities of minorities are real or imagined; as long as the majority believes such peculiarities exist, their beliefs have as much force as if they had a factual basis. Minorities do have folkways differing from those of the majority, but stage caricatures of minorities are based on many false or exaggerated differences.

The relationship between ethnocentrism and stage caricatures is further shown by the fact that the stage type which is popular at a given time represents the particular population element which is the current subject of ethnocentric obsessions. Early in theatrical history the Yankee and the backwoodsman, who looked down upon and scorned each other, were popular stage caricatures.[84] These were soon joined by the Negro caricature, followed in turn

80. *Cf.* Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 544 ff.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 231; Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 f.
82. Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
83. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 357. 84. Rourke, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 f.

by the sequence of immigrants—the Irishman, Jew, German, Italian, etc. It seems clear that the order of the rise and popularity of stage types conforms closely to the order in which the respective minorities make their first great impact on the majority. When a minority group either comes in large numbers or is sufficiently segregated to attract attention, when it is unassimilated and offers real or imagined economic competition, then ethnocentric beliefs arise and shortly result in the appearance of stage caricatures. The minstrel presents some evidence in support of this. The first great series of Negro caricatures, which came between 1830 and 1870 and which culminated in the minstrel show, pictured the particular extraneous element that was then dominant. It is quite possible that the passing of the minstrel show in the North resulted from the displacement of the Negro by the immigrant as the central object of ethnocentrism, and that the minstrel lived longer in the South because there were few immigrants there. Harrigan's farces followed closely the period of the great popularity of the minstrel. It is significant that his plays depicted, not the older Irish who had become assimilated, but the recent arrivals who were not, and that, when the latter had absorbed many native folkways and were not longer conspicuous by their alien ways, a revival of Harrigan's farces found audiences unresponsive.[85]

The relationship between the existence of large unassimilated minorities, ethnocentrism, and stage caricatures seems so obvious as to suggest that further examination should prove fruitful. Similarly, an examination of minority opposition to caricature, as an indication of increasing assimilation, would bear investigation. In the present study some evidence of such opposition and an indication of its effectiveness were found.[86] The query may have arisen in the reader's mind whether ethnocentrism gives rise to stage caricatures or *vice versa*. Perhaps the question hinges on whether ethnocentrism is a fundamental attitude of general opposition, whether it consists only of specific beliefs concerning the outlandish ways of others, or whether it is a combination of both. However, it does seem quite possible that particular ethnocentric

85. Quinn, *op. cit.*, I, 96.
86. Mencken, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 ff., 305 f.; Marks, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 96.

beliefs have had their origin in stage caricatures. Some of the early sketches of Negroes and immigrants were actual copies of eccentric individuals. It is possible that such sketches gave rise to the notions that the traits depicted were typical of all members of the group involved. Jim Crow was typical of no other Negro, yet a New York editor declared Rice was "the best representative of our American Negro that we ever saw" and that his performance pictured "*the* Negro *par excellence*."[87]

In such cases, the influence of the stage is not in generating ethnocentrism, but in giving it more specific content. Without much doubt, the most important relationship between stage caricatures and current opinion is that the former confirms and spreads popular beliefs. The purpose of theatrical presentations is to make profits, and the way to gain these is by conforming to popular beliefs, not by opposing them. Therefore, if stage Negroes and immigrants are comical, even though falsely so, it is not the fault of actors but of their public. These views conform with those of Young[88] concerning the influence of popular attitudes on theatrical and other arts. His description of the relationship as that of a vicious circle is apt: popular myths exist and are accepted uncritically by artists; these myths enter into their artistic creations, and are strengthened and perpetuated by artistic repetition.

In summary, on the basis of the evidence available, the most popular forms of the theater, especially the minstrel show, variety, and vaudeville, present sketches of Negroes and immigrants which in the main are unreal, but which exist because they conform to the ethnocentric beliefs of the majority. It would seem, therefore, that the gratification mores studied herein are consistent with the mores current in other phases of our culture.[89]

87. Quoted in Odell, *op. cit*, IV, 372.
88. *Op. cit.*, pp. 303, 559–77.
89. Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 f.; Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 5.

(The author acknowledges with appreciation the permission granted by Ginn & Co. and by Alfred A. Knopf to quote in the foregoing article from works published by them.)

BASIC REALITIES IN A SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

E. WIGHT BAKKE

Two methods of establishing so-called principles are evident in contemporary discussions of unemployment compensation. One method starts with a major premise, a fundamental idea, and develops with logical consistency a set of "principles" which conform to this idea. The ideas of insurance, compensation, unemployment prevention, company welfare, and reserves have been so used. The other method turns to a group that has had experience, and asks what that group has learned about the problem, what adjustments it has found necessary. The answers to these questions are likely to be clues to principles or fundamentals.

The first method has proved by no means unfruitful. We owe a genuine debt to those men who have taken ideas with which we are familiar, and have applied them to problems with which we are not so familiar. Knowing the meaning of insurance, compensation, reserves, company welfare, and hazard prevention, we have obtained a new point of view on unemployment, its consequences, and social action with respect to it by discussing unemployment relief in such terms. But there are dangers in this method. The major premise or idea may be inadequate, or inapplicable to the problem with which we are concerned. When we have evolved a logical system, proceeding with deadly consistency from our starting point, that system may not fit the facts. We, in America, it would seem, have fallen victim to, and are continuing to be threatened by, this danger; we are evolving a system of unemployment compensation to fit words rather than the realities of unemployment. This is our reason for approaching the problem from the second angle, i.e., by finding a group that has had experience and asking what the problem has turned out to be and what adjustments to the problem have proved necessary. In other words, in terms of experience, what are the basic realities of unemployment insurance?[1]

1. The survey of facts upon which the conclusions which follow are based will be found in two of the author's publications. *The Unemployed Man* (Lon-

With respect to its industrial life and the qualities of its people, England is closest to America of any modern industrial nation having a long experience with unemployment insurance. It is not our intention to suggest, of course, that we should copy the British plan. Even if this were desirable, it is now impossible, since we have already begun our unemployment compensation legislation along different lines. Nevertheless, as a record of trial and error methods, mistakes and successes, British experience reveals the direction in which legislation of this kind moves, and the factors which influence that movement. Every year has made these factors clearer. The lesson has been learned slowly but well, in England, that adjustment to facts is the condition of success. Realities, not the original blue prints of the planners, have determined the trend.

Reduced to its barest outlines, the nature of this plan for unemployment insurance is as follows. A worker while at work pays, or has paid in respect of him, contributions to a fund. When he loses his job, he is entitled to receive from this fund designated payments for a limited period of time. When wages stop, benefits begin. In one sense, benefits are an extension of wages to those who, although not needed at the moment, are holding themselves in readiness to work.

The most important discovery that Great Britain has made in developing such a system is that the basic problem is the nearness of the majority of wage earners to dependency, a dependency against which workers in an industrial community find it difficult to protect themselves by individual effort. The specialization, the dependence on the products of others for the goods and services to maintain life, in short the minute division of labor of modern society, places self-support on a very narrow foundation and puts the individual at the mercy of the efforts of all other members of the community. For families who receive incomes barely sufficient to maintain a minimum standard of living, it becomes difficult, if no work is available, to meet the responsibility which the mores

don, 1933) is an account of first-hand observations of the working of the Unemployment Insurance System as seen through the eyes of the English unemployed man. *Insurance or Dole* (New Haven, 1935) is an analysis of the legislative and administrative history of Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain.

place upon the family for the support of its members. This is the basic problem which stimulates community action.

From the point of view of the family's obligation for self-support and the social problem arising from failure to meet that obligation, the unemployed are distinguished from each other only by their nearness to dependency upon public assistance. Other classifications such as "insured" and "uninsured," or "reserve of labor" and "hard core," can be made for purposes of isolating groups of them for treatment. But the isolation is an artificial technique for practical purposes. Measures to deal with the isolated groups, whatever their theoretical purpose, are inevitably tested by the demands of this basic problem, namely, that the great majority of the nation's workers live on the border of economic dependency. The history of unemployment insurance in England is confusing to one who does not read it as the record of a gradual adjustment to this fundamental fact. Once it is understood, however, that the all-inclusive problem is the nearness to dependency of families whose breadwinner is unemployed, the student of unemployment insurance will not be surprised to discover that British experience reveals three basic tendencies or trends.

The first of these trends is revealed by the constant enlargement of the group protected by Unemployment Insurance and by the integration of this service with all social services. The British Unemployment Insurance system started as an independent scheme for attacking one part of the problem of unemployment. It soon discovered, however, that the recipients of unemployment compensation are not easily segregated from their fellows for isolated treatment unless a closely related plan is provided for those who are left out. The British began by trying to separate the contractually insured from those whose contract was exhausted. They thought it desirable and possible to set up a plan for an actuarially limited number of workers, a reserve of labor group. The separation which in theory seemed simple, in practice proved most difficult. Those who were not covered did not long remain mere figures in the tables of those who were making the plans; they became human beings whose need called for community action. The public began to read: "There are three million insurable unem-

ployed; a part of these are receiving regular unemployment benefit." The unemployed themselves, labor organizers, social workers, and liberal individuals began to ask whether the group receiving regular benefit were more employable than those who were ineligible. When a study was made in 1931 of the employability of male claimants to unemployment benefit, it was found that of those on regular benefit eighty-two per cent were suitable, and eighteen per cent unsuitable, for submission to a local vacancy. Of those who had exhausted their right to regular benefit, on the other hand, fifty-two per cent were found suitable and forty-eight per cent unsuitable.[2] On first glance the reason for a difference in treatment seemed clear. Eighty-two per cent of the one group and only fifty-two per cent of the other were really employable. Nevertheless, it was difficult to escape the fact that fully half of those who had run out of regular benefit were actually employable and that eighteen per cent of those receiving regular benefit were really unemployable. The rough separation on the basis of employment history and contribution record apparently did not coincide absolutely with industrial worth, nor did it justify insurance benefits for one group and Poor Law treatment for the other.

Other difficulties plagued the attempt to separate men into insurance benefit cases and Public Assistance cases. Once men had had a taste of the more desirable form of benefit as a right, they did not easily go without a protest to the Poor Law. They made demands, and these demands were not ignored. They became exceptionally insistent wherever large numbers of ineligible individuals were concentrated in any area or in any industry. This fact provided labor leaders with a new plank for their platform—an effective one indeed for winning converts to their organization among those who faced the insecurities of unemployment. The organizers who are today attempting to unionize the mass production industries in America, industries in which the hazard of un-

2. Three classifications of unemployability were established. Workers were divided into three groups who with respect to submission to a local vacancy were:

a. Suitable on ground of industrial experience but not of personal qualifications.

b. Suitable on ground of personal qualifications but not of industrial experience.

employment is particularly severe, will find in the demand for the more equitable treatment of all the employable unemployed a slogan behind which tremendous political pressure can be mobilized. In the face of such forces it is not difficult for public opinion to conclude that it is inadvisable to confine the benefits of a smoothly running machine to a minority.

These are but a few of the practical difficulties in trying to limit the beneficiaries of unemployment insurance. If one would anticipate the creakings and groanings of our own developing unemployment compensation systems, let him contemplate the groups that will not be eligible for unemployment compensation: the young who have never worked; the unemployed who have not been able to qualify by work for benefits; the unemployed whose ratios of contributions to benefits are not sufficient to allow benefits; the people employed by employers of less than four—or eight—workers; the industrial and geographical migrants; and, above all, the unemployed who have been out of work for longer than thirteen or fifteen weeks, particularly those between the ages of 45 and 65 who are prematurely aged, but not eligible for old-age benefits. The more the gaps, the more the groans. These evidences of inadequacy furnish labor leaders, politicians, and humanitarians with ammunition for a struggle either to extend the coverage of unemployment insurance or to link insurance with special services other than the Poor Law for the unemployed.

Unemployment insurance has been called a first line of defense against dependency. France has a first line of defense against another enemy—rows of "pillboxes" along her eastern frontier. If, however, instead of distributing these fortifications adequately, she had built them only here and there and left whole areas unprotected, the enemy could attack the weakest points and pour through the gaps. The "pillboxes" would then not constitute a first line at all; the second line of defense would become the line which would have to be built to fit the realities of the situation. The analogy may be applied to our first line of defense, unemployment compensation. We have established it around those sectors occupied primarily by the skilled, regular, one-firm workers with savings who are seldom out of work. Protection for those sectors occupied by unskilled, low-paid, irregularly employed workers

without savings is inadequate. We shall find in a few years, as England has found, that they are part of the same problem and that services for all need to be developed together. If we fail to discover this for ourselves, we shall be made aware of it by the demands of those who have not been provided for.

The second basic trend made manifest by British experience is that unemployment insurance tends to become a safeguard to subsistence rather than a subsidy to savings. At first the English planners, like those in America today, envisaged unemployment insurance as a supplement to the means which the family already possessed. They reasoned that workers have resources of their own, they have money in postal savings and in the banks, and the benefit system therefore needs only to supplement these resources. This was a reasonable assumption based on reports of average bank deposits. If, continued the line of reasoning, any amount of compensation is a net gain, a supplement to savings, then the amount can be determined by any of several formulæ. It can be in proportion to the amount the worker has paid in, or it can be limited by the amount in the fund, or it can be determined by any other method instituted primarily from motives of economy.

The amount of benefit, however, sought a level quite independently of these plans. It has steadily risen until it approximates the amount which public opinion considers necessary for minimum maintenance, i.e., about the level of unskilled entrance wages and of public assistance grants for men with families.

This trend is not accidental. What realities lie behind it? In the first place, to the surprise of the planners, there were large numbers of workers who had no savings and many more with almost none. The planners learned what many social statisticians have not learned, that workers don't live on *average* savings; they live on their *own* savings. Society does not give one family a legal right to call upon the average savings of all families for its subsistence. This same situation will arise in America. Sample studies made in various communities indicate that less than half of our workers are in possession of this form of security. A study[3] made by the Brookings Institution estimates that 8¼ million families live from

3. Leven, M., Moulton, H. G., and Warburton, C., *America's Capacity to Consume* (Washington, 1934), pp. 94–5.

hand to mouth with no "money in the bank," and that the 16½ million families with incomes of less than $2,000 a year have average savings of about $42.50. Inevitably, the need of the many who do not have savings will express itself and govern the direction in which benefits will move.

Unless unemployment benefit is at a level which the community accepts as the extent of its obligation toward needy families, supplementation of unemployment benefit from other public sources becomes necessary. Most supplementation will be required in the poorest communities with the least resources. Those communities in which the numbers requiring assistance are greatest are ordinarily those whose financial ability to meet the obligation is lowest. The parade of local authorities crying for assistance can be expected in America, as has been the case in England, to exert a political pressure for relief of local tax rates which is all but irresistible.

Moreover, unemployment insurance has been "sold" to the public, and to workers and employers, on the grounds that it is a self-respecting provision for misfortune. What becomes of this claim when a man has to go to the public authorities to supplement his insurance benefit? Is the journey to the relief office any less degrading because the amount asked for is $10 instead of $20? When such supplementation is necessary, moreover, complications arise in focusing several social services on the family. Finally, individuals frequently move from one service to another, and common sense demands that the gap in treatment shall not be too large as between any two such services. In England the benefits paid by unemployment insurance, unemployment assistance, and public assistance are all on about the same level, so that the number of cases in which the variation is great is limited. Even so, administrators are worried about the problem of supplementation. Their worries would be multiplied if unemployment insurance or assistance, instead of being at the level of subsistence, were only one-half or two-thirds of this amount.

These, then, are some of our reasons for predicting that unemployment compensation will tend to rise to the point of subsistence, and for asserting that the principle of subsidy inevitably becomes secondary and the principle of subsistence primary.

A third basic tendency, apparent from English experience, is that unemployment insurance comes to be considered as a protective measure not only for unemployed individuals but for the interests of all citizens. Casual recognition has been given to this fact in discussions of social insurance in the United States. In Great Britain, however, this development is thoroughly recognized. Although Englishmen originally thought primarily of protecting unemployed workers, a quarter of a century of experience has shifted the emphasis to the protection of the nation. Through unemployment insurance the nation is buying protection against revolution. Business men are purchasing protection against loss of markets, industrialists against loss in manpower, communities against the disintegration of their institutions. No hazard is so filled with import to the whole social structure as unemployment, an octopus whose tentacles reach out into the affairs of all. Unemployment insurance, therefore, becomes in the public mind and in reality a protection for the entire nation, not merely for a few of its unfortunate citizens.

Back of the three basic trends, as presented above, lie realities so powerful as to render them all but inevitable. Equally interesting as a lesson from British experience is the recognition by English administrators that for successful operation of an unemployment insurance system four basic requirements must be fulfilled.

The first of these requirements—one no longer debated in England—is that the cost of bearing the risk should be spread over the whole population. In this principle is discernible a fundamental difference between social and private insurance. Both distribute the cost of protection against hazard over a large number of individuals, but here the similarity ceases. In private insurance, only the potential sufferers from the specific disaster involved in the contract, pool their resources through the insurance company. Social insurance, on the other hand, recognizing the extent and the frequency of the hazards involved in the lives of working people, the inadequacy of their resources for meeting them, and the interest of all citizens in reducing the effects of the hazards, provides for the distribution of the cost over the whole population.

This wider distribution of the cost of bearing the risk, in the case of unemployment, is accomplished in England through the

medium of a state contribution, which supplements contributions from employers and employees. The National Exchequer, from the beginning, has contributed to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and, as the outlines of the problem grew more definite, practical considerations made even more obvious the necessity for a contribution by the state.

Time limits being placed upon the receipt of benefits, the total period of unemployment was not covered. In American plans, similarly, only the first thirteen or fifteen weeks of the hazard are covered. The degree to which unemployment insurance meets the total problem of unemployment is determined, therefore, by the size of the group whose unemployment lasts for the limited period as compared to the size of the group unemployed for longer periods. The relative size of these groups changes at various points in the business cycle. It is a well-known fact that, as the first ravages of a depression begin to subside, the turnover rate in industry tends to level off and then actually to decline. The size of the unemployed group grows, more from the failure of industry to reabsorb them than from the tendency of industry to lay men off. What happens then is that the proportion of short-time unemployed among the total actually decreases, while the proportion of those unemployed for longer periods becomes greater. It is the problem of this latter group which calls for a government contribution, making possible the payment of benefits for longer periods of time than is possible when only workers and employers are bearing the cost. Otherwise the system operates for the benefit of a decreasing minority of the unemployed. Thus unemployment insurance exemplifies the principle of social insurance; it calls for the participation of all through a state contribution and cannot depend, like private insurance, upon premiums from those alone who are subject to the hazard.[4]

Unemployment insurance has proved best equipped to deal with its problems if, as a second basic requirement, it is based on a broad geographic and industrial foundation. When the risk is

4. Other values are claimed for a state contribution. It is asserted that the use of income and inheritance and similar taxes collected from one group and redistributed as purchasing power to another group has a healthy effect upon the business cycle. Consideration of this claim would involve us in the defense of an economic theory which has no place in a report of observed fact.

widely distributed, for example, the workers in no individual plant, industry, or locality are without adequate protection, as they might be if all resources were drawn from small areas. This is of primary importance. Broader coverage, moreover, makes easier of solution the problem of the migration of workers between localities, between industries, and between different groups within industries; it eliminates competition between various sections of the country and between plants absorbing different tax burdens; it has the desirable effect of making available sources of tax revenue open only to the larger units of government; it facilitates the development, when numbers are large enough for specialization, of specialized reëmployment, retraining, and transfer services. The few attempts made in England to decrease the size of the unit covered, such as plans for contracting out of the government plan, were soon abandoned, not only because of the obvious danger that the contracting industries would contain the best insurance risks, leaving the worst for the public plan, but also because the industries themselves realized the benefits of the state plan and desired to participate in them.

No English civil servant will question the third requirement, that of administrative simplicity. When large numbers are involved, simplicity is not only desirable; it is essential. Recently, in conversation, two men who have been in the forefront of unemployment insurance administration in England since its beginning indicated to the author that, within the civil service administering unemployment insurance, the question had been raised of changing from the flat rate form of contributions and benefits to a sliding scale based on percentage of wages, similar to that which we propose in the United States. At the same time the desirability of introducing merit rating into the English system was also considered. After carefully canvassing the possibilities, the readjustments involved, and the chances for effective administration, it was decided that not enough was known in England to undertake those modifications. After twenty-five years of experience with unemployment insurance, after twenty-five years of collecting data on the nature, the extent, and the distribution of unemployment, after twenty-five years of training a civil service in the job of ad-

ministering unemployment benefits, these men had decided that they dared not undertake so complicated a task.

In the United States we have not worried about involved administration—yet. But we have almost gone out of our way to make such worries inevitable. We have so complicated our tax collection that we feel we cannot possibly explain it to the smaller employers with scrapbook accounting devices. This is one of the reasons why we have eliminated employers of fewer than eight workers.[5] This introduces a new complication, namely, that of the migration of workers from firms employing fewer than eight to those employing eight or more, and of keeping track of their movements and their benefit records. We have further complicated our system by using a percentage of payroll basis for contributions and benefits, thus making each man his own benefit class. Even the German system, with its limited number of benefit classes, is simpler. Compared to the English system of a single flat rate, ours is a maze of complications. We have introduced the idea of ratio of benefits to contributions. Fully half of the amazingly intricate legislation in England from 1920 to 1927 was due to this very condition in the British act. The passage of laws to treat men *as though they had qualified* under the ratio rule, to double their contributions in order that they might qualify thereunder, to disregard the benefits between certain dates in order that they might qualify—these and other expedients were resorted to in order to make it possible for people who needed unemployment benefits and who were qualified on other grounds to evade this banking feature injected into an insurance scheme. The farce was finally terminated by the abolition of the ratio rule. Yet we have introduced it into our legislation, and therewith made our roster of complications complete. Instead of realizing that, especially at the beginning, we could hope to administer successfully only with a simple plan, we have introduced every stumbling block known to the history of unemployment insurance legislation.

If we think it will be difficult to keep our determinations on these bases up-to-date and in line with realistic need, we might contem-

5. Some state acts provide for exclusion from taxation of firms employing fewer than four. Others set the size of firm at five employees. The problem of workers without benefit rights is the same.

plate what the problem will be when workers begin to challenge the determinations and demand that they be altered! Each of these several items, moreover, increases the job of reporting and the size of the trained bureaucracy that will be required in order to keep track of the innumerable details of the system. Possibly this is one more sample of British conservatism and American initiative. It does no harm, however, to call attention to the conclusions of men with a quarter of a century of experience behind them.

The fourth and paramount requirement is that of a well trained and politically independent civil service. The author has personally witnessed unemployment insurance at work in Great Britain in 1925, 1931–32, 1934, and 1936. On each occasion the system in operation differed considerably on paper from those of the other years. Yet, at the point of contact with the majority of unemployed people, the procedures looked very similar. So true was this that in many respects the civil service administrators seemed clearly to be the law. They were guided, of course, by the Acts of Parliament; but they were shaping this legal framework to the needs of the unemployed with whom they were in close contact. Supervisory officers in England face clients frequently; they deal not only with paper cases but with unemployed men.

The existence of this non-political, well trained, sensitive body of officers as a medium through which the acts were adapted to human needs, and through which the needs and demands of the unemployed were evaluated and directed toward shaping Parliamentary policy, is the clue to the evolution in Great Britain of a scheme adjusted to realities. The process of developing legal instruments for the solution of a social problem needs this channel of modification. It must be divorced from political control. It is essential that the representatives of politicians shall not administer. Administration is not a representative function; it is an adjusting function.

In particular the existence of an adequate appeals system, informal, readily available, and authoritative, and of an advisory committee system extending into the local areas, can spell the difference between adjustment and maladjustment. The immediate availability of the local Court of Referees and the Umpire beyond the Courts not only has operated as a safety valve, but has also

provided England with a growing volume of case material descriptive of realistic facts to which legislation must be adapted. The local advisory committees have brought to the attention of administrators and legislators local folkways, ignorance of which might well spell disaster for a plan of national proportions.

Other requirements, such as an adequate statistical and accounting service, and an efficient employment exchange system, are so obviously important that they need no discussion.

In conclusion, unemployment insurance may be characterized as a method of keeping as many unemployed workers and their families as possible functioning as independent and normal citizens. The traditional way of treating the inability of a family to support itself has been to provide pauper relief if needed. The trend in enlightened countries has been, first of all, to separate particular groups from the recipients of general pauper relief for specialized treatment, for categorical relief, and, secondly, to provide a network of social insurance to keep as many as possible from falling into the general relief group. Families on the road to a relief status normally break their relations with the community institutions. Unemployment, in particular, dissociates men from normal social life and relationships, and makes isolated individuals of them. The achievement of unemployment insurance has been to keep millions of citizens from this fate. It prolongs for a period their financial ability to maintain normal relationships to men and institutions. It removes the cutting edge of desperation that results if these associations, as well as a job, are lost. It therefore preserves for a period the social stability that citizens derive from their common bond of folkways and institutions.

NATURALIZATION ADJUSTS TO THE CHANGING STATUS OF WOMAN

WILLIAM S. BERNARD

One of the greatest readjustments in the mores of modern society has been that producing a change in the status of woman. From the marked sex separation of rights and duties in primitive times there was for centuries little departure. Even when knighthood was in flower, woman was a being apart; sung to, jousted for, and idealized by the wandering minstrel, she was nevertheless a captive to custom. And custom continued to decree that her major rôle in life was concerned with church, children, and kitchen.

Not until the industrial expansion of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did her status appreciably alter. Then, with the developments in business, science, and transportation, all the mores were in a state of flux, and seemingly radical variations were ushered in. Among these was a change in the attitude towards woman's place in society, and the beginnings of changes in her actual status itself. Naturalization, or the act of adopting a foreigner into the body politic and clothing him with all the rights and duties of citizenship, is one of the significant social devices that has had to adjust to this changing status.

Before the period of adjustment, however, naturalization long conformed to the prevailing mores affecting the position of woman, in particular of the married woman. The single female alien was free to acquire American citizenship by the same naturalization process as the male alien. The married alien woman was not. For her, marriage was a disability to naturalization. She was largely the legal property of her husband, and therefore possessed no legal individuality; she could not manage property, and she was not responsible in the field either of contracts or of torts.

The only way the married alien woman could obtain American citizenship was through marriage to an American citizen or through the naturalization of her husband, if he were an alien. Before 1855 even her status in the latter case was in doubt; at best it was regulated only by the Common Law, which is merely an-

other way of saying it was regulated, when and if necessary, by the mores. There was vested in the husband, clearly, a property interest in his wife, for it was often conceded that her citizenship depended upon his. But since in the United States this idea had not been formally expressed in statutory law, alien women were never quite certain just what their status was. Strictly speaking, they did not possess American citizenship by virtue of their husband's naturalization, although in most cases they were deemed expatriated by their native country if the husband changed his citizenship. Foreign states generally hold, as did our Common Law, that the wife's status was determined by that of her husband.

England, in 1844, finally codified the customary conception, and enacted a law making foreign women subjects of His Majesty when they married Englishmen. According to one authority,[1] "the same innovation was brought to the Common Law in America by a law of the State of New York, in 1845, which, unable to touch on the question of nationality (that question being reserved by the Constitution of the United States to the federal government), decided only the question of civil right, and accorded to the woman married to a citizen of New York, the dower right which had been refused her by the Common Law. The federal government followed the same view and enacted the law of 1855 which gave to the alien woman married to an American all the rights of a citizen."

The law of 1855[2] clarified the situation. It provided that any woman previously or thereafter married to an American citizen, and who was herself legally capable of naturalization,[3] should by the fact of her marriage be deemed a citizen of the United States. In actual practice residence in the United States was held necessary, the government not recognizing the citizenship of an alien woman married abroad to an American citizen until she started to live in this country. But she did not have to follow the regular procedure of naturalization: wait five years, pay fees, take out papers, and subscribe to the oath of allegiance. The law did not touch upon the subject of American women who married aliens.

1. Trinh Dinh Thao, *De l'influence du mariage sur la nationalité de la femme* (Aix-en-Provence, 1929), p. 221.

2. *United States Statutes at Large,* X, 604.

3. I.e., who was not immoral, or opposed to our constitution. Ethnic barriers to naturalization were not raised until several years later.

In their case the United States did not consider that they were expatriated. Expatriation was not included in the conceptions of naturalization until after the Civil War, when the treaties with foreign countries upon the subject were concluded; even then its effect upon American married women was not legally recognized until 1907.

The law of 1855 also defined the situation of foreign-born children of American parents. It reverted to an earlier law, passed in 1802, by allowing such children to be held as Americans by the *jus sanguinis*, in which the nationality of the child followed that of the male parent; but it restricted the inheritance of citizenship by blood to the first generation born abroad. The next generation could not be held as citizens, unless their father had at some time resided in the United States.

It might be read into this law that the legislators deemed constant association in marriage with an American citizen to be at least the equivalent of the probationary residence period required in the regular naturalization process. Such a consideration may have prompted their acceptance of the bill, but the real reasons for its passage were merely the desire to legislate by statute what was already in the mores and in the Common Law, and the fact that this concession to woman did not change her general position much—she could not vote or hold office even if native-born.

So far the status of women in our naturalization system was only half defined: alien women became citizens by marriage to American citizens, but what happened to American women marrying aliens was still not clear. Apparently the only way in which they could regain their American citizenship was by "special individual naturalization" by Congress as illustrated by the case of Nellie Grant Sartoris. She was the daughter of General Grant, and native-born. She had married an Englishman, Algernon C. F. Sartoris, and by English law had become a subject of England. Although the law of 1855 provided that foreign women acquired American citizenship by virtue of their marriage to an American citizen, there was nothing in statutory law defining the status of an American-born woman who married an alien. The Common Law was to the effect that she lost her American citizenship. Mrs. Sartoris, therefore, presumed she was English, and, on returning to

America, petitioned Congress to make her an American citizen once more. Despite the absence of any legislation on the subject, Congress agreed with Mrs. Sartoris that she had lost her citizenship, and it formally and unconditionally restored her to her original status.[4] This restoration was not really a case of special naturalization of an individual, however, for it was in line with the principles agreed on by Great Britain and the United States in the naturalization treaty of 1870. Subsequent petitioners for special naturalization by Congress have been refused, although they relied on the case of Mrs. Sartoris as precedent.[5]

For half a century matters remained thus, and it was not until 1907 that Congress formulated the other half of the doctrine. In the naturalization law of that year[6] was inserted a provision stating that an American woman who married an alien was thereafter to lose her American citizenship and follow that of her husband.[7] Only at the termination of her marriage could she resume her American citizenship; if she were abroad at the time, she had to return, or to declare within one year her intention to resume her former status as an American citizen. If she were already in the United States she had merely to continue her residence here. In the case of a foreign-born woman made a citizen by marriage to an American, if her marriage terminated, she was held to retain her American citizenship unless she formally renounced it before a naturalization court. If she resided abroad she could retain it in the same fashion as an American-born woman regained hers, by declaring to that effect, within one year of the marital termination, to an American diplomatic or consular official.

What, then, was the status of the married woman in naturalization at this time? Her position was in all cases dependent upon that of her husband. She was not capable of possessing or acquir-

4. Joint Resolution of Congress, May 18, 1898, *United States Statutes at Large,* XXX, 1496.

5. Only two years ago there was a petition before Congress to give Albert Einstein American citizenship by Congressional Resolution, waiving the regular naturalization requirements. The petition was not successful.

6. *United States Statutes at Large,* XXXIV, 1228.

7. This did not recognize the fact that Congress could not make an American woman a foreign citizen; the foreign country alone could do that. America could only expatriate her. Fortunately foreign law generally followed the American rule here, and "statelessness" was thus avoided.

ing citizenship independent of him; if he changed his citizenship, hers changed also; otherwise her status remained the same, and she could do nothing about it. In the field of naturalization, this fact stands out in sharp relief, and it reinforces our picture of the "inferiority" of woman in the years prior to the World War. Man could expatriate himself practically at will. Woman could do so only as long as she remained single. Marriage deprived her of her "independence" in naturalization.

One case, illustrative of this dependence on the man, occurred after the passage of the 1907 Act, when deportation of undesirable aliens was being undertaken by the reorganized Bureau of Immigration.[8] An alien woman, Fachant by name, was arrested by the immigration officials as being illegally in the country, and held for deportation. Out on bail, she married an American citizen and, when ordered to leave the country, refused. The case was taken to court, and it was then decided that an alien woman, even though about to be deported, acquired citizenship by marriage to an American. She was therefore no longer an alien, and no longer deportable. This decision was long a source of annoyance to immigration officials, whose only method of circumventing it was the difficult task of proving that an alien woman had married an American citizen solely as a means of defense against deportation, and that she had therefore "fraudulently acquired" her citizenship. This fact was hard to prove, and consequently formed one of the reasons why the immigration authorities were glad to support changes in the naturalization law when they were finally proposed some fifteen years later.

The only independence in naturalization gained by married women before the War was granted in the Act of February 24, 1911.[9] It allowed the alien wife and children of an alien who had made his declaration of intention, but who had become insane before receiving his final papers, to become citizens themselves by naturalization (without making the declaration), if they would make a homestead entry upon the lands of the United States. This law was enacted, of course, to provide for alien wives and children

8. Hopkins v. Fachant, 130 *Federal Reporter,* 839; so also, U. S. ex rel. Nicola v. Williams, 173 *Federal Reporter,* 626.

9. *United States Statutes at Large,* XXXVI, 929.

who might otherwise be subject to deportation, and to aid in the development of our public lands. But it is amusing that the first departure from the old rule of the dependence of the wife's citizenship upon that of her husband was made in this case. The first alien married women to get the right of independent naturalization in this country were the wives of insane aliens already holding their first papers.[10]

The naturalization rights of woman in the nineteenth century were in accord with the general mores determining her social status. The married woman had practically no means of obtaining citizenship independently; and, although the single female alien could become naturalized in theory, in practice few did so. But variations in the mores began to appear, and the general position of woman gradually altered. Not until these changes were accepted as permanent did naturalization make a new adjustment.

The first revolt against the traditional "inferiority" of woman was made by the "feminists." Originally coined in France in the nineteenth century, the term "feminism" acquired its modern significance largely in England and the United States. It came to represent the general movement on the part of woman to become "emancipated," to be recognized in her own right as possessing an independent social and political personality.

Although there were other aims in the program of the feminists, the suffrage right first assumed real importance and brought into being an organized effort on their part. Probably this was because the privilege of the vote was a clear and easy issue about which to rally, and the women saw that it was only through the vote that their other objectives could be attained.

The history of the fight for suffrage dates back to the 1850's, but it was in 1869 that the women first organized.[11] In that year the National Woman Suffrage Association, with Susan B. An-

10. The law of 1906 allowed widows and children of alien declarants to complete the process of naturalization and become citizens themselves. But in the case of the 1911 exception, the alien husband is still alive, and so, since the wife can become naturalized independent of his citizenship (because he is insane) it is really the first concession of independent citizenship to married women.

11. For a detailed account of the suffrage movement see Catt, C. C., and Shuler, N. R., *Woman Suffrage and Politics, the Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York, 1923).

thony as Chairman, and the American Woman Suffrage Association, with Lucy Stone as Chairman, were organized. For over twenty years these rival groups pursued their way independently, until finally in 1890 they decided to pool their efforts. Uniting under the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, they founded their paper, "The Woman Citizen."

Results at once became apparent. Wyoming, which had granted suffrage to women in 1869 when it was a territory, continued the grant as a state in 1890. Colorado followed suit in 1893, and Utah and Idaho did likewise in 1896. The "cause" then hit a snag. The masculine element in society was in no hurry to let women vote, and for fourteen years there was a stalemate.

But the woman suffragists, or suffragettes, as they came to be called, did not falter. They campaigned everywhere for the vote. The halls of Congress were besieged by women, and committee hearings were held in every session from 1869 on. As the nineteenth century drew to a close the suffragette movement became more prominent. This was the era of the great crusaders, and the roster contains the names of many distinguished women. In the van were Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, Clara Barton, Frances Willard, Jane Addams, Susan B. Anthony, and Carrie Chapman Catt.

The women began to gain ground. In 1910 Congress was petitioned by a list of half a million women to grant them suffrage, and popular sentiment gradually turned in favor of their cause. Washington and California gave them suffrage in 1910 and 1911. Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona followed suit in 1912, and Nevada and Montana in 1914. In 1917 a referendum in New York was held, and 1,030,000 women declared that they wanted the vote.[12] Then came the War, but it did not stop the impetus of the movement. On the contrary, it advanced the cause of suffrage, and that of feminism as a whole. The War put demands upon industry and business which only the employment of women could fill. Industrial production was increased enormously. The general economic and

12. Beard, M. R., ed., *America Through Women's Eyes* (New York, 1933), p. 381. But in this referendum only 703,000 men agreed that women should have the franchise.

social opportunities of women were broadened, and the fight for woman suffrage benefited.[13]

In 1918, Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota extended suffrage to women. And in 1919 Congress finally voted to submit to the states for ratification an amendment granting women suffrage. In one sense this was but an example of the fact that woman's political status was catching up with her improved economic and social status. The adjustment was necessary.[14] It was bound to occur in time. But the automatic processes of societal evolution were speeded up by the interference of the feminists. The Women's Revolution, as it has been called, attempted to square the theory of democracy with the facts of industrialism and the changing social status of women; the result was earlier acceptance of the woman suffrage variation by the masses.[15] On August 26, 1920, the required number of states had ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, and its inclusion in the Constitution was announced.

In the meanwhile, the fight for equality was being waged on other fronts, not only contributing to the cause of suffrage but in particular advancing woman's general social status. By the beginning of the twentieth century woman had won the right to collect her own wages and control her own earnings in nearly all the states. In addition she could manage property independently, and she was recognized as being responsible at law in both contracts and torts.[16] These gains, coming at first as sporadic innovations, were gradually selected into the mores and retained, so that by 1930 the legislative program of the feminists for the emancipation of the married woman was considered well-nigh complete.[17]

Progress in the field of earning a living was slower, perhaps, than that made in the legal arena, but it was sure and steady. And it was more fundamental, since adjustments in the mores of self-

13. United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Bulletin No. 115: Women at Work, a Century of Industrial Change* (Washington, 1933), pp. 15–17; also, Abbott, G., "The Changing Position of Women," *A Century of Progress*, ed. C. A. Beard (New York, 1933), pp. 253 ff.; and Breckinridge, S. P., *Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1933), p. 104.

14. Hollister, H. A., *The Woman Citizen, a Problem in Education* (New York, 1919), pp. 295–6.

15. Hall, B. F. R., "The Women's Revolution," *Current History*, XIX (1923), 16.

16. Breckinridge, *op. cit.*, p. 102. 17. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

maintenance are basic to important changes in other fields. Among 1,000 married women in 1890, 4.6 were employed; in 1900 the number rose to 5.6; in 1910, to 10.7; in 1920 it dropped to 9.0; but in 1930 it rose to a high point of 11.7. Among 1,000 gainfully employed women in 1890, 139 were married; in 1900, 154; and in 1910, 1920, and 1930, respectively, 247, 230, and 289.[18] In actual numbers, the women gainfully employed in the United States in 1890 totaled 4,005,532, or 13.1 per cent of the female population, whereas in 1930 they were 10,752,116, or 17.7 per cent of the female population.

Thus, since 1890, the number of married women gainfully employed has increased enormously. The presence of women in gainfully employed occupations has evidently come to stay. It is not a passing phenomenon, but a fixed aspect of American society, and increasing adjustments to it are inevitable. Even more significant, however, is the trend of distribution for all women, married and single, in the several occupational groups throughout the last seven census periods, as shown in Table I.

Table I: Percentage Distribution of Female Gainfully Occupied Persons Sixteen Years of Age and Over (1870–1930)[19]

Occupational Group	*1870*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*	*1930*
Agriculture	20.5	20.0	16.7	16.5	14.9	10.9	7.4
Manufacturing	20.0	26 0	26.7	26.4	24.1	22.6	17.6
Trade and transportation	1.0	2.2	3.5	5.5	8.0	10.7	11.7
Clerical service	.4	.9	2.6	4.5	8.1	17.1	18.8
Domestic and personal service	52.6	43.4	41.8	38.1	35.5	27.9	32.6
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	.0	.1	.1	.2	.2	.2	.3
Professional service	5.5	7.4	8.6	8.8	9.2	10.6	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From this table, even though it comprises both the married and single, it is clear that woman has broken into occupations previously reserved exclusively for the male. In 1870 women were concentrated almost wholly in agriculture, manufacturing, and do-

18. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

mestic and personal service, 93.1 per cent falling into these categories. But in 1930 we see a release from this confinement, and a spread throughout the whole occupational range. From 1.0 in 1870, the percentage in trade and transportation rose to 11.7 in 1930. Similarly, clerical service rose from .4 to 18.8, and professional service—perhaps the most difficult occupation for women to enter—increased from 5.5 to 11.6. These figures are striking proof of the change in the status of woman, a change resulting not from any organized pressure on her part, but from the general readjustments in the mores caused by industrialization, the World War, and the shifting pattern of economic and social life.

Between woman's new social status moving towards fruition in the 1920's and her virtual non-recognition in the naturalization process, there existed a cultural lag. The economic mores being basic, variations arise and are selected into them first; only after a time do the other social institutions make corresponding adjustments. Such was the case with feminine "emancipation." Woman achieved a new position in business and the professions, and won the franchise, before she secured the privilege of independent naturalization regardless of marriage.

But adjustment in the naturalization process had to come. The disabilities of married women demanded reform.[20] The status of the American woman married to an alien had received much unfavorable comment. This was true particularly during the War, when American-born women, married to German aliens, frequently had their property sequestered by the Alien Property Custodian.[21] This latter disability was removed from American-born women in 1921, but they still remained technically aliens.

Thus it was that, because of these disabilities, and in line with their general program, the spokeswomen of the feminists agitated strongly for independent citizenship for women. Although they were cognizant of the position of the alien married woman in naturalization, their main selling-point to Congress and to the public

20. Boyd, M. S., *The Woman Citizen* (New York, 1918), pp. 13–19. See also Hill, C. D., "Citizenship of Married Women," *American Journal of International Law,* XVIII (1924), 726, where he reports that two-thirds of the judges questioned on the subject by the Americanization Study of the Carnegie Corporation agreed that fundamental changes were necessary.

21. Hill, *op. cit.,* p. 725.

at large was the hardships endured by denationalized American women. Such organizations as the Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, the National Women's Trade Union League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the National League of Women Voters brought pressure to bear on the members of the Republican and Democratic Parties. As a result, the party platforms soon contained planks advocating independent citizenship for women, and Congress was ready to listen to the reforms proposed in the Cable Bill.[22]

At the hearings before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization appeared Mrs. Maud Wood Park of the National League of Women Voters. Being invited to inform the Committee officially of the attitude of the women's organizations toward the proposed bill, she stated:[23]

> In my judgment the underlying reason for this bill is that the right of citizenship should rest in the individual person and should not depend upon the marital status of that person. A woman is as much an individual as a man is, and her citizenship should no more be gained or lost by marriage than should a man's. To forfeit or acquire citizenship by the mere fact of marriage, without regard for the desires or the qualifications of the individual affected, belittles both the individual and the sacred right of citizenship.

Mrs. Park added that the bill was sufficiently important to warrant immediate consideration, despite the crowded condition of the calendar.[24]

There was much wrangling in the Committee about the details of the bill, and how to provide for the several classes of persons affected by it. In general, attention was centered on the American woman, and the alien woman was little considered. Concerning the latter one member of the Committee remarked: "I can not see why we should bother about foreigners who come into this country

22. Breckinridge, S. P., *Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 23–4.

23. *Naturalization and the Citizenship of Women,* Hearings before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 67th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, 1922), p. 570.

24. *Ibid.,* p. 572.

and get naturalized and then wander all around the face of the earth."[25]

The details finally being agreed upon, the author of the bill, Mr. Cable, issued the following statement[26] in regard to it:

The idea of the bill is to give women equal rights with men with reference to the Federal naturalization laws; to permit the wife to obtain the education her husband must acquire in our language and law. The fact that a woman is married should be no reason to deny her the right of citizenship in the United States through naturalization proceedings if she is an eligible alien. Marriage of a citizen of the United States to a foreigner should not of itself terminate her citizenship. The laws of our country should grant independent citizenship to women.

Subsequent debates on the bill in Congress revealed that the legislators were more concerned with the status of American-born women than anything else.[27] Finally the bill passed, and became a law on September 22, 1922.[28] It contained seven main clauses:

1. The right of any woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex or because she is a married woman.

2. An alien woman marrying, thereafter, an American citizen, or an alien subsequently naturalized, shall not herself become a citizen through such marriage or naturalization; but if she is eligible to citizenship, she may be naturalized according to law, with two exemptions: firstly, no declaration of intention is necessary; secondly, instead of the regular five-year residence, one year in the United States, Hawaii, Porto Rico, or Alaska just before filing her petition will serve as fulfilling the residence requirement.

3. An American woman thereafter marrying an alien shall not lose her citizenship due to her marriage unless she formally renounces it. But if (and this is in direct contradiction to the above general principle) she marries an alien ineligible to citizenship, she will lose hers, and may not regain it until the termination of her marriage, and then only by the same procedure as that of the alien wife of an American citizen. Furthermore, if the American wife of an alien resides in the sovereign land of her husband for two years or in any other foreign

25. *Ibid.*, p. 582. 26. *Ibid.*, p. 591.
27. *Congressional Record*, 67th Congress, LXII, Part 9, pp. 9056 ff.
28. *United States Statutes at Large*, XLII, 1021.

country for five years, she will be presumed to have forfeited her citizenship, the presumption to be overcome only by presentation of proper evidence to diplomatic or consular officials.

4. A woman who already lost her citizenship before the passage of this act can now be naturalized as provided for in Section 2. But she need file no certificate of arrival. And her status, after regaining her citizenship, will be that of her pre-married life, i.e., she will be considered a native-born citizen.

5. This section reaffirmed the restriction imposed on woman by which she could not become naturalized if her husband was ineligible to citizenship himself.

6 and 7. These sections repealed conflicting parts of the 1907 Act and declared the Cable Act not to be retroactive.

On considering this act it appears that there were some points not clear, and some omissions. For example, no provision was made for the alien husband of an American woman citizen. He still had to undergo the regular naturalization procedure. The burden of proof that her husband was a citizen rested on the alien woman who desired citizenship by the shortened naturalization procedure. American women lost their citizenship by marriage to ineligible aliens, whereas American men in similar cases did not. American women also were presumed to have lost their citizenship if they, being married to an alien, resided abroad for varying periods. In both cases resumption of citizenship could be obtained only by the shortened naturalization procedure made possible for the alien wives of American citizens.

Thus the situation of several classes of persons involved in the naturalization of women still remained to be solved. First, those American women who married ineligible aliens still lost their citizenship, despite the fact that the citizenship of the woman was supposed to be independent of that of the man. Second, there was the problem of the alien wife of an American citizen. She frequently lost her foreign citizenship as a result of her marriage, without acquiring American citizenship. As a result she became stateless, a woman without a country, entitled to passports from no government, protection by no country. Her only remedy was to become naturalized. Stateless also, unless she resumed her citizenship, was the American woman who had married an alien before

1922, acquired his citizenship thereby, and lost it without regaining American citizenship in its place if he became naturalized after 1922.[29] Alien women who retained their foreign citizenship through marriage to alien husbands really formed a third group if they became naturalized independently. Their former country of allegiance still regarded them as its citizens, since their husbands were still its citizens. These women thus possessed two citizenships.

Such cases arose directly because of the lack of international uniformity. Fifty-two countries confer nationality without exception on the alien woman marrying a national of any one of them, while three bestow it conditionally. In twenty-four countries marriage to an alien deprives the woman of her own nationality; in twenty-seven this happens if the wife acquires that of her husband; and in twenty-two marriage with a foreigner has no effect upon the status of the wife. With such conflicting codes, statelessness, dual nationality, and even triple nationality were not infrequent.[30]

Another effect of the Cable Act was that even American-born women had to prove, if they married twice, once before 1922 and again thereafter, that they had not lost their citizenship by their first marriage; for if they had, they would not have regained it by their second. This class is small, but its existence illustrates the technicalities of the new law, and their effect on women.

Some of these features were amended in 1930.[31] This act repealed the clause that had put American-born wives of alien husbands under the presumption of loss of citizenship if they resided abroad for two years in their husband's native land or for five years in any foreign country. It facilitated the repatriation of American women desiring to regain their status as citizens by declaring that such women need file no declaration of intention, and no certificate of arrival; they need no residence period before

29. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 728–30. For comment at the time on the anomalous situation of "the woman without a country," see editorial discussion in *The Survey*, XLIX (1922), 231.

30. Breckinridge, *Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women*, p. 32; Bourbousson, E., *Traite général de la nationalité dans les cinq parties du monde du statut de la femme mariée, de la naturalisation, de la perte de la nationalité* (Paris, 1931), *passim.*

31. *United States Statutes at Large*, XLVI, 854.

naturalization; they do not have to declare an intention of permanent residence in the United States; they may file their petition in any court, and be heard any time after examination thereon; and they were thereafter to have the same status as before marriage (i.e., as a native-born, not a naturalized citizen). This law also amended the 1924 immigration act; it allowed American women who had lost their citizenship to be classed as non-quota immigrants.

Another amendment, made in 1931, decided that thereafter American-born women would not lose their citizenship through marriage to an ineligible alien. This amendment to the Act of 1922 was passed in response to the feeling that woman should not be discriminated against in this respect any more than man, who was free to marry whomever he chose. The law thus finally repealed the last method of denationalizing American women because of their marriage to aliens. The cases involved were mainly those of Oriental women, born in the United States and therefore citizens thereof, who married alien members of their own race. It seemed anomalous to deprive them of their citizenship because of a marriage which was in their case most natural and eligible. The law further decided that an American-born woman should not be denied the right of naturalization on account of her race, when she was seeking to resume her citizenship previously lost. This clause allowed women born in America of Oriental extraction to regain their citizenship and not be debarred because of their color if in other respects they were eligible.[32]

The same law forbade, in the future, a woman to regain her citizenship by the shortened method provided for alien wives of American citizens in 1922, if that woman had been an American citizen in the first place only through marriage to an American citizen or through her husband's naturalization. This clause really prevented certain alien women from exercising free and unlimited choice in marriage, if American citizenship mattered to them; for they might have married Americans before 1922 and gained citizenship thereby. But subsequently, if they were widowed or divorced and married an alien, and took his citizenship through ex-

82. *United States Statutes at Large*, XLVI, 1511.

patriation or voluntarily (citizenship status not being affected by divorce or widowhood *per se*), they could not regain their American citizenship in the same way as American-born women. They had to wait the full five years. The principle was that they had gained it through marriage in the first place, and it was therefore of a different quality from citizenship derived by birth. Of course, this act served merely to draw another line between foreign-born women and native-born women. Naturalization differs for each of these groups. Citizenship is gained and lost differently. It is evident that a naturalized citizen, in the case of woman, as in the case of man, is not on the same status as a native-born citizen, either socially or politically. Politically, the naturalized citizen cannot be elected President or Vice President and cannot resume American citizenship as easily as a native-born citizen. Socially, the naturalized citizen is never quite on a par with the native-born American, frequently being treated as a citizen by "courtesy" rather than by choice.

The most recent major changes in the naturalization of women were made in 1934, after much pressure by the women's organizations.[33] This act finally placed man and woman on an equal footing in the naturalization process in several ways.[34]

First, children born outside of the United States, either of whose parents was a citizen, may now be held as American citizens, but only if the citizen parent or parents have resided in the United States prior to the birth of the child. If one of the parents is an alien, the child must reside continuously in this country for five

33. A rather unusual piece of legislation on women and citizenship was enacted in 1932, when Hawaiian women, born in Hawaii before 1900, and residing in the United States in 1932, were to be considered citizens of the United States by birth. This is an exception to the general rule in several ways. It was an unusual concession to make to women; it favored a non-white, or Oriental class, which is normally ineligible to citizenship; and it conferred native-born rather than naturalized status. The reasons for this act are obscure, but it appears to have been passed in answer to the pleas of specially interested parties. See *United States Statutes at Large,* XLVII, 571. Similar to this law, but affecting only white women, was the permission granted in 1934 to those Porto Rican women who had lost their American citizenship before March 2, 1917, either through marriage to an eligible alien or through their husband's loss of American citizenship. Such women thereafter were allowed to become naturalized after a three-year residence period, and were then to be considered as native-born citizens. See *United States Statutes at Large,* XLVIII, 1245.

34. *United States Statutes at Large,* XLVIII, 797–8.

years immediately preceding its eighteenth birthday and must take the oath of allegiance within six months after its twenty-first birthday. Children born outside of the United States to alien parents may become citizens through the naturalization or resumption of citizenship of either parent, providing that the naturalization or resumption occurs during the child's minority, and that citizenship for the child shall not start until after the child has resided here permanently for five years. This change equalizes the status of man and woman in that woman may now pass on her citizenship by the *jus sanguinis* and by the fact of naturalization in the same fashion as man.

Next, the condition of dual citizenship, so anomalous and so productive of legal difficulties, is partially dealt with. A citizen of the United States, male or female, may renounce American citizenship, except in time of war, upon marriage to an alien. Thus an American-born woman, whose marriage to a citizen of a foreign country bestows his nationality upon her in the eyes of that country's law, may now renounce her American citizenship and so avoid possessing dual citizenship. This provision, however, is voluntary, and in absence of its exercise, dual nationality with its attendant international complications may still ensue.

Third, an alien, man or woman, married to an American citizen, if otherwise eligible to citizenship, may now become a naturalized citizen without filing a declaration of intention after a three-year residence period in the United States, Hawaii, Alaska, or Porto Rico. This clause replaces that allowing the shortened one-year residence period provided in 1922 for alien wives, pushing the period up to three years. Its importance lies in the fact that alien husbands, previously not favored by the shortened procedure, are now on a similar footing with alien wives. Equalization in status has thereby been provided for the sexes in this respect.

Lastly, the wife and children of a deceased or insane declarant may no longer become citizens by a shortened process, as permitted by the acts of 1906 and 1911, respectively. Such women must now become naturalized in the regular way.

Since the passage of the Cable Act and its amendments, there are now five different ways in which a woman may acquire American citizenship:

1. By birth.

2. By naturalization of father or mother, before child reaches age of twenty-one. Citizenship then begins after residence in the United States for five years.

3. By the regular naturalization process, unless she is married to an American citizen.

4. By the special short naturalization process (residence only three years), if her husband is an American citizen.

5. By resumption of citizenship as provided for an American-born woman who lost it either by marriage to an alien before September 22, 1922, or by marriage before 1931 to an ineligible alien.

As far as differences between native-born and foreign-born women are concerned, discrimination appears in comparing the treatment accorded to those of the first class who are expatriated and technically aliens, with that accorded to those of the second class, who were once citizens, but who are now aliens. The native-born women may "resume" their citizenship by a very simplified procedure in most cases. The foreign-born women may not. And alien wives of American citizens may still become stateless unless they seek American citizenship, for frequently their native land holds that they lose their original citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner. To avoid statelessness their only recourse is naturalization, which thus becomes obligatory rather than voluntary.

One aspect of our naturalization requirements in respect to women seems somewhat unnecessary, and to it some women have reacted adversely: namely, the interpretation that by taking an unqualified oath of allegiance in the naturalization ceremony they agree to bear arms in case of need. Certain women, desirous of obtaining the privileges of citizenship and willing to undertake the ordinary duties correlated therewith, have refused to assume the military duties implied by the oath. In the case of Marie Averil Bland, the government regarded her refusal to bear arms, made during her preliminary questioning, as an obstacle and bar to citizenship.[35] So also did the courts regard a similar reservation made by Rosika Schwimmer, although she was forty-nine years old at

35. U. S. v. Marie Averil Bland, 51 *Supreme Court Reports* (1931), 569. See also Hover, E. J., "Citizenship of Woman in the United States," *American Journal of International Law,* XXVI (1932), 717.

the time, and past the enlisting age.[36] In one sense such objections are academic, in that in the United States women have never yet been conscripted, and probably never will be.

The only published study of the reaction of women to their new citizenship status under the Act of 1922 was made in Chicago in 1930.[37] In all, 113 women were interviewed, both American- and foreign-born. Three types of cases resulted. The first, numbering 28, comprised women who had succeeded in naturalization; the second, 63, represented those who had tried and failed; the third group, 15 in number (7 having been eliminated as not being in this group after all), was composed of those who had never tried to become naturalized. Cases representative of each class are given below.

I. *The Woman Who Succeeded.*[38] Mrs. Daneshevsky, born in Poland, came to the United States in 1906. She married in 1911 and helped her husband by running her own shop. After the War she and he decided to take out their papers to avoid the unpleasantness sometimes accorded aliens. The husband was slow to act, but was prodded by Mrs. D., who could not think of returning to Poland, and who desired the prestige and standing in the community conferred by citizenship. In 1926 Mr. D. became a citizen, and Mrs. D. followed suit a year later. She regards the Cable Act as an expression of the growing restrictions upon immigration, although she can see some advantages in the law. It makes the woman independent of her husband and forces the ignorant woman to learn to read and write. Hence she believes the law may become a source of progress for women. This woman, energetic and intelligent, is probably somewhat above the average run of immigrant women. Her reaction to the law was largely favorable, although she indicated that there was still room for improvement.

II. *The Woman Who Failed.*[39] Mrs. Cigala, born in Poland, came to the United States in 1905. Her husband is an alien, and tubercular. He has been out of work five years, at a hospital one year, and is now at a sanatorium where he gets free care. Mrs. C. works as a charwoman in an hotel to support her family of six children, two of whom also contribute. Mrs. C. tried three times for her papers, but could not answer the questions properly. Although she can read and write Polish and

36. Bourbousson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
37. Breckinridge, *Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women*, pp. 59–140.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 69 (abbreviated).
39. *Ibid.*, p. 91 (abbreviated).

read English, she can not speak English well. She studied afternoons at a school for five months but was still unable to pass her test. Her denials have been assigned to ignorance and want of prosecution. In this case there was evidently an honest desire to become a citizen, but unfavorable circumstances prevented it.

III. *The Woman Who Never Tried.*[40] Mrs. O'Brien, born in Ireland in 1900, came to the United States in 1922. Her husband, her own age, came here one year earlier. They have three children and live in a nicely furnished bungalow. Her husband became a citizen but found the examination hard. She would like to take out papers, but is modest, afraid of failure, and says she has not the time. Maybe she will try sometime in the future. This last case is representative of many women who neglect, put off, are afraid or incapable of the attempt to become citizens.

In general, the summary derived from this study contained the following points:[41]

1. Most women appreciated and liked the principle of independent citizenship as provided in the Cable Act.
2. Simplified procedure in naturalization was desirable.
3. Not only independence, but equality in citizenship between men and women was desired, because it would foster unity of citizenship within the home.[42]
4. Prestige is gained by becoming a citizen, and lost by remaining an alien. Naturalization was therefore sought.
5. Women remaining alien did so only because they were incapable, or thought they were incapable, of passing the citizenship tests.

Before 1922, the immigrant woman, afraid of her new environment, often found safety in national organizations; she was aided in making her adjustment to American society by various private agencies, such as the Immigrant Protective League, the International Institutes, and other social service groups, but lack of citizenship was frequently a great obstacle.[43] Since 1922 these same agencies have continued to help her become adjusted, and, as part

40. *Ibid.*, p. 112 (abbreviated). 41. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

42. The persistence in naturalization of the inequality between the sexes certainly illustrates the difficulty of breaking through the encrusted mores of masculine dominance and superiority.

43. Breckinridge, S. P., *New Homes for Old* (New York, 1921), chaps. VII and VIII.

of that adjustment, have aided her in obtaining naturalization. The actual response of women to the new laws giving them an equal status in naturalization is indicated in Table II.

Table II: Declarations of Intention Made, Petitions of Citizenship Filed, and Certificates of Naturalization Received by Women (1923–1934)[44]

Year[45]	*Declarations*	*Petitions*	*Certificates*
1923	22,209	11,378	6,011
1924	49,291	17,200	14,116
1925	51,927	22,526	18,576
1926	56,983	28,391	24,770
1927	55,017	44,426	33,909
1928	56,037	55,392	51,213
1929	73,496	69,889	57,054
1930	14,534	29,320	48,771
1931	22,798	36,773	36,720
1932	26,200	41,274	40,699
1933	21,308	34,000	35,070
1934	15,330	30,425	31,204

From this table it is evident that the number of declarations, petitions, and certificates increased steadily through 1926. The next two years there was a slight drop in declarations filed, but that was made up and a new high point attained in 1929 with the largest numbers ever reached in all three classes. In 1930 a pronounced drop was made all along the line. The next two years the figures were still below the previous records, but had already begun to increase again until a new decline occurred in 1933 and 1934.

Specifically, there are several factors that help to explain the sharp drop in the 1930 figures. The first is the business depression, which seems to have had two effects. The primary effect was to

44. Compiled from *Annual Reports of Commissioner of Naturalization,* 1923–32. Figures for 1933 and 1934 obtained from the *Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor,* 1933, p. 82, and idem, 1934, p. 72. In 1935 the figures were not separated according to sex, but the total number of male and female declarations, petitions, and certificates was the highest of any year since 1929. The report for 1936 was not yet published at this writing.

45. The years 1923, 1924, 1925 include figures for Alaska and Hawaii. The year 1926 includes figures for Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico. The years 1927–32 include figures for Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

cause a sudden decline in naturalization activity, due, perhaps, to the fact that fees were hard to pay. An indirect effect was the lessened desirability of residence in a nation suffering from economic ills. Many aliens departed, and there were fewer left who might seek to become citizens. Later, when aliens encountered economic discriminations, they felt the secondary effect of the depression: the necessity of taking out papers as a measure of economic self-protection.[46] Furthermore, in 1930, the results of the immigration restrictions of 1924 were reflected for the first time in naturalization figures. The supply of aliens who had been in the United States for the requisite five years was greatly diminished. And by 1930 the number of alien married women who had desired citizenship before 1922 had been undoubtedly depleted by their independent naturalization activity since 1922.

The slight rise in 1932 may have been caused by American women trying to resume lost citizenship, and especially by the compulsive effect of the depression upon alien women, forcing those who needed work and help to become citizens first. However, the decline in all forms of naturalization activity in 1933 and 1934 suggests that, as the depression continued, the high fees for naturalization ($20.00) were prohibitive—the fees not being reduced until April, 1934, too late to aid petitioners who had already paid their fees. Moreover, if some member of a family must become a citizen in order to work, it is more likely that the man will do so.

The contribution of foreign-born women to the total citizenship situation in the United States in 1930 is, of course, a combination of independent naturalizations, citizenship acquired through naturalization of parents (before the woman was twenty-one) and husbands (if the latter took out papers before 1922), and that acquired through marriage to American citizens before 1922. At the

46. However, a study of 2,000 immigrant wage-earning women in one Pennsylvania district since 1929 revealed that only 18 had taken out independent citizenship. How many were citizens through marriage to citizens before 1922 was not stated. But if the percentage of independent naturalization was as low as indicated, it would appear that these women did not seek citizenship as eagerly as their sisters in higher-paid occupations, living in less rural localities. In this section (Lehigh Valley) the group studied was probably not representative of alien women as a whole. Only 37 per cent of those who had been here ten years and over could speak English. See U. S Department of Labor, Woman's Bureau, *Bulletin No. 115: Women at Work*, p. 43.

last census there were 5,840,149 foreign-born women. Of these, 3,409,860 or 58 per cent had become citizens by naturalization and by the other methods described; 291,962 had taken out their first papers; and 1,907,528 were still aliens. Those unreported were 230,799.[47]

In general, women seem to have availed themselves of the privilege of naturalization in goodly numbers, considering the various handicaps that they have had to overcome. This conclusion is shared by one of the foremost women executives in immigration work, Miss Florence G. Cassidy.[48] Although she finds that independent citizenship is of greater advantage to the American-born than to the foreign-born woman, she believes that its ultimate advantages, such as increased political and social prestige for women, outweigh any immediate defects in the present set-up.

Naturalization is essentially a highly important socio-legal device, being the formal method by which aliens are adopted into American society; as such its operation is rigidly prescribed and defined by law. The law, however, is but the outgrowth and crystallization of the mores, and though it may for a time lag behind, in the end it must become adjusted to them. After a long process of evolution, naturalization today stands in adjustment to the changed status of woman. Despite defects still to be remedied, it affords her that equality with man which she has demanded and obtained in so many aspects of our cultural life.

47. United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States,* III, Part I, p. 35.

48. Cassidy, F. G., "The Citizenship of Women," *Y.W.C.A. Series on Immigration and Foreign Communities, Bulletin,* XXIV (1933), 10.

THE HUMOR OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

HENRY A. BOWMAN

HUMOR is a more or less elemental human reaction, and in this sense all humor is primitive. Upon this point there seems to be some semblance of agreement. But as to the specific content of, or factors in, a situation which make it humorous, there are numerous theories and explanations. No single theory, however, seems adequate to cover all instances and to satisfy all observers, and the task of defining once and for all what is humorous is one which can not be accomplished at the moment and is not the purpose of this study. The most workable theory of humor is that which combines incongruity and a "feeling of superiority"; a situation is humorous, that is to say, when an observer detects an incongruity in it, especially if the situation is such that he can feel superior to the individuals involved. The humorous quality is sometimes increased if the element of surprise is introduced.

Although the fundamental elements of humorous situations remain the same for all peoples, both primitive and "civilized," the specific content of these situations varies according to environment, folkways, and experience. In other words, primitive man's humor is the same as civilized man's in so far as his reactions and the elements which make a situation humorous are concerned, but the particular content depends upon such things as the kinds of animals known and the attitudes toward them, the types of experiences encountered, and the prevailing moral standards, social relationships, and standards of beauty and of other desirable human traits. For example, a Zulu might appreciate a mother-in-law joke which would arouse no response in an Eskimo because of the differences in social relationships of the two groups. Again, both an African and an American Indian might tell practically the same tale, except that in one case the principal character might be a lion, in the other a coyote. The following pages present a sampling of the accounts of humorous incidents, humorous folk tales, comments by first-hand observers, and other data, from an analysis of which the foregoing conclusions have been induced.

That humor plays an ample rôle in the life of primitive man is evidenced by language. Words expressing various shades of meaning develop slowly, and persist only when they serve some practical purpose. Dictionaries of the languages of primitive peoples give some evidence of the diversity of expressions touching upon humor. The Biloxi, for example, have words for *to laugh*, and *to laugh at*;[1] the Choctaw have separate words or compounds for, i.e., they have expressions to differentiate the meanings of, *fun, humor, humorist, laugh, laughter, wit*;[2] the Herero for *fun, humor, smile, laugh, laughter, laugh loudly, laugh immoderately*;[3] the Efik for *fun, humor, humorous, humorist, laugh, laughter, laughable, laughing-stock*;[4] the Swahili for *fun, humor, laugh, laugh at, laughable, laughter, laughing-stock*;[5] the Zulus for *fun, grin, giggle, laugh, laughable, laugh at one another, makes one laugh, cause to laugh, laughing-stock*;[6] and the Kaffirs for *fun, make fun of, funny, giggle, humor, humorist, humorous, laugh, laugh at, laugh harshly, laugh heartily, laugh immoderately, laugh in one's sleeve, laughable, laughter, laugher, laughing matter, laughing, laughing-stock, dissembled laughter, loud laughter, roars of laughter, smothered laughter, wit, witty*.[7]

Another type of evidence as to the rôle played by humor in the life of primitive peoples is the humorous incident. The Chaco Indians, for example, laugh at a man's stumbling over a stump, falling from a horse, slipping into a mud-hole, or meeting any other sort of minor accident.[8] Australian natives laugh at one of their number who tumbles over a log, and sometimes the unfortunate one joins in the merriment. If someone arrives who has not witnessed the accident, the individual may be asked to repeat it for the benefit of the newcomer, and he may even consent to do so. For years

1. Dorsey, J. O., and Swanton, J. R., "A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 47* (1912).

2. Byington, C., "A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 46* (1915).

3. Kolbe, F. W., *English-Herero Dictionary* (London, 1883).

4. Goldie, H., *Dictionary of the Efik Language* (Edinburgh, 1886).

5. Madam, A. C., *English-Swahili Dictionary* (Oxford, 1902).

6. Roberts, C., *English-Zulu Dictionary* (London, 1915).

7. McLaren, J., *A Concise English-Kaffir Dictionary* (London, 1923).

8. Grubb, W. B., *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land* (London, 1911), p. 197.

after the event, "the recital of how two old men of the Kakadu Tribe had to run for their lives and just managed to keep ahead of two charging buffaloes and an imitation of how they ran, what they said, and what they looked like, were greeted with roars of laughter. . . ."[9] A picture of a man fleeing from pursuers, one of whom had just shot an arrow through his leg, proved amusing to a group of Congo natives, as did the story of how a native fled from a buffalo which chanced to run in his direction though it had not actually seen him.[10] Though the humor in such incidents as these seems to involve a touch of cruelty or sadism, it should be noted that the discomfort and misfortune of the victim are usually not excessive. The incongruities of the situations are apparent, and the incidents are similar to many of those at which we ourselves are prone to laugh, e.g., slipping on a banana peel, sitting on a tack, falling into the water, or any of the numerous petty mishaps that are common in actual life, exaggerated in slap-stick comedy, and carried to irritating extremes by the practical joker.

Keli, a native African cook, had stolen a chicken. Discovering the theft, his white employer determined publicly to flog the culprit to impress upon him the seriousness of his misdeed. But before the first blow had been struck, the cowardly Keli screamed, broke from the white man's hold, and started down the village street, his employer in close pursuit. The flogging would have taken place on the run except that the clay surface of the street had become smooth and slippery from recent rains. Both men slipped and skidded, but Keli's bare feet gave him an advantage over his shoe-clad employer, whose blows persisted in falling about a foot short of their fleeing objective. The culprit finally made good his escape, but the entire incident was highly amusing to the villagers who had assembled to witness the flogging.[11]

Humor in an imaginary situation is implied in the following incident. The Tangales believe that after death human beings may

9. Spencer, B., *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (London, 1914), pp. 40–1.

10. Informant L. Foster Wood. In response to requests for information, a number of individuals kindly sent the author material relative to humor gathered by them in personal contact with primitive peoples. To all of these informants the author wishes to express his appreciation and his indebtedness.

11. Milligan, R. H., *The Jungle Folk of Africa* (London, 1908), pp. 163–5.

become reincarnated in inanimate objects. A Tangale, in convers ing with a missionary on this subject, observed: "If I ever becom anything else after I die, I want to become a boulder." When askec why he entertained such an unusual desire, the native replied, witl a twinkle in his eye: "Then if anybody sat down on me, I woulc pinch him."[12]

Another type of situation apt to prove humorous is that ir which an individual or a group falls below the standard set by th folkways and mores, provided that the shortcoming is not toc serious. "Our" ways are considered the right ways, and any devia tion from them, whether by members of "our" group or by out siders, is apt to be regarded as incongruous, ludicrous, or humor ous, if it is not serious enough to be openly ridiculed or resented Natives living on neighboring islands laugh at the Tahitians wher the latter attempt to kill a turtle by pinching its throat. The rep tile's habit of drawing its head into its shell makes the clumsy efforts of a would-be slayer, who seems unable to comprehend th situation sufficiently to make some more effective adjustment to it look absurd.[13] The Manyikas laugh at the sight of a small boy wearing a silk hat, carrying a large cane, or trundling a heavily loaded wheelbarrow.[14] Among some of the natives of Natal, wh consider feminine plumpness more desirable than slenderness, a girl very thin about the arms and legs is sometimes laughed at.[15] The Zulus joke about fat people. They also make fun of an ol man who courts a young woman, saying: "The covering of th frame wears off but the heart remains the same." At which the ol man is apt to retort: "There is not a *peela* which reaches old ag and still retains its bark." The reference is to a fence post which having been set into the ground when green and with the bark at tached, loses its bark as it dries out but remains a sound post.[16] A war party of Cheyennes once captured a Mexican boy and pre sented him to one of their women to be kept as a slave. Short i stature, especially in contrast with the tall and muscular Chey

12. Informant C. Gordon Beacham.
13. Sully, J., "The Laughter of Savages," *International Monthly,* IV (1901) 390.
14. Informant R. C. Gates. 15. Informant Harry Anderson.
16. Informant Sibusisiwe Makanye, a Zulu woman.

enne men, the lad was made the butt of many a joke, and was nicknamed "Woman's Beard" as being less than nothing.[17]

As another manifestation of this same sort of ethnocentrism the native often laughs at the white man and his ways. The Manyikas, for example, are amused at his clothing.[18] By some Congo natives the white man's dietary habits and food prejudices are "taken with a mild tolerance akin to amusement," especially his prejudice against eating food that smells, his seeming mania for washing everything carefully, and his obsession for keeping flies away from his food.[19] The Zulus make fun of the white man's food and of his sparing habits of eating. If served what he considers too small a helping of food, a Zulu is apt to say: "Put more into that dish; I am not a white man." At times he expresses his amusement at the white man in the latter's presence by a look or a gesture which, though meaningless to the European, is appreciated by other Zulus.[20] The typical dwelling of the Fang of West Africa has, in the middle of the front wall, a rectangular opening serving as both window and door. Successful entrance through this aperture is a feat requiring skill and practice, and the clumsy attempts of a white man to wriggle through the door, frequently culminating in his sprawling on the floor, provide a never-failing source of merriment to natives—both those within the dwelling and those who get a rear view from the street.[21] Another common source of amusement is the white man's blundering attempts at correct pronunciation of a native language. It seems very humorous to a Kootenay, for example, when a white man, struggling to master the difficult native gutturals, pronounces the word for "rainbow" like the word for "horsefly," and says "owl" instead of "woodpecker," and "skunk" instead of "crow."[22]

The Chaco Indians of South America, living in a harsh environment, are forced to endure disease, insect pests, and vicissitudes of climate, yet they exhibit patience and good nature as contrasted with the impatience and lack of endurance sometimes exhibited by whites under the same circumstances. And they are quick to re-

17. Informant Robert Hamilton.
18. Informant R. C. Gates.
19. Informant L. Foster Wood.
20. Informant Sibusisiwe Makanye.
21. Milligan, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–2.
22. Chamberlain, A. F., "The Human Side of the Indians," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXVIII (1906), 508.

mark about the white man's poor spirit. Grubb[23] relates an incident which occurred while he and a party of Indians with whom he was traveling were resting during the midday heat. The mosquitoes and sand flies were so unbearable that Grubb could not control his irritation. This amused the Indians, who asked him why he was angry. When he pointed out what seemed to him the obvious reason, they asked him if he knew the language of the mosquitoes, adding that, if he did, it might then be wise to speak harsh words to them. Again, in describing the appearance of a foreigner, when Grubb remarked that the man was tall and thin, the Indians laughed, and several exclaimed: "Just like a palm tree." When he added that the man had a long, flowing beard, there was more laughter, and one Indian said: "Just like a billy-goat." An African native, seeing for the first time in his life a bald white man, remarked that his head looked like a newly laid egg.[24]

Just as primitive man appreciates humorous situations in real life, so he creates such situations in his folk tales. In some tribes, persons particularly adept at story telling become, in a measure, professionals, receiving general recognition, gifts, or special privileges.[25] The characters in folk tales, while sometimes human beings, are frequently animals who are endowed with human or special attributes in addition to their natural ones. These animal characters talk, associate with men, exhibit human interests and desires, and do things impossible for animals as such but possible for men. A turtle, for example, may climb a tree or kill an elephant. This humanization of animals is not peculiar to primitive man, as witness the errors in the study of animal behavior due to the reading of human attributes into animal reactions, the appeal of "Brer Rabbit," and the popularity of animal characters in the motion pictures and animated cartoons. Folk tales are not designed for the printed page, where, indeed, they are frequently recorded in very abbreviated form. They are designed for oral interpretation,

23. *Op. cit.*, pp. 200, 197. 24. Milligan, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

25. Informants Mildred Ring, L. Foster Wood, Rudolf Hertz, Ruth Muskrat Bronson, Robert Hamilton, and C. Henneker Henry; Nassau, R. H., *Fetishism in West Africa* (New York, 1907), p. 330; Chatelain, H., "Folktales of Angola," *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, I (1894), 203; Cronise, F. M., and Ward, H. W., *Cunnie Rabbit, Mr. Spider and the Other Beef* (New York and London, 1903), pp. 7–8.

involving dramatic recitation. The narrator gives his imagination free rein, and supplements the spoken words with expressive gesture, realistic grimace, mimicry, and other bits of acting. This greatly enhances the humorous elements in a tale.

Many stories involve the death or severe physical discomfiture of one of the animal characters, but this does not necessarily indicate excessive cruelty on the part of the narrator or his audience. Primitive man constantly kills animals for food or pelts, and in parts of the world where his life is in danger from claw and fang he must kill in self-defense. Frequently, moreover, animal characters meet their uncomfortable ends because of their own dullness, exaggerated self-confidence, or inability to perceive a trick. In such cases it is not the death of the animal but rather the circumstances under which he died, e.g., his stupidity in being outwitted, which furnish the humorous elements. Finally, what seems humorous when happening to an enemy may arouse sympathy when happening to a friend, and what is relished in a story need not necessarily be relished in real life.

Many of primitive man's stories are told merely because they are interesting and amusing; there is no need to assume that they are anything more than that. There are, of course, tales which teach a moral, illustrate ethical values, explain origins, or recount historical events, but there is no justification for assuming that all tales have one or another of these purposes. Moreover, a humorous element may be prominent even when another purpose is present.

A very common type of humorous story is that in which one of the characters outwits another and puts him into an uncomfortable or ludicrous position. Not every such tale is humorous, however; the humor depends upon the circumstances. Usually a small, humble, harmless animal outwits a strong, ferocious one; this is humorous. If the opposite occurred, the result would be tragic, unless the victim had boasted or made a pretense of his superiority only to reveal his real inferiority when finally duped or caught.

In West Africa the story is told of how Anansi, the spider, cleverly outwitted several other animals. Anansi, it seems, was envious of Nyankupon, the chief of the gods, about whom all the old tales

were told, and, in his conceit, expressed the desire to the god that the stories be told about himself. Nyankupon agreed to grant the request on condition that the spider bring him a jar full of live bees, a boa constrictor, and a "tiger." Anansi then took an earthen vessel and set out for a place where he knew he would find bees. Drawing near, he began saying aloud: "They can fly into the jar. They cannot fly into the jar." When the bees asked what he meant by this, Anansi untruthfully explained that Nyankupon had said that they could not fly into the jar, while he himself had maintained that they could. To prove their ability to do so, the bees flew into the jar, which the deceitful spider immediately closed and sent off to Nyankupon. Next, Anansi took a long stick and by similar methods persuaded a boa constrictor to lie alongside of it to prove that he was of equal length. Whereupon the snake was tied fast and sent to Nyankupon. Finally, the crafty spider sewed one of his eyes shut and, approaching a "tiger," talked so enthusiastically about the wonderful things he was thus enabled to see that the slow-witted cat permitted his own eyes to be sewn. Nyankupon, when the helpless beast was delivered to him, kept his word and permitted all the old stories to be called Anansi tales.[26] This story, though explaining the origin of spider stories, also contains many humorous elements: Anansi's clever tricks, the element of surprise in his technique, and the ridiculous situations in which the other animals, especially the "tiger," find themselves.

In a Banyanja story, a man catches a "tiger" in a trap, but is persuaded to release the animal by its promise not to harm him. When freed, however, the "tiger" breaks its word, devours the man's child, and pursues the man himself with the object of completing its meal. The chase leads through the garden of the hare, who asks what the trouble is. When the man explains—the bloodthirsty "tiger" apparently standing by awaiting developments—the hare suggests that, in order to act as judge, he ought to see the whole incident of the trapping and release reënacted. The "tiger" credulously consents, and then finds itself trapped precisely as before.[27]

26. Barker, W. H., and Sinclair, C., *West African Folk Tales* (London, 1917), pp. 29–31.

27. Holland, M., "Folk-Lore of the Banyanja," *Folk-Lore*, XXVII (1916), 180–1.

In the following West African tale Anansi, the spider, outwits the baboon but becomes in turn the victim of his own trickery, thus enhancing the humor of the situation. The two animals are disputing as to which is the fatter. The spider suggests that they settle the question by building a fire, each in turn being suspended over the flame to see which drips the more fat. Anansi submits to the test first, but not a drop oozes from his body. But when the baboon is hung over the flame, the fat dripping from him smells so delicious that Anansi cuts off a slice of his flesh and eats it. The baboon says nothing at this, and the spider cuts another slice, and another, until he has completely devoured his antagonist. Then, however, the gluttonous Anansi gets the surprise of his life, for the parts of the baboon become reunited in his stomach, and the larger animal jumps about so much inside him that he becomes acutely uncomfortable. He thereupon consults a doctor, who advises him to eat nothing for several days and then to hold a banana before his mouth, as an attraction to cause the baboon to jump out of his stomach. Anansi tries the remedy, but, hungry as he is, he cannot resist the temptation to eat the bait himself. He must consequently resort once more to the doctor, who this time effects the cure in person.[28]

Another type of humorous tale is that in which one character outwits two others by pitting them against each other. In an African story, for example, the rabbit challenges first the hippopotamus and then the elephant to a tug of war. He arranges that they pull against each other, each thinking, of course, that his opponent is the rabbit. The huge beasts pull and strain, baffled at the "rabbit's" strength, until they are exhausted, whereupon the crafty rabbit goes to each separately and claims the victory, which the stupid and unsuspecting pachyderms are forced to concede.[29]

The Teras of Africa tell a story of a toad who sees a scorpion and wants to eat him alive, but on second thought decides that it would be safer to kill him first. He therefore suggests to the scorpion that they play a game in which each shall whack the other ten

28. Harris, J. C., Lang, A., Matthews, B., Ward, W. H, Krans, H. S., Strachey, L., eds., *The World's Wit and Humor* (15 vols., New York, 1905–06), XIV, 284–5.

29. Baird, J. B., *Children of Africa* (New York, 1910), pp. 45–6.

times. The scorpion agrees to let the toad strike first and stretches out his long tail, upon which the toad begins to beat—one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten. [At this point a moment of suspense is created, because the toad has had his turn and the scorpion is still alive and uneaten; uncertainty arises as to which is the trickster and which is being duped.] The scorpion now takes his turn, and the toad flattens himself against the ground the better to receive the blows. When the scorpion's stinger-mounted tail descends upon his unprotected back, the toad, at the pain of the very first blow, shouts, "Ten!"[30] and the tale is given its surprise ending.

Another common humorous plot is that in which one character feigns death, but at length has his trickery exposed and his conceit at his own cleverness deflated. Certain Brazilian Indians tell a story in which the jaguar pretends to be dead, knowing that the other animals will come to verify the report and hoping that, when they do so, he can kill the gopher, his special enemy. The animals assemble, as the jaguar has anticipated, except that the gopher refuses to draw near. From a safe distance he shouts: "Has he sneezed yet? When my grandfather died, he sneezed three times." The gullible jaguar thereupon sneezes thrice, much to the amusement and satisfaction of the gopher, who derisively laughs: "Who ever heard of a dead animal sneezing?"[31] In a Mpongwe tale the leopard feigns death, and the rat similarly tests him by having him raise his arm and shake his body. His trick exposed, the leopard chases the rodent, who takes refuge in a hole but leaves his tail sticking out. This the leopard seizes, but lets go, outwitted again, when the rat tells him that he has grasped not his tail but a root. In another version, the rat tests the leopard by putting biting insects on the latter's body, so that he soon "comes to life." In still another, the test is made by the gazelle, who puts ants, bees, and pepper on the leopard.[32] The same theme recurs in *Uncle Remus*, where Brer Fox feigns death and Brer Rabbit says: "Dead folks hists der behine legs and hollers wahoo! w'en a man come ter see

30. Informant C. Gordon Beacham.

31. Brandenburger, C., "Indian Stories of Brazil," *Living Age*, CCCXI (1921), 290–2.

32. Nassau, R. H., *Where Animals Talk* (London, 1914), pp. 13–17, 25–6, 27–30.

um." Brer Fox does this, and "Brer Rabbit he tear out de house like de dogs wuz atter 'im."[83]

In a Brazilian Indian tale, the turtle, whose slowness of motion has caused other animals to laugh at him, succeeds through cleverness where they have failed. All the animals desire a delicious fruit which grows in the forest but which is forbidden to any one who does not know its name. Only one old woman possesses this knowledge. Each animal in turn, therefore, goes to her for aid. She readily gives the name, but as each animal leaves she shouts after him that she has made a mistake and given the wrong name. This so confuses them that they all fail to remember the correct name. Finally, someone suggests that the turtle try, but the others laugh and say that, if the swifter animals cannot remember the name long enough to get the fruit, certainly the turtle cannot. Nevertheless, the turtle decides to make the attempt. He goes to the old woman's home, carrying his "fiddle" under his arm. As soon as he learns the name, he begins singing it to the accompaniment of his instrument, so that nothing that the woman says confuses him, and he successfully obtains the fruit.[84]

In another type of tale the humor inheres in an unwarranted fear of something which later proves to be insignificant and quite harmless. A Banyanja story furnishes a good example. When the animals go to steal corn from a certain man's garden, they hear a voice warning: "Do not eat the corn, for many animals have died from eating it." Not knowing that the voice is merely that of a butterfly hidden in the garden, they are frightened and run away. Still determined to get the corn, however, they decide to send back some of their number one at a time. The rhinoceros goes first, hears the voice, and leaves in such a hurry that he breaks his leg. The elephant tries next and beats such a hasty retreat that he tears off his trunk when it catches in a tree and he cannot stop to extricate it. The eland and others go in their turn, but with no greater success. Finally, despite the jibes of the others about his size, the turtle starts out. Refusing to be frightened, he procures the corn and even discovers and brings back the butterfly, which the other animals promptly kill. Having eaten the corn, the ani-

83. Harris, J. C., *Uncle Remus* (New York, 1924), pp. 53–8.
84. Brandenburger, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–2.

mals become thirsty and decide to dig a well. All but the hare cooperate. When the well has been dug and the animals have drunk their fill, they decide to post a guard to prevent the hare from gaining access to the water. The rhinoceros stands the first watch but is tricked by the hare, who offers him honey in a container with a drawstring on it; as soon as his head is inside, the hare pulls the string. The hare similarly outwits the others in turn—except the turtle, who keeps his head inside his shell and even succeeds in catching the thief. The other animals now determine to slay the culprit, but he escapes and runs to the river, where he changes himself into a stick. When the elephant arrives, in hot pursuit, he says: "If I had the hare, I would kill him with this stick." Whereupon he picks up the stick and hurls it across the river. On the opposite bank the metamorphosis is reversed, and the hare sits down and laughs at the bewildered elephant.[35] The elements of incongruity and surprise in this story require no comment.

A Hottentot tale suggests "This is the house that Jack built" in its cumulative effect. The tailor complains to the baboon that the mouse has torn his clothes, but that the latter claims to be innocent and blames it on the cat, who says the dog must have done it. The dog accuses the wood; the wood, the fire; the fire, the water. The water in turn blames the elephant, who accuses the ant. The baboon assembles all the defendants, but each has an alibi. Finally, he can see no solution except to have them punish each other, and gives the order: "Mouse, give the tailor satisfaction. Cat, bite the mouse. Dog, bite the cat. Wood, beat the dog. Fire, burn the wood. Water, quench the fire. Elephant, drink the water. Ant, bite the elephant in his most tender parts." All obey the baboon's directions, and the tailor gets "satisfaction."[36]

In a Zulu tale, the incongruity and humor reside in a credulous inability to distinguish between *amassi*, a common milk-and-corn dish, and the excreta of a bird. There is a famine in the land, and a certain woman, whose family is in need of food, rises early each morning to work in the garden. After working for a while, she stops to listen to the songs of the birds. One bird sings: "This is

35. Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–6.
36. Bleek, W. H. I., *Hottentot Tales and Fables* (London, 1864), pp. 33–6.

my father's soil. My father forbids people to work the soil, but they persist." At the end, all the soil which the woman has hoed becomes infested again with weeds, the sod returns to its original undisturbed position, the woman's seeds are scattered about, and the handle of her hoe breaks. This continues day after day, until she finally tells her husband. He accuses her of fabricating the story because she is lazy, but when the same thing happens again the next day, he decides to go with her to investigate. When the bird comes and sings as usual, the husband chases and finally captures it. As he seizes it, it cries: "Hold me gently, for I am a bird that gives *amassi*." Astonished at this, the man asks the bird to produce a little whey as proof. It does so, and he drinks the whey. He then asks for some *amassi*, and this the obliging bird also produces. Rejoicing at his lucky find, the man takes the bird home and puts it into an earthen vessel, warning the children never to open it. Every evening, after work, he and his wife send the children away and eat the delicious *amassi* which the bird has deposited during the day. One day, however, the children open the pot, discover and eat the *amassi*, and let the bird escape. The fact that the angry father kills his children does not nullify the humor of the situation.[37] Two variants of this tale are found among the Kaffirs.[38]

A widespread humorous theme is that in which one animal makes a riding-horse of another. In a Banyanja tale, the lion asks a certain man to be his "brother," but the hare has a similar aspiration. When the man refuses the hare's request, the latter boastfully retorts: "The lion is of no importance; he is my horse." When the lion hears of this, he becomes angry and accuses the hare. The latter denies the charge, adding that, if he were not at the moment so ill, he would go to the man and prove his innocence. The lion, all unsuspecting, offers to carry him. On the way, the hare complains that he is so weak that he will fall from the back of his mount unless he can use a bridle. The lion consents to this. A little later the hare complains of the flies and asks for a switch to drive them away. Again the lion grants his request. Soon they reach the village, where the inhabitants are witnesses to the fact that the

37. Informant Sibusisiwe Makanye.
38. Theal, G. M., *Kaffir Folk-Lore* (London, 1882), pp. 29–46.

hare has made good his boast.[39] In a version current in Angola the frog rides the elephant.[40] In a version from West Africa the turtle rides the leopard, and the recorder of the tale comments that, when it was told, "convulsive laughter continued for many minutes."[41] In an Iowa Indian tale the hare rides the coyote and increases the latter's humiliation by driving him into the presence of some girls with whom the coyote is a favorite.[42] In *Uncle Remus*,[43] Brer Rabbit makes a riding-horse of Brer Fox.

Tales of the hare-and-tortoise type, in which the slower animal wins the race, are common, although the victory is achieved more often by trickery than by perseverance. In a Bondei story the tortoise and the falcon compete for the hand of the chief's daughter. The tortoise, knowing that he has no chance to win unless he resorts to trickery, consults the hare, who evolves a plan. In accordance with this, the tortoise enlists the coöperation of a number of his tortoise friends, all of whom look alike to the falcon. One of them hides at each resting place along the route. The race begins and the falcon reaches the first resting place confident that he has left his competitor far behind, only to find that the "tortoise" is already there. This is repeated at each stop and again at the finish line in the village, where the tortoise himself is hiding. When the falcon comes flying into the village, crying that he has beaten the tortoise, the latter emerges out of hiding, claims the victory, and wins the hand of the chief's daughter.[44] In an Ikom version the frog races with the bushbuck and wins by stationing other frogs along the route.[45] In a Benga tale the tortoise defeats the antelope by the same kind of plot,[46] and a similar version is told by the Wakweli.[47] In a Pueblo Indian tale of Spanish provenience, the

39. Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–3.
40. Chatelain, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
41. Cronise and Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–6.
42. Skinner, A., "Traditions of the Iowa Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXXVIII (1925), 495–6.
43. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–9.
44. Woodward, W. W., "Bondei Folk Tales," *Folk-Lore*, XXXVI (1925), 182–5.
45. Dayrell, E., "Ikom Folk Stories from Southern Nigeria," *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Papers*, III (1913), 82–4.
46. Nassau, *Where Animals Talk*, pp. 96–8.
47. Bender, C. J., *African Jungle Tales* (Girard, 1919), pp. 62–4.

race is between the hawk and the mole. The latter places his friends along the route and instructs each to urinate on his fur as he emerges from hiding so that the hawk will think he has been perspiring. The mole also prays for rain, which hinders the hawk's flight.[48] A variation of the same theme is found in a Vandau tale. The turtle wagers that he can jump over the elephant, and enlists the aid of another turtle. Each digs a hole, one on either side of the pachyderm. One turtle calls: "I jump," and retreats into his hole, while the other emerges from concealment on the opposite side. The elephant, completely baffled, concedes his defeat.[49]

Another widespread humorous theme is that of the "tar baby" and its variations. In an African story a man makes a human figure of sticky gum and sets it up in his garden, where a rabbit has been eating his plants. The rabbit returns to steal again, encounters the gum man, becomes angry when the figure refuses to answer his questions, and begins to beat it. First one paw and then another adheres to the figure, until the rabbit is rendered helpless.[50] A West African version tells how Anansi, the spider, who is a successful but very selfish farmer, arranges to have his wife and son absent while he himself consumes a large part of the stored produce. The son returns to discover the loss but not the identity of the thief. To catch the culprit, the young man sets up a rubber figure near the storehouse. Anansi encounters it, becomes angry with it, finally strikes it, and becomes hopelessly entangled. Next morning he is discovered. In his shame he takes refuge in a dark corner, and there spiders have been found ever since.[51] In another West African story the spider feigns death and is buried near the house. When no one is around, he gets up, eats all the food in the house, and then returns to his grave. A wax girl is set up in the house to catch the thief, and the spider falls into the trap.[52] In an American Indian tale the coyote sets up an effigy of a baby animal made of wood and covered with gum in order to catch the rabbit,

48. Parsons, E. C., "Pueblo Indian Tales of Spanish Provenience," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXXI (1918), 221–2.

49. Boas, F., and Sunango, C. K., "Tales and Proverbs of the Vandau of Portuguese South Africa," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXV (1922), 181.

50. Holland, *op. cit.,* pp. 117–18.

51. Barker and Sinclair, *op. cit.,* pp. 69–72.

52. Cronise and Ward, *op. cit.,* pp. 101–11.

who has been stealing water from his spring. The rabbit attempts to push the figure into the water, but adheres to it and gets a ducking.[53] In a Muskhogean version, after the rabbit is caught by means of a figure set up to protect the well, the animals decide to kill him. Some suggest drowning, others burning, still others throwing the culprit into a brier thicket. The rabbit agrees to any but the last, and, of course, escapes when the animals decide upon the punishment he seems to fear.[54]

The "tar baby" motif also occurs in tales in which, though the culprit is caught by means of an adhesive, no effigy is employed. In a South African story, for example, the animals smear wax on the shell of the turtle, who waits quietly at the edge of a water hole to catch the rabbit. The latter, who has been using the water after refusing to coöperate in digging the hole, approaches the water, mistakes the turtle for a stone, steps on him, and is caught. The animals decide to kill him but cannot agree on a method of execution. The rabbit pleads that they adopt any means except that of seizing him by the tail and dashing his head against a stone. This method, of course, is immediately chosen, but the skin of the rabbit's tail slips off and he escapes.[55] In a tale told by the Southern Ute, the wolf, who has been stealing melons from the rabbit's garden, is caught when the latter builds a fence and smears sticky gum around the gate, the only entrance.[56]

In an African tale, the weasel and the fox have stolen and are cooking a fowl. The weasel, reasoning that if he can get rid of the fox temporarily he can eat the fowl by himself, induces the fox to go a short distance from the fire to see whether there are any enemies about. During his absence the weasel climbs a nearby hill, removes the bells which he has been wearing on his ankles, ties them to a stone, and rolls the latter down the slope, shouting: "Hide quickly; the owners of the fowl are coming." By the time the unsuspecting fox emerges from hiding, the fowl has been eaten, allegedly by its owners. When this has been repeated on several oc-

53. DeHuff, E. W., *Taytay's Tales* (New York, 1922), pp. 61–4.

54. Swanton, J. R., "Animal Stories of the Muskhogean Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXVI (1913), 194.

55. Honij, J. A., *South African Folk Tales* (New York, 1910), pp. 79–83.

56. Lowie, R. H., "Shoshonean Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* XXXVII (1924), 58–9.

casions, the fox begins to suspect trickery. He obtains some "medicine" and smears it over the lid of the cooking pot and on the chair on which the partner who does the cooking sits. The weasel, attempting to repeat his trick, sticks to the hot lid and also to the chair, and the fox leaves him in this predicament until he dies.[57] In a Banyanja story, an unusually successful hunter, who has been accustomed to give all his game to his brothers, decides one day to retain a piece of meat for himself. He puts it into a pot with instructions that no one is to touch it. During his absence, however, one of his ungrateful brothers tries to open the pot, but sticks fast to it. A second brother, in attempting to pull him free, adheres to the first. A third similarly sticks to the second. Other people, who come to help, are caught in the same way, until there is a long line of people all stuck to one another. When the hunter returns and finds them, he delivers a reprimand and orders the pot to release them.[58]

The question of the diffusion of similar tales from a common origin does not concern us here. Whether independently developed or borrowed, the widespread occurrence of similar themes shows that, fundamentally, what is humorous to one group is apt to be humorous to others. Despite the comparative constancy of basic humorous elements, however, the variations in a single theme and the diversity in characters and details reveal with sufficient clarity the relativity of humor to environment and culture and its adaptation to the understanding and experience of the audience.

57. MacKenzie, A. E., "African Folk Stories," *Southern Workman,* LIV (1925), 319–25.

58. Holland, *op. cit.,* pp. 122–4.

PUBLIC PROVISION FOR THE BLIND

CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

THE care of the dependent and defective classes is fast becoming a major governmental function. To those unacquainted with societal processes this may appear to be a usurpation of authority, an invasion into a field "normally" belonging to private and religious charitable agencies and institutions. The student of the science of society recognizes, however, the fallacy of attempting to demarcate with rigidity the proper field of this or that institution or set of mores. The complex interrelatedness of societal phenomena precludes such clear-cut delimitation.

Society is in a constant state of transition. Changing conditions—geographic, economic, or any other type—necessitate readjustments of the mores and institutions. These changes result, at particular periods in history, in the transfer to certain institutions of functions formerly discharged by other agencies. Thus the family, in addition to its primary function in society, has discharged at one time or another functions more generally performed by institutions in the economic, regulative, or religious fields. In like manner, the care of the blind, once a function of private philanthropy, is gradually becoming an important governmental activity.

Numerous definitions of the term "blind" have been advanced by various writers.[1] It is not necessary for us to go into an analysis of them, since many are purely medical or biological and therefore not pertinent. The term "blind," as used here, designates one "in whom sight is entirely wanting, or is so slight as to be of no substantial utility or of small material service, or one in whom there exists little or no visual perception, or one who even with the help of eyeglasses or with other artificial recourse has not sufficient ocular power for the ordinary affairs of life, or, in particular, for the performance of tasks for which eyesight is essential."[2]

1. See, for example, *Transactions of the Section on Ophthalmology of the American Medical Association,* 1927, p. 870; *Outlook for the Blind,* XXV (1931), 161.

2. Best, H., *Blindness and the Blind in the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 166.

The definition used by the United States Census in 1923 was inability to read, even with the aid of eyeglasses. On the basis of this definition, the 1930 census reported that there were in the United States 63,489 blind individuals, or a ratio of 517 blind persons to every 1,000,000 of the population of the country.[3] This ratio is slightly smaller than in many other countries.[4] That the number of blind is greater among the older age groups than among the younger is clearly established in Table I, which shows that approximately 77 per cent of the blind are forty-five years of age or older.

Table I: Blind Population Enumerated, by Sex and Age, for the United States (1930)[5]

Sex	*Total*	*Under 10 years*	*10–24 years*	*25–44 years*	*45–64 years*	*65 years and over*	*Age unknown*
Total	63,489	1,617	5,818	10,058	17,814	28,113	69
Male	36,529	931	3,396	6,327	11,149	14,686	40
Female	26,960	686	2,422	3,731	6,665	13,427	29

Since the adoption of governmental provision for the care of the blind in America has been greatly influenced by similar developments in Europe, our discussion of public care and education of the blind will advisedly be preceded by a consideration of earlier European movements.

In medieval times the blind received little or no consideration. Although not abused, on the whole, they were regarded as a burden to those on whom they depended for maintenance. "Often blindness was deemed as divine visitation or punishment for the misdeeds of those stricken or of their forefathers."[6] The blind shared honors

3. United States Bureau of the Census, *The Blind and Deaf-Mutes in the United States, 1930* (Washington, 1931). Since 1830, the blind have been enumerated at every decennial census.

4. See, for example, United States Bureau of the Census, *The Blind in the United States, 1910* (Washington, 1918); *Outlook for the Blind,* XXII (1928), 11.

5. Based on United States Bureau of the Census, *The Blind and Deaf-Mutes in the United States, 1930,* p. 9, Table II.

6. Best, H., "Blind," *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences,* II (New York, 1930), 188.

with the crippled as one of the two most successful classes of beggars.

With the growth of religious institutions for dependents and defectives, some provision in the form of hotels or houses of refuge was made for the blind in various localities. One of the first of these institutions was L'Hôpital des Quinze-Vingts at Paris, originally established in 1260 by Louis IX to care for soldiers blinded during the Crusades.[7] In addition to such special institutions, the monasteries and the convents that were scattered all over Europe often cared for the blind as well as for other handicapped groups.

One of the first teachers of the blind was Girolimo Cardano, a physician of Pavia, Italy, who also worked with the deaf. Being interested in all physically handicapped individuals, he pondered long over methods for educating the blind and finally developed the idea that it might be possible to impart some knowledge to them through the sense of touch. It is regrettable that the records do not tell whether he was successful to any extent. At about the same time, early in the sixteenth century, Peter Pontanus, a Flemish blind man, wrote a volume about the blind and their education. Within a few years after its publication there appeared in Italy an anonymous work entitled, in Italian, *Il cieco afflito e consolate* and, in French, *L'aveugle affligé et consolé*. Padre Lena Tersi of Brescia, Italy, wrote a book in this field in 1670 and tried to instruct a few blind children. Toward the close of the seventeenth century a number of blind children were being educated in Switzerland. Soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century, enough progress had been achieved for a book to appear on how to teach mathematics to the blind.[8]

Although sporadic developments like the above were becoming more numerous with the passing of years, the folkways in this field had changed relatively little by the middle of the eighteenth century. But the views expressed in the works of Diderot and other writers of his day suggest that the social situation was ripe for the development of new variations. Thus, in Diderot's *Letter on the*

7. Scott, E. R., *The History of the Education of the Blind prior to 1830* (London, 1915), p. 3. Some writers claim that the institution was founded much earlier, but such claims are to be questioned (see Ritchie, J. M., *Concerning the Blind* [London, 1930], p. 5).

8. Best, *Blindness and the Blind*, p. 301.

Blind,[9] we read that by 1745 superstitious beliefs and ignorance concerning the blind were beginning to be dispelled. Works of this kind, in addition to expressing the changing attitudes of certain groups toward the blind, helped to spread the new ideas among the educated classes.[10] These writings, however, were largely speculative and abstract. In fact, the same can even be said of many of the text-books or volumes on method that were published during the first half of the eighteenth century and earlier. But the stage had been set and the curtain was ready to rise. It was time for the agent of variation to appear on the scene in the person of Valentin Hauy, who played this rôle so successfully that he accomplished what, in his day, was considered to be the impossible.

The offspring of a poor weaver, Valentin Haüy (1745–1822) was born in Picardy. He studied modern languages at the University of Paris and for some time after the completion of his studies worked in the capacity of a translator of foreign correspondence for Parisian merchants. He first became interested in the blind while attending the Foire de St. Ovid in Paris in 1771. To attract visitors at the fair to his establishment, the proprietor of a café had hired a few blind individuals to imitate an orchestra rendering a performance. As if the cacophony made by the defectives were not sufficient, the manager had dressed them in grotesque garb, and in front of them had placed lighted candles on racks holding sheets of music. The crowds appeared much amused at the stunt. Haüy, on the contrary, was so repelled at the tragic exploitation of the handicapped that he decided to do his utmost to aid the blind to become better adjusted to society.[11]

To carry out his decision, Haüy collected all the documents he could find dealing with the education and training of the blind, but he found them fragmentary and of no real assistance. He was wondering whether the task he had set for himself was an impossible one, when all his doubts were dispelled upon seeing and hearing, in a musical recital, the performance of Theresa von Paradis, a Viennese blind girl. Determined to begin at the earliest possible date his educational work with the blind, he took as his first pupil Fran-

9. Jourdain, H., *Diderot's Philosophical Works* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 68–141.
10. Cubberley, E. P., *History of Education* (Boston, 1920), pp. 506–8.
11. Sizeranne, M. de la, *The Blind as Seen through Blind Eyes* (New York, 1893), pp. 52–4.

çois Lesueur, whom he found begging on the streets of Paris. He compensated Lesueur for his loss of revenue, and tested out with him various methods of instruction.[12] In 1784, the first year of the association of these two men, Lesueur discovered quite by chance that he was able to tell by touch a letter of the alphabet which had accidentally become deeply impressed on the paper.[13] Haüy, making good use of the discovery, embossed books for his pupils to read.

These two agents of variation gradually gathered around them interested friends. Organizations also became interested in the work, and in 1785, under the auspices of the Académie des Sciences and the Société Philanthropique, the first real school for the blind was opened at Paris with Haüy as its director.[14] To this school, L'Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles, the Société Philanthropique sent twelve pupils whose expenses it paid. The institution was a great success from the first, and its fame spread rapidly not only throughout France but also to other countries, including the United States.

Once this variation had demonstrated its survival value in French society, its spread to and adoption by neighboring countries was a matter of but a few years. In 1791, the clergymen Henry Dannet and John Smyth opened the first school in Great Britain at Liverpool.[15] Institutions were established two years later at Edinburgh and Bristol; in 1799, at London; and in the opening decade of the nineteenth century, at Glasgow, Norwich, and Dublin.[16] On the continent, the variation diffused first to Austria, where a school was founded by Zlein in 1802 through Haüy's influence.[17] Other institutions were established at Berlin and Stockholm in 1806, at Milan the following year, at Amsterdam, Dresden, and Prague in 1808, at St. Petersburg and Zurich in 1809, at Copenhagen in 1811, and at Brussels, Lausanne, and Breslau in 1816.[18] There can be no question that the influence of Haüy was felt in the

12. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 803, n. 1.
13. Sizeranne, *op. cit.,* p. 62.
14. Merry, R. V., *Problems in the Education of Visually Handicapped Children* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 21.
15. Ritchie, *op. cit.,* pp. 12–17.
16. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 808.
17. Merry, *op. cit.,* p. 22.
18. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 804.

establishment of all these institutions, although he was personally active only in the founding of the St. Petersburg and the Berlin schools.[19]

While the dominant objective of the French school was utilitarian in character, in England the schools laid considerable emphasis on religious instruction in addition to industrial training. The importance of religious activities in the English institutions is clearly revealed in the following description of a Sunday in 1838. "After breakfast and before the inmates prepare for Church, they are assembled in the school-room when one of the blind reads a Chapter of the Bible and each boy and girl repeats a Psalm or Hymn. Afterwards they are attended to Church. In the evening each has his book. It is most encouraging to perceive with what care the pupils acquire the task assigned them. They will repeat six, eight and twelve verses with great correctness. At the hour fixed, they all assemble in the school-room before the teacher and repeat the task which they have learned. Afterwards they read a chapter and close the exercises with prayers. At eight o'clock they retire to bed."[20]

It was in connection with the British institutions that the terms "indigent blind" and "asylum" were first used.[21] Thus, whereas the work in France was primarily educational in character, a charitable-religious connotation was given the movement in England. The American schools were influenced by both the French and the British systems, and reproduced not only the educational features of the former but also the charitable characteristics of the latter. Thus the first schools in the United States were called "asylums" and their objectives were to maintain and to educate the "indigent blind." In addition to French and British influences, the American movement, early in its history, felt the effects of German developments. The Berlin school, established by Haüy in 1806 and directed by Zeune, concentrated its efforts largely on the teaching of manual trades. This novel line of instruction very definitely modified the program of one of the early American schools.[22]

The development of a system of raised print has contributed

19. Sizeranne, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–93; Illingworth, W. H., *History of the Education of the Blind* (London, 1910), p. 5.

20. Ritchie, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

21. Merry, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3.

22. Allen, E. E., "Impressions of Institutions for the Blind in Germany and Austria," *Outlook for the Blind,* IV (1910), 7.

greatly to the success of the movement for educating the blind. From the day when Lesueur discovered by accident that he could decipher deeply impressed letters of the alphabet, on to the present, numerous experiments with various types of raised print have been conducted. But it was the system first devised by Charles Barbier and perfected later by Braille that has attained the widest acceptance. This "Braille system of raised print for the blind," as it is called to this day, after various improvements upon the original scheme, was put in its present form in 1834. The practicability of this system did much to hasten the establishment of the first American schools.[23]

While a number of schools for the blind had been established in Europe before the opening of the nineteenth century, it was not until the second quarter of this century that the first school for the blind in America was founded at Boston. Some legal provision for the blind, however, had been made by different legislatures much before this time. For example, Maryland, as early as 1650, had enacted a statute providing that a special tax be levied for the maintenance of the blind, the maimed, and the lame.[24] Another early reference is found in Massachusetts records,[25] which state that a certain blind man petitioned for tax exemption in 1682. In general, however, the indigent blind were provided for in the same manner as the general poor. The colonies, and later the states, cared for those without settlement, and the towns maintained those with settlement. It is quite possible that individual attempts to educate blind children may have been made, but no organized effort was made prior to the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Even before the close of the eighteenth century, travelers were spreading news of the accomplishments of the European schools, and, in consequence, a slight interest in the fate of the blind became observable. Like the first manifestation in France, however, the early American reaction toward the blind was largely speculative and philosophical in character.[26]

23. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* pp. 410–11.

24. 1650, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, No. 16, *Archives of Maryland,* 1883, p. 296.

25. *The Records of the Governor and the Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1674–1686,* V, 377.

26. See, for example, *Massachusetts Magazine,* III (1791), 9; *The American Museum,* XI (1792), 27, 103.

By the third decade of the last century, interest in the blind had become so great that the legislatures of several states instituted enumerations of the blind. The first New England legislature to take such action was that of New Hampshire, in 1819.[27] Vermont took a similar action in 1825,[28] and Connecticut in 1829.[29] That this movement was in no sense confined to New England is borne out by the fact that Pennsylvania provided for such a census in 1821 and that the United States Census Bureau made an enumeration in 1830.[30] Imperfect as these enumerations were, they nevertheless resulted in the massing of concrete data relative to the number and condition of the blind in several states.

As a consequence, in part of such surveys, and in part also of the success of the European schools for the blind and of the American schools for the deaf,[31] the interest of the people of the United States soon became crystallized in the first schools for the blind to be established in this country. This movement may be said to have acquired concrete form with the return of Dr. John D. Fisher to Boston from Paris, in 1826. While in France, Dr. Fisher had become acquainted with and very much impressed by the work of Haüy's school. Soon after his return he conferred with a number of individuals interested in the blind, and in the following year, 1827, money was raised to defray the expenses of a survey of the blind and of the methods that should be adopted in establishing a school for them.[32]

On February 10, 1829, a meeting of all those interested in the blind was held at the Exchange Coffee House. A report stated that there were four hundred blind individuals in the commonwealth and possibly fifteen hundred in the New England states. Speakers insisted that educational and scientific tools were already available and in use in many European schools, and that there was no excuse why New England should not extend similar facilities to its

27. *Laws of New Hampshire,* X: "Second Constitutional Period, 1829–1835," p. 506.

28. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 307.

29. Capen, E. W., *The Historical Development of the Connecticut Poor Law* (New York, 1905), p. 159. *Cf.* also 1829, *Laws of Connecticut,* chap. 24.

30. Best, H., *The Blind* (New York, 1919), p. 262.

31. *Report of the Connecticut Board of Education of the Blind,* 1929–30, p. 129.

32. *Report of the Perkins Institution,* 1874, pp. 10, 33.

blind citizens. The result was the organization of a school before the adjournment of the meeting.[33]

Within a few days, the legislature passed unanimously and without debate a statute creating "The New England Asylum for the Blind for the purpose of educating blind persons,"[34] which later came to be known as the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind. Although the school was established as a private institution, and has so remained ever since, it has from the first maintained very close connections with the state government. The law under which it was created, for example, provided that its board of trustees should include, among others, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.[35] The state also extended to the school, at its inception, financial assistance to the amount of $1,500[36]—the first appropriation of public money in America to an institution for the blind. Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, a young physician of Boston, was appointed director. In order to be able to give expert attention to his duties, he went to Europe to study the methods of the schools in Edinburgh, Paris, and Berlin. He brought back with him two teachers, one from the Edinburgh and the other from the Paris institution. The school opened in August, 1832, using as temporary quarters the home of Dr. Howe's father in Boston. Thus began the first American school for the blind.[37]

While the Boston institution was thus in the making, two other schools were in the process of being organized. The New York Institute for the Education of the Blind, originally the New York Institution for the Blind, was founded by citizens who reacted unfavorably against the almshouse type of care then given to blind children. Armed with letters and reports concerning the successful work of the Edinburgh school, the organizers, in 1831, induced the legislature to incorporate the institution. The school opened in

33. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* pp. 307–8.

34. *The Addresses and the Messages of Governor F. G. Allen of Massachusetts,* 1929–30, p. 226.

35. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 308.

36. Best, *The Blind,* p. 264.

37. The New York school began to hold sessions four or five months earlier than the Massachusetts institution. Since the latter, however, was the first to be officially organized, it is considered to be the original school for the blind in America.

1832, and two years later the state began to contribute $160 annually per pupil, a subsidy later considerably increased. The third school to be organized was the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, toward the establishment of which the Friends, under the influence of the Berlin school, had been working since 1824. After incorporation and the receipt of a grant of $10,000 from the legislature, the institution opened in 1833.

As in the case of the deaf, once the first schools for the blind had demonstrated their survival value in one community, their diffusion to other areas became but a question of time. Thus the success of the first three American schools induced other commonwealths to create similar institutions (*cf.* Table II). In many instances Dr. Howe's efforts were largely instrumental. Chief among such "offspring" are the schools created in Ohio in 1835,[38] in Virginia in 1839, and in Kentucky in 1842.[39] Each school, once established, became in its turn a factor in further diffusion. Thus, in the establishment of the Kentucky school, not only the Massachusetts but also the Ohio institution played a part. Similarly, the Indiana school was created in 1847 after the success of the Ohio and Kentucky schools had been demonstrated to the legislature. By 1933, there were "fifty-four state institutions for the blind in the United States, and seven private schools receiving state help."[40] Only eight states—Delaware, Maine, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wyoming—had no state or semi-public institutions, and most of these provided for the education of their blind children in the schools of neighboring commonwealths (*cf.* Map A).

The foregoing historical sketch reveals in interesting relief the processes of societal evolution at work in a segment of modern society: variation and the rôle played by individuals as agents thereof, the selective process whereby variations are preserved and perpetuated when they prove to be adequate adjustments, and the diffusion of tested variations, first throughout Europe and then to and throughout the United States. Imitation, as an important as-

38. *Report of the Perkins Institution,* 1837, p. 12.

39. Best, *Blindness and the Blind,* p. 312.

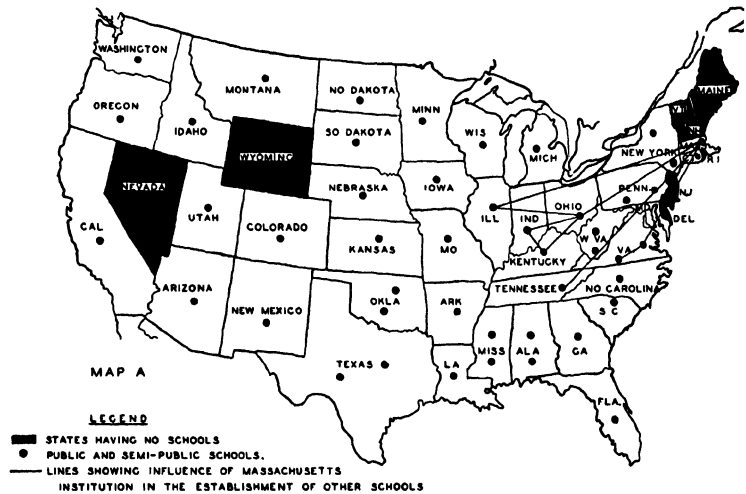
40. *Report of the Committee on the Physically and Mentally Handicapped,* Section IV-B, Sub-Committee on the Visually Handicapped, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (New York, 1931), p. 17.

Table II: Establishment of Public Institutions for the Blind in the United States[41]

Year Established	*School and State*
1832	Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind
	New York Institute for the Education of the Blind
1833	Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind
1837	Ohio State School for the Blind
1839	Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind
1840	Illinois School for the Blind
1842	Kentucky School for the Blind
1843	Tennessee School for the Blind
1845	North Carolina State School for the Blind and the Deaf
1847	Indiana School for the Blind
1848	Mississippi School for the Blind
1849	Wisconsin School for the Blind
1851	Georgia Academy for the Blind
	Missouri School for the Blind
1852	Iowa School for the Blind
1853	Maryland School for the Blind
1855	South Carolina School for the Deaf and the Blind
1856	Louisiana School for the Blind
	Texas School for the Blind
1860	Arkansas School for the Blind
	California School for the Blind
1863	Minnesota School for the Blind
1865	Michigan School for the Blind
1867	Kansas School for the Blind
1868	New York State School for the Blind
1872	Maryland School for the Colored Blind and Deaf
1873	Oregon State School for the Blind
1875	Nebraska School for the Blind
1878	West Virginia School for the Deaf and the Blind
1883	Colorado School for the Deaf and the Blind
1885	Florida School for the Deaf and the Blind
1886	Washington State School for the Blind
1887	Texas Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute for Colored Youths
1888	Alabama School for the Blind
1890	Western Pennsylvania School for the Blind
1892	Alabama School for the Negro Deaf and Blind
1893	Connecticut Institute for the Blind
1896	Montana School for the Deaf and the Blind
	Utah School for the Deaf and the Blind
1897	Oklahoma School for the Blind
1899	South Dakota State School for the Blind
1903	New Mexico School for the Blind
1906	Idaho School for the Deaf and the Blind
1908	North Dakota School for the Blind
1909	Oklahoma State Institute for Deaf, Blind and Orphans (Colored)
1910	Virginia State School for Colored Deaf and Blind Children
1912	Arizona State School for the Deaf and the Blind
1926	West Virginia School for Colored Deaf and Blind
1929	Mississippi County Life School (Colored)

41. Adapted from Best, *Blindness and the Blind*, pp. 695–6. A few of the institutions are semi-public.

pect of cultural diffusion, is seen operative in the establishment of schools in England, Austria, Germany, and Russia modeled on the original institutions for the deaf and the blind in France. The same process repeated itself in America, where not only the European schools for the blind but also the earlier American schools for



the deaf served as models. When Dr. Howe and his contemporaries saw the advisability of making educational provision for blind children, they turned to the state for assistance from public funds, as had already been done by those interested in affording educational opportunities to the deaf. And "as a usual thing on the creation of a school for the blind the same provisions were adopted which applied to the school for the deaf."[42]

In addition to making grants to such schools, the states have extended considerable aid to both blind children and blind adults, not only for educational, but also for maintenance purposes. In fact, this type of welfare and educational work has been carried on almost wholly either under state auspices or with state assistance. The method used to persuade legislatures to vote the neces-

42. Best, *The Blind*, p. 285.

sary appropriations for the maintenance and education of the blind was again an exact replica of the system first devised by the friends of the deaf. "A few pupils were trained and then a tour of exhibition was arranged. After demonstrating the educability of the blind before wondering crowds, public appeal for financial assistance was made."[43] The important rôle played by such practices in molding public opinion in favor of state aid to the blind and the deaf needs to be emphasized, for it was no easy task for Americans to tear themselves loose from their traditional system of local welfare and to substitute in its place a scheme of state assistance. But even tradition-bound New England legislators were not immune to the repeated emotional appeals directed to them by the blind and their teachers. Commenting on the alacrity with which legislators provided the necessary funds, Best[44] states: "Provision for the education of the blind was made in those States before the representatives of the people had time to wipe the tears from their eyes." The extent to which the state governments have become the dominant factor in this type of educational and welfare work is clearly demonstrated by the fact that there were, in 1933, fewer than ten private institutions for the blind in the country, exclusive of a few private schools for the very young.

State maintenance and education of the blind have not been confined solely to children. On the contrary, certain of the commonwealths have developed comprehensive programs of industrial training for the adult blind. Industrial provision takes the form either of free distribution of tools and materials, or of industrial training, or of the establishment of workshops and retail stores. Many of the blind who are often classed as being gainfully employed are in reality employed in workshops or similar establishments operated by private or public agencies. Seldom, if ever, are such enterprises economically profitable. As Irwin[45] states, "These shops usually operate at a loss and the deficit is made up through private philanthropy or taxation."

Massachusetts was one of the first states to extend industrial aid to the adult blind, by opening, in 1840, a department for the employment of graduates. Many years later, in 1906, when the

43. Merry, *op. cit.*, p. 26. 44. Best, *The Blind*, p. 269.
45. Irwin, R. B., "The Blind," *Social Work Year Book*, 1929, p. 42.

Commission for the Blind was created, provision was made for the establishment of shops in which to sell the goods manufactured by the blind in state workshops.[46] When the Commission for the Blind was abolished and its work was taken over by the Division of the Blind in the Department of Education, the latter was empowered "to use every effort, with the funds provided for its use, to promote industrial efficiency of the blind, to find means through which that efficiency may contribute to self-support, and to aid in the marketing of products made by the blind, to ascertain, as far as possible, the status and capacity of every blind person in the Commonwealth, and to do all in its power to bring about an amelioration of the condition of those deprived of sight or in danger of such deprivation."[47] The legislative appropriation for industrial work with the blind made in 1932 amounted to $224,550.[48]

Connecticut is another state supplying tools, machinery, and materials to indigent blind persons who have received the necessary preparation. The cost of this aid was limited by law, in 1899, to $200 per person.[49] The responsibility was further extended in 1903, when it was decided to give such assistance to applicants who had not had the necessary preparation but who wanted to acquire it.[50] The Connecticut Board of Education of the Blind conducts an extensive sales service, supervises the home industries of older blind people, and operates a placement service. The sum of $1,075.78 was expended in 1931, and of $1,097.61 in 1932, for machinery, tools, and materials for state beneficiaries.[51]

The New Hampshire Legislature, in 1913, directed the State Board of Charities and Corrections to "act as a bureau of information and industrial aid for the blind." To carry out these provisions, the board was told it "may furnish materials and tools to any blind persons and may assist such blind persons as are engaged in home industries in marketing their products and may as-

46. *Report of the Connecticut Board of Education of the Blind,* 1929–30, p. 129.

47. *Report of the Division of the Blind, Massachusetts Department of Education,* 1922, p. 7.

48. *Report of the Massachusetts Department of Education,* 1932, i, 53.

49. 1899, *Public Acts of Connecticut,* chap. 218.

50. 1903, *Public Acts of Connecticut,* chap. 62.

51. *Report of the Connecticut Board of Education of the Blind,* 1931–32, pp. 49, 58, 61, 71–2.

sist the blind in finding employment and in developing industries for them, and may ameliorate the condition of the blind by devising means to facilitate the circulation of books. . . ."[52] In 1917, the first shop for the manufacturing and marketing of blind goods was opened in West Manchester,[53] and was operated in this town until 1931, when it was removed to Concord.[54] In addition to employment at the shop, blind persons receive assistance to work on home industries. The success of such activities in the eastern states caused their gradual diffusion to other regions and their eventual adoption by most commonwealths.

Just as the first school for blind children was organized in Massachusetts, so also the movement for the home education of the adult blind was first sponsored by this commonwealth. In 1899 the legislature adopted a resolution requiring the State Board of Education "to inquire into the feasibility of the instruction of the adult blind in their homes, and report with recommendations."[55] The report strongly urged that such instruction be afforded. To defray expenses, the legislature in 1900 appropriated the sum of $1,000.[56] By 1932, the annual appropriation for the instruction of the adult blind at home had risen to $17,300, which made possible the maintenance of seven home teachers giving 4,366 lessons.[57] The program was successful from the very first, and was soon adopted by many other states.[58]

There was a time when leading writers in the field of social welfare, such as A. G. Warner,[59] held that it was possible to educate nearly all the blind to become self-supporting. It is now fairly well established, however, that a considerable number of the blind, because of the very nature of their defect, cannot be made self-sustaining. "Blindness, if not totally disabling for gainful occu-

52. 1913, *Laws of New Hampshire,* chap. 117, sect. 2.

53. *Report of the New Hampshire State Board of Charities and Corrections,* 1917–18, p. 91.

54. *Ibid.,* 1931–32, p 56.

55. 1900, *Laws and Resolutions of Massachusetts,* chap. 13.

56. *Report of the Connecticut Board of Education of the Blind,* 1929–30, p. 129.

57. *Report of the Massachusetts Department of Education,* 1932, i, 22, 53.

58. Anagnostopoulos, M., *Education of the Blind in the United States of America* (Boston, 1904), p. 22.

59. Warner, A. G., *Notes Supplementary to Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Baltimore, 1888), p. 86.

pations those whom it afflicts, lays upon them such a heavy hand that the range found left is exceedingly contracted. In consequence of all this the earning power of the blind becomes highly restricted, and their task of securing remunerative employment which will support them proves an extremely difficult one, if not indeed an insuperable one."[60]

Turning to more concrete facts we find that, in 1910, 24.5 per cent of blind males and 5.8 per cent of blind females were gainfully occupied. These percentages were slightly higher in 1920—25.4 for males and 7.8 for females—but still strikingly below the corresponding figures for the general population, of whom 78.2 per cent of the males and 21.1 per cent of the females were gainfully employed. These facts clearly reveal the serious handicap of the blind in a competitive society. It is safe to assume that not more than one-third of the adult blind are either self-sustaining or supported by relatives. This leaves fully two-thirds of the blind population dependent on the public for support. What provisions have the states made for the support of the needy blind?

In colonial times, the blind were grouped with all the other dependents and defectives in the poor class. One by one, the states passed laws declaring the restrictions enacted in respect to vagrants and tramps inapplicable to the blind,[61] which meant, in general, that the blind were permitted to beg. The Massachusetts law in force at the present time may be cited as an example: "Whoever not being a minor under seventeen years of age, a blind person, or a person asking alms within his own city or town, who roves about from place to place begging, or living without labor or visible means of support, shall be deemed a tramp."[62]

From this small beginning, the states have developed different types of assistance and pension measures for the blind, largely as a result of: (1) the failure of the blind to become self-supporting

60. Best, *Blindness and the Blind*, p. 217.

61. See, for example, 1879, *Laws of Connecticut*, chap. 59; 1893, *Laws of Connecticut*, chap. 97; 1930, *Revised Statutes of Connecticut*, sect. 6263; 1880, *Laws of Maine*, chap. 213; 1930, *Revised Statutes of Maine*, p. 1635; 1880, *Laws of Massachusetts*, chap. 257; 1932, *Revised Statutes of Massachusetts*, p. 3191; 1878, *Laws of New Hampshire*, chap. 38; 1925, *Public Laws of New Hampshire*, p. 1409; 1880, *Laws of Rhode Island*, chap. 806; *General Laws of Rhode Island*, p. 1725.

62. 1932, *Revised Laws of Massachusetts*, p. 3191.

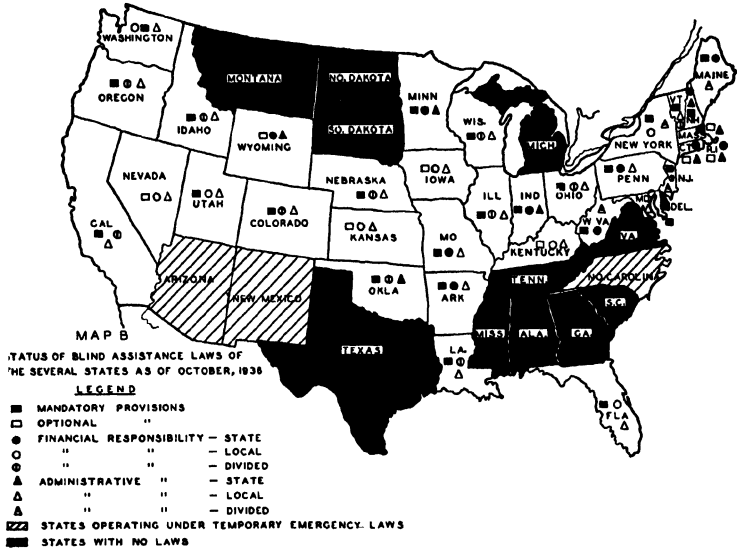
because of the nature of their physical defect, (2) the public interest focused on this class of handicapped persons by the schools for the blind, (3) the absence of effective private philanthropic provision, and (4) the failure of smaller governmental units to furnish subsistence for the maintenance of the needy blind in health and decency. The state of Indiana, in 1857, passed the first blind assistance statute. In 1866, the New York City "department of charities was permitted to give them (the blind) monetary assistance—following unsatisfactory efforts to provide aid through industrial undertakings. . . ." No one individual was to receive more than $50 per year, and the total to be expended was limited at $20,000.[63] Ohio, in 1898, passed a law permitting counties to grant pensions amounting to not more than $100 a year to indigent blind individuals holding no property, who had resided five years in the state and one year in the county. Illinois and Wisconsin enacted similar statutes in 1903 and 1907, respectively. From these beginnings the variation has been diffused widely, a great many states joining the procession of the commonwealths which grant financial assistance or pensions to the adult blind.

With the coming of the depression in 1929, extensive developments in blind assistance took place. Not only were old systems revised but new ones were also adopted by states which previously had had none. Currently, some thirty-three states and the District of Columbia have in force legislation of this type. Under many of the older laws, both financial and administrative, responsibility was placed on local governmental units—towns or counties. Even as late as 1929, only ten states made financial contributions and only nine discharged administrative functions in this field of social welfare. Since that date, largely in an attempt to effect an adjustment to the unusual circumstances of the depression, both types of functions have tended to become increasingly centralized in the state governments. In the autumn of 1936, grants in respect of the blind were being made by 24 states, and administrative functions were being discharged by 26 states. Map B presents comparatively the more important features of the state systems currently in operation.

The variety of state measures, the inadequacy of many of them,

63. Best, *Blindness and the Blind*, p. 549.

the total absence of such measures in some fourteen states, and the unusual economic handicap of the blind are some of the factors which induced the drafters of the Social Security Act to include within its scope provisions for blind assistance.



MAP B

STATUS OF BLIND ASSISTANCE LAWS OF THE SEVERAL STATES AS OF OCTOBER, 1936

LEGEND

- MANDATORY PROVISIONS
- OPTIONAL "
- FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY — STATE
- " " — LOCAL
- " " — DIVIDED
- ADMINISTRATIVE " — STATE
- " " — LOCAL
- " " — DIVIDED
- STATES OPERATING UNDER TEMPORARY EMERGENCY LAWS
- STATES WITH NO LAWS

This Act does not permit the Federal Government to make any direct payment of assistance to blind individuals. Instead, it provides for federal grants to states, to enable them to give aid to needy blind persons. In order to obtain such a grant, it is necessary for a state to meet certain conditions specified in the Social Security Act. No state may require more than five years' residence in the state out of the previous nine years, nor more than one year of continuous residence in the state immediately prior to application for assistance. No citizenship requirement may exclude a citizen of the United States on the ground that he has not been a citizen long enough.

The amount of assistance which will be paid under this Act to needy blind persons is determined by the state, and may vary from

one state to another. It may be made to depend upon the resources of the individual, the cost of living, or the amount which the state and local governments will be able to provide when aided by the Federal Government. When a state provides a system of assistance to the blind which is in conformity with the Social Security Act, the Federal Government will pay one-half of the amount expended for assistance up to $30 a month to an individual. A state may make a monthly payment of more than $30 per individual, but in such cases the Federal Government will contribute only $15. No federal funds under this Act will be paid for a person who is an inmate of a public institution, and in no event will an individual be permitted to receive aid at the same time that he is receiving old-age assistance. If there is no provision for assistance to the blind in a state, or if the present state law is not in conformity with the federal Social Security Act, it will be necessary for that state to enact appropriate legislation or take other legal steps in order to obtain federal aid.

The sum of $2,000,000 was appropriated by Congress for the last five months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, and a sufficient sum was authorized thereafter, for the purpose of enabling each state to furnish financial assistance to needy individuals who are blind. Since February, 1936, a total of $76,864,257.77 of federal funds has gone to coöperating states to aid them in financing their approved state programs for aid to needy aged, needy blind, and dependent children. Of this amount, $2,591,980.17 has been for the blind. During the month of October, 1936, it is estimated that 29,544 blind persons were being aided under this plan. Chart I shows the number of recipients of aid to the blind in September, 1936, per 100,000 total estimated 1936 population in states with plans approved by the Social Security Board.

It needs to be emphasized that the states themselves administer the federal funds, together with the state and local funds appropriated for the same purpose. Each state determines for itself who is eligible for assistance and how much aid shall be given. Map C presents in summary form the status of state plans and laws for aid to the needy blind as of August 10, 1936. It reveals that on that date the plans of twenty-one states had been approved by the Social Security Board.

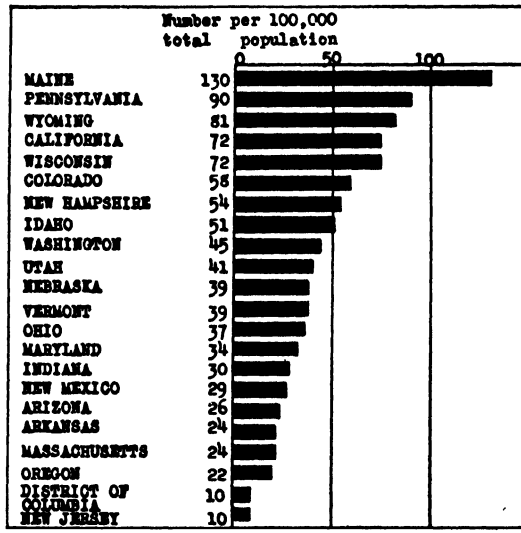


CHART I

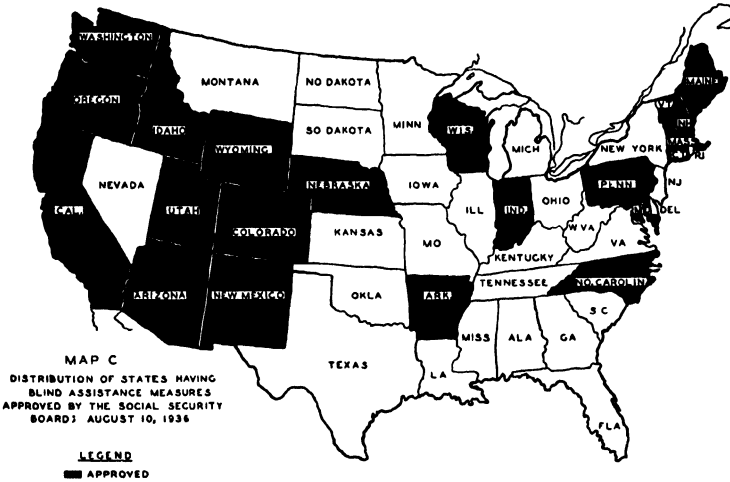
Number of Recipients of Aid to the Blind in September 1936 per 100,000 Total Estimated Population July 1, 1936, in States with Plans Approved by the Social Security Board.[64]

In conclusion, our study has disclosed that until after the second decade of the nineteenth century the blind received in the United States the same general treatment as the poor. Special treatment was given the blind in this country only after the European mores in this field had become crystallized into institutions. The spread of these variations from Europe to America constitutes an interesting case of cultural diffusion in modern times. In the United States, the initiative toward specialized care and training of the blind was taken either by private agencies or by individuals. In the case of the blind, and also of the crippled, medical practitioners were most prominent as agents of variation.

Because of financial and administrative shortcomings, the pri-

64. Social Security Board, *Public Assistance, Monthly Statistics for the United States,* Vol. I, No. 9 (Sept., 1936).

vate groups which initiated the variation were compelled from the very first to seek assistance from public sources. Such assistance was given in many cases by the state governments. Some of the more important factors causing this development may be enumerated. In the first place, the town—and often the county—has been found to be too small a unit to afford the high cost of professional service for the physically handicapped. In most minor political divisions the number of those requiring special treatment is so small that the cost of such service is well-nigh prohibitive. In the second place, certain municipalities are poorer than others, and some, too, may have an unusually large number of defectives. To equalize opportunity, to extend to every one the advantages of professional service, the state has had to assume both administrative and financial responsibility. In the third place, the pioneering work of European nations in this field has had a profound influence on American developments. In Europe the state was often appealed to for aid, and it was only natural that this practice should be imported along with the systems of training and care. In the fourth place, as private agencies and individuals failed to make necessary



MAP C

DISTRIBUTION OF STATES HAVING BLIND ASSISTANCE MEASURES APPROVED BY THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD; AUGUST 10, 1936

LEGEND

APPROVED

NOT APPROVED OR NO LAWS

provision, the responsibility fell upon the state, and more recently upon the Federal Government.

In consequence of the play of these and other factors, the state has become the leading agency providing care and training for the physically handicapped. By extending aid and supervision to private institutions and agencies, and by establishing public institutions of various types, the state has assumed a larger and larger share of the burden of supporting the indigent physically handicapped, and often of the non-indigent as well. Most of the states have recognized and accepted their responsibility in this connection, and the continued expansion for more than a century of state programs for the blind has amply demonstrated their survival value. It is interesting to observe, also, that the provisions of the Social Security Act tend, not to undermine, but rather to strengthen the importance of the state in the education and support of the blind. Therefore, a multiplication of state services and a continued growth of the powers of the state government in this field of public welfare may well be expected during the coming years.

THE PROPERTY RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND

M. ROBERT COBBLEDICK

WHAT property rights were possessed by women in the Puritan colonies of New England in the early seventeenth century? How did these rights compare, not with those of the women of today, whose prerogatives have been widely extended, but with those of the women of contemporary England? To these two questions the present paper seeks an answer.

The laws and customs of England touching women's property rights grew up around two fundamental distinctions, to wit, that between men and women on the one hand, and, on the other, that between women of differing marital status, unmarried, married, widowed, and divorced. If marital status be left out of account, the English laws of the seventeenth century can be said to have embodied, in this respect, only one serious discrimination against women as a class, namely, that regarding inheritance. While both sexes alike were required to be of a specific age and of sound mind in order to dispose of property legally, the laws regulating inheritance operated distinctly in favor of male heirs. Sons took precedence over daughters, and this, in conjunction with the practice of primogeniture, practically disinherited daughters if they had brothers living. The law made a further discrimination against women by providing that daughters should share an estate equally, instead of permitting the eldest daughter to take the entire estate as an eldest son was privileged to do.[1]

In New England, the colonists changed these rules considerably. They abolished primogeniture, although still usually permitting

1. Unless otherwise noted, the description of English laws and precedents throughout this paper has been drawn from the following sources: Holdsworth, W. S., *History of English Law* (London, 1923–24), Vols. III, V, VI; *The Lawes Resolutions of Women's Rights* (London, 1632); Loeb, I., "The Legal Property Relations of Married Parties," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law,* XIII (1901); Pollock, F., and Maitland, F. W., *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I* (Boston, 1895), Vol. I.

the eldest son to inherit a double share. A Massachusetts law,[2] for example, reads: "When parents dye intestate, the Elder sonne shall have a double portion of his whole estate real and personal, unless the Generall Court upon just cause alleged shall judge otherwise." While the significance of the abolition of primogeniture as regards the rights of younger sons has received the attention it merits, scant notice has been paid to the fact that this action also made possible a considerable enlargement of the property rights of women. According to the laws and the practice of the courts in every Puritan colony in New England, all children, except for special circumstances, received some part of a parent's estate. Daughters inherited a share, even when there were sons. Of the numerous cases which illustrate this point, one must suffice as an example. A Connecticut court, in settling the estate of a Wethersfield man who had died intestate, ordered that his widow should receive the personal property, valued at approximately £90, and that the house and land, valued at £130, should go to his five children; the one son received £30, and each of the four daughters £25.[3] On the whole, the colonists seem clearly to have resolved to break with English precedents and to see that no child was prevented from inheriting a fair share in an estate because of his sex or his position in the order of birth.

The colonists did not stop here in protecting the interests of children. A widow and her prospective husband were required to post a surety with the courts that they would carry out the terms of a will or of a court order dividing the estate of her deceased husband among her children. The courts even infringed upon a parent's power of bequest if a will contained no provision for the children, and altered the terms of a will which did not provide properly for them. One widow, who had received her husband's entire estate by the terms of his will, was about to remarry, but both she and her intended husband demurred at making any provision for her children beforehand. "Being now asked the reason thereof, she said her husband gaue it her and she would keepe it while she

2. "A Coppie of the Liberties of the Massachusetts Collonie in New England," Liberty 81, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 3, VIII (1843), 230.

3. Trumbull, J. H., ed., *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, I (Hartford, 1850), 45–6.

lived, she was wished to consider if her husband had given all away to the children and nothing to her would not she haue bine considered and releiued, men may not make wills as they will themselves, but must attend the minde of God in doeing the same, who doth provide that children . . . shall haue portions, and the eldest a double portion therefore the rest must haue a part. . . ."[4] In this instance the court ordered one-half of the estate to be set aside for the children. In another case, the New Haven court "looked vpon the will as defective and not fully declaring the minde of the testator," and made a new division of the estate.[5]

In England, the property rights of women were altered radically the moment they married. The position of the married woman was aptly described by the term "coverture," denoting that a wife passed under the protection and influence of her husband during her marriage. "Marriage," says one authority,[6] "created a kind of partnership in which the husband's voice normally prevailed." The wife, in return for the right to be maintained by her husband in a manner befitting her station, relinquished to him the title to some and the use of the other portions of her property. All her personal possessions, i.e., money and goods, passed irrevocably into the possession of her husband, her "paraphernalia" excepted. The latter, which included her jewels and clothing suitable to her station in life, remained hers unless her husband disposed of them. Furthermore, she released to him the use of her lands and buildings for the duration of the marriage. She retained her right to any leases on land or debts owed her, unless her husband took over these claims by legally prescribed procedures. Any property inherited by a married woman went to her husband according to these same rules.

During the period of colonization, two variations from these laws were being tried out in England. According to one, the husband agreed with his wife before marriage to permit her to retain all or a portion of her own property. Such agreements were of

4. Hoadly, C. J., ed., *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven,* II (Hartford, 1858), 159.

5. Dexter, F. B., ed., *New Haven Town Records, 1649–1662* (New Haven, 1917), I, 287.

6. Bryce, J., "Marriage and Divorce under Roman and English Law," *Select Essays in Anglo-American Legal History,* ed. by Committee of the American Law Schools (Boston, 1909), III, 816.

doubtful validity in the courts, however, and had won less favor than the other variation, that of placing property in the hands of certain of the wife's friends to be held in trust for her. If created for fair and reasonable purposes and with the knowledge and consent of the husband, a trust was legal and reserved property for the wife's benefit which her husband could not touch. Only to the extent to which a wife availed herself of these two devices in England did she have any right to the separate ownership and use of her own property.

The colonists introduced no additional changes in the laws governing the proprietary capacity of married women. They appear rather to have made considerable use of premarital agreements, and less of the trust device, the former being accepted by the colonial courts more readily than by those of England.[7] In one instance of such an agreement, Jeremiah Adams of Connecticut resigned all power of disposal of the estate left to his wife by Thomas Greenhill "into his wiues hands to be wholly at her dispose."[8] A settler in Massachusetts agreed, in regard to lands to which his prospective wife was heir, that he would "not claim any title hereunto by virtue of marriage with the said Sarah, but the said Sarah shall have the whole and sole power to dispose of it, both the use and gift of, when and to whom she shall thinke meet."[9]

Women about to marry were able by such agreements to protect not only their own interests but also the welfare of their children. John Winthrop's wife secured his consent to a division of her estate which set aside one-half of it in trust for her son. Winthrop stated as his reason for agreeing to these terms that he had already disposed of his property to others and thought it reasonable to allow his wife to do the same with her own property if she wished.[10]

But except as they found the courts more willing to accept premarital agreements, New England wives appear to have enjoyed about the same property rights as did wives in England. Husbands

7. Morris, R. B., "Studies in the History of American Law," *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law,* CCCXVI (1930), 135–6.

8. Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut,* I, 360.

9. *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute,* LI (1915), 146.

10. Shurtleff, N. B., ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston, 1853), II, 234–6.

lost little time in claiming legacies or debts due their wives. One man was successful in a claim to recover £10 in wages owed to his wife.[11] In Massachusetts, a woman's second husband sued for one-third of her first husband's estate, and won his case.[12] As a final instance, Robert Crocker was required to pay £5 in damages to Thomas Kinge for a breach of promise to marry the latter's wife.[13]

Not all was clear gain to a man, however, when he took over his wife's property, for he had to maintain her and meet her debts. The burden thus assumed was not to be taken lightly, as many husbands discovered when colonial courts called them to account. In Massachusetts, John Tilison was sentenced to the house of correction, but was released and bound "to good behavior & to liue with his wife & pvyde for her according to his place as a husband ought to do."[14] Another man had his property attached to pay a debt to his wife's former husband for which his wife was liable as administratrix of the latter's estate.[15] In another instance a man was required to pay for damages caused by his wife to a canoe.[16] Cases occurred with great frequency in which husbands were required to meet fines imposed upon their wives, to post bonds for the good behavior of their wives, or to give surety that their wives would appear when called into court.

The colonists followed closely the English laws which denied a married woman the power of bequest. A will made by her, either before or after her marriage, was void unless (1) her husband consented to it and did not withdraw his consent before it was probated, or (2) the will covered property held in trust for her. The laws specifically denied to married women, along with persons under twenty-one, idiots, and persons of "non-sane" memory, the right to will away lands belonging to them, even though, as we have seen, they lost by marriage only the use of and not the title to their lands. In New England, one or two instances of agree-

11. Hoadly, C. J., ed., *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, 1638–1649* (Hartford, 1857), p. 397.

12. Noble, J., ed., *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1901), I, 103.

13. Dow, G. F., ed., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County* (8 vols., Salem, 1911–21), II, 36.

14. *Ibid.*, II, 57.

15. *Ibid.*, IV, 322.

16. *Ibid.*, I, 5.

ments[17] attest the willingness of some husbands to permit their wives a free hand in disposing of their own property, in a manner already possible in England.

In both England and New England a widow repossessed herself of that portion of her own property to which her husband had not received the title. Included in this category were (1) her lands and houses, none of which her husband could have disposed of without her consent, (2) obligations due her which her husband had failed to claim, and (3) her "paraphernalia," if her husband had not disposed of it before his death.

In addition to the recapture of her own property, a widow was entitled to a "dower" interest in her husband's estate, specifically one-third of her husband's lands, including rents therefrom. Her dower right lasted only for her lifetime, and the lands involved went to her husband's heirs rather than to hers. In England, a widow usually received no other portion of her husband's estate, unless he made a will in her favor, although the ecclesiastical courts had made abortive attempts to guarantee a widow and her children the residue of her husband's estate after all debts had been paid. In New England, the lawmakers and courts carried through this reform before it became established in England in 1671. They did not feel bound by English precedents, as is attested by the statement of Governor Thomas Hutchinson[18] that "in the beginning they did not confine themselves to any rules of distribution then in use in England. . . . They considered the family and estate in all their circumstances. . . ." In Massachusetts, a law which had extended the widow's dower right to include one-third of her husband's money, goods, and chattels, as well as of his lands, was repealed in 1649, and the dower was again fixed at one-third of the lands only, on the ground that "it appears not so convenient as it was formerly conceived."[19] At New Haven, however, the code of 1656 contained a provision reserving to a widow, not only her dower interest in her husband's lands, but also one-third of all

17. *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute,* LI (1915), 146; Shurtleff, *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay,* II, 232–6.

18. Hutchinson, T., *History of Massachusetts-Bay* (2d ed., 3 vols., London, 1760[1765]–1828), I, 446.

19. Shurtleff, *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay,* II, 281.

money, goods, and chattels remaining after funeral expenses and just debts had been paid.[20] In an instance recorded in Connecticut, a widow was granted her husband's personal estate while the children received his house and land.[21] Neither in England nor in New England could a husband will away the lands to which his wife had a dower claim, nor could he sell such lands without her consent.

The obverse of the wife's dower right was the husband's claim to the use of her lands if she predeceased him. If a child legally capable of inheriting the mother's estate had been born to the couple, the widower was granted the use and administration of his deceased wife's lands for his lifetime. This form of tenure, known as "curtesy of England," contrasted with the dower claim of a widow in that the surviving husband received the life use of, not merely one-third, but all of his wife's lands.

An unsuccessful attempt was made in Massachusetts further to protect a widow otherwise than by broadening her dower. The code of 1641[22] provided that "if any man at his death shall not leave his wife a competent portion of his estate upon just complaint made to the General Court she shall be relieved." Although this provision was dropped in later revisions of the laws, probably because it was too far in advance of the times, it illustrates the tendency to break with old procedures when the need seemed to justify it.

The English courts of the period did not recognize absolute divorce in the present meaning of the term, i.e., the dissolution of a union that had been legally valid from its beginning. Adhering to the canon law theory of the indissolubility of marriage, the ecclesiastical courts either granted a separation, whereby husband and wife were permitted to live apart but remained bound to each other in all other particulars, or else proclaimed an annulment of the marriage, a procedure which declared the union to have been defective in some particular from the very first. In the case of a separation, the property rights of husband and wife remained undisturbed, except that the wife lost her claim to a dower if she were the guilty party and her husband did not become reconciled to her.

20. Hoadly, *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven,* II, 586–7.
21. Trumbull, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut,* I, 45–6.
22. "A Coppie of the Liberties of the Massachusetts Collonie in New England," Liberty 79, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* ser. 3, VIII (1843), 229.

An annulment restored the property rights of the man and woman to their state before the marriage, and abrogated the dower claim of the wife, although she was allowed "alimony" in some circumstances.

The New England colonists established absolute divorce as the rule, thus breaking with the canon law doctrine of the indissolubility of marriage. In such cases, not only was the wife's property restored to her but she also retained her dower claim if she were not the guilty party.[23] This rule was more firmly established in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth than in any of the other colonies,[24] and represented a real advance over English practice of that day. Some instances of the granting of alimony to the woman may also be found in the court records.[25]

The more significant of the foregoing facts may be summarized briefly as follows:

1) Daughters, in New England, shared in the estates of their parents on a plane of comparative equality with sons, with the double portion of the eldest son as the principal exception, instead of being disinherited as in England by male preference and primogeniture.

2) Single women enjoyed the same property rights as single men.

3) Married women lost, absolutely or conditionally, their right to the separate ownership of personal property, and lost the use of but not the title to real property. These rights might be reserved, however, by premarital agreements, which received the approval of the courts more readily than in England.

4) Widows recovered their own property, obtained a dower interest of one-third in the real estate of the deceased husband, and sometimes—more commonly than in England—received also a share in the personal estate.

5) Divorced women also recovered their own property and in addition, if they were the innocent party in the divorce proceed-

23. See Hoadly, *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven*, II, 586–7.

24. Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–4.

25. Noble, *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, II, 60, 89, 139.

ings, retained their dower interest, which was lost in England in the case of an annulment.

The picture which emerges from these pages lends scant support to the notion that the women of early seventeenth century New England were bereft of all really important property rights and were, especially when married, reduced to a position of complete legal helplessness by the operation of laws working in a predominantly patriarchal setting. More than this, we see that the lot of women in New England, as regards property, was more "advanced" than that of women in England in important respects. These two conclusions seem reasonable to one who focuses his attention on the seventeenth century and measures the life of that day in its own terms, and will appear strange only to those who are unable to understand the life of another day except as they compare it with that of their own.

SOCIAL WORK IN THE LIGHT OF SOCIETAL EVOLUTION

JAMES E. CUTLER

Not long ago a young man employed as a social worker in the city of Cleveland came to my office with three questions to which he was seeking answers: Why is social work not recognized more than it is? Why is it not a profession? Why is there no unity about it? He had been graduated from a college and from a school of social work in the Pacific Coast section of the United States, and had recently come to Cleveland, where he was in the midst of a first experience in social work. His case, while perhaps not altogether typical, does illustrate a state of mind from which many social workers have been unable to free themselves.

The literature available for reference contributes little by way of clarification for those who are thus perplexed. It reveals indiscriminate use of terms, confusion in thought, wishful thinking, vagueness, and lack of perspective. Enlightenment will not be found, for example, in the results of the careful analysis of the annual proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction made by Alice S. Cheyney and published as a pamphlet by the American Association of Social Workers in 1922 under the title: *The Nature and Scope of Social Work.* In the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences,* social work is presented as an outgrowth of charity, and if one seeks information on the subject of philanthropy in this work he is referred to the word charity. Queen[1] outlines the history of social work in relation to charity, leaves the reader to infer that it has no connection with philanthropy, and characterizes social work as "the art of adjusting personal relationships, of helping to overcome the difficulties which may arise, for example, between native and foreign born, between employers and employees, between school and home." Miss Sydnor H. Walker, in the chapter on Privately Supported Social Work in *Recent So-*

1. Queen, S. A., *Social Work in the Light of History* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 18 (quoted).

cial Trends,[2] makes the following statements: "Terms which were earlier used interchangeably—philanthropy and charity, philanthropy and social work, charity and social work—have become differentiated. Private support of education, research, religion, the arts, reform movements and social work are types of philanthropy. Social work, as one form of philanthropic activity, has, within the twentieth century, taken on distinct functions which mark off an area of definable activities. It is the channel through which philanthropy seeks to mitigate most directly those consequences of social progress which are unfortunate in their effect upon certain groups and certain individuals." A book published in 1930 bears the title *Intelligent Philanthropy*,[3] although the contributors to the volume concern themselves almost exclusively with various aspects of charity; disappointment awaits the reader who seeks therein an understanding of philanthropy. In the English version of the Bible the word charity is used chiefly to describe a mental attitude or an ethical motivation; no mention is made of philanthropy, and no one consults the Bible to learn about social work. The lexicographers add to the confusion. Even in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (second edition, 1934), although such terms as "social economy," "social ethics," "social science," and "social service" are included, "social work" is not.

Popular notions of the meaning of these terms, as reflected in current newspapers and magazines, are no less conflicting. A citizen who has given away considerable sums of money without expectation of pecuniary return, and for purposes believed to be in the public interest, is characterized as a philanthropist. According to this view none but the wealthy may be philanthropists; others may be charitable but not philanthropic. Social work is at times identified exclusively with charity; at other times it is referred to vaguely as welfare work of one kind or another. Many people seem not to have the faintest idea why social workers should be employed in the public service. The governor of a certain mid-

2. The President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends* (New York, 1933), II, 1168.

3. Faris, E., Laune, F. F., and Todd, A. J., eds., *Intelligent Philanthropy* (Chicago, 1930). It is stated in the preface that "this volume grew out of the desire of the directors of Wieboldt Foundation to get the advice of specialists with reference to fundamental principles involved in philanthropy."

western state probably does not stand alone in viewing social workers in the public service as persistent job-holders who refuse to be classified as either Democrats or Republicans. The program that has been given the fantastic appellation of "work relief" has doubtless added much, during the past two years, to the existing confusion of thought. "It certainly is bewildering," says Dr. Neva R. Deardorff,[4] "to have one half the people you meet referring to social workers as idealistic, sentimental, visionary souls careering around in a dream world, and the other half referring to us as persons whose minds are as gimlets, whose hearts are as flint, and whose hard practical ways have pressed all the milk of human kindness out of charity and made it a profession or business."

The question is pertinent whether it is possible to differentiate and define with any degree of accuracy and preciseness such terms as charity, benevolence, humanitarianism, altruism, philanthropy, social work, and public welfare. These words are in current usage; presumably they are related somehow to a significant juncture exclusively within the range of human relations. They all refer to human interests, human activities and behavior. The concepts they express are not applied to animals or birds; they refer to something that is regarded as characteristic of man as distinguished from the rest of the universe. They have overlapping connotation but lack synonymy. What do they connote specifically?

It is my purpose here to point out, with brevity and little or no exposition, what the science of society may have to contribute to the study of this general problem. Obviously phenomena of this nature have their setting in the mores, and are factors in and products of societal evolution. They fall within the range of the adjustment-process; they represent an aspect of man's adaptation to his life-conditions. This fact was recognized, though perhaps overstated, by the Director of the New York School of Social Work when he said:[5] "The subject-matter of social work is the adjustment of men to their environment." In this phase of man's adjustment-process, however, moral judgments are always present, religious sanctions enter, emotional reactions seem ever to dominate,

4. *Better Times,* March 4, 1929.

5. Lee, P. R , *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago, 1920), p. 466.

and sentiment easily passes over into sentimentality. To adopt and adhere to the scientific method is particularly difficult. For this reason certain general considerations and criteria are to be stated and agreed upon at the outset.

In all scientific work concerned with living organisms the collected data must be analyzed and classification must be made by nuclei or by types representing major characteristics. What the zoölogist and the botanist must do, the anthropologist and the student of the science of society must also do. The order, the family, the genus, the species—all are distinguished one from another according to prominent or major characteristics, not by complete lack of similarities and sharp, distinct lines of demarcation. The races of man, artifacts, and religious sects can be distinguished only in similar manner. Man's activities in the adjustment-process—the devices he uses, the societal institutions he builds, the practices designed to secure desired objectives, the mores—constitute data to which this same method is applicable. Classification and definition must be made by nuclear aggregates, not by peripheries and finely drawn boundary lines.

The data to be examined do not include ends, purposes, motives, or motivation. The chosen point of view is that neither of philosophy nor of ethics. Human behavior rather than its motivation, what man does under specified circumstances, how he acts in certain respects in his individual and group relations under his life-conditions, certain characteristic features of his participation in the adjustment-process, constitute the pertinent data. Nor is it the purpose of this inquiry to evaluate consequences, results, or ultimate effects. Attention is directed, with moral judgments altogether excluded, to a characteristic form of behavior exhibited among human beings living in association, today often so completely taken for granted that it is overlooked as an elemental factor in the life of a community.

The processes of organic evolution seem slow to individual observers. Many intelligent persons still have difficulty in accepting them as facts, since the life span of the individual is relatively so short that he can see only a minor segment of what is happening. The processes of societal evolution are likewise slow. The individual's life is not sufficiently long for him to observe them; at best

he becomes familiar personally only with scattered instances from which he may draw inconclusive inferences. Just as the astronomer measures space in light years and the geologist uses ages or periods embracing millennia of solar years, so also the student of the science of society must measure societal phenomena in terms exceeding the life span of the individual. Three generations might well be regarded as a minimal unit of measurement. At any rate, for the sociologist, the passing of time is to be measured in terms of generations, rather than by the calendar year or even the century. The aforementioned young man with the questions that puzzled him was sadly in need of an adequate chronometer. Although living in the third decade of the twentieth century, he had not learned to use a twentieth century instrument for the measurement of societal relations and human affairs.

An incorrect, as well as inadequate, understanding of Darwinian evolution conceives the struggle for existence to consist exclusively of a bitter and exterminating struggle of one against all, or of one individual against another—a single-handed, face-to-face combat as it were. Kropotkin[6] has pointed out how erroneous is this understanding, and has shown that mutual aid is a factor to be reckoned with in evolution, often becoming the determining factor in survival. "The balance of nature," as observed by the botanist and the zoölogist, includes a wide variety of correlative functions and activities, interdependence within the group contributing to the defense and protection of its members, coöperative action contributing to success in winning subsistence and in rearing the young—the factor of mutual aid. A statement of the theory of evolution is wholly inadequate if mutual aid is not recognized as playing a rôle in the unceasing struggle to survive.

Accepting these general considerations as valid criteria for the task in hand, we may proceed to the examination of the pertinent data. Mankind makes a conspicuous use of mutual aid in the organization of the family, the clan, the tribe, and the nation. The children, the oncoming generation, must be nurtured through a long period of infancy and receive special preparation and training for adulthood. Through the societal institutions of property and of the family the individual gains a sense of belonging; iden-

6. Kropotkin, P., *Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution* (New York, 1902).

tity and relationship are established. Constant effort is made to strengthen the "we"-group, not only by property rights and kinship ties but also by ceremonies and ritualistic observances, rallying cries and slogans, emblems and flags, fraternal and patriotic organizations. Religion has always given its sanction to mutual aid within the body of believers and adherents. In books purporting to give plans and programs for "social progress," one finds reliance for a favorable outcome invariably placed on some kind of coöperative, mutually helpful action, never on combat, war, or exterminating conflict. Man's experience seems always to have impelled him to seek peaceful association and the avoidance of discordant strivings within his group. Any divergent policy has had to be justified and approved on the grounds that a wrong has been done. Man has acted as if he believed that mutual aid is what makes his survival possible. Perhaps it is not too much to say that he has made it a principle of "civilization." Giddings came to the conclusion that "consciousness of kind" is the basis of all social and societal organization.

Mutual aid takes on a new character when members of one "we"-group are dealing with members of another similar group. When extended to others than those who are of or belong to "us," it is designated as charity. Only outsiders who are received as *guests* are given hospitality. Outcasts, strangers, foreigners, and Gentiles who are in need of shelter and food are given charity. The way to engage in charity was never better described than in the parable of the Good Samaritan, related by Jesus in answer to the question: "And who is my neighbor?" The Jewish code, as recorded in Leviticus, required that the corners of the fields, the gleanings from the harvest, and grapes from the vineyard be left for the poor and the stranger. Religion has sanctioned and sought to inculcate the practice of charity. The Christian church has provided officially for the administration of "relief" and has sponsored monastic orders the members of which take a vow to care for the stranger, visit the sick and imprisoned, feed the hungry, and care for the widowed and fatherless. In recent times almshouses, orphanages, hospitals, dispensaries, and organizations for giving charitable aid have multiplied beyond number. Charity is now firmly embedded in our mores.

As between primary groups and secondary groups, the mutual aid practiced in the former becomes charity when practiced in the latter. The reciprocal helpfulness of parents and children, of brothers and sisters, of "near relatives," of members of the village church, of intimate neighbors, is regarded as inherent in the face-to-face relationship, while that which occurs among the residents of an urban community, among the members of a large city church, among the citizens of the modern state, is characterized as charity. Where distinctions are made in a population, such as those indicated by the following terms, charity may be found: royalty, nobility, patricians, plebeians, lords, serfs, freemen, peasants, Jews, Gentiles, Christians, foreigners, immigrants.

The new alignments in the population—the stratification and the social classes—created by the industrial revolution afford ample opportunity for the continuance of charitable activities. The relationship characteristic of secondary groups spreads throughout the population. There are capitalists, employers, employees, wage earners, laborers, a "laboring class," a "white collar class," merchants, business men, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, farmers, tenant farmers, the "professional classes." The process of adjustment to life-conditions is accelerated; radical readjustments are required during the life span of the individual. Reversal of economic and social status may take place within a single generation. What has been called "mobility of population" enormously increases. Numbers of individuals and families succumb under the strain and are overwhelmed by the pressure of the circumstances in which they find themselves. Response is made to their need, and, curiously enough, an attempt is made to distinguish between the "worthy" and the "unworthy" in the administration of the aid that is given.

In European civilization charity has flowed for centuries through three channels, namely, the voluntary action of the compassionate individual, the state, and the church. The long struggle during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries between church and state over function and jurisdiction in this respect need not be recounted here. It is of importance to note, however, that the date of the first poor law in England was 1601 and that this act set a precedent for similar legislation in all English-speaking countries.

The Charity Organization Society, established in London in 1869, marks the beginning of a movement to increase the usefulness and effectiveness of individual voluntary action, a movement which has perhaps culminated in the Council of Social Agencies, the Welfare Federation, and the Community Chest. Public charity, supported by taxation, provides both institutional care through eleemosynary institutions of various kinds, including almshouses, hospitals, and dispensaries for the indigent, and "outdoor relief" for families in need and for destitute individuals, administered by designated local officials. The amount of "emergency relief" expended during recent years has reached unprecedented proportions in every country affected by the "depression." The volume of church charity is unknown since much of it is decentralized and administered without supervision. Undoubtedly, however, the church continues to be one of the main channels for the administration of charity.

The changes in life-conditions inaugurated by the industrial revolution have not only brought an expansion and systematization of charity; they have also given the setting for another and divergent expression of mutual aid. Charity is a response to specific individual and family needs. But there are also common needs, community needs, to be met. Youth in general needs a better preparation for life, needs protection against the calamities suffered by the older generation. Why not, with preventive measures, anticipate specific human needs before they arise? Steps may well be taken for the protection of the social classes whose position in the community is relatively weak and unstable, for the protection of groups any member of which may easily encounter dire misfortune. We may promote the welfare of the "under-privileged"; adopt measures to protect and advance public health; improve the conditions under which people live and under which they work. The general welfare of the community may be considered, and general measures and programs, designed to be in the interest of the public welfare, may be adopted and supported. When mutual aid is expressed and practiced after this manner, the term philanthropy has import and the differentiation between charity and philanthropy emerges. The first factory act in England, passed in 1802, when contrasted with the first English poor law, is an excellent il-

lustration of distinctively philanthropic action on the part of the state.

Characteristic forms of philanthropy are the maintenance of schools and colleges, gifts for scholarships and fellowships, contributions for the advancement of science, for medical research, and for social and economic investigation, endowments, foundations (the purpose of which in one instance is stated in the words "for the welfare of mankind"), community trusts, social settlements, libraries, museums, orchestras, parks and playgrounds, mutual benefit associations, insurance covering the hazards of human life and the contingency of death, annuities, thrift agencies such as savings banks, buildings and loan societies, collateral loan agencies, credit unions, and postal savings, and the formation of civic organizations, citizens' committees, and associations to promote social legislation, including the regulation of child labor and labor legislation in general, to protect individuals against fraud and misrepresentation, to promote health measures, particularly in factories, stores, and places of assembly, to improve housing conditions, and to secure the adoption of other policies and programs put forward as essential for the general welfare. Philanthropy is fundamentally non-commercial, not conducted for profit, although in some instances charges are made for services rendered or membership dues are required. It provides, for any who may benefit therefrom, assistance in the adjustment-process that is not otherwise obtainable. Its non-commercial character does not, of course, warrant the assumption that exploitation is never present. Victimization may easily hide under the cloak of philanthropy. In the case of pawnshops and insurance, for example, regulation by statutory law has been resorted to in the effort to prevent gross misrepresentation and fraud.

Philanthropy flows through two main channels: the initiative of public spirited individuals and the welfare function of the modern state. The police power of the state is interpreted to include legislative regulations and direct services that contribute to the general welfare of its citizens. The church has not engaged in philanthropy, apart from its promotion of education, in a degree comparable to its participation in charity; its chief rôle has been to kindle the emotions and provide the motivation through the incul-

cation of humanitarianism, altruism, and benevolence, and thus indirectly to stimulate individuals to philanthropic action. It is not here implied that self-aggrandizement is never the motive that actuates an individual to participate in philanthropy—or in charity. Our chief concern here, as previously stated, is with societal phenomena, not with the motives and purposes of individuals.

The accompanying diagram is designed to show graphically the projection of mutual aid into the societal organization and the differentiation of charity and philanthropy. The word "state" is used in a generic sense. To an increasing degree the modern state, on a national scale as well as in local administration, is functioning as an agency of mutual aid. The word "church" is also used generically. The diagram obviously does not include all of the ramifications of charity and philanthropy; numerous activities—border-line cases in the main—have been omitted. Nothing is gained by including, as data, activities the classification of which at the present time is debatable. In the current mores, for example, pensions are not clearly differentiated as either charity or philanthropy. In general, the advocates of pensions, as a plan to be preferred to insurance, argue for them on the ground that they are not charity. The community chest is an illustration of the single organization that not infrequently concerns itself with both charity and philanthropy. The field of education, although classifiable under philanthropy, is omitted from the diagram because it has become so extensive and so highly specialized as to have its own professional group.

Social work is not a variety of charity, nor a kind of philanthropy, nor a new function of government. It is a type of professional specialization which aims to make as effective as possible the charitable, philanthropic, and public welfare activities that "civilization" has created. The increasing number and complexity of human relations in the societal organization invoke the services of attorneys at law; the multiplication of schools, colleges, and universities calls for teachers; similarly the manifold efforts to be helpful to those who are in need of food, shelter, protection from the hazards of life, and assistance in gaining a minimum standard of living and in achieving the utmost of which they are capable, when it is recognized that specialized knowledge and skill are re-

quired, call for social workers. Members of the older professions —doctors, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, engineers—acting as members of boards of trustees, along with public spirited business men, join in seeking to fill staff positions in the charitable and philanthropic agencies with men and women who approach their duties with understanding and in a helpful, non-sectarian, non-political, professional spirit. More and more frequently, as experience points the way and public opinion dictates, political leaders are coming to choose men and women with these qualifications for positions in the administration of public relief and of public welfare services.

That social work has not everywhere achieved as yet the full status of a profession is neither surprising nor anomalous. Professional specialization in this field has scarcely more than begun. Its development was foreshadowed during the last half of the nineteenth century by the charity organization movement (dating from the first Charity Organization Society, London, 1869), by the movement for the prevention of cruelty to children (starting soon after 1870), by the social settlement movement (beginning with Toynbee Hall, London, 1884), by the organization in the United States, in 1872, of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and by studies such as that made in London under the direction of Charles Booth, published in ten volumes, between 1891 and 1897, under the title *Life and Labours of the People of London.* The newer social sciences that are basic to social work—economics, psychology, political science, and sociology—even at the end of the nineteenth century had but little more than gained entrance to the curricula of the universities.

In the first decade of the twentieth century the term social work came to be widely used, and those who were making careers in their staff positions were designated as social workers. This was a period when numerous new activities were organized. As Halbert,[7] writing in 1923 with reference to the United States, says: "All the playground work, all the anti-tuberculosis work, all the medical inspection of school children, all the activities for the prevention

7. Halbert, L. A., *What Is Professional Social Work?* (Kansas City, 1923), p. 147). This book contains an interesting analysis of the services in which social workers were engaged during the second decade of the twentieth century.

of infant mortality, all the anti-vice commissions, all the psychological clinics, most of the compulsory education and child labor activities, all the workmen's compensation bills and minimum wage bills, nearly all the government employment bureaus, most of the food inspection and health inspection and tenement house inspection, the supervision of dance halls and censorship of motion picture films and a very large proportion of all the factory inspection, have developed since 1900." Early in the decade 1900–10 the first full-time professional schools for social workers were established.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction, meeting in Baltimore in 1915, Dr. Abraham Flexner, who had been studying the medical profession under the auspices of the General Education Board, discussed the subject: "Is Social Work a Profession?" He set up seven tests of professional status and, applying them to social work, found that part of them could be answered in the affirmative and part in the negative. He expressed the opinion that social work by its very nature could never be, strictly speaking, a profession, but that it could qualify as an able and important auxiliary to the existing professions. When William Hodson discussed the same subject at the National Conference, meeting in Denver in 1925, he pointed out that under Dr. Flexner's seven tests social work then more nearly qualified as a profession than it had ten years earlier. Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1917, had been acclaimed an outstanding contribution to what could be called a professional literature.

During the World War the services of social workers were in great demand, and social work gained in prestige and in public recognition. The Commission on Training Camp Activities of the War and Navy Departments, the War Camp Community Service, and the American Red Cross were particularly insistent upon selecting for staff positions persons with good experience records and high personal qualifications. In 1917 the National Conference of Charities and Correction, changing the name adopted in 1872, became the National Conference of Social Work. The Association of Schools of Social Work was formed in 1919 with fifteen schools as charter members; it now includes thirty-three schools, which en-

roll approximately four thousand students annually. In June, 1921, the professional organization, the American Association of Social Workers, was founded. With membership requirements relatively high as compared with those of other professional organizations, it has now attained a membership of more than eight thousand and has chapters in every section of the United States. The National Conference of Social Work, in adding to the number of its divisions in 1925, created one, Division XI, on Professional Standards and Education. The first International Conference of Social Work was held in Paris in 1928, with a program of "national reports" and an attendance of 2,480, representing forty-two countries. Succeeding International Conferences have been held at Frankfurt am Main in 1932 and at London in 1936. The United States Census included "Social and Welfare Workers" as an occupational category for the first time in the Census of 1930.

In the midst of the depression that was precipitated in 1929 there has come another great, almost overwhelming, demand for social workers. Walter M. West, secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, estimated in 1933 that only a third, approximately, of the professional social work positions in the United States were filled by persons who would qualify according to the standards established by the professional group itself. The point of view of the social workers was well stated at a meeting of the Cleveland Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers in the following words: "Social work has been the outgrowth of a complex society and has been forced under pressure to serve that society without the centuries of experience or the wealth of pioneer guidance given to the other professions. The advantages of this later development, of course, are that the social worker has the opportunity to profit by the experiences of other professions and can perhaps if sufficiently astute avoid certain stages of development painstakingly lived through by the others. On the other hand, there is the definite disadvantage of a forced development of specialization demanded by the very structure of society before the profession has found itself. To social work it is almost a calamity because of its coming almost at the very beginning of professional existence. The rapidity of development in all phases of life during this last century has been a distinct disadvantage to

the profession of social work in that the demand for workers has been so excessively in advance of the supply. Without training, without guidance, social workers have been expected to function on every side at the very time when training in every other profession was being brought to a high point of thoroughness."

On the other hand, there is evidence that social work is continuing to win favorable recognition and to gain in prestige. The president of the Welfare Federation of one of the largest cities in the United States, a lawyer by profession, said to the graduating class of a school of social work in June, 1935: "Whatever changes in the economic or social order may impend, it is certain that we are entering an era of increased emphasis on the handling of the human element. Within the past few years, we have had a demonstration in this community of the value of skilled social service in time of crisis. Those who are close to the situation hesitate to think what might have happened in this crisis but for the presence in this community of a large number of trained social workers who stood ready to step into strategic positions in our community life and to deal, with skill, efficiency, and devotion to the cause, with the most critical social situation the community ever faced. When some one finds time to write that history in detail, it will be one of the bright spots in a period that has seemed to have little but darkness." Professional social workers in other industrial centers have received similar tributes from thoughtful citizens "close to the situation." Esther L. Brown,[8] in a paper read at the National Conference of Social Work in 1932, spoke as follows concerning social work in relation to other professions: "The education of the public to the value of social work will inevitably do much to raise the prestige of the profession. This, in turn, will have its influence upon the type of person entering the field, for among the considerations which an individual makes in choosing a profession is that of the prestige which attaches to the different vocations. The period which has seen the partial decadence of the high repute which once adhered to the ministry, law, and teaching, has also witnessed the ascendancy of medicine, dentistry, nursing, and social

8. Brown, E. L., "Social Work against a Background of the Other Professions," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago, 1932), p. 523.

work. As the last group intrenches itself more and more securely in the hierarchy of the professions, its appeal to better prepared applicants will be enhanced." In 1934, the National Conference of Social Work voted to abandon past practices in the arrangement of its programs. The customary divisions, at that time numbering thirteen, were abolished, and the programs for the Conferences in 1935 and 1936 have been correlated in four broad sections, understood to represent major fields of social work: Social Case Work, Social Group Work, Community Organization, and Social Action.

Social work may be said to concern itself specifically with man's adjustment to his life-conditions—individual adjustment and societal adjustment. While recent definitions of social work in terms of the problems it handles or of the groups to which it addresses itself may seem fairly satisfactory, one has only to go back to earlier definitions and classifications to be struck by the fact that they reveal little beyond the preoccupations of the observer.[9] The definition agreed upon for the first International Conference of Social Work, considered satisfactory in 1928, read as follows: "The term social work includes every effort to relieve distress due to poverty, to restore individuals and families to normal conditions of living, to prevent social evils and to improve the social and living conditions of the community, through social case work, through group activities, through community action in legislation and administration, and through social research."

If the analysis here undertaken is valid, the term social work relates to a profession which has as yet only partially preëmpted its field of professional service. While in other countries social work is largely carried on under government auspices, American social workers have but recently concerned themselves with "public social work." From a professional point of view, they have devoted themselves thus far chiefly to but one of the main channels of charity, namely, private voluntary action, and in the field of philanthropy they have dipped in, as it were, here and there, identifying themselves mainly with labor legislation, some health measures, certain forms of social insurance, social settlements, and

9. Hurlbutt, M. E., "The Rise of Social Work," *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science* (Philadelphia, 1934), CLXXVI, 1–13.

group service agencies. Nowhere does social work as now practiced professionally include the full range of either charity or philanthropy. Humanitarianism, altruism, and benevolence bear no closer relation to social work than to other professions; presumably they constitute a motivation in all professions, as distinguished from occupations, vocational pursuits, or trades. Social work finds an enormous number of activities, often unrelated and working at cross purposes, that have been undertaken to meet human needs, a vast field in which to develop and maintain helpful ministrations and services. The necessary techniques must be determined by investigation and tested by experience. Notable progress has been made during the past ten years in the development of techniques in case work and in group work. Moral judgments must be held in abeyance in situations where such restraint is particularly difficult and where the scientific method becomes to the superficial observer a seemingly brutal taskmaster. Those who attempt to be social workers are undertaking no light responsibility and face no mean opportunity to render helpful service, for they must aim to make as effective as possible the mutual aid of this day and generation.

THE PATTERN OF URBAN GROWTH

MAURICE R. DAVIE

In 1923, in a paper read before the American Sociological Society, Burgess[1] developed the hypothesis that the typical processes of urban growth produce a differentiation in types of areas, forming successive zones which radiate from the center of the city. By a series of concentric circles, as reproduced below in Chart I, he gave graphic representation to what he conceived to be the "ideal" pattern of urban expansion. He stated:[2]

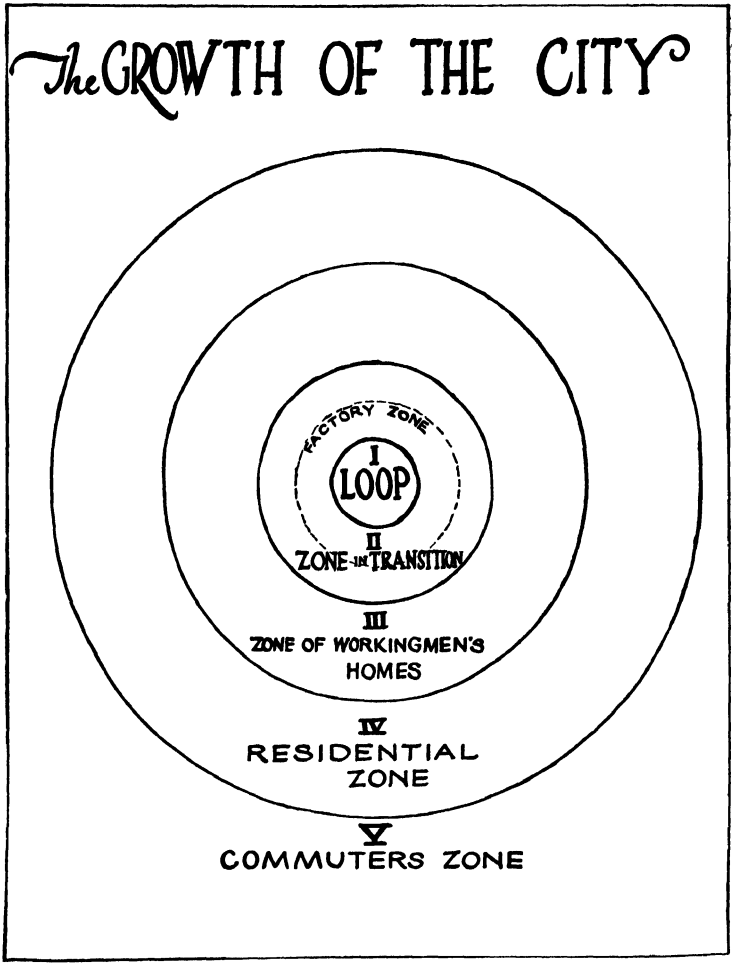
"This chart represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any town or city to expand radially from its central business district—on the map 'The Loop' (I). Encircling the downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture (II). A third area (III) is inhabited by the workers in industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration (II) but who desire to live within easy access of their work. Beyond this zone is the 'residential area' (IV) of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive 'restricted' districts of single family dwellings. Still farther, out beyond the city limits, is the commuters' zone—suburban areas, or satellite cities —within a thirty- to sixty-minute ride of the central business district. This chart brings out clearly the main fact of expansion, namely, the tendency of each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone."

Professor Burgess further elaborated this hypothesis by indicating the population pattern and the types of areas within these zones as follows (*cf.* Chart II):

"In the expansion of the city a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation. The resulting differentiation of the cosmopolitan American city into areas is typically all from one pat-

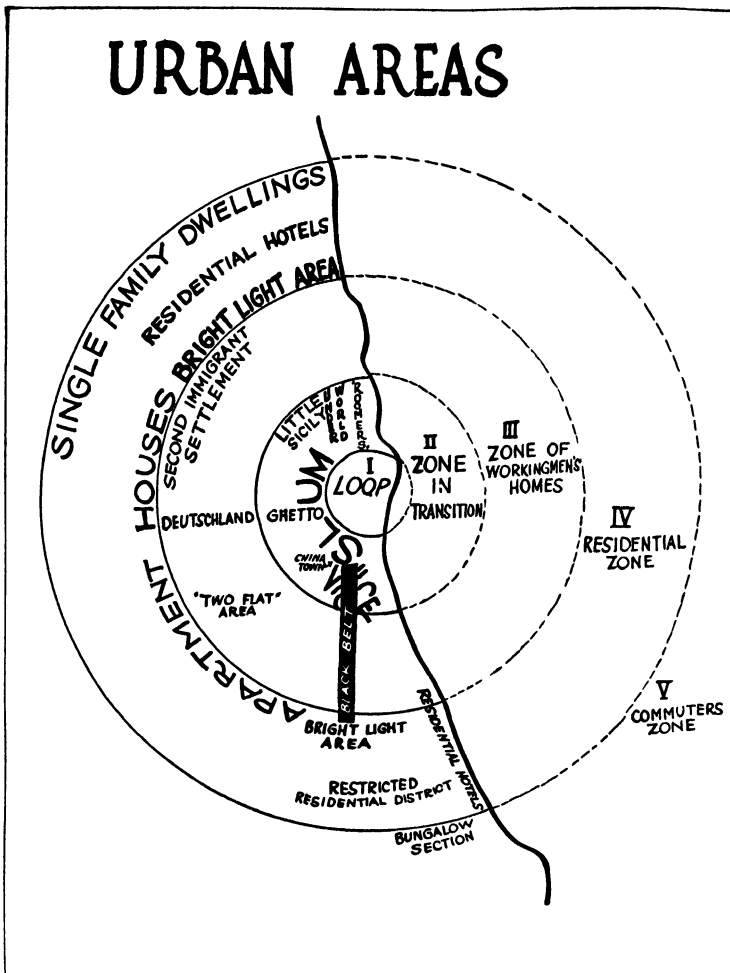
1. Burgess, E. W., "The Growth of the City," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society,* XVIII (1923), 85–9; reprinted as Chapter II in Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City* (Chicago, 1925), to which reference is made. The chart reproduced herewith is from p. 51.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 50.



Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City*, p. 51. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Chart I



Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., *The City*, p. 55. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Chart II

tern, with only interesting minor modifications. Within the central business district or on an adjoining street is the 'main stem' of 'hobohemia,' the teeming Rialto of the homeless migratory man of the Middle West. In the zone of deterioration encircling the central business section are always to be found the so-called 'slums' and 'bad lands,' with their submerged regions of poverty, degradation, and disease, and their underworlds of crime and vice. Within a deteriorating area are rooming-house districts, the purgatory of 'lost souls.' Near by is the Latin Quarter, where creative and rebellious spirits resort. The slums are also crowded to overflowing with immigrant colonies—the Ghetto, Little Sicily, Greektown, Chinatown—fascinatingly combining old world heritages and American adaptations. Wedging out from here is the Black Belt, with its free and disorderly life. The area of deterioration, while essentially one of decay, of stationary or declining population, is also one of regeneration, as witness the mission, the settlement, the artists' colony, radical centers—all obsessed with the vision of a new and better world.

"The next zone is also inhabited predominatingly by factory and shop workers, but skilled and thrifty. This is an area of second immigrant settlement, generally of the second generation. It is the region of escape from the slum, the *Deutschland* of the aspiring Ghetto family. For *Deutschland* (literally 'Germany') is the name given, half in envy, half in derision, to that region beyond the Ghetto where successful neighbors appear to be imitating German Jewish standards of living. But the inhabitant of this area in turn looks to the 'Promised Land' beyond, to its residential hotels, its apartment-house region, its 'satellite loops,' and its 'bright light' areas.

"This differentiation into natural economic and cultural groupings gives form and character to the city. For segregation offers the group, and thereby the individuals who compose the group, a place and a rôle in the total organization of city life. Segregation limits development in certain directions, but releases it in others. These areas tend to accentuate certain traits, to attract and develop their kind of individuals, and so to become further differentiated."[8]

8. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–6.

That the city's growth is determined by the operation of automatic forces and that a differentiation into typical or natural areas takes place, largely through the processes of competition and selection, are principles well established and generally accepted by students of urban ecology. But that the general pattern which results is one of concentric zones is merely an hypothesis—the only one, to be sure, which has thus far been offered. It was obtained in part from McKenzie's study of the city neighborhood[4] and from general observation of the city of Chicago, with analogies drawn from the field of plant ecology.

The advance of science is furthered by subjecting hypotheses to test. Yet, so far as I am aware, the study described below is the first attempt to verify the Burgess hypothesis. Urban sociologists and ecologists have generally accepted it as true, and students of the Chicago school have interpreted their data in the light of this theory even though it meant a distortion of their findings. Among the few who have been critical, McKenzie,[5] while accepting it in general, states that "the arbitrary concentric circle is useful only for purposes of comparison. It does not show the details of expansion, as growth is usually very uneven in different parts of the territory falling within a zone. This is particularly true in the outlying sections of the city, where expansion is likely to follow radial lines." Quinn,[6] after stating that the hypothesis "offers an interesting and important frame of reference for the ecological organization and structure of the city," remarks indefinitely that "the validity of this assumption has been challenged by investigators who have declared that distorting factors so frequently disrupt or obscure the concentric circle pattern as to make it useless as a tool for study."

An extension of the hypothesis of concentric zones includes the notion of the gradient,[7] used to measure the degree of dominance which a center exercises in successive zones out toward its pe-

4. McKenzie, R. D., *The Neighborhood, a Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (Chicago, 1923).

5. McKenzie, R. D., *The Metropolitan Community* (New York, 1933), p. 175.

6. Quinn, J. A., "Methods in Urban Sociology," *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, ed. L. L. Bernard (New York, 1934), p. 344.

7. Burgess, E. W., "The Determination of Gradients in the Growth of a City," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXI (1927), 178–84.

riphery. By gradient is meant the rate of change of a variable condition such as home ownership, sex and age groups, poverty, divorce, or delinquency, from the standpoint of its distribution over a given area.[8] The outstanding work in this field has been done by Shaw,[9] who, on the basis of Burgess's hypothesis, computed juvenile delinquency rates in Chicago by concentric zones from the center of the city to its periphery. His figures indicated a pronounced tendency for the rates to decline with each successive zone outward. He subsequently applied the same technique to a study of juvenile delinquency in a number of other American cities and found a similar gradient pattern of distribution.[10] Other studies using the same technique show the same results.[11]

In none of these delinquency studies is there much critical examination of the significance of the results. It would seem as if Shaw had set out to demonstrate the correctness of Burgess's hypothesis, and the others to support Shaw's procedure. We do not question the accuracy of the general findings that delinquency rates, considered by zones, tend to decrease outward from the center of the city, but we do question their significance from the point of view of both urban ecology and the problem of delinquency itself. The more salient facts regarding the distribution of delinquency are obscured, and the data distorted, by considering the rates by zones.

This point may be illustrated by the original Chicago study. The city was divided into 113 areas, most of them square miles, and the rates of male delinquents in various series were computed per male population 10 to 16 years old in the areas. Concentric circles were drawn at intervals of two miles, and the rates com-

8. Dawson, C. A., "Human Ecology," *The Fields and Methods of Sociology,* ed. L. L. Bernard (New York, 1934), p. 295.

9. Shaw, C. R., *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago, 1929).

10. Shaw, C. R., and McKay, H. D., "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime* (Washington, 1931), Vol. II, Part 2. In these studies delinquency is measured by cases known to the juvenile court—a procedure which Sophia M. Robinson (*Can Delinquency Be Measured?* [New York, 1936]) questions as being inadequate.

11. White, R. C., "The Relation of Felonies to Environmental Factors in Indianapolis," *Social Forces,* X (1932), 498–509; Hayner, N. S., "Delinquency Areas in the Puget Sound Region," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXIX (1933), 314–28.

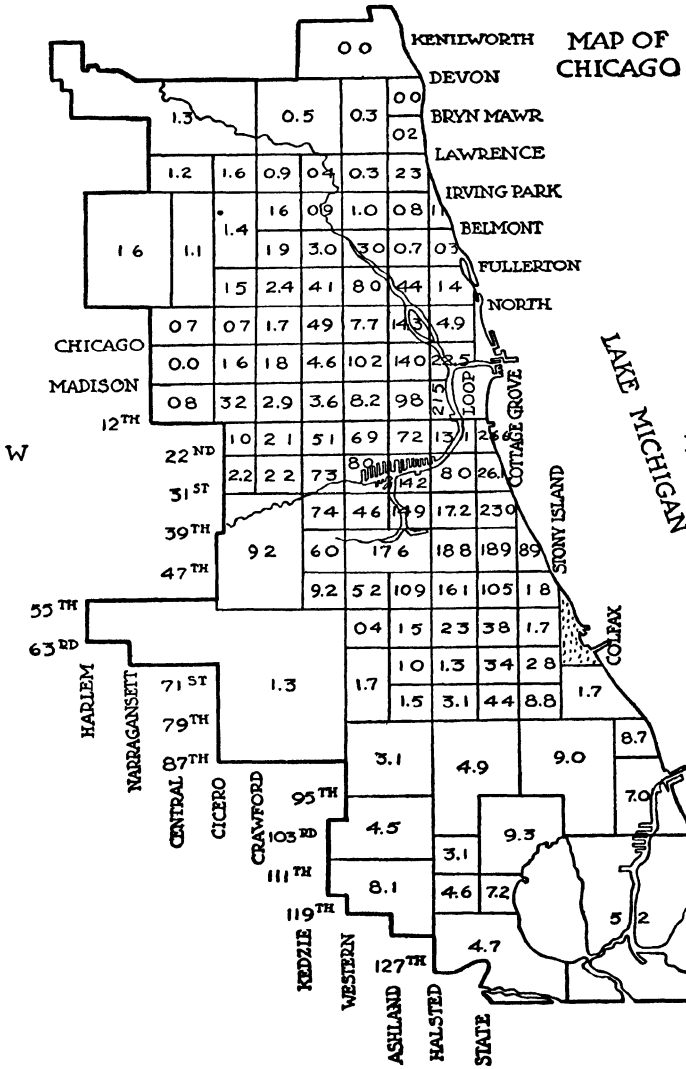
puted for each zone. The zone rates, as mentioned above, tended to decrease outward from the center of the city. There is nothing, however, in the area rates themselves which would suggest a combination into concentric zones. The rates by square-mile areas for a typical series are given in the accompanying rate map (Chart III).

The most striking thing about this distribution, as Shaw himself remarks, is that the highest rates occur in areas adjacent to the central business district and the large industrial developments. The location of these areas is indicated on the base map of Chicago reproduced herewith (Chart IV).

The real criterion of the areas in which high rates of delinquency are found is proximity to industry and commerce. Areas thus located are generally characterized by physical deterioration, decreasing population, high percentages of foreign-born and Negro population, and high rates of dependency. Aside from the very heart of the central business district, however, industry and commerce do not conform to the concentric circle pattern. A mere glance at the base map of Chicago makes this evident. Every zone contains some industrial development. In Chicago there happens to be greater industrial concentration in the south side in the stockyards and the steel-mill districts. Hence the delinquency rates are higher there. In one of his maps Shaw gives the zone rates separately for the north and south halves of the city. The "sides" of a city appear to be much more significant than the "zones." But the concentric zone hypothesis must not be discarded, because, says Shaw,[12] "the extreme southern part of Chicago represents a variation from the ideal construction found in the north side and in the first four zones on the south side." Why is the north side situation any more ideal than the south side? There is no homogeneous or typical development in any zone. For example, in the near north side in contiguous areas one finds the Gold Coast, a rooming-house area, and Little Italy.[13] The delinquency rates within any zone vary widely. For example, in Zone I in this series, the range is from 2.0 to 26.6 (for the whole city the

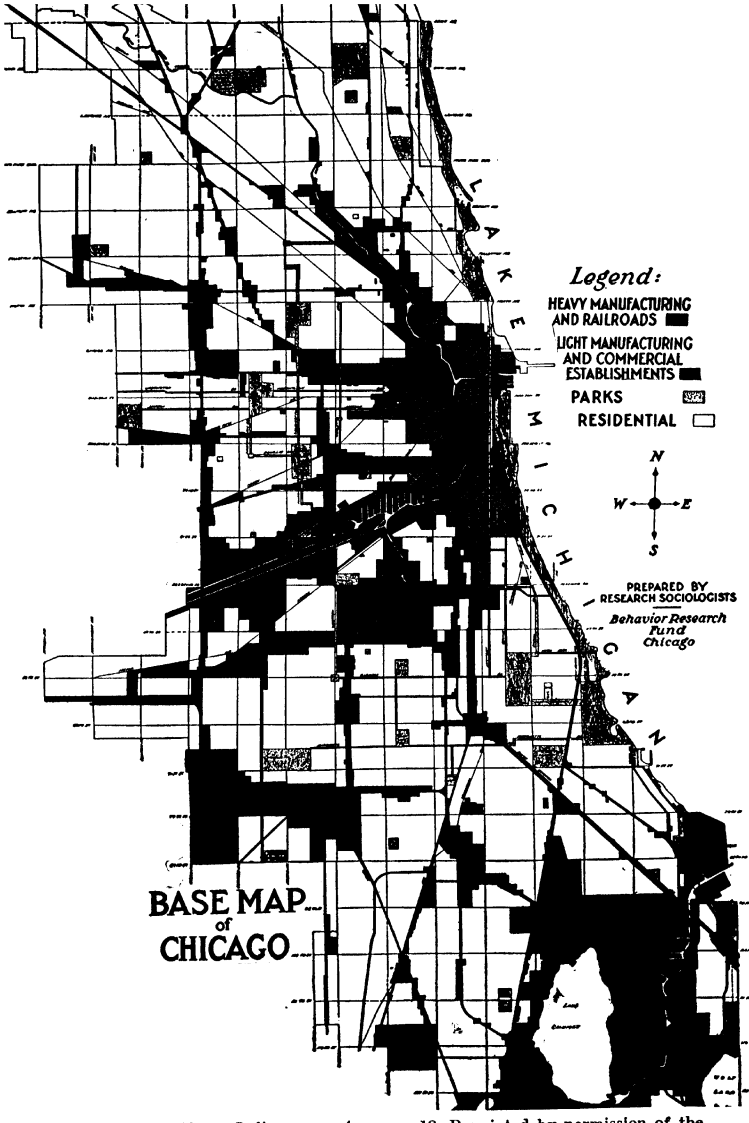
12. Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

13. Zorbaugh, H. W., *The Gold Coast and the Slum, a Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side* (Chicago, 1929).



Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*, p. 61. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Chart III



Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas*, p. 13. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Chart IV

range is from 0.0 to 26.6), while the rate for the zone as a whole is 10.9. Shaw states: "It should be borne in mind that zone rates of delinquents are presented chiefly because of their theoretical value; they represent the radial variations more conceptually and idealistically."[14] In other words, the hypothesis must be maintained whatever the facts may show.

The case of Chicago itself, as indicated above, suggests that the distribution of land utilization and of population and institutions does not conform to the concentric zone pattern.* A complete test of this hypothesis has been made in the city of New Haven by the author with assistance made available by the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. The salient features of this study are as follows.

A thorough investigation was first made of land utilization in the city. From the city engineer's office were obtained maps showing every lot in the city and the size and location of every structure. These maps were cut into sections of one block each and investigators sent out to note the type of building, its use and occupancy, and the amount of land devoted to any use. The maps were then colored to represent the different utilities, and the data reproduced on a large base map of the city. The classification employed was that utilized in zoning surveys and ordinances.[15] It includes single-family, two-family, and multi-family dwellings, commercial uses, light industry, heavy industry, railroad property, streets, parks and playgrounds, public and semi-public property, and vacant areas. Grouped into larger categories, urban land uses are for residential, commercial, industrial, transportation, recreational, and institutional purposes. Under the latter is included public and semi-public property, such as schools, churches, libraries, police and fire stations, and water works. The result of this part of the study was a map showing, by a color scheme, the exact land utilization throughout the city.

The general pattern of the distribution of utilities in New

* Since this essay was written, Edith Abbott's factual study, *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908–1935* (Chicago, 1936), has appeared. It finds the hypothesis in question to be "purely theoretical and not realistic."

14. Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

15. Bartholomew, H., *Urban Land Uses* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). Appendix B includes an index of urban land uses.

Haven corresponds closely to recognized principles. Especially does it bear out the findings of Hurd's *Principles of City Land Values* (1905) and Bartholomew's *Urban Land Uses* (1932), the two most important studies, because inductive and comparative, that have been made in this field. Business or commerce either clusters at the center of the city, forming the central business district, or follows out the traffic or radial streets and forms subcenters at strategic points, especially at important intersections. Heavy industry is located at the water fronts or along the railroad because of the advantages of transportation. Light industry, especially of a local nature, is spread throughout the city. Single-family residences are scattered everywhere, but tend to concentrate in certain areas of high residential utility, marked by a good approach, favorable transportation facilities, elevation, nearness to parks, and absence of nuisances. Two-family dwellings also scatter throughout all sections of the city, although they occur in greater numbers when adjacent to business and industrial areas. Multi-family dwellings occur in greater numbers close to central areas; in outlying sections they are found mainly on or adjacent to radial streets. They vary in type, ranging from cheap tenements to high-class apartment houses, according to the character of the neighborhood. Public and semi-public property tends to form no area. Institutions serving the entire community (e.g., city hall, main post office, central library) are centrally located; those adapted to neighborhood or local needs (e.g., schools, churches, precinct stations) are scattered everywhere. In New Haven, the only exception to the general pattern is found in the case of Yale University, which is located in a section that would normally be included in the central business district. This institution is so large, relatively, as to constitute a special area.

The next step was to generalize somewhat by constructing a map indicating the predominant use by street frontage. "Predominant" was taken to mean more than one-half. If a given frontage between cross streets was half given over to one use, e.g., single-family dwellings, and half to another use, e.g., institutional, both were indicated. This procedure intensified the impression produced by the original map that major land uses tend to group themselves by areas. The outlines of these areas were then indi-

cated on a third map, which showed the natural areas of the city as far as physical resources are concerned.

The next problem was to note the distribution of the population according to various categories. The chief source used here was the sample family survey made in 1933 by the Institute of Human Relations, consisting of approximately 2,000 cases randomly selected. Other sources employed were the social register, membership lists of clubs, juvenile court records, relief cases, and the like.[16] These cases were all plotted by exact residence on separate maps.

On the land-use area map mentioned above, lines were drawn indicating the areas as defined by social criteria, particularly those of income, nationality, delinquency, dependency, and inclusion in the social register. To a remarkable extent the various area boundaries coincided. The social data were especially useful in further differentiating the land-use areas. As a result of both physical and social criteria some twenty-five distinctive or so-called "natural" areas were discovered. They are presented in outline on the accompanying map (Chart V).

Before these areas are discussed, a word may well be said concerning their boundaries, since but little factual material is available in the literature on the boundaries of urban natural areas. The city limits excepted, it is noteworthy that physiographic barriers, such as water surfaces or sharp variations from the normal city level, are a factor in delimiting 20 of the 25 areas, railroads are a factor in 10, and streets in 24. In two cases, Areas 13 and 14, streets constitute the only boundary lines.

The relation of radial streets to the natural areas is also significant. Radial streets are main thoroughfares leading from the center or near the center of a city and tapping the outlying sections. They are usually "through" streets or turnpikes leading to other cities, as well as the main transportation or traffic routes within the city. Expansion of the city takes place along these

16. The relief cases represent a 10 per cent random sample, 1,021 in all, from the public and private agencies in 1935, with notation as to whether the first contact with the agency was before or after 1931; the delinquency cases include all instances of first appearance at Juvenile Court during the period 1922–29; the cases from the social register, club lists, and *Who's Who in America* are complete counts for the same year (1933) as the sample family survey.

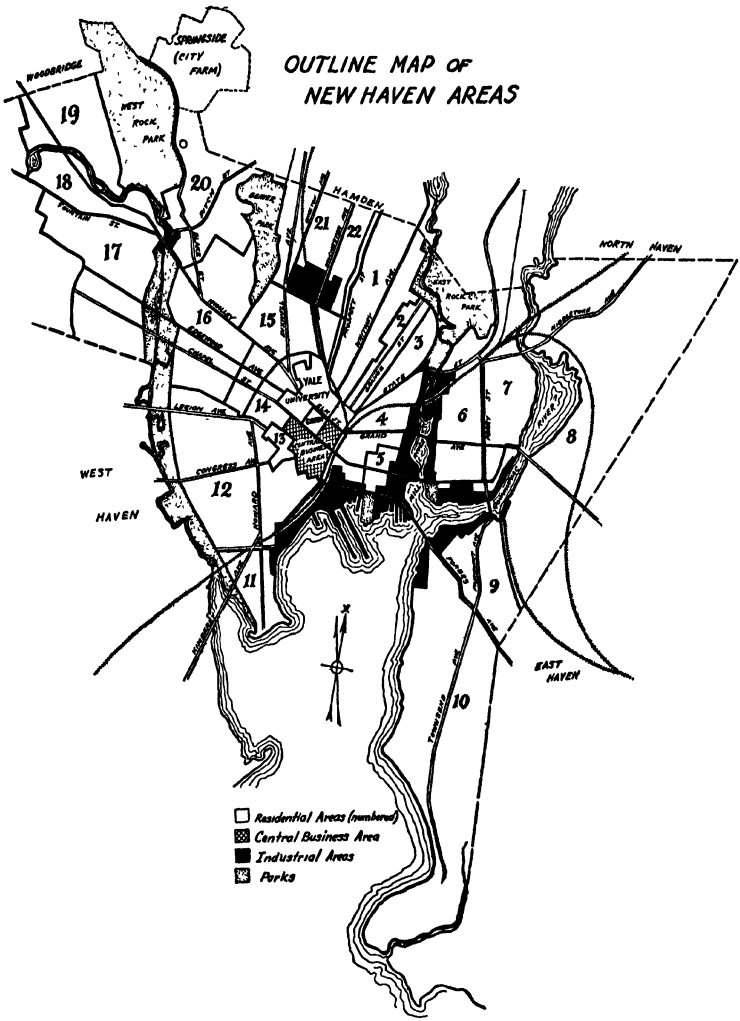

OUTLINE MAP OF
NEW HAVEN AREAS
SPRINGSIDE
(CITY FARM)
WOODBRIDGE
WEST ROCK PARK
HAMDEN
NORTH HAVEN
EAST ROCK PARK
YALE UNIVERSITY
CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA
WEST HAVEN
EAST HAVEN
Residential Areas (numbered)
Central Business Area
Industrial Areas
Parks

Chart V

radial streets, which provide the most convenient means of access to the central part of the city. This tends to make every city star-shaped, except for distortions due to topography. The chief influence of the radial streets in connection with natural areas is to provide access to them. In only 6 of the 25 areas do radial streets act as a boundary line separating areas. In 21 cases they tap areas. Two of the remaining areas are centrally located (the central business district and the University); hence access to them is not a factor. In the other two cases (Areas 3 and 22)—the only ones really involved—the areas are transitional, and hence are not areas in a well-defined or complete sense.

The central commercial, the industrial, and the University areas are omitted from our discussion because they are so delimited as to exclude practically any other use and because they contain such a negligible proportion of the total population. Excepting them, we find twenty-two natural or distinctive areas, mainly residential, which vary considerably in size and in population. The characteristics of each of these areas may be briefly described as follows.

Area 1. This area is composed almost solely of single-family dwellings, with a few high-class apartments. It is the best residential section in the city with the highest property values, which reach their peak on Prospect Hill with estates assessed at more than $100,000 each. With only 3.7 per cent of the population of the city, it has 53.4 per cent of the persons listed in the *New Haven Social Register*—a quota fulfilment of 1,443 per cent, i.e., more than fourteen times its expectancy on a population basis. This area also contains 65.1 per cent of the members of the Graduates Club—one of the leading "gentlemen's clubs" of the city—and 68.7 per cent of the New Haveners mentioned in *Who's Who in America.* Leading business executives and professional people comprise three-quarters of the heads of families gainfully occupied. The rest are dealers and proprietors or office workers. With the exception of one case, a railroad engineer, there are no artisans, and no laborers except those employed on estates.[17] The income of nearly half the heads of families exceeds $7,000; of

17. In this study the occupational classification is based on usual occupation; whether the individual was at the time of the survey employed or unemployed was disregarded.

84.2 per cent, $3,000. Two-thirds of all the cases in the city of family incomes of $7,000 and over occur in this area. Two-thirds of the heads of families are native-born Americans. There are no Negro residents. (The Negroes in New Haven, by the way, are so concentrated that they will be mentioned only in connection with the few areas in which they occur.) The sample family survey showed no Italian head of a family living in this area, although the Italians constitute the largest foreign stock in the city and an exceptionally high percentage of the total population. Of the other foreign stocks in New Haven of numerical importance, Area 1 has less than its expectancy of Irish (1.2 per cent), and more of Germans (4.8 per cent) and Jews (4.5 per cent). The population is predominantly Protestant. The area has practically no problem of juvenile delinquency as measured by appearance at the Juvenile Court, nor of dependency either before or during the depression.

Area 2. A marked transition is evidenced as one proceeds from Area 1 to Areas 2, 3, 4, and 5. Area 2, tapped by Orange Street, with 2.3 per cent of the city population, has the third largest number of social registerites (10 per cent of the total) and the second largest number of members of the Graduates Club (8 per cent) and persons included in *Who's Who* (8.9 per cent). The heads of families are mainly office workers and dealers and proprietors, with business executives and professional people ranking second, followed by artisans and a negligible proportion of common laborers. The modal income figure is in the $1,500–$3,000 class. The area is almost exclusively residential, with two-family houses predominating. A little more than a third of the population is native-born American. Of the foreign stocks, Irish and Jews are especially well represented. Catholics outnumber Protestants. There is practically no problem of delinquency or dependency.

Area 3. This area, with 1.3 per cent of the developed land of the city, has 4.0 per cent of the population. There is a good deal of business scattered through it, and some industry. Single-family houses are rare. Two-fifths of the heads of households gainfully employed are artisans. General mechanical and common laborers comprise another fifth. The income in nearly half the cases is below $1,500. The maximum is less than $7,000. There are no social registerites, members of the Graduates Club, or persons listed

in *Who's Who.* Nearly two-thirds of the family heads are foreign-born, with Germans and Irish predominating. Catholics outnumber Protestants nearly three to one. Cases of delinquency and dependency, while more numerous than in the preceding areas, are still well below their expectancy on a population basis.

Area 4. With 7.5 per cent of the city's population, Area 4 has 22.8 per cent of the Italians, who constitute its largest element. Native-born Americans comprise less than 5 per cent of the inhabitants. Roman Catholicism is the religion of 95 per cent. Two- and three- and multi-family dwellings of low valuation predominate. About one-third of the area is devoted to commercial use. There are no cases of eminent or socially prominent persons as measured by our criteria. Half of the heads of families gainfully employed are laborers and 30 per cent are artisans. Family income in nine-tenths of the cases is below $1,500. The juvenile delinquency rate, on a gross population basis, is the second highest in the city, with a quota fulfilment of 312 per cent, or three times its expectancy. The dependency rate is the third highest, with a quota fulfilment of 185.

Area 5. This is a small but crowded area with 0.8 per cent of the land and 2.9 per cent of the population of the city. The ratio of population to land is the highest of all the areas. The housing is of the lowest type. This district not only borders on a main heavy industrial area but has much business and industry scattered through it. The population is 100 per cent of foreign stock; more than 80 per cent of the heads of families are first-generation immigrants. The sample family survey shows no other nationalities than Italian. Approximately two-thirds of the heads of families gainfully employed are laborers, one-quarter artisans. The family income without exception is below $1,000 a year. Both delinquency and dependency are twice as high as their normal expectancy. This is one of the so-called slum areas of the city.

This completes the transition by successive steps from the wealthiest to the poorest section of the city. It should be noted that these areas are practically equidistant from the center of the city, and that they would therefore fall within the same concentric zone.

Between Mill River and Quinnipiac River lie two areas which

represent a transition from Areas 4 and 5 to workingmen's homes of a better grade.

Area 6. This area, containing 8.7 per cent of the city's population, is composed predominantly of two- and multi-family dwellings. It borders on an extensive industrial area, and it has much business scattered through it, especially along Grand Avenue which taps it most directly, though less than is found in Areas 4 and 5, and no sporadic industry. The population continues to be mainly of foreign stock (85.5 per cent) with Italians predominating, followed in turn by Irish and Germans, but the second generation (27.1 per cent) are relatively much more important than in Areas 4 and 5. Some 40 per cent of the family heads gainfully employed are laborers, and approximately 34 per cent are skilled workmen. Family income in a little more than 80 per cent of the cases is below $1,500. Two residents are listed in the Social Register, the first cases since Area 2. Some 80 per cent are Catholics. The quota fulfilment for delinquency is 158 per cent, and for dependency, 141.

Area 7. This area, adjoining the foregoing, contains 5.5 per cent of the population of the city. It does not border on an industrial area, and parks constitute a relatively large proportion of the land use. Although two-family dwellings predominate, there is the largest percentage of single-family residences encountered since Area 1. About 30 per cent of the family heads gainfully employed are artisans and 32 per cent laborers. Public service employees (mail carriers, policemen, firemen, etc.) constitute 13.5 per cent and office workers 11.2 per cent. In about half the cases, family income is below $1,500, in about two-fifths it is between $1,500 and $3,000. Two residents are social registerites, one of whom is a member of the Graduates Club. Thirty per cent of the population is native-born American, nearly the same percentage is native born of foreign parentage, and some 40 per cent is foreign born. The predominant foreign stocks are Irish and German, especially of the second generation. A little more than one-third of the population is Protestant, nearly two-thirds Catholic. The delinquency and dependency rates are moderate (quota fulfilments of 40 and 87 per cent respectively).

Across the Quinnipiac River and extending a considerable dis-

tance from north to south is a narrow strip marking the east boundary of New Haven, which we have divided into Areas 8, 9, and 10. All are sparsely populated. Much of the land is either farmed or unoccupied. Of the major foreign stocks in the city, Jews are entirely absent. Two-family houses prevail in the section bordering the industrial area; single-family dwellings in the rest of the region.

Area 8. This area, though the largest of all, is one of the least densely populated. It contains but 2.1 per cent of the city population. Half of the land is vacant. Single-family dwellings predominate. The largest proportion of family heads are native-born of native parentage (40 per cent), closely followed by the foreign born (37.5 per cent), with the second generation (22.5 per cent) ranking third. Of the foreign stocks, Irish, German, and in one section Slavs, especially Ukrainians, predominate. Two-thirds of the people are Protestants. Artisans comprise the largest group of gainfully employed, followed by laborers and dealers and proprietors. Two-thirds of the family incomes are below $1,500, nearly one-third between $1,500 and $3,000. Eight residents are social registerites, including one member of the Graduates Club. The delinquency and dependency rates are below expectancy.

Area 9. This area, though much smaller than Area 8, contains the same proportion (2.1 per cent) of the total population. Approximately a third of the land is undeveloped. The predominant use is residential, with two-family houses prevailing. The family heads are mainly of foreign stock, with 45 per cent foreign born, 40 per cent second generation, and but 15 per cent native American. Along with the Irish and Germans, Italians here add their contingent. About 85 per cent of the population are Catholic. Nearly half of the family heads gainfully employed are laborers, and about one-third are artisans. In over 90 per cent of the cases family income is below $1,500, and the rest of the cases fall between $1,500 and $3,000. There is one social registerite. Delinquency and dependency rates are below expectancy.

Area 10. The final area in this section, though very extensive, contains but 2.3 per cent of the total population. About half the land is vacant. The chief utility is single-family dwellings. Nearly 50 per cent of the family heads are native-born Americans, about

30 per cent second-generation immigrants, and 20 per cent foreign born. The second group is composed primarily of Germans and Irish, the third of Italians. Catholics slightly outnumber Protestants. Skilled artisans make up the largest single group of gainfully employed family heads, and office employees the next largest. Together they account for over 60 per cent. Nearly 55 per cent have family incomes of less than $1,500, some 40 per cent fall in the $1,500–$3,000 class, and 5 per cent in the $3,000–$7,000 category. Of the residents, fourteen are social registerites, three are members of the Graduates Club, and one is listed in *Who's Who*. Juvenile delinquency is practically non-existent, and the dependency rate is below population expectancy.

Turning now to the southwestern part of the city, we will consider Areas 11 and 12, which are similar except that the former is a better neighborhood. Both are predominantly areas of two-family dwellings, although Area 11 has a higher proportion of single-family dwellings than has Area 12, also more park frontage, and proportionately less business and industry. Its relation to Area 12 is similar to that of Area 7 to Area 6.

Area 11. This area has 3.0 per cent of the population of the city and 2.0 per cent of the land area. Two-family dwellings constitute the predominant utility. Considered by nativity the family heads are 42.1 per cent foreign born, 35.1 per cent native born of foreign parentage, and 22.8 per cent native born of native parentage. Of the foreign stocks, the Irish predominate, followed by Germans, Jews, and Italians. By religious affiliation the families are 67 per cent Catholic, 24 per cent Protestant, and 9 per cent Jewish. By occupation, the grouping is one-quarter artisans, one-quarter laborers, one-fifth office workers, and most of the rest public service employees and dealers and proprietors. The family income in 56.3 per cent of the cases falls below $1,500; in 35.9 per cent it is between $1,500 and $3,000; in 7.8 per cent it is between $3,000 and $7,000. Three residents are listed in the Social Register, and one in *Who's Who*. Delinquency is not a problem, but the dependency quota is almost fulfilled (96 per cent). This is largely a result of the depression, which has doubled the rate.

Area 12. This area contains the largest population of all, 18.9 per cent of the city total, and ranks fifth in density of popula-

tion. Two-family dwellings account for 60 per cent of the land use. Physical criteria were of no aid in the attempt to subdivide the area, and social criteria offered no spatially significant differences. Approximately 90 per cent of the family heads are of foreign stock, with 70 per cent foreign born. Italians and Jews predominate. While both are distributed over all parts of the area, the Italians are a little more concentrated in the southeastern section and the Jews in the northwestern. Next to Areas 4 and 5 this is the largest proportionate concentration of Italians in the city. The two clusters of Italians, it should be noted, are separated not only physically but also socially and culturally. Those in Area 12 have a higher economic status here as they had in Italy, and mingle more freely with non-Italians. They also came from different sections of Italy. The area ranks second in the city in its proportion of Jews. By religion, the heads of families are 68.9 per cent Catholic, 20.5 per cent Jewish, 10.1 per cent Protestant, and 0.5 per cent agnostic. The occupational classification of family heads gainfully employed shows 32.4 per cent laborers, 31.4 per cent artisans, 20.8 per cent dealers and proprietors, 11.9 per cent office workers, and 3.5 per cent other occupations. Regarding income, 82.9 per cent of the cases fall in the less-than-$1,500 class, 13.7 per cent in the $1,500–$3,000, and 3.4 per cent in the $3,000–$7,000 class. Two residents are listed in the Social Register. The quota fulfilment for delinquency is 134 and for dependency 140.

Area 13. This small area, with 1.1 per cent of the city's population, is very close to the central business area. Seventy per cent of its street frontage is given over to commerce, a little to industry, and the rest to low-grade housing. Sixty-five per cent of the family heads are foreign-born and 10 per cent second-generation immigrants, chiefly Italians and Jews. The remaining quarter are Negroes. This group of Negroes is physically and socially widely separated from the main body of the New Haven colored population. It is of a distinctly lower type. The area is a deteriorating one, with some of the worst housing conditions in the city. It has many of the earmarks of a segregated vice area. It includes 16 of the 27 cases of Negroes arrested during a two-year period (1930–32) for residing in or keeping houses of ill fame. The police

have frequently raided and finally closed several "night clubs," not only for violation of the state liquor laws but also because of prostitution. According to the sample family survey, 43.5 per cent of the family heads gainfully employed are laborers, 39.1 per cent artisans, 13.0 per cent dealers and proprietors, and 4.4 per cent office workers. Of the cases, 94.7 per cent have incomes of less than $1,500; 5.3 per cent, between $1,500 and $3,000. Both the juvenile delinquency and the dependency rates are the highest in the city—the former with a quota fulfilment of 445 per cent, the latter with one of 218 per cent.

Area 14. This small, rather densely populated area, with 2.6 per cent of the total population, is also centrally located. It is essentially a changing neighborhood, formerly devoted primarily to family residence, especially of the single-family type, now given over largely to rooming-houses and to one-, two-, or three-room apartments catering to single or unattached people. The new Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. buildings are in the area, and many of the business establishments, which account for a fifth of the land use, are of a type which cater to such residents. Over half of the family heads (56 per cent) are native American. The foreign stock is composed largely of second generation Irish, Germans, and Jews. The sample family survey disclosed no cases of Italian heads of families. This is one of the few areas where Protestants rank first, although they fall a bit short of having a numerical majority over all other religious adherents. The predominant occupational group is that of office workers (45.1 per cent), the largest percentage of white-collar workers in any area. Next come dealers and proprietors (19.6 per cent), and artisans (15.7 per cent). The modal family income is between $1,500 and $3,000. Thirty-three residents are listed in the Social Register (a quota fulfilment of 120 per cent), six are members of the Graduates Club, and five are included in *Who's Who*. There is no appreciable problem of delinquency or dependency.

Area 15. This area, bordering on Area 14 to the north, has 7.5 per cent of the total population and 3.3 per cent of the acreage. It is the sixth most densely populated district. It contains the largest grouping of Negroes in the city, who constitute 22.5

per cent of the family heads of the area. The foreign born, primarily Germans and Jews, comprise 40.8 per cent. The distribution by religious affiliation is 48.6 per cent Protestant, 32.9 per cent Catholic, 16.4 per cent Jewish, and 2.1 per cent none. The area is given over primarily to two- or multi-family dwellings, with a great deal of business and some industry interspersed. Of the gainfully employed family heads, 30.8 per cent are laborers, 24.3 per cent artisans, 18.7 per cent dealers and proprietors and 15.9 per cent office workers, to mention only the more important groups. In 80.2 per cent of the cases family income is below $1,500; 16.8 per cent fall in the $1,500–$3,000 class, and 3.0 per cent in the $3,000–$7,000 class. There are three social registerites and one member of the Graduates Club. Delinquency and dependency are problems, the former with a quota fulfilment of 140 per cent, the latter with 104 per cent.

Area 16. Bordering Area 15 on the west is an area of higher social and economic status, with 9.9 per cent of the city's population. The area is almost solely residential, with business limited to a ribbon type of development along Whalley Avenue, the main radial street tapping the area, and to some extent along Derby Avenue. Single-family dwellings predominate in the northern part of the area and in the extreme western part, in both cases fronting on extensive park areas. All told, however, two-family dwellings outnumber them two to one. Native Americans and foreign born account each for approximately three-eighths of the family heads. The foreign born are mainly Jews, Germans, and Irish. This area stands first in the proportion of Jews. The religion of the head of the family is Protestant in 34.2 per cent of the cases, Jewish in 32.6 per cent, Catholic in 30.0 per cent, and agnostic in 3.2 per cent. The largest occupational grouping of family heads is that of dealers and proprietors (26.0 per cent); next come office workers (24.9 per cent), artisans (14.8 per cent), business executives (11.8 per cent), and professionals (11.2 per cent). The largest income group (46.1 per cent) is the $1,500–$3,000 class. The income of 30.9 per cent of the families is less than $1,500; of 20.6 per cent, between $3,000 and $7,000; of 2.4 per cent, more than $7,000. There are 95 social registerites (with a 90 per

cent quota fulfilment), 22 members of the Graduates Club, and 10 persons listed in *Who's Who*. Delinquency is practically nonexistent, and the dependency rate is exceedingly low.

Area 17. This area ranks second to Area 1 as the highest class district in the city. It has about the same proportion of the total population (3.5 per cent) and about the same proportion of the total area (5.7 per cent). Single-family dwellings of relatively high valuation predominate. The largest group of family heads (58.2 per cent) is composed of native Americans, with the remainder equally divided between first and second generation foreign stock. This is one of the four areas in the city where Protestants constitute an absolute majority (65.2 per cent). The distribution by occupation of family head is 41.0 per cent business executives, 19.6 per cent office workers, 16.4 per cent professional, 11.5 per cent dealers and proprietors, 8.2 per cent artisans, and 3.3 per cent public service employees. There are no cases of laborers, either general mechanical or common. The largest income group is $3,000–$7,000 (41.8 per cent), followed by $1,500–$3,000 (31.3 per cent), less than $1,500 (22.4 per cent), and more than $7,000 (4.5 per cent). The area has 156 social registerites—the third largest quota fulfilment in this respect, following Areas 1 and 2—29 members of the Graduates Club, and 9 persons listed in *Who's Who*. There is no problem of delinquency and virtually none of dependency. Practically all cases of the latter type have arisen at the end of the depression period.

Area 18. To the north of Area 17, with Fountain Street as the dividing line, is a residential area of mainly two- and three-family dwellings, with 2.1 per cent of the population. The foreign born constitute practically one-half of the family heads, the second generation one-quarter, with Jews and Irish predominating. The religious distribution is 42.1 per cent Protestant, 36.9 per cent Catholic, and 21.0 per cent Jewish. Artisans comprise the largest single group of gainfully employed (32.3 per cent), followed by office workers (19.4 per cent), dealers and proprietors (16.1 per cent), and common laborers (12.9 per cent). Business executives constitute 9.7 per cent, professional people 6.4 per cent, and public service employees 3.2 per cent. The family income in 50.0 per cent of the cases is below $1,500; in 28.9 per cent, be-

tween $1,500 and $3,000; and in 21.1 per cent, between $3,000 and $7,000. Eight residents are listed in the Social Register. Juvenile delinquency is a negligible problem. The dependency rate, though low (quota fulfilment 57 per cent), has been doubled by the depression.

Area 19. This area on the outskirts of the city ranks next to Area 20 as the least densely populated, with 2.6 per cent of the total acreage and but 0.2 per cent of the total population. More than half of the land is undeveloped, with streets not platted. The residences are mainly bungalows or cottages. There is some commercial development along Amity Road, the main radial street tapping the area. The number of cases of family heads is so small that statistical treatment is misleading, but the following figures are given for what they are worth. Two-thirds are native-born of foreign parentage, one-third native-born of native parentage. The only nationalities recorded are Irish and native American. The ratio of Catholics to Protestants is three to one. There are no Jews. As to occupation, small dealers and proprietors and public service employees predominate. Family incomes fall equally into the less-than-$1,500 and the $1,500–$3,000 classes. No case of juvenile delinquency has appeared in the Juvenile Court during the 8-year period studied. The quota fulfilment as to relief cases is exactly 100 per cent.

Area 20. This area is similar to Area 19 in being a sparsely populated (0.3 per cent of the population on 7.1 per cent of the land) and largely undeveloped section at the periphery of the city. Except for Areas 8, 9, and 10, it is the only one including agricultural land use. It also embraces a large tract owned by the municipality, on which are located the city almshouse, poor farm, and piggery (Springside). Most of the land in the northern part of the area is either farmed or vacant. Residential land use, confined to the southern part, is largely of the single-family type. Half of the family heads are immigrants of the second generation, one-third are foreign-born, and the balance or one-sixth are native Americans. Protestants constitute the majority (62.5 per cent), with Jews second (25.0 per cent) and Catholics third (12.5 per cent), although the findings should be accepted conditionally owing to the paucity of cases. The sample family survey showed 50

per cent of the family heads to be artisans, the balance being divided equally between public service employees and common laborers. All cases of family income in the sample are below $1,500. One resident is listed in the Social Register, and one in *Who's Who*. The area quota is two-thirds fulfilled for delinquency and 133 per cent for dependency.

Area 21. This area, with 6.6 per cent of the population, borders on a large industrial area on the south and extends to the city limits on the north. There is a good deal of commercial land use scattered throughout the area. The ratio between two- and one-family dwellings is two to one. Of the family heads, 38.4 per cent are foreign-born, 31.2 per cent native American whites, 28.0 per cent second-generation immigrants, and 2.4 per cent Negroes. Of the foreign stocks Germans and Irish predominate. In religious affiliation, 49.6 per cent are Protestant, 46.7 per cent Catholic, 3.0 per cent Jewish, and 0.7 per cent agnostic. Artisans comprise the largest group of gainfully employed with 35.6 per cent of the total, followed by laborers with 27.1 per cent, office workers with 17.8 per cent, and the rest scattering. In 75.8 per cent of the cases family income is below $1,500; in 19.6 per cent it is between $1,500 and $3,000; and in 4.6 per cent between $3,000 and $7,000. There are no social registerites or other persons of prominence. The delinquency rate is only half what would be expected on a population basis (54 per cent), the dependency rate slightly more than expected (103 per cent).

Area 22. The final area is transitional between Area 21 and Area 1, the highest residential section. It contains 1.9 per cent of the city's population and 1.8 per cent of the acreage. Where it borders on Area 21 or the industrial district, two-family houses prevail; where it approaches Area 1, one-family dwellings are the rule. Of the family heads, 40.5 per cent are foreign born, 35.1 per cent native American, and 24.4 per cent native born of foreign parentage. The Irish predominate among the foreign stocks. Catholics outnumber Protestants nearly two to one, with Jews comprising 6.4 per cent of the total. Artisans make up the largest group of gainfully employed (31.3 per cent), followed by office workers (21.9 per cent), dealers and proprietors (21.9 per cent), laborers (12.4 per cent), public service employees (9.4 per cent),

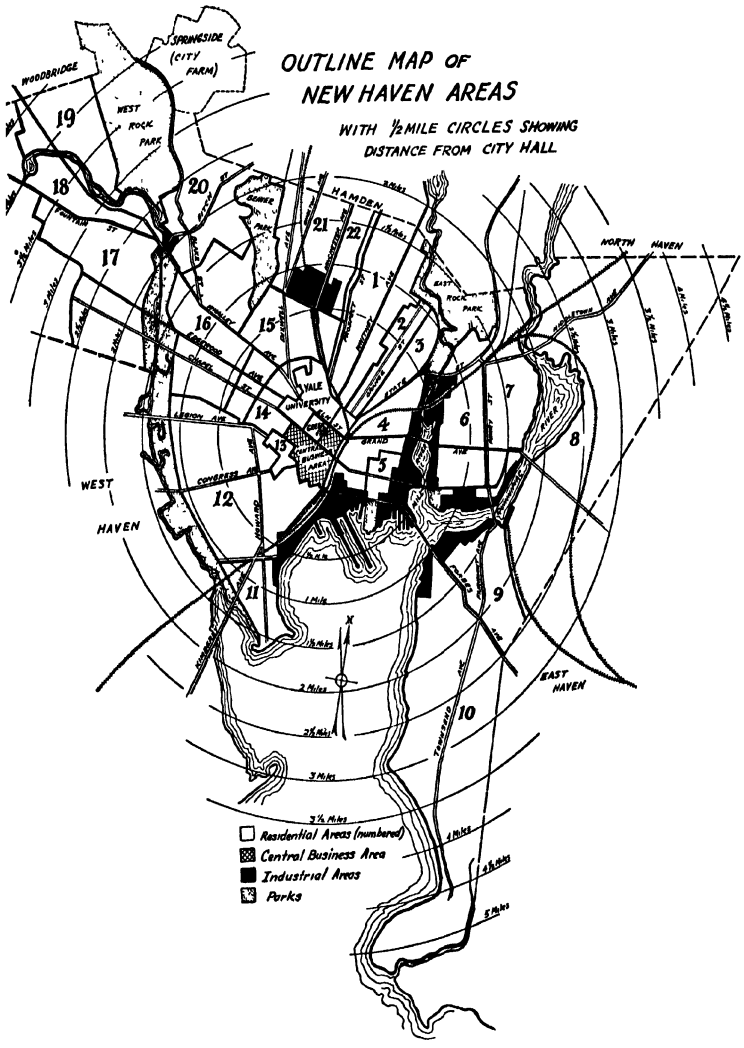

OUTLINE MAP OF
NEW HAVEN AREAS
WITH ½ MILE CIRCLES SHOWING
DISTANCE FROM CITY HALL
SPRINGSIDE (CITY FARM)
WOODBRIDGE
WEST ROCK PARK
HAMDEN
NORTH HAVEN
EAST ROCK PARK
YALE UNIVERSITY
GRAND
WEST HAVEN
EAST HAVEN
Residential Areas (numbered)
Central Business Area
Industrial Areas
Parks

Chart VI

and business executives (3.1 per cent). In 50 per cent of the cases family income is below $1,500, in 36.1 per cent between $1,500 and $3,000, and in 13.9 per cent between $3,000 and $7,000. Ten residents are listed in the Social Register, five in the membership roll of the Graduates Club, and three in *Who's Who*. Both delinquency and dependency are considerably below expectancy.

Some of the predominant characteristics of the several areas are summarized in an accompanying table. "Predominant" is taken to mean over 50 per cent. Where a single trait does not comprise 50 per cent of all cases, the two most common are given.

With the industrial areas, the central business district, and the University, these 22 areas constitute the ecological elements of New Haven. That they do not conform to a concentric circle pattern is apparent from a mere glance at the accompanying outline map of the areas, on which circles are described at half-mile radii from the center of the city. No zone thus inscribed is homogeneous in any respect.

It should be noted, of course, that some areas resemble one another, though each differs appreciably from all contiguous areas. By whatever criterion they are grouped, however, no concentric circle pattern results. For example, the foreign born predominate in Areas 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, and 13, which form a belt around the central business district on the east and south. But the rest of that belt, on the north and west, is quite different; it contains, amongst others, the only three areas in which native Americans predominate. Nor do the areas of highest delinquency and dependency rates constitute a zone. They are Areas 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, and 15, in other words, all those, except Area 3, where the foreign born predominate and, in addition, Area 15, which contains the largest concentration of Negroes in the city. According to type of housing and income, Areas 1, 2, 14, 16, and 17 are the most outstanding. Some radiate outward from the center of the city; others are found adjacent to the center or at the outskirts; but all occur in the northern and western parts of the city. These areas are also in a class by themselves in regard to the number and proportion of persons of social or other prominence. Their location has no relation to any concentric circle pattern.

As a further test, one may examine what is found within any

Areas by Predominant Characteristics

Area	*Land Use*	*Nativity*	*Religion*	*Occupation*	*Income above or below $1,500*	*Social Register*	*Graduates Club*	*Who's Who*	*Delinquency Rate*	*Dependency Rate*
I	1-family	American	Protestant	Prof & Bus. Exec.	Above	559	250	132	Low	Very low
II	2-family	Mixed	Mixed	Office-wkrs. & Dlrs. & Prop	Above	105	31	17	Low	Very low
III	2-family	Foreign-born	Catholic	Artisans & Laborers	Below	..	..	..		
IV	2-family & business	Foreign-born	Catholic	Laborers	Below	.	..	..	Very high	Very high
V	2-family & business	Foreign-born	Catholic	Laborers	Below	..	..	..	High	Very high
VI	2-family	Foreign-born	Catholic	Laborers & Artisans	Below	2	.	..	High	High
VII	2-family & 1-family	Mixed	Catholic	Laborers & Artisans	Below	2	1	..		
VIII	Vacant & 1-family	Mixed	Protestant	Artisans & Laborers	Below	8	1	..		
IX	Vacant & 2-family	Mixed	Catholic	Laborers & Artisans	Below	1	..	.		
X	Vacant & 1-family	Mixed	Catholic	Artisans & Office-wkrs	Below	14	3	1	Low	
XI	2-family	Mixed	Catholic	Laborers & Artisans	Below	3	..	1		
XII	2-family	Foreign-born	Catholic	Laborers & Artisans	Below	2	..	..	High	High
XIII	Business	Foreign-born	Catholic	Laborers & Artisans	Below	.	..	..	Very high	Very high
XIV	2-family & 1-family	American	Mixed	Office-wkrs. & Dlrs & Prop	Above	33	6	5	Low	Low
XV	2-family	Mixed	Mixed	Laborers & Artisans	Below	3	1	..	High	High
XVI	2-family	Mixed	Mixed	Dlrs. & Prop. & Office-wkrs	Above	95	22	10	Very low	Very low
XVII	1-family	American	Protestant	Bus Exec & Office-wkrs.	Above	156	29	9	Very low	Very low
XVIII	2-family & 1-family	Mixed	Mixed	Artisans & Office-wkrs.	Half & half	8	..	..	Low	Low
XIX	Vacant	2nd generation	Catholic	Pub Serv. & Dlrs & Prop	Below	..	..	..	Very low	High
XX	Vacant & 1-family	2nd generation	Protestant	Artisans	Below	1	..	1		High
XXI	2-family	Mixed	Mixed	Artisans & Laborers	Below	.	..	..		High
XXII	2-family	Mixed	Catholic	Artisans, Office-wkrs. & Dlrs & Prop.	Half & half	10	5	3	Low	Low

concentric zone. Each is seen to be highly diversified. Any attempt to characterize them as primarily "a zone in transition, a zone of workingmen's homes, and a residential zone" must appear completely arbitrary.

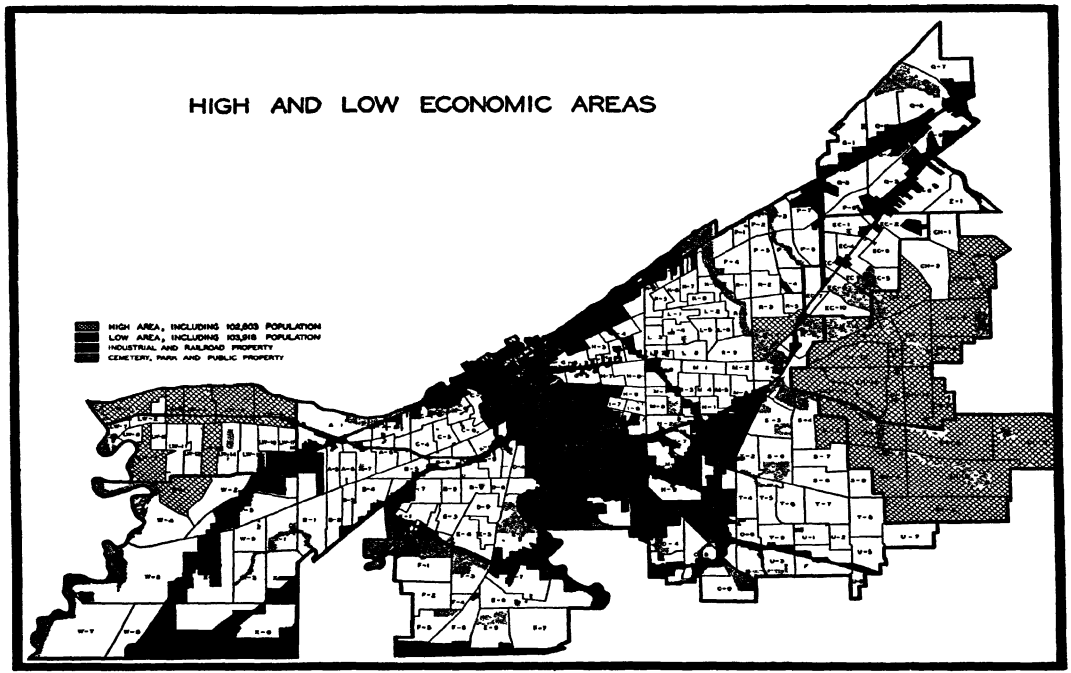
The hypothesis of the concentric zone pattern, therefore, clearly does not apply to New Haven. Nor does it appear to apply to the sixteen self-contained cities in which Bartholomew[18] made detailed field surveys of land utilization. Nor does it apply to Greater Cleveland, where Green[19] by analyzing social data by census tracts mapped the "cultural areas" of Cleveland and the four largest adjacent cities. Low economic areas, characterized by smaller incomes, fewer radios and telephones, fewer home owners, fewer one-family dwellings, more two- and multi-family dwellings, more murders, houses of prostitution, juvenile delinquents, dependent families, unemployed, illiterates, and higher birth and infant mortality rates in proportion to population—low economic areas, while in general near the center of the city, are by no means confined there but are found in every zone. They are generally adjacent to industrial and railroad property.

It is this factor of industrial and railroad utilization that was chiefly neglected in Burgess's study. Such use is by no means limited to any one zone but, depending on topography and other factors, may be found in any section of a city. Examination of scores of base maps of different cities fails to disclose any instance of industrial concentration within a concentric zone. Chicago itself is a case in point.

Zoning maps, it should be noted in conclusion, offer a valuable and convenient device for studying the pattern of the distribution of land uses. Zoning or town planning takes natural development as a starting point, and modifies it according to man's ideas of utility and esthetics. Zoning ordinances tend merely to add a legal definition to pre-existing natural areas. A zoning map thus illustrates essentially what is, although some distortion results from the fact that it makes provision for the estimated future expansion of different types of land utilization. In connection with this

18. *Op. cit.*

19. Green, H. W., "Cultural Areas in the City of Cleveland," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXVIII (1932), 356–67.



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Chart VII

study, zoning maps were obtained of some twenty cities of varying size and type in the United States and Canada, and colored as to major types of land utilization. They all show: (1) a central business district, irregular in size but more square or rectangular than circular, (2) commercial land use extending out the radial streets and concentrating at certain strategic points to form sub-centers, (3) industry located near the means of transportation by water or rail, wherever in the city this may be—and it may be anywhere, (4) low-grade housing near the industrial and transportation areas, and (5) second- and first-class housing anywhere else. These seem to be the general principles governing the distribution of utilities. There is no universal pattern, not even of an "ideal" type.

THE MAJORITY RULE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

HERBERT MAYNARD DIAMOND

THE National Industrial Relations Act, approved July 5, 1935, endeavors to place the conduct of collective bargaining in the United States upon a new footing. The Act logically developed from a series of steps which began with Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act; this was followed by the establishment of the National Labor Board in 1933, and later by the creation of the National Labor Relations Board in 1934.[1] This last body was succeeded by the present National Labor Relations Board under the 1935 legislation. Federal power under this act may be exercised in cases in which the flow of interstate commerce may be affected by "the denial by employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining."[2] The new board is a semi-judicial body of three empowered to carry out the terms of the Act. It is not to exercise mediatory functions.[3]

The law is designed to give more precise meaning to those general provisions guaranteeing freedom of choice of representatives for collective bargaining which had appeared earlier in the Railway Labor Act of 1926, the Norris-LaGuardia law of 1932, and

1. Two recent volumes—Lorwin, L., and Wubnig, A., *Labor Relations Boards* (Washington, 1935), and Twentieth Century Fund, *Labor and the Government* (New York, 1935)—trace the evolution of this development, the former in somewhat more detail. We shall refer to the 1934 National Labor Relations Board as the "old board."

2. Section 1. Lorwin and Wubnig (*op. cit.*, p. 331) declare that the act was rewritten after the Schechter decision in an endeavor to remove its provisions from the scope of that decision. Lois MacDonald ("The National Labor Relations Act," *American Economics Review*, XXVI [1936], 421–2) states that "where the Board has moved to the extent of hearing a case and rendering a decision, it has built up its case around two issues: first the interstate nature of the industry; second, the relationship of the practices under complaint to the flow of commerce between the states."

3. *Monthly Labor Review*, XLI (1935), 370. The earlier Labor Boards in practice participated in mediatory and conciliatory activities (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff., 297 ff.).

Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act.[4] The 1935 Act[5] specifies certain "unfair labor practices" and provides the National Labor Relations Board with investigatory authority and the power to restrain employers found to be engaged in such unfair practices.[6]

The constitutionality of this legislation, in whole or in part, is not a question germane to this paper,[7] nor is the entire range of the Act herein considered. But a single principle of this legislation is to concern us. This principle is the so-called majority rule, which possesses sufficient economic and social significance to warrant detailed analysis. The new National Labor Relations Board, in addition to hearings and rulings upon unfair labor practices, is empowered to inaugurate and conduct elections among employees for the purpose of determining the appropriate agency to represent the latter in collective bargaining.[8] "Representatives designated or selected for the purpose of collective bargaining by the majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for such purposes shall be the exclusive representatives of all the employees in such unit. . . ."[9]

4. Schlichter, S., "The Government and Collective Bargaining," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CLXXVIII (1935), 107; Ware, N., *Labor in Modern Industrial Society* (Boston, 1935), p. 516.

5. Section 8.

6. The 1934 N.L.R.B. had authority only in case of elections, and had no direct authority to compel compliance from employers (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.,* pp. 304, 302; Twentieth Century Fund, *op. cit.,* p. 212).

7. The report of the Lawyers' Committee of the Liberty League, September, 1935, expressed strong doubt as to the law's constitutionality. The remarks of William Green (*Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor,* 1932, 347), President of the American Federation of Labor, on unemployment insurance, in 1932, indicate that labor may well entertain some doubt as to the validity of the Act. On February 1, 1936, J. W. Madden of the N.L.R.B. expressed a desire for an early test of the Act, and pointed to nineteen injunction suits pending against the activity of the Board (*New York Times,* Feb. 2, 1936). At the date of the preparation of this paper, the Supreme Court of the United States had consented to a review of cases from the lower courts. For discussion of the constitutional issues, see MacDonald, *op. cit.,* pp. 416-20; Mason, A. T., "Labor and Judicial Interpretation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CLXXXIV (1936), 119 ff.

8. The Board is also permitted to determine this matter in other ways; earlier labor boards had developed the device of checking payrolls against names on a petition, as an alternative method (Twentieth Century Fund, *op. cit.,* p. 233).

9. Section 9a. The problem of defining the majority as expressed in an

The inclusion of this provision in a law of general application marks the culmination of a rather considerable and sustained development. The majority rule had been stated in the Railway Labor Act of 1934. The principle had been adopted as a matter of policy by the War Labor Board, by the Railroad Labor Board, by the National Labor Board, and by the old National Labor Relations Board, as well as by the Steel and Petroleum Labor Boards.[10] While these earlier boards endeavored repeatedly to put the rule into practice in the cases which came before them, they were nevertheless not empowered or compelled specifically to apply the rule, as is now the case with the new National Labor Relations Board. The latter would appear to have no discretion in the matter, once an election has been ordered.

The majority rule now in the law of the land may provoke more or less friction[11] in industrial relations. The Act, with its accompanying safeguards to efforts at organization, cannot be construed otherwise than as an open invitation to the various labor organizations to build majorities in unorganized industries. In those industries and plants in which the company union has hitherto been the established agency for industrial relations, the appearance of labor organizers will not be altogether welcome. The law implies that workers may proceed to self-organization, free of employer coercion and influence. Practically, however, organization is more likely to result from the effort of union organizers or of employers. That pressure on wage-earners, in forms and degrees familiar to observers of the labor movement, will mark the situation seems self-evident. To be sure, the Act interdicts tactics of this sort on the part of the employer, while it is silent as to either persuasive or

election has given rise to some difficulty (see *National Labor Relations Board Cases*, R. 26, R. 39—the Associated Press and Radio Corporation of America election cases).

10. See *Decisions of the (Old) National Labor Relations Board*, Case No. 12. The Railway Labor Act of 1934 lays down the rule that a majority of any craft or class of employees shall have the right to determine representatives (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, pp. 391, 339). The Automobile Labor Board was set up upon a rather novel principle, that of proportional representation. Most authorities appear to disapprove of this plan; in any event, the 1935 Act does not permit it.

11. More likely in a law of general application than in the Railway Labor Act, owing to the longer tradition of organized labor on the railroads (see Twentieth Century Fund, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-3).

coercive effort on the part of labor organizations. Employers are not likely, however, to remain entirely passive.[12] The issue will be fought out to the last ditch legally and otherwise.[13]

The problem, however, runs far deeper than mere friction in industrial relations. The majority rule may bring to the surface the formulation of policies under public authority of far-reaching character. Indeed, the brief experience of the predecessor national labor boards reveals that, in the relatively short period of their respective existences, certain of the issues hereinafter to be discussed had already been encountered.

Naturally, under the majority rule, the problem of the minorities promptly emerges. Such a rule in practical operation necessarily overrides minority interests of one sort or another.[14] This is in the nature of the situation.[15]

12. Dr. Leo Wolman ("New National Labor Law," *Review of Reviews*, XCII [1925], 31) believes that the provisions of the law relative to discrimination will prove a potent cause of friction. The greater number of cases thus far heard by the board have related to unfair labor practices. In several cases company unions have been ordered to be disestablished. See *N.L.R.B. Cases*, C. 41, in which the International Harvester Company was ordered to disestablish such an organization; also *ibid.*, C. 13, C. 26, C. 91, C. 93

13. What the act will do is to stimulate personnel policies and "lead to a situation in which the company unions assume some characteristics of real bargaining agencies, dealing with wages, hours, and conditions of employment. . . . The trade union company union controversy stimulated greatly by the Act will move on to some other stage" (MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 426). The National Labor Relations Board has had before it a number of company union cases, in some of which the company unions were disestablished; in others, workers were asked to choose between the company and an outside organization (see *N.L.R.B. Cases*, R. 10, R. 30, C. 41).

14. In the Houde case (*Decisions* [*Old*] *N.L.R.B.*, Case No. 12), the old National Labor Relations Board took the position that minorities if oppressed might petition the Board for relief; see also *ibid.*, Case No. 170 (Detroit Street Railways), in which "the decision is made without prejudice to the minority group to renew at some future time its application for consideration as a separate bargaining unit. . . ."

15. In practical application, the principle means that employers are forbidden to bargain with minorities (*ibid.*, Case No. 12). See Twentieth Century Fund, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–30. Mr. L. K. Garrison, the first chairman of the old National Labor Relations Board, is quoted (*ibid.*, p. 340) as saying: "I am tired of hearing theoretical arguments about the rights of the minority. I have never yet seen a case in which these arguments were advanced by a bona fide minority group genuinely concerned with negotiating a collective agreement applying to all. They are invariably put forth by employers who do not wish to bargain collectively and who therefore wish their responsibility to be left as diffused and uncertain as possible."

We may first consider the position of the worker who does not wish to join any labor organization.[16] Apparently, in cases in which a labor organization holds a majority in the unit in which he falls, he loses voice in the determination of "rates of pay, wages, hours of employment, or other conditions of employment"[17] by a refusal to join the majority group. The theoretical points may be made either that his interests may be disregarded by the majority, or that in order to safeguard his interests virtual compulsion is exerted upon him to join the majority. Testimony upon this point is conflicting. Trade union leaders assert that the interests of the non-unionist are entirely safe in the hands of the union.[18] Lorwin and Wubnig,[19] however, rather cryptically remark about the ruling of the National Labor Board in the Denver Tramway case: "The Board's ruling implied that the union must negotiate on behalf of members and non-members alike. Practically speaking any union which did so would be abandoning a powerful weapon by which it could persuade non-members into membership and establish the closed-shop *de facto*." Nevertheless, if the majority is to speak for all, it must act for all. A law which declared that a majority might act in its own behalf solely, while the minority lost voice altogether, would be strangely inequitable. Perhaps Lorwin and Wubnig have put their fingers upon a neglected element in the situation viewed as a practical proposition. However, to calculate the practical loss of the individual who does not wish to join the union is somewhat difficult. So long as his right not to join is maintained his plight is not highly significant.[20]

16. Dr. Wolman (*op. cit.*, p. 32) holds the view that there are many employees who do not wish to be represented by either company or outside unions, but who wish to choose their own representatives. See Mason (*op. cit.*) on the constitutionality of the majority rule.

17. Section 9a.

18. Rieve, E., "What Labor Demands of Government," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CLXXVIII (1935), 127.

19. *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

20. Section 8, par. 3. Section 9a endeavors also to recognize his status, declaring "That any individual employee or group of employees shall have the right at any time to present grievances to the employer." But Dr. Wolman (*op. cit.*) believes this to be an empty right since the law declares that wages, rates of pay, hours, etc., are to be negotiated for under the majority rule, thus leaving to minorities no matters of large moment to discuss. As a common sense proposition, however, the majority could not permit minority groups to accept lower pay and poorer conditions for the same work.

The situation of the individual, however, assumes different color when we take into account that provision of the Act which specifically recognizes the closed-shop contract.[21] The predecessor boards were vexed with controversy upon this question, and moved cautiously with respect to it.[22] The new Act resolves the issue by permitting the Board to recognize the existence of such agreements between employers and labor organizations. Undoubtedly the law embraces contradictory elements; in the one instance it protects the individual against compulsion to join a labor organization, and in the other it allows the closed-shop contract. But this fact has no importance. The closed-shop agreement is not and has not been unusual in the United States, and the law could do no more than recognize what already was legal and established practice.

The provision permitting such agreements does not, however, signify the advent of the universal closed-shop. Nothing in the Act declares that an employer must enter into such an agreement; he is merely not barred from so doing. Unions having attained a majority may strive to attain a closed-shop contract, but the employer's right to refuse, and to employ all methods of resistance legally available to him, is not impaired.[23]

In the last analysis, whether or not the closed shop becomes a great issue under the new Act will probably be contingent very largely upon the success of the trades unions in their organizing efforts and upon the size of the majorities which they manage to achieve. Where strong non-union and anti-union minorities remain, the unions undoubtedly will not risk their resources on a struggle. Union demands for the closed shop will depend upon a variety of circumstances, in which the numerical proportion of the unorganized will very likely play a considerable part. The ultimate consequences of the legislative combination of majority rule and closed shop are at the moment not entirely clear.[24]

21. Section 8, par. 3, excluding, for the most part, the company union.

22. Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff., 318; Twentieth Century Fund, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7.

23. The decision of the old N.L.R.B. (*Decisions*, Case No. 12) in the Houde case took the view that the closed shop was a matter for negotiation.

24. The President of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, however, has declared: "We make no secret of the fact that our ultimate objective is a completely unionized plant and a completely unionized trade or industry" (Rieve, E., *op. cit.*, p. 123).

When, on the contrary, minorities consist of workers who already belong to labor organizations, numerous difficulties in administration appear for the board which endeavors to carry out the provisions of the new Act. Several classes of cases appear certain to arise, and equally certain to offer vexatious if not insoluble problems. Schlichter[25] has observed that "there are many situations in which the majority rule will not work very satisfactorily, cases where employees are more or less evenly divided between competing organizations. . . . As long as the employees are so divided satisfactory collective bargaining will not be possible. . . ."

Several types of cases in which minority interests may prove troublesome are readily recognizable: (1) where a trade union and a company union are rivals in the same plant or industry;[26] (2) where dualism of one sort or another exists; (3) where craft and industrial unions each claim identical organizing rights. The issues here will be the more acute in instances in which the minorities are strong in leadership, numbers, and bitterness of feeling.

The problems involved herein are identified with the fact that the National Labor Relations Board may decide upon the appropriate unit for collective bargaining. The Boards have endeavored to decide each such case upon its intrinsic merits, and to avoid so far as possible passing upon labor union policies or jurisdictional matters.[27] These problems are, however, implicit in the determination of appropriate units for collective bargaining.[28]

25. *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

26. In the Kohler case, the election resulted in a victory for the company union (the legality of which the old Board had challenged) and "got the N.L.R.B. into hot water with the A. F. of L." (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, p. 317 n.).

27. Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

28. *Cf.* Schlichter, *op. cit.*, p. 115. In the United Dry Docks case it was found that a small group of welders did not constitute a proper bargaining unit. The old N.L.R.B. (*Decisions*, Case No. 190) declared that "there are in existence in this plant bargaining agencies representing much larger units of employees. . . . With such agencies already functioning it would require very clear and convincing proof to justify a conclusion that the small welders' group in this plant (one out of five operated by the company constitutes a bargaining unit with which the company) is under a legal duty to bargain separately. The practical difficulties of requiring the management to deal separately on labor matters with forty-eight different inter-related crafts is sufficient cause to such requirement of proof." In the Detroit Street Railways case (*ibid.*, Case No. 170) the old N.L.R.B. was faced with a controversy

Roughly speaking, three types of dualism may be recognized, namely, when an American Federation of Labor organization is faced with (1) a left-wing rival, (2) an independent union, and (3) a secessionist organization split off from the parent organization by reason of internal disagreement.[29] We need merely to note that there exist, and will doubtless arise again, situations in which a minority union group in an industry or in the country as a whole holds a majority in individual localities or specific plants.[30] The first and third of the above-mentioned types of dualism are intolerable in the sight of the American Federation of Labor organizations. The left-wingers are dangerous interlopers; the schismatic unions are outlaws. The independent union, though not popular, may be tolerated.[31] In ruling upon the units for collective bargaining in such cases, however, the National Labor Relations Board will in effect have given legal recognition to the claims of the one or the other of the parties in interest. The earlier labor boards frequently faced these issues. Whenever rivalries and factionalism are attended by intense animosities—and they are likely to be—no de-

involving an independent union of bus operators and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees. The independent union desired that the bus system should be one unit and the trolley lines another in collective bargaining with the City of Detroit, the proprietor of these enterprises. The Board stated: "There is no question but that were it not for the controversy over the seniority rules the transportation system as a whole would constitute the logical and proper unit for collective bargaining. . . ."

29. For example: (1) the I.W.W. or a Communist union; (2) numerous cases in the automobile, shipbuilding, and shoe industries; and (3) the Progressive Miners of America and the United Anthracite Workers, both seceding from the United Mine Workers. Cases of this type controvert the abovecited view of Mr. Garrison; there may be significant minorities. See also Schlichter, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

30. The Twentieth Century Fund (*op. cit.*, p. 367) recommended that the law specify the power of the Board to adjudicate cases of dispute between labor organizations over representation. The Act of 1935 implies rather than states this power; Section 9c reads: "whenever a question affecting commerce arises concerning the representation of employees the Board may investigate such controversy" and certify the name or names of the representatives that have been designated or selected. This language appears broad enough to extend the jurisdiction of the Board to the cases discussed in this paper.

31. However, the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L. (*Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor*, 1935, p. 793) vigorously disapproved of the organizing efforts of Father Charles E. Coughlin among the automobile workers. See also Wolman, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

cision can be satisfactory to the defeated faction.[32] When faced with such issues the Board might conceivably rule in a number of ways. It might decide that the standard organization for an industry as a whole should act as the sole bargaining agent in national agreements covering an industry, district or division. It is not likely, however, that the Board is empowered under the statute so to rule, or that it would do so in any case.[33] But if it does not take this step, it might for local purposes designate the dual or rival organization which holds a local majority as the representative of

32. The National Labor Board ordered elections in which workers were to choose between left-wing and A. F. of L. unions, and also between independent unions and A. F. of L. organizations (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, p. 164 n.). In the Hildinger-Bishop case (*Decisions* [*Old*] *N.L.R.B.*, Case No. 86) an independent organization was recognized. In the case of the Progressive Miners of America, the National Labor Board seemed unwilling to face the issue, and later on the Bituminous Coal Labor Boards managed largely to shelve it (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 435). The United Mine Workers, holding prior contracts from the operators, likewise endeavored in every way to block recognition of the United Anthracite Workers (*Monthly Labor Review*, XLI [1935], 382). Yet in the Hildinger-Bishop case the old N.L.R.B. (*Decisions*, Case No. 86) set aside a contract of an employer with the standard union and ordered him to reinstate members of an independent union on the ground that he could not negotiate with an organization no member of which was employed by him. Cases before the present Board reveal similar controversies between rival organizations in the shipping, tobacco, and oil industries Cases R. 64–104 involved the problem of an organization (the Sailors Union of the Pacific) the charter of which had been revoked by its A. F. of L. affiliate. Cases R. 36–8, R. 106–8, and R. 110 reveal disputes between independent organizations, A. F. of L. affiliates, and a Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers affiliate; the Board ordered elections calling for choices between them. In Case C. 33 an independent automobile union was certified. The attitude of A. F. of L. unions in such cases is likely to be somewhat difficult, as it has been in the past. Having acceded to the principle of proportional representation in the automobile settlement, they later repudiated this agreement and ordered their members not to participate in the election. In the case of a strike in the Camden shipyards, the A. F. of L. opposed a closed-shop contract with an industrial union not affiliated with themselves. The A. F. of L. protested elections of the National Labor Board in which independent, dual, and left-wing unions were involved (see Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 374; Wolman, *op. cit.*, p. 33). The United Mine Workers are said (*Monthly Labor Review*, XLI [1935], 383) to have opposed a referendum in the case of the United Anthracite Miners. Jack Hardy (*The Clothing Workers* [New York, 1935], p. 146) declares that the left-wing unions could not obtain an election owing to A. F. of L. opposition.

33. But what is the Board to rule, if a standard union holds or makes a national or sectional agreement by which a local minority group refuses to abide? This situation appeared in the cases of the Progressive Miners and the Anthracite Miners, noted above.

the workers with whom the employer must deal.[34] No such ruling can be satisfactory to the standard organizations, which can yield to dualist movements only at the risk of their very existence. They might refuse to acknowledge any such arrangement,[35] or, on the other hand, the members of a dual minority might refuse to be represented by the standard organization in plants or areas where the latter held a clear majority. Either rival group might tie up an employer in protest against a ruling of the National Labor Relations Board.[36] Since there is no limitation upon the right of labor organizations to strike,[37] there is no reason why strikes should not be called by either a majority or a minority group in protest against rulings by the Board[38] which are unsatisfactory to them, or in refusal to be held by agreements entered into by the rival organizations.

Most important, in all probability, will be those cases involving collision between the craft and industrial types of organization. As these lines are written, a situation amounting to civil war has

34. As the earlier labor boards decided each case on its merits, no principle can be stated here. See *Decisions* [*Old*] *N.L.R.B.*, Hildinger-Bishop, Gordon-Baking, United Dry Docks, Detroit Street Railways, and Houde cases. It is interesting to note, however, that in the Magnolia case the Petroleum Labor Board refused to permit an employer to take a vote among his entire personnel, declaring that a local minority might be overrun. Yet this is precisely what occurred in the coal cases in which labor boards refused elections. In the Gordon case, involving a company which operated a plant on either side of the town, the National Labor Board ruled that one of the two plants was not an appropriate unit, whereas the old N.I.R.B. (*Decisions*, Case No. 248) later ruled that one plant did constitute an appropriate unit. See Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 433–5, 394.

35. The United Mine Workers have insisted in two dual cases that prior contracts governed the employer (see above).

36. Schlichter (*op. cit.*, p. 115) has anticipated such difficulties and proposes prohibition of such strikes.

37. Section 13.

38. Some interesting possibilities are evident here. Apparently the statute, in conferring power on the Board to designate the bargaining unit, does not take into account those situations in which unions execute widely applicable agreements with not one but a number of employers. The statute, therefore, would appear to invite local factional or rank and file minorities to seek recognition and legal support in opposition to the parent organization. This would have occurred had the National Labor Board ordered an election on the petition of the Progressive Miners. The ruling of the Petroleum Board in the Magnolia case would seem to bear out this conclusion. Or does the possession of a contract by the larger organization nullify the effort of a local majority to obtain recognition from the employer? See also the Hildinger-Bishop decision.

developed about this issue in the American Federation of Labor.[39] As every one is aware, this controversy has arisen because the established craft unions, which in many instances are ill-adapted to contemporary economic and industrial conditions, seem quite unwilling to relinquish the possibility of future growth. Thus far the Federation has tried to meet the situation in the mass production and unorganized industries by provisional arrangements in which plant unions of an inclusive character are set up as a temporary organizational device. Other new organizations have chosen to function as unattached industrial unions. Meanwhile certain already established industrial unions have proceeded to obtain new members very rapidly. The ultimate disposition of these newly organized groups still seems to be indefinite, so far as the policy of the American Federation of Labor is concerned. The craft unions seem to hope and anticipate—even to demand—that these new unionists, once organized, be divided up in some way or other among the craft organizations.[40]

39. The 1935 convention of the Federation was marked by bitter and acrimonious controversy upon organizational policy (see *Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor,* 1935, pp. 521 ff.). The craft union viewpoint prevailed. Subsequently J. L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers resigned as a vice president of the Federation, and simultaneously some eight presidents of labor organizations affiliated with the Federation established a Committee for Industrial Organization, which apparently intends to push the formation of industrial unions without regard for the claims of the craft organizations. The Executive Council of the Federation later suspended the unions connected with the C.I.O. At the time of writing, the 1936 convention of the A. F. of L. had approved the course of the Executive Council, although leaving the door open for further negotiation with the C.I.O. looking to settlement of the issue.

40. For a full discussion of this situation see Saposs, D. J., "Industrial Unionism," *Journal of Political Economy,* XLIII (1935), 76 ff. See also Cummins, E. E., *The Labor Problem in the United States* (2d ed., New York, 1935), pp. 178–81. Among the resolutions presented to the Federation at the 1935 convention was one presented by the delegates from a number of craft unions demanding that the Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refinery Workers Union turn over to the craft unions all its members coming "within the jurisdiction of the several craft unions" (*Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor,* 1935, pp. 825 ff.). Mr. Lewis, in his address at the same convention, condemned the policy of the Federation in the case of the automobile and rubber industries, declaring that efforts to divide up the workers in these industries among craft organizations was contrary to the desires of the workers themselves (*ibid.,* pp. 536–7). The Executive Council of the Federation at the Miami meeting refused a national industrial union charter to the National Radio and Allied Trades organization, made up originally of federal labor locals affiliated directly with the A. F. of L. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was given

The National Labor Relations Board apparently must sooner or later face this general issue.[41] Miss MacDonald[42] states that "the old labor board made some effort to 'honor craft lines' in instances where there were craft units already organized. But in the mass production industries craft organizations have very little foothold. In cases of conflicting jurisdiction the Board holds a strategic position in the craft-industrial controversy." However, in cases involving conflict over membership between American Federation of Labor affiliates, the Board has thus far refused to act, holding that the working out of these issues must take place within the labor movement itself.[43]

Such a disposition of the situation can be satisfactory to no one. The employer faced with the claims of rival groups has no authorized group with which to deal. The rival claimants still remain at loggerheads. The establishment of orderly processes of collective

jurisdiction. The president of the radio group informed the Council that this decision would lead to a withdrawal of the radio workers from the Federation (*New York Times,* Jan. 27, 1936). This organization has subsequently affiliated with the C.I.O., as have also the Oil Workers, Automobile Workers, and Rubber Workers.

41. The remarks of Mr. Matthew Woll, 4th Vice President of the Federation, at the 1935 convention, indicate his acceptance of this view: "We may issue charters all we want, we are not the supreme body in this matter, self-organization is not to be determined in the Councils of the American Federation of Labor. We may issue a charter, we may seek to grant the claims of jurisdiction and seek to safeguard those claims from the invasion of any other group of workers but we are not the ultimate judges. This Board shall be the judges" (*Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor,* 1935, p. 530). Louis Stark, in an article in the *New York Times* (Dec. 19, 1935), stated that several craft unions were contemplating a demand upon Congress to amend the National Labor Relations Act in such a way as to protect their respective jurisdictions, saying that "if the Labor Board decides, in the cases before it, that the appropriate unit for collective bargaining is the entire plant, the industrial unionists will hail the decision. If, after inquiry and the submission of briefs, the board calls for a division for collective bargaining of the workers into the several crafts the craft unionists will be pleased." Mr. Stark also states that the Board has declined to fix any policy or render *ex parte* opinions. See also Diamond, H. M., "The Wagner Law," *New York Herald-Tribune,* Jan. 20, 1936.

42. *Op. cit.,* p. 425.

43. See the Aluminum Company case, cited in two cases (*National Labor Relations Board Cases,* R. 5, R. 6) involving disputes between the Machinists and Tobacco Workers. Another case (*ibid.,* R. 3) involves disputes between the Oil Field, Gas Well, and Refining Workers and a number of craft unions. The latter now fly the banner of the C.I.O.

bargaining, for which the Board was created, has not been achieved. Despite the Board's view that the American Federation of Labor has developed machinery for the adjustment of such matters, the plain fact is that the Federation has not been conspicuously successful in dealing with them[44] and is at the moment split wide open on this very issue. Hence, as MacDonald[45] remarks, the Board "may . . . in the event the unions themselves do not make necessary adjustments, find it necessary to assume its full power in designating bargaining units and thus affect trade union structure." In those cases in which majorities have been built up in inclusive unions to the satisfaction of most of the workers[46] (in fact, the majority rule under the law governs this situation), will a government board later proceed to recognize the claims of dissatisfied craft unions and consent to a distribution of the workers among the latter organizations? No board would, in all likelihood, compel an employer to accept the annoyance and expense of negotiating with eighteen or twenty different organizations when a single unit already exists. Nevertheless, decisions contrary to the views of the old and established craft organizations may prove quite unacceptable to the latter.

A few further considerations may profitably be noted. Under the terms of the National Labor Relations Act the refusal of an employer to bargain collectively with representatives of the employees is declared to be an unfair labor practice. Hence, when once a labor organization shall have been certified by the Board, the employer is under legal compulsion to recognize and negotiate with the officials of that organization. As time goes on, the Board may be compelled to face some knotty issues under this provision of the Act.[47] Such an issue might arise from the fact that labor organiza-

44. See Dougherty, C. R., *Labor Problems in American Industry* (Boston, 1933), pp. 512–14.

45. *Op. cit.*

46. Does not the authority of the Board to prescribe "the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit or subdivision thereof," in conjunction with the majority rule, tend generally to favor the industrial type? And, in certifying one plant and labor union after another, including locally such industrial organizations as the United Rubber Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the Oil Workers, the Radio Workers, and the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, is not the Board step by step actually settling the craft-industrial issue piecemeal?

47. *Cf.* Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and n.

tions, particularly in local areas, have often been dominated by unscrupulous and racketeering elements.[48] Will a responsible federal labor board compel an employer to negotiate with such leadership, even if designated by a majority of his employees to represent them? This at once suggests the possibility that the Board may be compelled to discriminate between labor organizations and to refuse to recognize such local majorities as proper agencies for collective bargaining.[49]

A similar set of issues arises with respect to labor organizations avowedly Communist or Syndicalist in character. Will a federal labor board compel an employer to recognize and negotiate with a majority organization pledged to the overthrow of the very government which is prepared to enforce such an order upon the employer?[50] Possibly no board would assume the responsibility for making the discriminations suggested by these last two problems.[51]

48. See Lorwin, L., *The American Federation of Labor* (Washington, 1933), pp. 321 ff., 465. C. E. Zaretz (*The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America* [New York, 1934], p. 258) states that "during the struggle with the left-wing factions some of the officials of the A.C.W. of A. freely resorted to the use of professional thugs and racketeers. Through alliances with gang leaders, these officials succeeded in establishing themselves as dictators in their local, terrorizing the membership by violence or intimidation." Ware (*op. cit.*, p. 43) remarks that "the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has done nothing to clear the organization of racketeering. In fact, the subject is taboo."

49 William Green has been quoted as declaring that he expects the new Board to discriminate against racketeering organizations (Lexington Avenue Civic Association, Inc., *Wanted—Improved Labor Leadership*, copyright W. D. Rawlins [New York, 1935], p. 8). *Cf.* also MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 425. However, in the Rabhor case (cited in *National Labor Relations Board Cases*, R. 5, R. 6), the Board held that testimony offered to prove that employees were induced to strike by false statements and promises of union organizers was irrelevant, since the contention of the employer that such conduct relieved him of the duty to bargain collectively was erroneous. It said: "Where groups are to be organized and moved into action it is not unusual for the leaders to promise more than can be secured or to indulge in some exaggeration. Indeed, it is one of the functions of collective bargaining to eliminate the misunderstandings that are bound to arise in these struggles and to resolve demands into what can be achieved. The Act does not give to us the mandate to examine the speeches and the conduct of those whom the employees choose to follow, and to determine whether, in our opinion, they are worthy to lead. That is for the workers alone to decide." Can this principle be safely extended to such situations as the one above discussed?

50. See Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, p. 165 n.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 398 n.

Unless the Board thus discriminates, it might be regarded as the victim of racketeer or irresponsible radical leadership. If, however, it receives authority to discriminate, a government agency will then have declared that, while the majority rule applies, it applies only when the majority has selected an agency which the government deems satisfactory to itself. What then of the freedom of choice of representatives for collective bargaining? Whence then will proceed the coercion? These are deep and far-reaching issues under a democratic government.[52]

In conclusion, assuming that the National Labor Relations Act is found constitutional, we may ponder these issues: Will not refusals by labor organizations to be governed by rulings of the Board, should this eventuality arise, be followed by a request by the Board for legislative authority to enforce its decisions upon labor organizations as well as upon employers? Secondly, is it not clear that slowly, in the course of its determination of appropriate units for collective bargaining, the Board will have settled under legal authority many issues, controversies, and even policies which have hitherto been left to the free play of the labor movement?[53] Finally, will not the Board be compelled sooner or later to dis-

52. While the Act confers no such discriminatory power upon the N.L.R.B., the conclusion is inescapable that under a law which insists upon the employer's obligation to negotiate with a labor organization (Section 8, par. 5), the responsibility of such an organization must be taken into account. Without such discrimination the employer might be harassed without end. Practically, will not the Board be compelled to discriminate?

53. The old N.L.R.B. stated: "The Board has sought wherever possible to avoid dictating labor union policies or being drawn into deciding union jurisdictional disputes" (Lorwin and Wubnig, *op. cit.*, p. 314). Does not this comment reinforce the conclusions above considered? Wolman (*op. cit.*, p. 33) remarks that "if the government is bent on strict enforcement" of the statute, a long step will have been taken toward compulsory arbitration—an issue with which the present paper is not concerned. The minority opinion in the Birge decision, signed by the Chairman, states: "I think the decision amounts to a holding that an employer whose employees have struck, not as a result of any unfair labor practice on the part of the employer, is legally obliged to close his plant for an indefinite time, while he negotiates with the strikers for their return to work. . . . Employers and the public will properly insist that such a rule is unfair unless it is accompanied by compulsory arbitration." Mason (*op. cit.*, p. 123) asserts: "Until strong, united and responsible organization is established on both sides governmental measures, such as Section 7 (a) and the National Labor Relations Act, will serve to draw more sharply the issues as to trade unionism, collective bargaining versus individual agreement, and so forth."

criminate between the various degrees of responsibility of labor organizations with which employers are to be compelled to negotiate?

Perhaps, indeed, government intervention is necessitated in all these matters. Perhaps, too, neither the unions nor the employers have done well with them. But do we not perceive herein the entering wedge which may culminate in the end of free American unionism?[54]

ADDENDUM (March 17, 1937). At this date the United States Supreme Court has not as yet ruled upon the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act. Prior to the publication of this paper, however, the question will doubtless have been decided.

The events in the industrial arena subsequent to the original preparation of this paper seem to the author merely to sharpen the problems of the legal majority rule. The question still remains whether or not a government-stimulated unionism may in the long run avoid becoming a government-controlled unionism. Time alone can tell.

The National Labor Relations Board was not called into service in either the General Motors or the Carnegie-Illinois settlement with C.I.O. groups. In the former case, General Motors entered into an agreement with what just now seems clearly to be a minority group. The company agreed to negotiate with the United Automobile Workers, but only to the extent that this organization represents employees. Offhand, this appears to be a return to the principle of proportional representation, which the majority rule repudiates. The assertion by the A. F. of L. of jurisdictional claims, in the automobile industry, and the rapprochement attempted by certain employee groups in Steel with the A. F. of L. organizations, indicate the existence of elements opposed to the notion of exclusive representation.

The well-nigh complete split between the industrial and craft union factions in the A. F. of L., which is implicit in the apparent determination of the C.I.O. to set up shop separately on a national basis, has forced the Federation into counter-defensive tactics. Strong minority

54. In view of the fact that organized labor thus far has been a minority group, and that entire industries, such as steel and cement, have been nearly free from outside unionism, the government influence, as the Board passes upon numerous cases arising from these previously unorganized sources, may actually shape and determine the form which such organization assumes. Nor will the newly organized groups resent or protest the government's guiding hand, as do the older traditional labor organizations. See also Lorwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 456 ff.; Schlichter, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 122; MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 427; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

interests and the development of a thorough-going dualism appear here. The United Mine Workers are currently reported to demand that the Illinois operators execute exclusive contracts with themselves, despite the existence of a secessionist group, the Progressive Miners, covering some twenty thousand members.[55]

The morning press of March 17, 1937, declares that the national administration, faced by menacing industrial disorders, is formulating a new national labor policy. Reports indicate the possibility that some limitation upon the right to strike is contemplated.

55. The N.L.R.B. has declared that "section 9c does not prohibit the Board from instituting an investigation concerning the representation of employees on its own motion. . . . The Board is of the opinion that such a power shall be exercised sparingly" (*First Annual Report of the National Labor Relations Board* [Washington, 1936], p. 26). The Board has also ruled that "employers may not request the board to undertake such investigation" (*loc. cit.;* see "A One Way Law," editorial, *New York Times,* March 10, 1936).

THE URBANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

HENDERSON H. DONALD

"ONE of the most significant social phenomena of all time has been the unprecedented growth and expansion of cities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. . . . No other period in the history of the world has witnessed such huge agglomerations of human beings."[1] In the United States, this tendency toward concentration in cities is exhibited, not only by the general population, but among the Negroes in particular. Although still largely rural, the Negro population has been moving in ever increasing numbers from the rural districts to the cities, until this fact has become one of the leading demographic characteristics of the group. It will be the aim of this paper to show the extent of this movement, its causes, and some of its effects upon the Negro and upon the communities concerned.

The urbanization of the Negro, although it has become a striking phenomenon only relatively recently, has actually been going on gradually for a considerable time. Even before the Civil War, for example, masters possessing slaves trained in the mechanical trades were accustomed to hire them out for stipulated sums to contractors in the cities and towns. Sometimes such slaves were allowed to move to the cities and hire themselves out, and to retain a portion of the wages they received. Moreover, manumitted slaves usually chose to reside in the cities, and non-enslaved or free Negroes were almost wholly an urban population.[2] As early as 1850 the aggregate Negro population, slave and free, of five southern cities, viz., Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans, was 75,643; in 1860, the Negroes of these same cities num-

1. Gist, N. P., and Halbert, L. A., *Urban Society* (New York, 1933), pp. 32–3.

2. Du Bois, W. E. B., "The Negro Artisan," *Atlanta University Publications*, VII (1902), 14, 21; Bruce, P. A., *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman* (New York and London, 1889), pp. 228–31; Park, R. E., "Negro Home Life and Standards of Living," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XLIX (1913), 154–5; Woodson, C. G., *A Century of Negro Migration* (Washington, 1918), chaps. II, III.

bered 84,177, while an additional 75,811 resided in several other cities, all but two of which were located outside of slave territory.[3]

Immediately after their emancipation, the Negroes began to exhibit a marked tendency toward urbanization. Emancipation itself was a factor making for increased mobility, since moving from place to place without the consent of anyone came to be regarded as an evidence of the new status of freedom. Adverse agricultural conditions, too, compelled the Negroes to seek their fortune more and more in the urban world.[4] Seemingly seized by a sort of *wanderlust*, thousands of Negroes drifted to the Union Army posts, which were located in towns and cities.[5] The terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and the deluded hope of paternalistic aid from the Federal Government were other factors operating to push the Negro out of rural areas into urban communities. As a result, in fourteen southern cities between 1860 and 1870, while the white population increased only 16.7 per cent, the Negro population increased 90.7 per cent. In eight northern cities, during the same period, the Negro population showed an increase of 51 per cent.[6]

The movement continued in succeeding decades. In nine large northern cities, for example, the Negro population increased 36.2 per cent between 1880 and 1890, 74.4 per cent between 1890 and 1900, and 37.4 per cent between 1900 and 1910. In fifteen southern cities the corresponding increase was 38.7 per cent between 1880 and 1890, 20.6 per cent between 1890 and 1900, and approximately the same for the following decade.[7] Tables I and II show the total Negro population in twenty-five southern cities and nineteen cities of the North and West, respectively, at each census from 1870 to 1930.

Each of the cities covered in Tables I and II reveals a greater Negro population in 1930 than in 1870, and in many instances the increase is extraordinary. In Houston, for example, there were

3. United States Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States in 1860*, I, xiii.

4. Johnson, G. B., "The Negro Migration and Its Consequences," *Social Forces*, II (1924), 404.

5. Haynes, G. E., "Conditions among Negroes in the Cities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XLIX (1913), 105–6.

6. Woodson, *op. cit.*, chap. VI.

7. Donald, H. H., "The Negro Migration of 1916–1918," *Journal of Negro History*, VI (1921), 399.

Table I: Negro Population of 25 Southern Cities (1870–1930)[8]

Cities	*1870*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*	*1930*
Atlanta, Ga.	9,929	16,330	28,098	35,727	51,902	62,796	90,075
Augusta, Ga.	6,431	10,109	15,875	18,147	18,344	22,582	24,190
Baltimore, Md.	39,558	53,716	67,104	79,258	84,740	108,322	142,106
Birmingham, Ala.	....	....	11,254	16,575	52,305	70,230	99,077
Charleston, S. C.	26,173	27,276	30,970	31,522	31,056	32,326	28,062
Charlotte, N. C.	1,880	3,338	5,134	7,151	11,752	14,641	25,163
Chattanooga, Tenn.	2,221	5,082	12,563	13,122	17,942	18,889	33,289
Houston, Texas	3,691	6,579	10,370	14,608	23,929	33,960	63,337
Jacksonville, Fla.	3,989	3,658	9,801	16,236	29,293	41,520	48,196
Little Rock, Ark.	5,274	4,507	9,739	14,694	14,539	17,477	19,698
Louisville, Ky.	14,956	20,905	28,651	39,139	40,522	40,087	47,354
Lynchburg, Va.	3,353	8,474	9,802	8,254	9,466	8,329	9,653
Macon, Ga.	5,183	6,584	11,203	11,550	18,150	23,093	23,158
Memphis, Tenn.	15,471	14,896	28,706	49,910	52,441	61,181	96,550
Mobile, Ala.	13,919	12,240	13,630	17,045	22,763	23,906	24,514
Montgomery, Ala.	5,183	9,931	12,987	17,229	19,322	19,827	29,970
Nashville, Tenn.	9,709	16,337	29,382	30,044	36,523	35,633	42,886
New Orleans, La.	50,456	57,617	69,491	77,714	89,262	100,930	129,632
Norfolk, Va.	8,766	10,068	16,244	20,234	25,039	43,392	43,942
Portsmouth, Va.	3,629	3,829	4,018	5,625	11,617	23,245	18,949
Richmond, Va.	23,110	27,832	32,330	32,230	46,733	54,041	52,988
Savannah, Ga.	13,068	15,654	22,963	28,090	33,246	39,179	38,896
Shreveport, La.	2,168	4,790	7,532	8,542	13,896	17,385	27,219
Washington, D. C.	35,455	48,377	75,572	86,702	94,446	109,966	132,068
Wilmington, N. C.	7,920	10,462	11,324	10,407	12,107	13,461	13,106

seventeen times as many Negroes in 1930 as in 1870; in Chattanooga, nearly fifteen times as many; in Charlotte more than thirteen times and in Shreveport and Jacksonville more than twelve times as many. In the North, there are even more striking examples: the Negro population of Chicago multiplied itself more than sixty-three times between 1870 and 1930; that of Cleveland, fifty-six times; of Detroit, fifty-three times; and of Dayton, Pittsburgh, and New York, more than thirty-one, twenty-seven, and twenty-five times, respectively. These figures give some evidence of the rapid rate of Negro urbanization during this period.

8. The figures for 1870 and 1880 are from United States Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880,* Part I, pp. 380–405; those for 1890, 1900, and 1910 are from idem, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population,* I, 207–25; those for 1920 are from idem, *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920,* pp. 108, 114–17; those for 1930 are from idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population,* II, chap. II.

Table II: Negro Population of 19 Cities of the North and West (1870–1930)[9]

Cities	*1870*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*	*1930*
Boston, Mass.	3,496	5,873	8,125	11,591	13,564	16,350	20,574
Chicago, Ill.	3,691	6,480	14,271	30,150	44,103	109,458	233,903
Cincinnati, Ohio	5,900	8,179	11,655	14,482	19,639	30,079	47,818
Cleveland, Ohio	1,270	2,038	2,989	5,988	8,448	34,451	71,899
Columbus, Ohio	1,847	3,010	5,525	8,201	12,739	22,181	32,774
Dayton, Ohio	548	991	2,158	3,387	4,842	9,025	17,077
Detroit, Mich.	2,235	2,821	3,431	4,111	5,741	40,839	120,066
Hartford, Conn.	946	1,289	1,400	1,887	1,745	4,199	6,510
Indianapolis, Ind.	2,931	6,504	9,133	15,931	21,816	34,678	43,967
Jersey City, N. J.	705	1,340	2,099	3,704	5,960	8,000	12,575
Kansas City, Mo.	3,770	8,143	13,200	17,567	23,566	30,179	38,574
Newark, N. J.	1,789	3,311	4,441	6,694	9,475	16,977	38,880
New Haven, Conn.	1,749	2,192	2,433	2,887	3,561	4,573	5,302
New York, N. Y.	13,072	19,663	33,888	60,666	91,709	152,467	327,706
Philadelphia, Pa.	22,147	31,699	39,371	62,613	84,459	134,229	219,599
Pittsburgh, Pa.	2,015	4,077	10,357	20,355	25,623	37,725	54,983
Providence, R. I.	2,559	3,582	3,963	4,817	5,316	5,655	5,473
St. Louis, Mo.	22,088	22,256	26,865	35,516	43,960	69,854	93,580
Toledo, Ohio	612	928	1,077	1,710	1,877	5,691	13,260

The movement of Negroes to the cities, although manifest before 1900, became more marked after that date, and especially after 1910. Between 1900 and 1910, the total Negro urban population of the United States jumped from 2,002,000 to 2,684,000—an increment of 682,000 during the decade. In 1920 it had risen to 3,560,000, a further gain of 876,000, and in 1930, to 5,194,000, an additional increase of 1,634,000. In the meantime, the Negro rural population of the country gained but 311,000 during the first decade of the twentieth century, and suffered losses of 239,000 and 207,000 during the second and third decades, respectively—a net loss of 446,000 in twenty years as compared with an urban gain of

9. The figures for 1870 are from United States Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population and Social Statistics,* I, 380–8; those for 1880 are from idem, *Compendium of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880,* Part I, 380–405; those for 1890 are from idem, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Population,* I, 207–25; those for 1900 and 1910 are from idem, *Negro Population, 1790–1915,* pp. 95–105; those for 1920 are from idem, *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920,* p. 108; those for 1930 are from idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population,* II, chap. II. The figures for New York City for 1870 and 1880 are exclusive of Brooklyn.

2,510,000. The same tendency was manifested in all sections of the country. In the southern states, for example, the Negro urban population increased from 1,365,000 to 2,966,000 between 1900 and 1930, while the number of rural Negroes dropped from 6,558,000 to 6,395,000. In the northern and western states, during the same period, the Negro urban population jumped from 637,000 to 2,228,000, while the rural population rose only from 274,000 to 302,000 and showed an actual loss of 26,000 and 6,000, respectively, for the decades 1900–10 and 1910–20.[10] It is apparent that the Negro urban population has increased more rapidly than has the general Negro population of the country. Thus, during the decade 1910–20, while the Negro population for the entire United States increased only 6.5 per cent, the number of urban Negroes rose by 32.6 per cent, and between 1920 and 1930, when the general Negro population gained 13.6 per cent, the number of urban Negroes increased by 45.9 per cent.[11]

In consequence of the movement to the cities in such volume, the Negro population of the United States has become, to a large and increasing extent, urban. In 1910, 27.4 per cent of the total Negro population lived in cities; in 1920, 34.0 per cent; and in 1930, 43.7 per cent.[12] In the South, the urban proportion of the Negro population was 15.3 per cent in 1890, 17.2 per cent in 1900, 21.2 per cent in 1910, 25.3 per cent in 1920, and 31.7 per cent in 1930.[13] In this part of the country, therefore, the Negroes are still largely rural. In the North and West, on the other hand, they are preponderantly urban. In 1890, 61.8 per cent of the Negro population of the northern states resided in cities; in 1900, 70.5 per cent; in 1910, 77.4 per cent; in 1920, 84.9 per cent; and in 1930, 88.3 per cent. In the western states the corresponding percentages are 54.0 for 1890, 67.4 for 1900, 78.6 for 1910, 74.0 for 1920, and 82.5 for 1930.[14] In these sections of the country the Negroes are

10. Woofter, T. J., *Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life* (New York, 1933), p. 74.

11. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932,* p. 50.

12. United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population Bulletin,* ser. 2, "United States Summary," p. 13.

13. *Negro Year Book,* 1925–26, p. 442; United States Bureau of the Census, "Population, United States—4," press announcement, Aug. 20, 1931.

14. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790–1915,* pp.

more highly urbanized than the native white population, which, in 1930, was only 63.4 per cent urban in the North and 58.5 per cent in the West; they even show a higher urban proportion than do the foreign-born whites, who also exhibit a marked tendency to congregate in cities in these sections of the United States.

In moving away from the rural districts, the Negroes show a preference for settling in the larger cities, especially those of the North and West. In 1930, there were 2,881,790 Negroes living in the ninety-three cities with a population of 100,000 or more.[15] Seven of these cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, and Detroit—each contained more than 100,000 Negroes. In the North, more than one-third of the total Negro population was concentrated in the four cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit, while another third was found in other cities having more than 100,000 inhabitants. Table III re-

Table III: Distribution of Negro Urban Population, by Classes of Urban Places, for the United States (1920–1930)[16]

			Per cent distribution			
					By racial class	
	Population		*By area*			
Area	*1930*	*1920*	*1930*	*1920*	*1930*	*1920*
United States	11,891,143	10,463,131	100.0	100.0	9.7	9.9
Urban territory	5,193,913	3,559,473	43.7	34.0	7.5	6.6
Places of 2,500 to 10,000	726,574	667,848	6.1	6.4	6.8	7.0
Places of 10,000 to 25,000	627,851	480,778	5.3	4.6	6.9	6.9
Places of 25,000 to 100,000	957,698	726,271	8.1	6.9	7.4	7.0
Places of 100,000 to 500,000	1,533,613	958,378	12.9	9.2	9.9	8.7
Places of 500,000 and over	1,348,177	726,198	11.3	6.9	6.5	4.4

veals that nearly one-fourth (24.2 per cent) of the entire Negro population of the United States, and more than one-half of the urban Negroes, lived, in 1930, in cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and that these proportions had increased noticeably since 1920. The net numerical gain during the decade was about

90–1; idem, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Population,* II, 88; idem, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932,* p. 53.

15. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932,* p. 48.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 49.

1,200,000. This tendency, to be sure, is not confined to the Negroes. Of the total white population in the country, 30.3 per cent resides in cities of the same class, and this proportion rises to 53.4 per cent in the case of foreign-born whites. Furthermore, 17.7 per cent of the total white population, as against only 11.3 per cent of the total Negro population, lives in the very largest cities, those with 500,000 or more inhabitants.[17]

In settling in the large cities the Negroes have concentrated themselves in certain areas, the so-called "Black Belts" or distinctively Negro districts. In St. Louis, for example, in 1890, 39 per cent of the Negro population lived in five of the twenty-eight wards, where resided only 15 per cent of the white population; in 1900, 49 per cent of the Negroes lived in six wards, which contained only 15 per cent of the whites.[18] In Pittsburgh, in 1900, 62 per cent of the Negroes were concentrated in six wards, 16 per cent residing in one ward alone, the thirteenth.[19] In New York City, 42.4 per cent of the Negro population dwells in two assembly districts, where they constitute, respectively, 35 per cent and 49 per cent of the total population. One ward in Chicago contains 44 per cent of the Negroes of the city, and within it the Negroes make up 70 per cent of the population. In Detroit, Negroes constitute 25 per cent of the population of one ward and 20 per cent of another.[20] In Philadelphia, the bulk of the Negro population is confined to four wards. This tendency toward concentration has produced segregated Negro districts or ghettos in many cities. Thus New York has its Harlem and San Juan Hill districts; Philadelphia, its South Side; Chicago, its Lower South Side; Washington, its Northwest Neighborhood; Baltimore, its Druid Hill Avenue; Atlanta, its Central Atlanta; Memphis, its Central Memphis; and Louisville, its Chestnut Street and Smoketown.[21]

Has urbanization proceeded more rapidly among the Negroes

17. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

18. Brandt, L., "The Negroes of St. Louis," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, n.s., VIII (1903), 220, 222.

19. Tucker, H. A., "The Negroes of Pittsburgh," *Charities*, XXI (1909), 600.

20. Hill, J. A., "The Effects of the Recent Northward Migration of Negroes," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XVIII (1923), 40.

21. Duncan, H. G., *The Changing Race Relationship in the Border and Northern States* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 22.

than among the white population? Prior to 1910 the contrary was the case. Between 1890 and 1900, for example, the urban percentage in the white population rose from 38.4 to 43.0, while that of the Negroes increased only from 19.8 to 22.7; in 1910, the percentages had risen to 48.7 and 27.4 for the whites and Negroes respectively.[22] After 1910 the situation was reversed, and the Negroes showed the greater tendency toward urbanization. The urban percentage of the Negro population increased from 27.4 in 1910 to 34.0 in 1920 and 43.7 in 1930, while the corresponding percentages for the white population advanced from 48.7 to 53.4 and 57.7 only.[23] During these years the urbanization of the Negroes proceeded more rapidly than that of the white population, not only in the country as a whole, but also in its various sections, except that the difference in rates in the South was relatively small. It should be noted, however, that the Negroes still constitute but a small proportion of the total urban population in the North and West—4.3 per cent and 1.4 per cent respectively—although they form 23 per cent of the urban dwellers of the South.[24]

Every migration must have its causes, and these must be strong enough to sever the various ties that bind men to their homes. "There is a marked inertia, a resistance to pressure among human beings, and the presumption is that people will stay where they are unless some positive force causes them to move." The forces impelling movement may be attractive or repellent. "Men are either drawn or driven to break the ties which bind them to their locality." The causes of migration, therefore, may be classified into the negative discomforts, found in the environment to which man is already attached, and the positive advantages offered by a foreign environment, which "operate often by stimulating dissatisfactions through comparison."[25] In explaining the population movement involved in the urbanization of the Negro, consequently, we shall be justified in seeking both repellent causes, dissatisfactions

22. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790–1915,* p. 88.

23. United States Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: Population,* II, 79; idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population,* III, i, 13.

24. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932,* p. 50.

25. Donald, *op. cit.,* pp. 388–91.

and disabilities, and attractive causes, promised advantages and satisfactions.

Among the impelling causes underlying the urban movement of the Negroes, economic factors have played a prominent part. Even before the Civil War, the free Negroes resided mainly in the cities because economic opportunities were greater there. The abolition of slavery destroyed the old plantation system, leaving hosts of black labor unemployed, and unsettled social and political conditions, including terrorization by the Ku Klux Klan, coöperated in driving many Negroes to the cities and towns to gain a livelihood. In most cases agricultural operations were revived in the form of the share-tenant and crop-lien systems. Nevertheless, conditions remained intolerable for many Negroes because of exploitation at the hands of merchants, landlords, and overseers. The exhaustion of the soil through the persistent cultivation of a single crop, cotton or tobacco, also conspired to drive Negroes from the rural districts to the cities. In 1899, for example, 70.5 per cent of Negro farmers reported cotton raising as their principal source of income. Tobacco was the chief source of income among 16 per cent of the Negro farmers of Virginia, 30.1 per cent of those of Kentucky, and 18.7 per cent of those of Maryland. Growing industrial activities offered more attractive returns than exhausted agricultural lands. Moreover, the development of more provident and economical methods of agriculture reduced the demand for farm hands and created a surplus of farm labor, which was forced to seek employment in the urban centers.[26]

The rapid industrial development in certain southern cities, in the meantime, was creating a demand for labor. In 1880, the total value of manufactured products in sixteen southern cities was $208,458,304; in 1905, it had risen to $521,316,314.[27] Birmingham, Alabama, showed an increase of 78.9 per cent for the decade 1890–1900 alone. Between 1860 and 1900, the railway mileage in thirteen southern cities increased 361.9 per cent. During the decade 1890–1900, the total railway tonnage for most of the area increased by 90.5 per cent, while total freight, passenger, express,

26. Haynes, G. E., "The Negro at Work in New York City," *Columbia University Studies*, No. CXXI (1912), pp. 18-19.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

and mail earnings rose by 48.4 per cent.[28] The number of wage-earners in manufacturing establishments kept pace with this rapid industrial development. Between 1880 and 1900, for example, fourteen southern cities showed an aggregate increase of 60.9 per cent in the average number of industrial wage-earners. Two of them showed an increase of more than 300 per cent; two others, of more than 240 per cent; and five others, of more than 100 per cent.[29] The industrialization of the South thus operated as an attractive force, drawing to the urban centers large numbers of Negroes along with other elements in the population.

Legislation in the southern states has had the effect, almost everywhere, of making the city more attractive to the Negroes than the country. In some parts of the South it has tended to make harder the already uncomfortable lot of the land tenant. Labor legislation, on the other hand, has applied specifically to industrial centers, and every improvement in labor conditions there has increased the relative attractiveness of the city. The improvement of educational facilities through legislative action has similarly made its effect felt first in the cities, and has proved an extremely important factor. Legislation designed to segregate the Negroes in southern communities has led many to move to the cities of the North to obtain greater liberty for themselves and especially for their children, and in certain parts of the South it has also driven Negro families out of the rural districts to the urban centers of the same section in the search for greater security.[30]

The World War, by causing the cessation of European immigration and at the same time creating an unprecedented demand for labor in the manufacture of war materials, enormously stimulated and accelerated the urbanization of the Negro population. The resulting movement was largely from the rural districts of the South to the industrial cities of the North and West. The attractive or beckoning causes in this case were the prospect of high wages, of a shorter working day than on the farm, of little unemployment, of less political and social discrimination, and of better educational facilities, the favorable reports in letters from friends

28. Haynes, "Conditions among Negroes in the Cities," p. 107.
29. Haynes, "The Negro at Work in New York City," pp. 20–2.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30, 88.

in the North and in the northern Negro press, and the general attractiveness of the city.[31] The repellent or driving causes, favoring an exodus from the South, included "general dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll-weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, inadequate school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment and cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in the courts, lynching, the desire for travel, labor agents . . . and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed."[32]

The Negroes are becoming industrialized as well as urbanized, for when they leave the rural districts it is usually to take advantage of the opportunities for better living offered by industrial employment in the cities. Their movements, therefore, are greatly influenced by industrial conditions. When the demand for labor has been great, they have moved rapidly and in large numbers; when it has been the reverse, they have moved slowly and in comparatively small numbers. In general, however, there is reason to expect that both the urbanization and the industrialization of the Negro population will increase in the future as in the past.

We may now consider some of the effects of the urbanization of the Negro. In leaving their relatively natural and simple rural surroundings for the artificialized environment of the city, where life "is lived on a sort of scaffolding or staging—on a plane above the natural surface"[33]—the Negroes are confronted with novel situations which require changes in their behavior and in their mores. The process of adjustment, however, is inevitably a rather slow one, and its course is studded with maladjustments. A variety of problems of employment, housing, health, rate of population increase, marriage and family life, dependency, delinquency, religion, and recreation, arising out of the attempt of the Negro to adjust himself to the conditions of city life, may be regarded as the direct or immediate effects of urbanization. Of these we shall have space to discuss but a few.

An indirect effect of the urbanization of the Negro, in so far as

31. Scroggs, W. O., "Interstate Migration of Negroes," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXV (1917), 1040–1.

32. United States Department of Labor, *Report on Negro Migration in 1916–1917*, pp. 11–12.

33. Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution* (rev. ed., New York, 1931), p. 373.

it has involved migration to the cities of the North, has been the loss to the South of a significant portion of its population. The United States Census in 1920 reported 780,794 southern-born Negroes living in the North and West, as against only 47,223 Negroes living in the South who had been born in other sections. This represents a net loss to the South, by Negro migration, of 733,571 persons, amounting to 8.2 per cent of the total Negro population of the South and to more than 2 per cent of the total population of that section. These figures do not take into consideration the loss of the natural increase of the emigrants. Between 1870 and 1920 the number of Negroes in the North increased from 452,818 to 1,472,309, representing a loss to the South of more than a million, or 3 per cent of its total population and about 11 per cent of its Negro population.[34] By 1930, when the Negroes of the North numbered 2,409,219,[35] the loss to the South amounted to nearly two millions, i.e., to more than 20 per cent of its Negro population and to more than 5 per cent of its total population. The loss may even have been greater, since there is reason to believe that the Negro emigrants would have left more descendants had they remained in the South.

The northward drift of the Negro population has also resulted in a decrease in the proportion of Negroes in the population of the South. In 1870, the Negroes constituted 36 per cent of the total population of the South; in 1930, only 24.7 per cent. While this decrease cannot be attributed wholly to Negro migration, it is probable that, had the latter not occurred, the present population of the South would be larger than it is by nearly two millions and the Negro percentage thereof would be higher than 30.[36]

For some time the Negro population of the United States has been growing at a steadily diminishing rate. This downward trend, which has been particularly noticeable during the past three decades, is illustrated in Table IV. The decline, however, shows great fluctuations, as reported in the United States Census. The very low rate of 9.9 per cent for 1860–70, for example, is followed by

34. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–7.

35. United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, II, 24.

36. *Ibid.*, III, 1, 28; Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Table IV: Percentage Increase of Negro Population by Decades (1790–1930)[37]

Decade	*Percentage increase*	*Decade*	*Percentage increase*
1790–1800	32.3	1860–1870	9.9
1800–1810	37.5	1870–1880	34.9
1810–1820	28.6	1880–1890	13.8
1820–1830	31.4	1890–1900	18.0
1830–1840	23.4	1900–1910	11.2
1840–1850	26.6	1910–1920	6.5
1850–1860	22.1	1920–1930	13.6

the very high rate of 34.9 per cent for the following decade, and the lowest decennial increase for the Negro group in our history, that of 6.5 per cent reported for 1910–20, is succeeded by a rate more than twice as high for the next ten-year period. This irregularity is accounted for, in part, by the fact that the enumerators receive new instructions at each taking of the census, so that the results are not always strictly comparable. Furthermore, in periods of exceptional mobility in the Negro population, the enumerators are likely to overlook and miss a considerable number of Negroes. Thus the discrepancy between the rates for 1860–70 and for 1870–80 is explained by an estimated omission of 512,000 Negroes by the enumerators in 1870, when the newly emancipated Negroes were testing their freedom by frequent changes of residence. Similarly, in 1920, when unprecedented numbers of Negroes were moving from place to place in response to the great demand for their labor, many were overlooked in the enumeration. The census authorities, however, estimate that this shortage did not exceed 150,000, which would not by any means wholly account for the very small increase, 6.5 per cent, during the decade 1910–20.

A factor undoubtedly responsible in considerable measure for the declining rate of increase of the Negro population is the generally unfavorable effect of an urban environment upon natural increase through excess of births over deaths. It has long been observed that birth rates tend to be lower, and death rates higher, in

37. United States Bureau of the Census, "Increase of Population in the United States, 1910–1920," *Census Monograph*, I (1922), 183–4; idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, III, i, 24; *Negro Year Book*, 1925–26, p. 423.

cities than they are in rural areas. The Negro population of the United States exhibits this tendency conspicuously. It reveals a consistently higher death rate in urban than in rural areas, as shown in Table V. The birth rate among urban Negroes, on the

Table V: Death Rate per 1,000 of Negro Population in the Registration Area by Urban and Rural Districts (1890–1930)[38]

Year	*Urban death rate*	*Rural death rate*	*Excess urban over rural*
1890	34.1	18.8	15.3
1900	31.1	19.1	12.0
1910	27.1	19.5	7.6
1920	22.7	15.3	7.4
1930	19.8	14.2	5.6

other hand, tends to be lower than that among rural Negroes. Although in some years, e.g., 1915 and 1924 through 1927, the urban birth rate among Negroes slightly exceeds the rural, the opposite is more commonly the case. In 1920, for example, the birth rate per 1,000 in the Registration Area was 24.0 for urban and 28.9 for rural Negroes; in 1930 the corresponding rates were 19.2 and 21.7; in 1933, 17.9 and 21.4.[39] The disparity in natural increase between urban and rural Negroes becomes more striking when birth and death rates are combined. Thus, in 1920, there were 109 Negro births to 100 deaths in the urban portion of the Registration Area; 179 births to 100 deaths in the rural portion. Similarly, the ratio of Negro births to 100 deaths was, in 1925, urban 121, rural 167; in 1930, urban 104, rural 157; in 1933, urban 111, rural 191.[40]

The adverse effect of the city on the procreative life of the Negro is further seen in the disparity between urban and rural areas

38. United States Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Vital and Social Statistics,* I, 30; idem, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900· Vital and Social Statistics,* III, Part I, p. lxix; idem, *Negro Population,* 1790–1915, p. 315; idem, *Mortality Rates, 1910–1920,* p. 26; idem, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932,* p. 443.

39. United States Bureau of the Census, *Annual Reports on Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics,* 1920, 1930, 1933.

40. *Ibid.,* 1920, 1925, 1930, 1933.

in the number of young children per 1,000 child-bearing Negro women, as shown in Table VI. This disparity is greatest, it should

Table VI: Number of Children under Five Years of Age per 1,000 Negro Women 15 to 44 Years of Age (1930)[41]

Section	*Urban areas*	*Rural-farm areas*	*Rural-nonfarm areas*
United States	268	567	426
South	261	568	428
North	282	516	415
West	216	546	324

be noted, in the southern states. Frequently there is an actual excess of deaths over births among urban Negroes. For the four successive years from 1915 to 1918, for example, Negro deaths exceeded Negro births in the cities of the Registration Area.[42] In 1920, and again in 1922, there were more Negro deaths than births in the cities of 10 states in the Registration Area; in 1923, in the cities of 11 states; in 1926, in those of 15 states; in 1927, in those of 18; in 1928, in those of 21; in 1929, in those of 26; in 1930, in those of 23; in 1931, in those of 22; in 1932, in those of 19; and in 1933, in those of 21 states.[43] More detailed data for the year 1933 are given in Table VII.

Another consequence of urbanization is the unequal distribution of the sexes in the Negro population, especially in the cities. Unlike the native white population, which has shown a preponderance of males at each census since 1850, the Negro population has been characterized, since 1840, by an excess of females. The number of males per 1,000 females was 995 in 1890; 986 in 1900; 989 in 1910; 992 in 1920; 970 in 1930.[44] The white population, by contrast, showed a ratio of 1,044 males to 1,000 females in 1920, and of 1,027 in 1930—a numerical excess of 2,040,195 for the former year and of 1,463,501 for the latter, as compared with an excess

41. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932,* pp. 201–2.

42. United States Bureau of the Census, *Annual Reports on Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics,* 1915–18.

43. *Ibid.,* 1920, 1922–23, 1926–33.

44. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790–1915,* pp. 147–8; idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population,* II, 99.

Table VII: Birth and Death Rates of the Negro Population in the Cities of 10,000 or More Inhabitants of 21 States (1933)[45]

State	Rate per 1,000 population		Excess deaths over births	Births per 100 deaths
	Births	Deaths		
Arkansas	10.8	21.1	538	51
Delaware	19.6	21.7	25	90
Florida	16.5	19.2	432	86
Georgia	20.3	21.5	313	94
Idaho	16.3	28.8	10	.
Iowa	9.7	16.0	104	61
Kentucky	14.2	22.5	731	63
Maine	15.0	31.7	10	
Minnesota	11.0	14.6	41	75
Mississippi	16.7	21.1	431	79
Missouri	14.7	19.1	713	77
Nevada	30.0	52.5	9	.
New Hampshire	2.5	5.6	3	.
North Dakota	8.3	23.3	9	..
Oklahoma	14.7	15.7	66	94
South Carolina	23.6	25.9	213	91
South Dakota	8.6	20.0	8	.
Tennessee	15.6	19.9	887	78
Utah	7.6	11.5	13	..
West Virginia	13.3	17.8	110	74
Wisconsin	6.0	6.3	5	.

of females among the Negroes of 44,259 in 1920 and of 179,805 in 1930.[46]

The preponderance of females is even more characteristic of urban Negroes than of the Negro population in general. In cities of 100,000 inhabitants or more, for example, there were only 878 Negro males to every 1,000 Negro females in 1900; 907 in 1910; 954 in 1920; and 913 in 1930.[47] This tendency is especially marked in individual cities, as shown in Table VIII. In more than one-half of the fifteen cities in this table there were, in 1930, fewer than 900 Negro males per 1,000 females, Charleston, with 769, showing the

45. United States Bureau of the Census, *Annual Reports on Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, 1933, pp. 39–46.

46. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932*, p. 78; idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population Bulletin*, ser. 2, "United States Summary," p. 12.

47. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790–1915*, p. 156; idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population Bulletin*, ser. 2, "United States Summary," p. 13.

Table VIII: Distribution of Negro Population by Sex for Fifteen Cities (1930)[48]

City	*Males*	*Females*	*Excess of females*	*Number of males per 1,000 females*
New York, N. Y.	156,968	170,738	13,770	919
Atlanta, Ga.	39,923	50,152	10,229	796
New Orleans, La.	59,732	69,900	10,168	855
Washington, D. C.	62,225	69,843	7,618	891
Memphis, Tenn.	44,859	51,691	6,832	868
Richmond, Va.	24,354	28,634	4,280	851
Savannah, Ga.	17,315	21,581	4,266	802
Charleston, S. C.	11,955	16,107	4,152	769
Nashville, Tenn.	19,464	23,372	3,908	833
Chicago, Ill.	115,488	118,415	2,927	975
Philadelphia, Pa.	108,483	111,116	2,633	976
Norfolk, Va.	20,790	23,152	2,362	898
Baltimore, Md.	70,043	72,063	2,020	972
St. Louis, Mo.	45,832	47,748	1,916	960
Louisville, Ky.	22,742	24,612	1,870	924

smallest ratio. In cities where the more heavy and hazardous industries are located, however, the situation is frequently reversed. Among the Negroes of Detroit, for example, shortly after the World War, it was discovered that there were 1,370 males to every 1,000 females. Table IX gives the sex ratio in a number of these cities. The excess of Negro men in these cities was greatest in 1920, owing to conditions growing out of the World War, which had created an extraordinary demand for male labor in heavy industry. In 1930 it had receded somewhat, probably because large numbers of Negro males, having become unemployed as a result of the economic depression which began in 1929, had drifted away from these cities to seek employment in other localities.

The unequal distribution of the sexes among the urban Negroes has unquestionably affected their economic and social life in a number of ways. It reduces the prospects of marriage—for women where the men are in the minority, for men where the women are fewer. Limitation of the opportunities for marriage results in a lower birth rate, especially where illegitimate births are not of much significance. "And because a large number of women who live

48. United States Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932*, p. 85.

Table IX: Distribution of Negro Population by Sex for Sixteen Cities of 100,000 Inhabitants or More (1910–1930)[49]

City	Number of males to 1,000 females		
	1910	*1920*	*1930*
Akron, O.	1,190	1,754	1,078
Bridgeport, Conn.	973	1,210	1,073
Buffalo, N. Y.	1,111	1,268	1,087
Cleveland, O.	1,057	1,192	1,013
Columbus, O.	1,139	1,134	1,094
Dayton, O.	1,016	1,124	1,046
Detroit, Mich.	1,083	1,370	1,076
Gary, Ind.	1,716	1,296	1,101
Milwaukee, Wis.	952	1,238	1,164
Minneapolis, Minn.	1,371	1,189	1,102
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1,088	1,118	1,035
St. Paul, Minn.	1,535	1,182	1,089
San Francisco, Calif.	1,661	1,295	1,358
Seattle, Wash.	1,545	1,366	1,223
Toledo, O.	997	1,270	1,107
Youngstown, O.	1,241	1,412	1,089

in cities cannot look forward to conventional marriage and normal home life, there arises a whole chain of situations having to do with sex relations, domestic arrangements, emotional stress, and economic maladjustment that would not arise if the men and women dwelling in cities were numerically equal to one another."[50] In many cities where Negro females outnumber males, illegitimate births are numerous, irregular and shifting unions among young unmarried people are common, and not a few young women, seeing their opportunities for marriage restricted and finding the maintenance of a desired standard of living too difficult to attain by legitimate labor, resort to prostitution. Many women, to be sure, struggle on alone, supporting themselves by honest means, yet not without feelings of dissatisfaction and disappointment.

The foregoing maladjustments, and numerous others which we have not space to discuss, are so prominent and persistent as to blind the eyes of many to other consequences of urbanization that are more favorable to the Negro, especially in the North and West. Among them are to be mentioned the higher standards of living at-

49. United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930: Population*, II, 116–32.

50. Carpenter, N., *The Sociology of City Life* (New York, 1932), pp. 165–6.

tainable in urban areas, the improvement in cultural status made possible by better educational facilities, the acquisition of a larger measure of freedom, the possibility of organizing effectively to resist racial discriminations, the achievement of the free exercise of the right of suffrage, a more representative occupational distribution, and an awareness of the necessity of building group life upon a solid economic foundation. Despite its inevitable attendant maladjustments, urbanization promises in time to secure for the Negro a higher status in American society.

ENEMY ALIENS: NEW HAVEN GERMANS DURING THE WORLD WAR

H. WENTWORTH ELDREDGE

THE following notice appeared in a large box on the front page of the weekly *New Haven Anzeiger* immediately after the declaration of war in August, 1914:

AN APPEAL!

To the honored German element of New Haven, Connecticut:

THE Fatherland is in great need and tribulation. Revenge and jealousy have forced our brothers into a bloody struggle for their very existence. A conflict has been kindled such as the world has never seen before.

Want and misery for the survivors of the fallen are the natural results of war. The care of wounded and the generous support of widows and children robbed of their providers are the pressing duty of the German-American. Certainly the *Deutschtum* of New Haven will not wish to stand back in this worthy charity!

Our Alliance appeals, therefore, to every one of German extraction to support to the best of his ability this call for aid. Especially every German organization is asked to take immediate steps to make a collection among its members. We hope by a noble competition among the societies to obtain the greatest possible success.

And now, German-Americans, we extend to you an earnest appeal and a deeply felt entreaty, that all without exception take part in this work. We need every single person. The whole German element must aid. So with heart and hand let's go to work!

With a German Greeting,

Der Deutsche Amerikanische Central-Verband von New Haven, Conn.,
[German-American Alliance]

GEORGE JACOB, *President*
JOS. J. REIS, *Secretary*

By the end of August the Humboldt Lodge had donated $50 and the Friedrich Hecker Lodge $100, while the Deutsche Gesellschaft had pledges amounting to more than $500.[1]

1. *New Haven Anzeiger,* August 29, 1914.

The *New Haven Anzeiger*, usually an extremely colorless and unopinionated sheet, bristled with patriotism:

> We Germans, driven by fate to a foreign soil, can serve the old Fatherland most usefully if we express always and everywhere our German sentiments. Speak German; write German; think German; walk German; behave German![2]

Within a few weeks from the start of the war the *Anzeiger* began a justified criticism of the "dishonorable neutrality" of the United States. The Sayville, Long Island, wireless station, which was in direct connection with Germany, was first closed, then placed under censorship, but the cables which came from Germany through England were left uncensored. "One sees the English cloven-hoof everywhere."[3]

The rallying point for local German patriotism was the German-American Alliance. This organization tried in every way to forward German interests during these trying times. After the sinking of the *Lusitania* it sent the following letter[4] to Washington:

The President,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

We, the members of the German-American Alliance, expressing the wish of five thousand loyal citizens, as well as the majority of the voters of New Haven, Conn., respectfully ask you to weigh carefully the different phases in your answer of the German note. We feel that the greatest danger which threatens us at the present is the violation of that neutrality which you so solemnly enjoined on our nation at the outbreak of the war and we beseech you to use every means consistent with the honor and dignity of our country to uphold this neutrality.

Trusting in the fairness, which you have until now shown, we remain,

Respectfully,

GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.
GEO. JACOB, *President*
JOS. J. REIS, *Secretary*

2. *New Haven Anzeiger*, July 10, 1915.
3. *Ibid.*, August 29, 1914.
4. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1914.

The first of a series of great charity bazaars for the benefit of the Central Powers was held under the auspices of the German-American Alliance at Music Hall in downtown New Haven, from the 11th to the 18th of October, 1915. Fifty-three German-American organizations lent their official support to the affair, which made $17,000 profit.[5] This first bazaar was a gala event. Mayor Rice and Judge Gilson opened the festivities. Different singing societies performed every night; there were soloists, and the Dorscht Lodge played at the evening concerts. In the *Rathskeller*, Tyrolian waitresses served the gay throng entertained by zither music and a yodler. Placards advertising the bazaar were displayed on New Haven's street cars free of charge.[6] Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, lent his patronage to the affair and sent the president of the German-American Alliance a letter of commendation "for the splendid work in the interest of the old Fatherland."[7]

As the months slipped by, communication with the *Heimatland* became more and more hazardous; local Germans were being cut off from friends and relatives. The Post Office raised the postage to Germany "until the resumption of direct intercourse."[8] The *Anzeiger*[9] complained that the postal connections were extremely uncertain; it took three weeks for a letter to reach Germany, if it was fortunate enough to arrive at all.

> The English are cautious people. To start sea battles is too dangerous for them, but they can steal mail. Letters don't shoot.[10]

> If everything went according to the wishes of the English we would be cut off completely from any connection with Germany. They have opened the mail carried by a neutral steamer coming from a neutral harbor and addressed to a neutral land. This mail they have then pored over and what they wished, sacked up again and thrown into the sea. And that we must stand for as citizens of this great republic, which, moreover, directly and indirectly aids the English in every way.[11]

The English, in fact, were considered to be at the root of the

5. Central Verband von New Haven, *Hilfs-Bazaar* (1915); *New Haven Anzeiger*, October 23, 1915.
6. *New Haven Anzeiger*, August 28, 1915.
7. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1915.
8. *Ibid.*, February 6, 1915.
9. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1915
10. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1916.
11. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1915.

one-sided neutrality which the United States was maintaining. "The New *England* states now bear this name with special right."[12] During the Fourth of July celebration at Harugari Park in 1915, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by those present:[13]

As loyal citizens of the United States, as inhabitants and voters of the State of Connecticut, one of the thirteen original states whose representatives signed the Declaration of Independence, we are assembled here not alone to celebrate this event, but also through a vote of the people to renew our Declaration of Independence from English influence and English might which have oppressed our nation since August, 1914. The English oppressor of 1776 has not changed.

The success of the freight U-boat *Deutschland* and her sister ship in piercing the English blockade was greeted with high glee; mail marked "undersea post" could be carried on these submarines without any danger of seizure by the British.[14]

An especially bitter pill for the local Germans to swallow was the fact that Connecticut, especially New Haven, was one of the most important munitions manufacturing districts in the country. Countless tons of ammunition, thousands of guns, and other war materials were shipped from the quiet old *Ulmenstadt* (City of Elms, i.e., New Haven) to be used by the enemies of Germany. Few Americans can appreciate the deep anguish caused among the local German people by the thought that these weapons of war were going to be used against brothers, uncles, cousins. As one fine old workman said:[15]

Ja! When they began to make rifles for the Russians at Winchester's, the boss said to me how would I like to work with target rifles for a while. I did, but he asked me finally to come up and inspect the finished army guns. When I went up in the store room and saw thousands of those things all with shining bayonets, I thought: *Gott,* when those wild barbarians go after my people. Well, there was nothing to do—"*Geschäft ist Geschaft*"—so I helped to inspect the rifles.

The *Anzeiger* expressed the attitude of the German community:

12. *New Haven Anzeiger,* August 14, 1915.
13. *Ibid.,* July 10, 1915.
14. *Ibid.,* January 6, 1917.
15. Informant 1.

According to reports, the New Haven Manufacturing Company on Whitney Avenue has been turned over to other hands, who intend to manufacture guns and shrapnel. Just another murder-weapon factory for the English and their consorts. That's American neutrality![16]

Thus, week after week, ran the reports in the German paper, whose tone became increasingly bitter as Allied propaganda in the "English-American" newspapers slowly but surely swung American public opinion into line. As the news from the front became more unfavorable, due partly to its Allied sources and partly to actual reverses suffered by the Central Powers, the local *Deutschtum* assumed more and more the doubting-Thomas attitude, believing nothing that was adverse to Germany. Since no direct reports from the Central Powers reached these shores, there was practically nothing to believe.

Society and church activity, which had been crowded out of the 1914 papers by the war news, came back as reports from the German side of the front became more indistinct, monotonous, and unpleasant. The Germans kept increasingly to themselves; there were no great festivities other than the bazaars and concerts for the German Red Cross, and but few minor affairs.

The Arbeiter Männerchor Glee Club and the Jung-Harugari, both organizations of American-born membership, gave dances or concerts attesting that the *Hiergeborenen* (here-born) still held to German loyalties.[17] Despite the trying times, the fortieth anniversary of the Liedertafel was celebrated in Harugari Park on Sunday afternoon, July 25, 1915.[18] The Harugari Nimrods conducted a "giant" rabbit hunt; the bag was served as a spicy *Hasenpfeffer*.[19] The Gesang Verein Cäcilia visited *mit Kind und Kegel* the Arbeiter Männerchor one Sunday afternoon.[20] The Hermannssöhne Männerchor held their annual carnival in January, 1916. Several new comic songs were tried out by the chorus: *The Untrue Ally* (Italy) and *The Song of Big Bertha:*

16. *New Haven Anzeiger,* May 1, 1915.
17. *Ibid.,* November 27, 1915.
18. Harugari Liedertafel, *Festschrift zum vierzigsten Stiftungsfest* (1915).
19. *New Haven Anzeiger,* December 18, 1915.
20. *Ibid.,* August 21, 1915. *"Mit Kind und Kegel"* is a humorous German expression for "with wife and children."

As we in nineteen hundred fourteen
Marched against the whole blame world,
Behind us big Big Bertha
Leisurely did stroll.
Everyone stopped and stood a-watching
Just to get a look at her,
Everyone yelled and laughed aloud, exclaiming
Bertha, girl, you sure are built.[21]

Thus the Germans tried to carry on the old life quietly almost in the old way, but they really had little heart for such pleasures.

Spare cash, which undoubtedly had formerly gone for amusement in the society halls, was donated to the various German charities. *Eiserne Kreuz Ringe* (Iron Cross rings) were exchanged for money or old gold, the profits going to a fund for widows and orphans as well as for needy German and Austrian soldiers.[22] A small metal model of the cruiser *Emden* was sold at the various society meetings for the benefit of the German sailors whose boats were bottled up in American harbors.

In the local newspapers and among our English-American fellow citizens there are always collections going on for that sacrificial lamb of English politics, the Belgians. Why don't they do something about the helpless war-crushed people of Poland, Galicia, Kreeland, East Prussia . . .? Neutrality?[23]

In 1916, the German-American Alliance ran the greatest charity bazaar that had yet been attempted; the proceeds from this ten-day affair went to the German Red Cross. An elaborate twenty-six page program[24] was printed almost entirely in English. Two hundred separate advertisements appeared therein; forty per cent of these were from non-German firms. Sixty-one organizations, including churches, societies, and lodges, visited the fair as units; not one Jewish body was listed among them. Dr. E. H. Arnold, in the introductory sketch, *Unser Werk* (Our Work), written in German so as not to attract unfavorable comment from the English-speaking visitors at the bazaar, said among other things:

21. Hermannssohne Mannerchor, *Carnivals-Sitzung* (1916).
22. *New Haven Anzeiger,* January 2, 1915.
23. *Ibid.,* November 27, 1915.
24. Central Verband von New Haven, *Grand Bazaar* (1916).

The exceptional prosperity of the war era demands that we take an increased interest in charitable doings. The thought that our great financial well-being is made possible through the suffering of our German brothers makes all charity on our parts appear as an atonement. It is a tragic fate that we immigrants are forced to participate in the blood-guilt of arms and munitions which this land sends to Germany. . . . Over the physical life of a comparatively few people who betake themselves unnecessarily on enemy ships into danger [*Lusitania* incident] the administration frets and storms. Over the inner mental life of millions of people unnecessarily shattered by the entire lack of reports from Germany, no one gives a snap of his fingers.

German war pictures came to New Haven on several occasions:

GERMANS UP! GERMANS UP!
For a week beginning March 1, 1915
Under the auspices of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*
"THE GERMAN SIDE OF THE WAR"
in Slides
in the Foy Auditorium
Y. M. C. A. Building on Temple Street
Herr Prof. Ernest Bronson will explain
every picture in the German language.
Admission $.15, $.25, and $ 35.[25]

German 5% bonds were advertised in the *Anzeiger* by the First National Bank of New Haven, while New York brokers offered Hungarian, German, and Austrian war bonds for sale through the same medium.[26] The Turnverein bought 2,000 marks worth of war bonds and donated them to the Turnerbund in Germany.[27]

As the winter of 1916–17 dragged to an end there was no question of which way the tide had turned. Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, along with various consular officials, sailed from New York for Germany on February 13, 1917. The *Anzeiger*,[28] in the same issue in which it mentioned the severing of diplomatic relations, said:

25. Advertisement in the *New Haven Anzeiger,* February 27, 1915.
26. *New Haven Anzeiger,* November 6, 1915; January 1, 1916.
27. Informant 15, a German-born former café owner and ex-secretary of the defunct Turnverein.
28. February 17, 1917.

As there have been a goodly number of questions again lately asking how citizenship papers may be obtained, we will briefly describe how to go about this.[29]

The German element anxiously watched the future. The present situation was bad enough; what worse would come? The *Anzeiger* cautiously began to back water:

In the old Fatherland, it is thought that the severing of diplomatic relations between Germany and America would lead to a revolution of the German-Americans here. *Ja!* They don't know the German-American Michel.

Wherever the "Star Spangled Banner" is sung there are the Americans of German extraction with their entire hearts; we are proud of that song. But for "God Save the King" we can't be won. Never![30]

By that time there was absolutely no first-hand information from German sources in the German weekly. News was dull and perfunctory; the editor seemed to feel the oppressive weight of portentous events. Only the local *New England Anzeiger* remained, the *Connecticut Freie-Presse* having disappeared during 1915.

At the end of February, 1917, a flock of secret service agents descended on the city, "as they did in all places where munitions were made."[31] "All friends of peace" were urged by the *Anzeiger*[32] to telegraph the local United States Senator imploring him to vote against war at the coming special session of Congress. But all to no avail.

WITH AN ASTOUNDING MAJORITY THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS HAS DECIDED TO MAKE WAR ON GERMANY

This headline appeared on the last page of the April 7, 1917, *Anzeiger;* on the front there was nothing to suggest the new status

29. "Another effect of the War upon naturalization is seen in the enormous jump in declarations of intention filed in 1917 over the previous years. This may have resulted, in part, from the desire of the alien to associate himself with the ingroup in the time of special stress and consequent increased hostility to the foreigner." Bernard, W. S., *Naturalization* (MS. deposited in Yale University Library, 1934), p. 130.

30. *New Haven Anzeiger,* February 17, 1917. "Michel" is a frequently used term by Germans for Germans.

31. *Ibid.,* February 24, 1917.

32. *Ibid.,* March 31, 1917.

of the German element. The respected German residents of New Haven had now become "enemy aliens." F. D. Graves, honored and long-time president of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, said to his constituents: "We have a tough time ahead of us. Keep your mouths shut and do your duty!"[33] At last the dreaded day had arrived: the "one-sided neutrality" had become actual open warfare. The German element now had to face squarely the heartrending problem: "Shall we join the army and fight against our relations?" A number of *Hiergeborene* enlisted; for many the draft solved the dilemma. Said one German-born father to his American-born boy:[34]

> Son, if you have to, if you are drafted, then your duty is clear to fight for your homeland, America; but I don't think you ought to enlist.

St. Bonifatius Verein of the German Catholic Church staged a farewell party for the members of the society who had been called to the colors; in October, 1918, the service flag was dedicated with fifty-seven stars.

> Member Frank Senfert lost his life in France, and Joseph Schmidt became an invalid for life in service for the Fatherland [United States].[35]

The City Guards, the old German company of the national guard, were united with B Company of the Hartford regiment and led to war by Captain Dick Meyer, who had been born in Germany and immigrated to this country at an early age. The old Germans dropped out of the Veterans' Association and would have nothing to do with the former German company, now fighting against the land of their birth. The City Guards, when America entered the war, were about twenty-five per cent of German birth or descent.[36] Harugari Liedertafel sang at the Soldiers Hospital in Allingtown;[37] the New Haven Sängerbund ran a picnic to make money

33. Informant 11, a kindly old German resident of New Haven born in Hesse.
34. Informant 11.
35. St. Boniface Church, *Souvenir an das Goldene Jubiläum des St. Bonifatius-Vereins* (1921).
36. Informant 80, a former lieutenant in Company B.
37. *New Haven Anzeiger*, July 18, 1927.

for the local boys overseas to use at a Fourth of July celebration;[38] and so it went.

Police inspected the Winchester plant immediately following the declaration of war, searching for Germans and other "enemies." Those who were citizens were permitted to go back to work at once; those without naturalization papers could get their job back only when they had passed a stiff grilling.[39] All male aliens were required to register with the police department. An ordinance was passed requiring all German and Austrian male citizens, who lived within the half mile "forbidden zone" about munitions factories and armories, to move out of that zone by June 1, 1917. Nor were they to be allowed within the barred area from that time on. The *Anzeiger*[40] sarcastically remarked that no German would be able to walk on Chapel Street or go to the railroad station. This edict was almost immediately mitigated so that a pass could be obtained from the local police allowing "enemy aliens" to keep their homes. Two hundred and ninety-five Germans in the city applied for these passes, which not only contained information about the holder but established a strict path to and from the place of work; this route could not be deviated from. "Don't worry, the passes are already in the mail."[41] Without doubt there had been numerous anxious queries at the editorial office. The *Anzeiger* was acting as guide and counsellor for the German element during these hectic days, as no local German newspaper had previously done. An article defined clearly just who an enemy alien was;[42] an object lesson was read to careless ones:

> A number of "enemy aliens," almost without exception Germans, were taken today to the "Whalley Avenue Hotel" [jail] for an indefinite stay. Many of them had implicated themselves because they had failed to register; others had overstepped the boundaries of their passes without permission.[43]

Finally, in June, 1918, all women who according to the President's proclamation were "enemy aliens" were required to register at the local police station.

38. Informants 19 and 60.
39. *New Haven Anzeiger*, April 21, 1917.
40. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1917.
41. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1917.
42. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1917.
43. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1918.

How this procedure must have wounded the more sensitive of the German element is easily appreciated. The Germans, who had always prided themselves on being the most law-abiding group in the city, now found themselves marshalled into the police stations, fingerprinted, questioned, registered. This procedure smacked of criminality and cut to the quick people unused to unfavorable public notice of any sort. Old and young, men and women, were required to go; some had to get permission to attend church; others had to report regularly to the police.

As a matter of fact, despite their deeply felt loyalty for the old Fatherland, the local Germans gave no trouble even to the hypersensitive authorities during the war years. New Haven police reports for the years 1914 through 1918 reveal not a single arrest of a German for any offense which might be classed as seditious.[44] In view of the number of Germans employed in the great munitions and war-material factories of New Haven, this complete lack of any disturbance is remarkable. The local office of the United States Employment Service placed German-born aliens and citizens in various munitions factories, for they were frequently the only trained machinists and woodworkers available. Here and there, however, hard feelings did crop out. Several first and second generation Germans, for example, lost their jobs at the Marlin Firearms Company, and laid the blame on an Irish army captain placed in charge of the plant.[45]

The only mention of a raid against a local German stronghold is the following sarcastic comment, written five years later, about a search of the Harugari Liedertafel Hall on the outskirts of New Haven.[46] It is probable, however, that similar forays were made against other German society halls.

44. *New Haven City Year Book,* 1914 to 1918.

45. Informants 33, a retired gunmaker, and 55, an American-born German with considerable group loyalty.

46. Connecticut Sangerbund, *Fest Zeitung,* No. 1 (1923). Direct information on the situation among the Germans in this city during the war was almost impossible to obtain. The memory of the petty persecution and humiliation of those days seals the mouths of all the old timers; they do not wish to talk about unpleasant memories. The information that could be obtained was of an extremely superficial nature; most informants withdrew into their shells as if the ban on free speech and snooping secret service agents were still the order of the day.

As America entered the World War in 1917 to make the world safe for Democracy, the society enjoyed the special attention of the schoolmaster [Wilson] government. One day a United States marshal appeared with three autos loaded with Home Guards, who combed the entire building from basement to garret in search of concealed weapons and traitorous documents. As booty they marched off with the society's catalogue of songs and two Winchester Model 90 twenty-two caliber rifles. It is hoped that the loyal officers received their well-earned reward from the government for their extraordinary bravery in this dangerous raid.

Now and then outraged German citizens, forgetting Graves's warning to keep their mouths shut, would create minor disturbances. There were several who seemed to have had more difficulty than others in this respect. Fred Auschütz had a small sign in the back of his delicatessen store: "*Man spricht Deutsch.*" Some young loafers came in and demanded the sign; after being bustled out of the store, they took their revenge by breaking the plate glass window.[47] The notice board in front of the Trinity Lutheran Church was overturned and smashed by a group of superpatriots because of a misinterpreted biblical verse displayed one morning.[48] Two "warriors" from the encampment around the Yale Bowl were arrested for "brutally attacking" Louis Croog and Ellis Ratner.[49] Before the United States entered the war, Adam Ziegler kept on the bar of his saloon a German helmet with a slot for Red Cross collections. Once the United States was officially in the fray, Ziegler was accused of concealing a shooting gallery in his cellar and secretly training enemy soldiers.[50] Seventy-two-year-old Carl Miller committed suicide by taking arsenic in his home at 302 Park Street. "His wife and children were in Germany, and out of loneliness and longing the old fellow had done this. One shouldn't credit the 'Huns' with such feelings!"[51]

During the first few months of America's participation in the war the *Anzeiger* was still comparatively outspoken, and sometimes caustic:

47. *New Haven Anzeiger*, July 6, 1918.
48. Informant 10, an American-born pillar of the church.
49. *New Haven Anzeiger*, July 28, 1917.
50. Informant 20, the community gossip.
51. *New Haven Anzeiger*, September 8, 1917.

American troops have paraded in London; London, as is well known, lies in England not in France.[52]

If it is true that the Red Cross will admit no nurses or doctors of German extraction, then it is certainly logical that this organization should take no financial support from German-Americans. Also the German-Americans should be exempted from Army service so that they will not need to kill their relations.[53]

In order that our patriotism doesn't show only on the outside, our ladies may now buy underclothes that have the American flag woven into them. For gentlemen, shirts are already on sale with the flag woven into the collar.[54]

Everything has an end in this world. Even bologna has two ends. Stupidity alone is without end and without limit.[55]

A month after the United States' entrance into the conflict the following article-editorial appeared:[56]

The question whether the Germans should retire a little with their institutions out of the public's gaze is now being much discussed. In the face of the precarious and serious situation it does not seem fitting to give gay, noisy celebrations. Also everything which might offend our neighbors should be shunned—especially Sunday activities. On the other hand, one doesn't need to creep into a mouse hole. Later, when peace once more reigns, we can enjoy ourselves with all the more jollity.

The Harugari Liedertafel, deserted by its non-German members, carried on as well as might be expected, dividing its members into two groups that practiced secretly and then met in a singing contest—a sorry parody on the old state-wide festivals.[57] In general, there were few affairs and these sadly lacking in gaiety. The final blow to local *Vereinsleben* was the dreaded Prohibition which the fanatical *Temperenz Muckers* had at last put across. "War is hell! Now bone-dry Prohibition," moaned the *Anzeiger*.[58] During these times the German element kept to themselves in their parties, which

52. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1917.
53. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1917.
54. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1917.
55. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1918.
56. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1917.
57. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1917; April 21, 1917.
58. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1917.

were closed to the general public—even if the general public had wished to attend. "The other workingmen's societies left us [Arbeiter Mannerchor] alone during the war. They did not want to be friends."[59] Cacilia visited the Arbeiter Mannerchor at the latter's summer home in Allingtown. "Members must show their membership cards at the gates."[60] No chances could be taken with rowdy elements. The halls were now the last stronghold of German culture. Naturally the churches carried on, but by their nature they were less German. Only within the friendly sheltering walls of home and society hall could German be spoken freely and ideas be expressed without fear.[61] Children came home to their parents from school and refused to speak or understand German because "Teacher said not to." It was hardly politic to use German on the streets; some few anglicized their names.

The local German-American Alliance, which had kept very much in the background since the United States entered the war, came to brief life again in December, 1917, with this notice:[62]

> The National Red Cross has handed over the job of collecting subscriptions from German-Americans to the Central Verband and at the same time added that it expected to see the name of every single German-American on the membership list. . . . As we caused general notice to be turned towards us through our splendid and successful charity for the German Red Cross, so may we do the same for our adopted Fatherland. . . . As a member you will receive a little flag. It would not be to the interest and prestige of a German-American if this little flag is lacking from his home.

By the end of the next week several hundred German-American families had already joined the Red Cross; the first contribution to the city-wide New Haven fund from any organization was made by the ladies of the Harugari Liedertafel.[63] The wartime solicitation of funds often smacked of legalized blackmail. German lodges and societies were bombarded with a veritable barrage of circulars

59. Informant 29, president of the Arbeiter Mannerchor.
60. *New Haven Anzeiger,* August 4, 1917.
61. Connecticut Sangerbund, *Fest Zeitung,* No. 1 (1923).
62. *New Haven Anzeiger,* December 22, 1917.
63. *Ibid.,* May 11, 1918.

and pamphlets urging them to buy Liberty Bonds or to contribute to charity. "Buy or if not . . . !"[64]

By the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, which among other things defined what might be sent through the mails, Congress restricted freedom of speech and muzzled the press more effectually than did any of the Allied countries.[65] The law was further strengthened in September of the same year by an added provision requiring that a sworn, correct translation of every foreign language newspaper be filed with the local postmaster before the journal could be sent through the mails. This was a hard blow for the struggling staff of the *New Haven Anzeiger*, the last German language paper alive in the Elm City. Some newspapers received permits to carry on without making a translation, which was a heavy burden for an organization of two or three men doing all the work of editing, typesetting, printing, and distributing. Later the law was interpreted to mean that translations need be filed only in the case of articles which had to do with the war and the activities of the nations engaged in the war. But the *New Haven Anzeiger* received no concessions. The editor begged the indulgence of his subscribers with regard to local news since so much time was consumed with translation.[66] As a result the *Anzeiger* became more and more trite; boiler-plate was reduced to such titles as the "Taste Organs of the Birds"; war news, because it had to be translated, was nearly absent. The final insult to the local subscribers was the Plate Service, supplied by the Bureau of Publicity of the United States Treasury Department. This hash, written in grammatical but decidedly un-German German, prated of "true patriotism," loyalty and freedom from oppression. It must have been cordially disliked. As might be expected under these conditions, New Haven's only German language newspaper shortly went out of business.

The charter of the national German-American Alliance was revoked with great oratorical display early in 1918, despite the energetic defense by its American-born founder and president.

64. Informant 20.
65. Adams, J. T., *The March of Democracy* (New York, 1933), II, 354.
66. *New Haven Anzeiger*, October 20, 1917.

Thus quietly passed out of existence its local branch, the Central Verband von New Haven.[67] The Central Verband was not the only organization to go. The Teutonias, the Arions, and the Hermannssöhne Männerchor, three old singing societies, were merged into one organization. The Germania Bicycle Club and the Independent German Rifle Company disappeared, as did several of the oldest lodges, during the years 1916 to 1921. In the churches there was considerable strife between the old German-born and the *Hiergeborenen* over the question of whether services should be conducted in English or in German.

New Haven's *Deutschtum* ardently hoped for peace. Most trying of all was the impenetrable blockade of the old Fatherland. Early in 1915 a considerable mist began to cloud reports from Germany; by 1917 only occasional dispatches favorable to the Central Powers were received. During the period of America's participation there was practically no communication with beloved relatives and friends.[68] For nearly four years the New Haven German element had been cut off from those dear to them. Peace meant news. The pent-up longing for news—real news—was very strong. This yearning to hear about and to help the old Fatherland after two years of helplessness gave the initial impetus to the greatest effort—and perhaps the last united action—of the local Germans. The patriotic and exciting charity of 1914, 1915, and 1916, a charity to help win a war, fades into insignificance before the dogged labor of a handful of simple men and women to save the defeated and starving old Fatherland from utter rack and ruin. The story of the post-war *Hilfswerk* (relief work) stands as a monument to local German loyalty, organization, thoroughness, and hard work.

When the Armistice was signed New Haven Germans hoped at once to be able to send aid to their stricken countrymen; but they were disappointed. Treaties had first to be signed. Not until the summer of 1919 did the United States government give permis-

67. *New Haven Anzeiger*, February 2, 1918.

68. International Post letters could be sent by way of Holland to Germany, but by the time they had passed through the United States and German censors and the answers had retraced the same devious route, there was little truth left as residue.

sion to ship food, clothing, and money to the remnants of the Central Powers.

On June 31, 1919, a meeting was called in Harugari Park to consider organizing a Relief Committee for alleviating the distress in Germany and Austria. About seventy people assembled and voted for officers at once "without bothering about a constitution or by-laws"—an almost unheard of procedure for these disputatious Germans. It was decided to hold weekly meetings to which every German in the city might come. There were no dues, no entrance fee; any one interested could be a member. These meetings served as news bureaus for the latest reports from the old Fatherland; from twenty-five to one hundred people gathered weekly in the Sängerbund Hall, 158 Crown Street, from 1919 until 1924.[69] Immediate steps were taken to send aid abroad. Contribution books authorized with a rubber stamp were given to all who cared to collect. At the first meeting $1,500 was subscribed. Societies and lodges sent in donations; the Deutsche Gesellschaft dug deep into its treasury and gave $2,000. All manner of festivals and affairs to gather funds were planned for the immediate future. A Labor Day celebration netted $103.97; a Thanksgiving collection, $418.00; a Christmas celebration in 1919, $674.53; a concert, $1,400.00. A great summer festival, attended by 2,500 people, made $3,357.11 for the *Hilfswerk* committee.[70]

Then a grand fair was planned, the largest New Haven's *Deutschtum* had ever managed, for the industrious relief workers were now used to talking in large sums—in thousands rather than hundreds. This bazaar "for lightening the need of the suffering children of Germany and Austria" was held in Music Hall, November 1st to 8th, 1921. All the German societies and lodges supported the affair with the notable exception of the socialist Arbeiter Männerchor. No German-Jewish societies or German congregations,[71]

69. *Hilfswerk in Connecticut, besonders in New Haven* (1920). This little leaflet, containing a clear and concise description of the first year's work of the New Haven *Hilfswerk,* was sent all over the United States to stimulate other German communities to follow suit.

70. *Bericht uber die Tätigkeit des Hilfswerkes* (1920).

71. Evidently the war years had done much to lessen loyalty to Germanism among the large group of *Hiergeborene* in the various congregations. An exception to this was St. Boniface Catholic Church, all of whose important organizations took part in the fair.

however, were represented as a body. The bazaar made the astounding profit of $20,563.45.

There was no stopping the enthusiastic committee now. So-called milk cards pledging a monthly gift were distributed and brought in $9,500. A drive for contributions to the same fund, for the purpose of sending powdered milk to Germany and Austria, netted $10,332.84.[72] A package store was set up, moving from one empty store to another. To it the German people were invited to come and buy at cost such necessary articles as bacon, soap, lard, flour, rice, and sugar, to be shipped to friends and relatives abroad. Here the latest information on the most needed articles was available; packing was free; posting was attended to by volunteer workers. Certain concessions were obtained from United States postal authorities and German customs officials making for less red tape and greater speed in delivery. From July, 1919, until December, 1920, $30,000 was sent by individuals to friends and relatives. Children collected old papers, rags, iron, and rubber; special appeals for usable clothing of all kinds brought in $3,000 worth by December, 1920. Bed linen was requested. A Chinese laundryman contributed a great pile of unclaimed articles. He also wrote a circular letter in Chinese characters, which was photostated and sent to other Chinese laundrymen throughout Connecticut, resulting in a considerable return. City shoe stores were canvassed for out-of-style footwear. Finally, one hundred cows were purchased and shipped to the other side.

To hold together the local *Deutschtum* with its divergent views was no easy task. The quadrilateral strife of Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, and the other Protestant denominations, questions as to whether relief should be directed to Bavaria, Austria, Prussia, or Hessenthal, complaints by the socialists that the whole relief was bourgeois—these and other problems kept the volunteer leaders continually harassed.

New Haven was instrumental in founding seventeen other *Hilfswerk* committees in Connecticut, and this state became the most highly organized of any under the New York Central Relief Committee. In November, 1923, another nine-day bazaar[73] was held:

72. *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Hilfswerkes* (1920).
73. *Grosser Bazaar veranstaltet von Hilfswerk* (1923).

To the Americans of German Extraction
in
New Haven, Connecticut

Like a great flood climbs ever higher the want of the Germans.
Into the watery grave of desperation sinks the German people.
The dulled cry for aid scarcely reaches us now.
Round about the old Fatherland stand the peoples of the earth and gaze, some dumb and indifferent, some with unholy glee at the death struggle.
There is no one who stretches out a saving hand.
Only one ray of hope in the darkness of the night,

THE GERMANS OF AMERICA

Shall this last hope deceive?
No and forever no.
Here we are, Mother Germania, many hundred thousands.
Accept our offering.

The New Haven Hilfswerk

The package store continued; clothing was still collected in the various church basements. More concerts were given to support the American Red Cross relief work in Germany. The Quakers' drive was aided. Finally, when German relief had at last become fashionable, the *Hilfswerk* coöperated with the national drive directed by General Allen for the "starving German children." Luncheons were given, New Haven's finest ladies appeared on the program, and the New Haven Hilfswerk Committee faded quietly out of existence.

The exact amount of relief collected from 1914 to 1924 by the Central Verband and the Hilfswerk Committee could not be ascertained, but evidence from various sources suggests that it was considerably more than $300,000. Since there were about 3,300 persons of German mother-tongue in New Haven in 1920, the per capita contribution was approximately $100. Although the European-born Germans, to be sure, did not account for all of this total, the amount of work accomplished by this small minority group was certainly prodigious. It is no wonder that a leading German relief worker[74] could remark: "Many of these small tradesmen and work people impoverished themselves giving to the *Hilfswerk*."

74. Informant 50, the German-born wife of a Yale professor.

This frantic giving was undoubtedly motivated by complex drives. There was a keen desire to wipe out the smirch of "Hun" by a reputation for wholehearted charity. There was, too, a pronounced feeling of guilt among the Germans of New Haven; few American cities had contributed a larger share of "murder-weapons" or more "blood-guilt" to the Allies. In the munitions and war-material plants skilled Germans had received good wages, although much of this prosperity, to be sure, was offset by the high cost of living. The small merchants had benefited by their wealthier customers. Here was a chance to repay, an opportunity to salve an uneasy consciousness of having helped "to murder brothers." The third and perhaps the greatest factor was a deep and real love for the *Heimatland*, the old Fatherland, which years of living in the United States had not eradicated and which war propaganda had only strengthened. Cut off from friends and relatives for years, the New Haven Germans "gave until it hurt" in their love for the land they had left forever—a striking testimony to the failure of the first-generation Germans to become completely assimilated.

The above brief sketch of the New Haven German community during an unhappy period of its history is a fragment of a larger cultural study of this immigrant colony from approximately 1850 to the present. The aim of this study, which was carried on from June, 1934, to May, 1935, was to discover the trends in group life and to trace the adjustments made by the community through its press, churches, societies, and lodges to the changing German background and the American environment. The point of view adopted was that of the German immigrant himself.

New Haven German culture, with six churches, four newspapers, and more than one hundred societies and lodges, had reached its high point in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, owing to the large influx of Germans attracted by New Haven's expanding industry. In the early 1900's, community activity quieted down as the earlier immigrants grew older and the tide of immigration to the City of Elms dwindled. This period witnessed the formation of the German-American Alliance, a local parliament comprised of representatives from the various societies and lodges—an organization later to play an important part during the war years. In this body, nationalistic sentiments were promoted by German

Days, state-wide festivals, and similar expedients. After the World War the community experienced a brief revival with the immigrant wave of Germans impoverished by inflation in the old country. Today, however, German life in New Haven is fast drawing to a close as the German-born reach old age and the American-born lose themselves in the general population.

Since the study entered virgin fields in attempting to trace the adjustment of an immigrant group over a long period of years, various special techniques had to be added to the usual equipment of the sociological investigator. Evidence was obtained from six specific types of source material:

1. General works on sociology, immigration, New Haven history, and German backgrounds in Europe and America.
2. The Sample Family Survey of New Haven.
3. Original sources applying specifically to the New Haven Germans.
4. Informants on details or general features of New Haven German life.
5. Participating observation.
6. An "informant questionnaire."

The brief historical section included in this article illustrates the use of the two most important sources, namely, the third and the fourth. The first source is self-explanatory; this material provided the background necessary for undertaking the study of the local group. The Sample Family Survey of New Haven, made in 1933 under the direction of Dr. Mildred Parten, comprises considerable detailed information on some two thousand families, scientifically sampled from the card file of the New Haven Gas Company; 125 first- and second-generation German families were taken from this source, and yielded useful demographic data on the present status of the German element. The other four types of source material, which furnished by far the greatest part of the evidence, relate specifically to the New Haven Germans and require further explanation.

The initial problem in dealing with these people was to gain their confidence. The pastors of the six German churches and the secretaries of the German societies, listed in the city directory, served as the first avenue of approach. Their immediate coopera-

tion was obtained by stressing the historical aspect—actually a most important part—of the study. Contact once established, additional introductions to various German- and American-born leaders were soon forthcoming. The local editor of the *Connecticut Staats-Zeitung*, which served several hundred New Haven German homes, willingly included in his paper a short article entitled, "A History of the New Haven *Deutschtum*," which described the purposes of the study and asked for the "well-wishing cooperation" of the German element. This article served as a useful introduction to many German homes.

Once successfully launched in the German community and vouched for by its leading members, the investigator concentrated on obtaining printed matter to serve as a basis for reconstructing the life of the past and analyzing the immigrant institutions. Although numerous individuals contributed printed matter and miscellaneous documents, it was in two old print shops, former homes of New Haven German newspapers, that a veritable mine of such material was discovered. Badly broken series of seven of the eight German papers issued at one time or other in this city were found, and permission was received to work through them. Besides the German newspapers, three years (1901 to 1904) of the *New Haven Evening Leader*, carrying a section devoted to the doings of the New Haven German community, supplied considerable information.

The local Germans were prolific printers; for every conceivable event a program, usually incorporating certain items of historical interest, was issued. At twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries, souvenir booklets with the society's or church's history were customarily distributed; every club, society, or lodge had its printed constitution; and, finally, on the occasion of great singing festivals, shooting festivals, gymnastic meets, and German Days held in New Haven, elaborate souvenir programs were published with historical sketches of numerous organizations. In addition, the investigator was able to gain access to the written records of certain churches and societies.

To augment the picture of past and present German life reconstructed from newspapers and other printed matter, the anthropologist's technique of using informants was adopted. Individuals were selected because of their general or specific knowledge of local

German affairs, and were interviewed, once, twice, or as often as proved fruitful. When information was sought concerning churches and societies, formal interviews were held, based on a prearranged schedule of points about which data were desired. At informal talks with German pastors and prominent members of the community, general questions with relation to the group were discussed. The great majority of informants were men, for it was soon discovered that church affairs, the newspapers, and society activities were primarily in the hands of the men, at least until very recently. In general, the evidence received from informants appeared highly satisfactory, although considerable care was required to discern information which was given merely to create a favorable impression of the German element in the investigator's mind. Whenever feasible, the evidence obtained from one informant was checked against that of another.

During the entire course of the study the investigator played the rôle of participant observer in German homes, at the local "hangouts," and at all the functions of the community. Church services, suppers, and dances were attended, as well as lodge and society conventions, concerts, theatricals, balls, outdoor festivities, soccer games, formal and informal meetings, and the innumerable other events which make up the usual social round of the local Germans. It was not difficult to gain access to these affairs. The churches by their very nature welcomed a stranger at their services. Since the German societies run practically all of their affairs for profit, as well as pleasure, they were glad to have another beer-consumer. The people were uniformly friendly to "the young man who was writing a book," and received the investigator with open arms from the first. The ability to speak some German undoubtedly served as an immediate means of cementing relations and gaining confidence, but it did not take long to find out that, while a knowledge of the *Muttersprache* created a subtle bond, it was more diplomatic to use English in the majority of circumstances. By insisting upon the use of the immigrant's native tongue, the field worker impugns that person's ability to use English, and naturally this is resented. At large affairs in the society halls, however, where the mood was definitely German, it proved best to speak German.

As a final step in collecting evidence, a device was adopted com-

bining elements of the questionnaire and informant techniques. A set of twenty questions was drawn up on the basis of the knowledge of the life and institutions of the German element gained during the course of the study, and 174 copies were distributed among the local Germans. These "informant questionnaires" were framed to illustrate, correct, and add to the general impressions already arrived at; there was no intention of using the answers statistically. In essence the persons who replied to the questionnaire served merely as informants, the only difference being that their knowledge and opinions were obtained in writing rather than by word of mouth. In the answers to the questionnaire the natural tendency to present the German element in the best possible light was more pronounced than in the oral testimony, but this could be readily discerned. With certain limitations the device proved a considerable success. Although little new information was obtained, the corroborative opinions of a large number of individuals were useful in picturing the life of this eastern German-American community and in gaining insight into the changing folkways of immigrant Germans adjusting to their adopted Fatherland.

A SAMPLE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

CLELLAN S. FORD

THE science of culture has as its general objective the systematic organization of the anthropological and sociological information now available and yet to be collected. This objective has many facets, some of which have been recognized as important while others have been neglected. Many notable attempts have been made to treat social phenomena in a scientific spirit, and some have yielded significant results. In certain sociological circles comparative cultural studies represent the dominant modern trend, while other students find their principal interest in historical studies of ethnic and culture-bearing groups. Some attempts have been made to apply statistical methods to cultural problems. Modern sociology, however, has apparently developed its general propositions, for the most part, on the basis of unanalyzed materials.

The natural sciences have proceeded by way of two general methods, namely, synthesis and analysis. By synthesis, data are organized to yield general theories. The theory or law thus developed presents an abstract description of a specific range of phenomena. It automatically becomes an hypothesis when an attempt is made to extend its validity beyond the original limits. Working in a reverse direction from this synthesizing of data, science has proceeded to analyze the facts substantiating the theories. Analytic treatment of the facts provides science with a more exact foundation for its generalizations. Faulty or inadequate theories may then be revised in accordance with the findings of analysis to yield satisfactory laws. If the study of culture is to become a full-fledged science, analysis presumably will play an equally important part in its development. As yet, however, the theories of the social scientists, despite their frequently glaring inadequacy, have seldom been subjected to refinement by analysis.

One such generalization is that the maintenance mores are basic. The facts show, it is contended, that the mores crystallizing out of

economic activities are the first to respond to changing conditions, and are the most influential in their reaction with the other mores. This theory, although doubtless true in the light of the evidence, is phrased in terms too general to be readily applicable. Practically no attempt has been made to analyze culture with a view to determining just how these changes and reactions take place. An attempt to analyze primitive material culture has seemed advisable as a first step in remedying this situation. Such a study should show, also, whether or not analysis is adapted to attacking the problems of culture. If recognized scientific methods are applicable anywhere to the data of sociology and anthropology, the field of material culture would seem to offer the greatest likelihood of success. When considered as one of the many intricate phases of culture, man's material adjustment appears to be comparatively free from the perplexing difficulties which seem so characteristic of other segments of culture. When, however, material culture is inspected in relative isolation, the apparent simplicity is transformed into complexity, and the problems encountered become so involved that it is even difficult to indicate clearly what is meant by "material culture."

Culture is primarily concerned with the way people act. The actions, then, of manufacture and use, and the expressed theories about the production, use, and nature of material objects constitute the data of material culture. In their relation to culture, artifacts and materials are to be classed in the same category as the substances, such as minerals, flora, and fauna, which compose the environment in which people live. Artifacts themselves are not cultural data, although, to be sure, they are often the concrete manifestations of human actions and cultural processes. The cultural actions of a people cannot even be inferred from them without extreme caution, for a number of reasons. Chief among these are the following: (1) instead of being a product of the culture the artifact may have been imported; (2) the process of manufacture is frequently not implicit in the artifact itself; and (3) the use or function of the artifact is not deducible from the object alone.

A careful investigation of man's actions with material things in any culture reveals that the complex processes described by the ethnographer are composed of actions which may be isolated as

units. For example, the manufacture of pottery, treated in a single section by most ethnographers, is a combination of unit actions, each of which is specifically related to the others. One such unit type of action is the kneading of the clay. These individual actions may be visualized as the links in a chain of such actions, which, taken as a group, constitute the complex process of manufacture or use. Further consideration reveals that these unit actions play different kinds of rôles. Some serve only as necessary intermediate links between the raw material and the finished product. Such, for example, is the action of kneading clay in pottery making. Others are directly related to the physiological and psychological needs of human beings and represent the final links in a chain. Thus, for example, the cooking of food in a pot prepares materials directly for human consumption. Still other unit actions appear to combine the first two types; although serving primarily as links preparatory to other actions, they nevertheless, at the same time, satisfy directly some desire or need of the native. Such, for example, would be the final action which results in a decorated pot. Although primarily intended to enter into other actions as a utensil, and thus belonging to the first-mentioned category, the pot is itself pleasing to the maker and to other members of the society. Similarly a native, when binding an adz head to its haft, produces an ornamental lashing which has an æsthetic value. In this connection it is worth noting that some processes have as their result something which is ostensibly designed to assist in another action and yet which has no such function in the culture. Such, for example, would be a ceremonial adz.

Apart from the characteristics of actions which refer to their position within complex processes, other identifying features may be discerned which relate to the composition of an individual action. Close inspection of a number of unit actions reveals that each one is observable and describable in terms of: (1) purpose, (2) materials, (3) means, (4) method, and (5) result.

The *purpose* of the action is a part of the prevailing theory concerning the action; it may or may not be consciously expressed. The *result* is both *actual* and *theoretical*. By theoretical result is meant that which is believed to come about as the consequence of the action; it represents the fulfilment of the purpose. If the pur-

pose is found achieved in the actual result, the action may be termed *rational.* If the purpose is found not to be achieved in the actual result, but only in the theoretical result, the action may be called *irrational* or *magical.* If the purpose is achieved neither in the actual nor in the theoretical result, the action may be called a *failure.* An action without a purpose is a *random action* and is not rational, although it may produce advantageous and desirable results. Whether or not the purpose is achieved in the actual result is a part of the judgment of the action which may be made on the basis of scientific investigation. However, even if the purpose stated by a native is demonstrated by modern science not to be achieved in the actual result, it is, nevertheless, extremely risky to posit that the action has no survival value. The action may be efficacious for reasons which might be overlooked by the scientist.

In a rational action, it should be noted, the theoretical result is identical with that part of the actual result which corresponds to the purpose. Oftentimes, of course, the actual result, besides achieving the purpose, includes other elements not covered by the purpose. These may be called *socially irrelevant results*, and they may or may not be consciously recognized as existing. This may be clarified by an example. When a tree is cut with an adz, a considerable portion of the kinetic energy or momentum of the moving tool is converted into sound upon contact with the wood. If the stated purpose of the native is to fell the tree, the sound thus produced is socially irrelevant. In many cases, as in this example, the socially irrelevant results are so obvious and striking that it is extremely improbable that they should be totally disregarded. The importance of noting the socially irrelevant results may be illustrated by the following example. In both Samoa and Fiji the bast of the paper mulberry is beaten on wooden anvils for the express purpose of so widening the bast that it will be suitable as segments of cloth. Sound is produced incidentally and is recognized by the natives to the extent that they keep time with their mallets, sometimes beating out complicated rhythms. This immediately suggests a connection with the wooden gong, which is used in both cultures. Indeed, it is quite possible that the wooden gong represents a specialized development growing out of the recognition of just such

a socially irrelevant result as that involved in beating out bark cloth on a wooden anvil.

The *materials* may be defined as those substances which enter into an action and are found in the result. The *means* may be defined as that which enters into the process only to effect the result, and which is not found in the result. It is to be noticed that many substances commonly considered means are here classified as materials. Such is, for example, the sennit braid which enters into the action of securing an adz to its haft. Although commonly treated as the means, the sennit braid is here considered to be one of the materials entering into the action, the actual means being the hands. The confusion arises from the fact that the braid is the means by which the adz head is kept on the haft once the result has been achieved. It is in no sense, however, a tool effecting the original joining of adz and haft. *Method* refers to the way in which the means are applied to the materials in order to effect the result; it includes motor habits, techniques of manipulation, and scientific processes involved.

The substances which form a part of an action, either as materials, means, or results, may be characterized both by their properties and by their internal structure. Thus, for example, carbon monoxide gas may be described in terms of the properties which that gas has in its possible relationships with other substances, and also in terms of the number and type of atoms which compose its constituent molecules. For the purpose of this work it seems more logical and suitable to define substances by their properties. Reference to the cases will reveal the reason. If, for example, we find that the Samoan cuts wood with a species of shell, we should find ourselves burdened with an impossible task if we depended for our definition of the wood and the shell upon their respective molecular composition as determined by the chemist in the laboratory. Whatever descriptions of substances we make, therefore, if they are to be useful or even possible, must be primarily in terms of properties rather than of internal structure. The properties of matter are capable of logical classification according to four categories: form, composition, motion, and vibrational energy. By composition is meant the capacity of a substance for chemical re-

action; vibrational energy is taken to include all wave phenomena such as sound, heat, and light. All matter is describable in terms of its properties and therefore in terms of its form, composition, motion, and vibrational energy. A certain wood used by the Fijians, for example, might be described, with reference to its form, as relatively hard, heavy, of a certain toughness and tensile strength, and of a certain shape. In respect to its composition, it might be described as susceptible to oxidation, destructive distillation, fermentation, and the like. As to its motion, the wood might be moving through the air, at a certain velocity and in a particular direction, in response to an impulse initiated by human muscles. Finally, the wood might be very hot, a factor of vibrational energy content. Much greater minuteness of description is possible, of course, but scarcely practicable for ethnological research.

Students of culture, generally speaking, have chosen to follow one or the other of two distinct courses in their consideration of material culture. The one course, elected by ethnographers interested in orienting the material culture within the total cultural framework, has been to group actions about certain central economic activities, such as hunting, fishing, food preparation, and agriculture. This has involved the description of complex processes in their entirety, and has resulted in concentration upon the seeming end-results of these processes and in an unduly sketchy filling in of the antecedent steps. The other course, while it has involved the analysis of complex processes into their component individual actions, has singled out technique for special emphasis, usually to the neglect of the other characteristics of actions. Technique, which is an element in what we have called "method," has proved particularly useful to anthropologists in historical research, especially in differentiating an action from, or identifying it with, a similar action in another culture. This emphasis upon technique has resulted in grouping man's actions with materials about the various arts and crafts, such as basketry, wood-working, weaving, and house-building.

There is, however, no *a priori* reason for believing that these are the only profitable ways of considering the data of material culture. Conceivably, for example, it might prove fruitful to classify the actions themselves, segregating them into groups essentially

similar in kind. This method is recognized by the physical sciences as a valuable aid in discovering the natural relationships between actions. But the physicists and chemists, in describing the principles upon which a natural classification should be based, present them in a form suited to their own needs in making tests, analyses, and syntheses in the laboratory. They seem not to have concerned themselves with compiling an orderly classification of all the various "principles" recognized by modern science. Even did such a compendium of principles exist, it could not be assumed to be complete. Modern science—to give but one reason—has concerned itself almost exclusively with our own material culture, which is not necessarily all-inclusive. The principles isolated and described by natural science, moreover, are often characterized by a degree of complexity unsuited to our materials. For these and other reasons it was found impossible to construct a finite list of the principles, or types of actions, recognized by modern science, which could then be applied as a yardstick to the material culture of primitive peoples. Such a list can be worked out only as the result of a study such as this, not as a preliminary basis or starting point.

This and many other possibilities suggested themselves, and were tested and rejected, during the development of the method of classification presented below. Space is here lacking to explain them in detail and show why they were discarded. The method finally arrived at must suffice. That it is as yet clumsy, and possibly too involved, will be apparent. But its cumbersomeness is not to be overcome by the hasty elimination of the more obviously unwieldy portions. Refinement and simplification can be achieved only as changes are suggested in the course of its repeated application to the facts.

The significant features of the method are the analysis of complex processes into unit actions; the concentration upon general methods and means, disregarding technique; and the analysis of function into detailed specifications. In other words, processes are analyzed into relatively simple component actions. These unit actions are described primarily in terms of the general method employed to produce the result and of the precise functions which the result of each action exhibits in the culture. These functions are expressed in terms of *specifications*, that is, of the specific require-

ments set by the culture to which the result of the action must conform.

A Samoan mat, for example, might perhaps be characterized as something to sit or lie upon, or to cover certain parts of the body with. Such a functional description, however, disguises the fact that the Samoan mat is serviceable because it exhibits certain specific properties. The description does not expose the individual specifications to which the entire process of mat-making must represent an adjustment. The value of an analysis of function is readily seen when, by its use, such apparently unconnected articles as thatch roofs, mats, and clothing are found to be closely related. The specifications thus identify the specific requirements of the problem, which have been met in the solution. When articles are described in terms of the specific properties which they exhibit in a given culture, it becomes obvious that the actions whose results correspond to similar specifications bear a necessary relationship to each other. This has been superficially recognized in the past, principally because the results were often observed to be produced by similar techniques. Thus thatching and matting are treated together in works on material culture because the actions producing the results seem to be similar. That the actions need not be similar, however, is apparent from our own material culture.

On the basis of specifications of results, a classification of actions is made possible whereby all the actions, for example, which result in receptacles may be grouped together. These actions may then be differentiated within the group on the basis of additional specifications. Thus receptacles for liquids may be isolated as a special sub-group whose more detailed specifications require a more delimited method of production. Unless complex processes are analyzed into unit actions, one is likely to lose sight of the ramifications of a type of action, e.g., making a hole, throughout a culture. The analysis of processes into unit actions makes it possible to determine the distribution of any specific action throughout a culture and to discover how thoroughly the individual actions have been incorporated into the material culture of a people. Knowledge of the distribution of unit actions within a culture, taken in conjunction with the various actions invented or borrowed by the culture to solve the problems encountered by it, makes possible an

objective comparison of diverse cultures with respect to their material adjustments. Furthermore, it may be possible eventually to compile in this way a finite list of the problems encountered and the solutions offered by all cultures.

An attempt to apply this method of analyzing material culture has revealed a number of defects and omissions in the existing descriptions of primitive peoples. Much valuable evidence which could be gathered by the field ethnographer has hitherto been generally neglected and omitted in ethnographical descriptions. For the analysis of material culture, among the most important items of information are the specifications to which the result of each unit action must conform in the particular culture. These are seldom expressly stated by the ethnographer. Consequently inferences must often be drawn about facts which the field anthropologist could have reported had he been aware that the information was important.

As one of the contributions of this study, the following outline has been prepared to indicate the specific information which should be included in a description of material culture.

In general, describe the various parts of each complicated process, not neglecting the precise functions of each resulting material. Describe in detail every process even though it seems to be nothing but a superstitious act. It is possible that the process may be based on some property of matter which is known only to the natives. Do not neglect any seemingly trivial steps of an action; make sure that no segment is left out of your description.

In particular, make sure that the following points have been adequately covered:

1. *Environmental factors.* Do not neglect any of the environmental factors which seem to be important to the natives. For example, note whether operations are carried on in the sunlight or in the shade; note whether warm or cool days are selected for a particular process; note whether muggy weather or clear days are correlated with the performance of a particular action.

2. *Purpose.* Do not neglect to determine, whenever possible, the purpose of each action. For example, determine why a yam is washed, why it is quartered before cooking, why it is cooked, and why it is placed in a basket after cooking.

3. *Motor habits.* Do not neglect any habitual motor habits that seem

to be identified with an action. For example, note whether the action of cutting or scraping is toward or away from the body.

4. *Technique.* Do not neglect the details of technique for each unit action. For example, note the technique employed in adding new strands in the manufacture of a rope as well as the actual braiding or twisting technique.

5. *Materials.* Do not neglect to describe in detail the properties of the materials of each action. For example, note the nature of the shells which are made into hooks and determine whether their surfaces are rough or smooth, whether the color is brilliant or dull, and whether or not they are likely to crumble or split.

6. *Means.* Do not neglect to describe in detail the properties of the means of each action. For example, note the nature of the water in the pools in which wooden bowls are soaked for seasoning purposes. Note in each instance the specific artifact or tool used. For example, do not state, merely, that a hole is bored without indicating that the means is a spiral shell.

7. *Result.* Do not neglect the many specifications which characterize each socially significant result. For example, do not make such a statement as "They put their mats in the sun to air" without indicating the precise specifications to which the mat must correspond after it has been treated in this manner. Do not neglect any socially irrelevant results that are obvious to the native. For example, if the native rubs a dart between two sticks so vigorously that heat is unmistakably produced, this should be recorded. If boring holes with a drill results in the obvious production of heat and sound these results should be included in your description.

8. *Personnel.* Do not neglect to state the precise qualifications of the individuals performing the action. It is important to know why it is that some individuals within the culture know how and actually do these actions whereas others do not. This may be satisfactorily determined by noting the qualifications characterizing those persons who are permitted or are able to perform the action in that culture.

Finally, review the description which you have made of each complicated process and make sure that you have not produced materials or means from nowhere. Each substance entering into an action has a history of actions behind it which should not be mysteriously concealed. For example, note the actions preceding the use of a coconut leaf as the material out of which a basket is made: how it is removed from the tree and transported to the site of operations. Also make sure that you have not assumed that a material or an action, since it bears a resemblance

to a similar substance or action in other cultures, occupies a functional position in the culture which has not been justified by your observations. For example, do not state that the natives air wet bast to remove obnoxious odors unless it is specifically indicated by the native, either by word or deed, that the smell of the wet bast is obnoxious to them and that the displeasing odor is removed by the process of drying.

The method of analyzing material culture presented in this paper, it must be clearly understood, is strictly a cultural study. The specifications characterizing substances and artifacts are socially relevant and may be ascertained from the study of the part which that substance or artifact plays in the culture. Socially irrelevant specifications have already been discussed and, it will be remembered, are of importance to the cultural scientist only when they are of such a striking nature that the native is forced to recognize them. The findings of natural science, it is true, suggest tentative classifications and indicate possible specifications on the cultural level which are probably omitted in ethnographical reports. However, a description of function in the mechanistic terms of natural science is not, at present, directly usable by the cultural scientist. We are interested here in the properties of substances and artifacts as they are dealt with by the human beings of a society in solving the various problems which confront them. For example, it is not necessary to describe a wooden bowl from the point of view of the specific stresses and strains put upon it when liquids are placed within it, nor from the point of view that its various molecules will combine with oxygen in the presence of sufficient heat energy. For the cultural scientist it is sufficient to know that the wooden bowl is a receptacle which will hold liquids but which will not withstand the effects of fire and is, therefore, unsuited to cooking over a flame.

The analysis of function into specifications, it must not be forgotten, may be approached from at least two levels, namely, the physico-chemical and the physiologico-psychological. Since so little is known definitively concerning the latter, it must perforce be treated only very generally here and can be accorded by no means the importance which is its due. The following table presents the general methods and the specifications which form at present the culturally oriented basis for our classification of unit action types.

I. METHODS

A. *Moving,* wherein the result is motion
B. *Placing,* wherein the result is position (thus including conveying)
C. *Distorting,* wherein the result is a formal change without separation
D. *Separating,* wherein the result is a division or removal of parts
E. *Inserting,* wherein the result is one substance inserted in another
F. *Mixing,* wherein the result is one substance mixed with another
G. *Binding,* wherein the result is a unit of parts held together by a lashing or tying
H. *Interlacing,* wherein the result is a unit of parts plaited or woven together
I. *Cooking,* wherein the result is a substance changed by the application of heat
J. *Producing sound,* wherein the result is sound
K. *Producing heat,* wherein the result is heat
L. *Producing light,* wherein the result is light

II. SPECIFICATIONS

A. PHYSICO-CHEMICAL SPECIFICATIONS[1]

1. *Impediments,* wherein the result is adapted to restricting physical motion by virtue of inertia plus certain formal characteristics
   a. Possessing the characteristics of a barrier
   b. Possessing the characteristics of a support
   c. Possessing the characteristics of a hole
   d. Possessing the characteristics of a trough, i.e., permitting motion in at least two horizontal directions
   e. Possessing the characteristics of a receptacle, i.e., restricting motion in all horizontal directions

2. *Machines,* wherein the result is adapted to producing physical motion by virtue of inertia plus certain formal characteristics
   a. Lacking formal advantage

1. These specifications represent some of the problems solved by primitive peoples in their material adjustment from the physico-chemical point of view. The list is not complete nor is it more than roughly organized. This will be found to be even more true of the specifications listed from the physiologico-psychological point of view. Additions and organization will come, however, only as the specifications are found to be inadequate with reference to the data.

b. Possessing the characteristics of a lever
c. Possessing the characteristics of a wedge
d. Possessing the characteristics of a pulley

3. *Insulators,* wherein the result is adapted to restricting physical motion by virtue of inertia plus texture
   a. Porous to gas but not liquid or solid
   b. Porous to gas, liquid, and solid
   c. Porous to gas and liquid but not solid
   d. Impervious to gas, liquid, and solid
   e. Impervious to heat and light
   f. Porous to light
   g. Impervious to sound
   h. Conductor of heat
   i. Conductor of sound

4. *Weights.* Wherein the result is adapted to restricting physical motion by virtue of its inertia as a unit
   a. Easy to move
   b. Hard to move
   c. Moving
   d. Hard to stop moving
   e. Easy to move in some directions only

5. *Bodies,* wherein the result is adapted to resisting the motion of its parts in response to physical action
   a. Easy to change by separation
   b. Hard to change by separation
   c. Easy to change by distortion
   d. Hard to change by distortion
   e. Easy to change by separation but not by distortion
   f. Easy to change by distortion but not by separation

6. *Chemicals,* wherein the result is adapted to producing or resisting chemical action
   a. Chemically active
   b. Chemically inert
   c. Easy to change by chemical action
   d. Potentially active chemically
   e. Easy to change by chemical action in the presence of heat
   f. Hard to change by chemical action in the presence of heat

7. *Vibrators,* wherein the result is adapted to producing vibrational action
   a. Emitting heat
   b. Not suitable to produce heat
   c. Emitting light
   d. Not suitable to produce light
   e. Emitting sound
   f. Not suitable to produce sound
   g. Potentially capable of emitting heat
   h. Potentially capable of emitting light
   i. Potentially capable of emitting sound

B. Physiologico-Psychological Specifications

1. *Suitability for bodily consumption*
   - a. As food
   - b. As beverage
   - c. As stimulant
   - d. As sedative
   - e. As narcotic
   - f. As intoxicant
   - g. As medicine
   - h. As poison

2. *Suitability for human handling*
   - a. To move with the hands
   - b. To move with the feet
   - c. To hold with the hands
   - d. To hold with the feet
   - e. To carry
   - f. To hold with the teeth

3. *Attractiveness to the human senses*
   - a. To sight
   - b. To hearing
   - c. To touch
   - d. To smell
   - e. To taste

4. *Suitability for affecting animals and plants*
   - a. To bruise
   - b. To cut
   - c. To choke or strangle
   - d. To smother or asphyxiate
   - e. To burn
   - f. To poison
   - g. To blind
   - h. To deafen
   - i. To attract
   - j. To frighten
   - k. To stimulate
   - l. To narcotize
   - m. To favor growth
   - n. To discourage growth

The above-described method of analysis may now be illustrated by a sample comparative analysis of the material culture of Samoa and Fiji. For Samoa, the data are derived from Buck's excellent monograph.[2] For Fiji, the author is fortunate in being able to use information acquired in the course of his personal field work there as a Bishop Museum Fellow in 1935–36. Since limitations of space prevent a complete analysis of the material culture of the two island groups, we shall confine ourselves to "receptacles" as a representative example, noting its ramifications throughout the two cultures and how the two peoples solved the problem of retaining things.

A first list will catalogue the receptacles found in both Samoa and Fiji. Though the two techniques of production and the extent

2. Buck, P. H. (Te Rangi Hiroa), "Samoan Material Culture," *Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 75* (1930).

of use may vary somewhat in the two cultures, these receptacles were found, upon analysis, to have been produced by the same general methods and to conform to the same specifications in both cases, and hence, for our purposes, they may be regarded as identical.

1. Barkcloth tent (used for smoking cloth)
2. Barkcloth mosquito tent
3. Pit for fermenting food
4. Pit for ripening bananas
5. Grave
6. Post holes
7. Planting holes
8. Coconut shell cup
9. Coconut water bottle
10. Wooden bowl
11. Wooden kava bowl with legs
12. Wooden basin
13. Wooden bailer
14. Bamboo water vessel
15. Dugout canoe
16. Plank canoe
17. Baskets
18. Fish traps
19. Fish nets
20. Fish enclosure
21. Pig enclosure
22. Bamboo rat trap
23. Bast strainers (for kava and turmeric)
24. Depressions on clubs for liming
25. Houses (dwelling house, cook house, eating house, yam storage house, temple)
26. Sheds (meeting shed, carpenter's shed, canoe shed)

A second list includes all the receptacles found in Samoa which are not present, so far as known, in Fiji or which do not exhibit the same specifications in the two cultures.

1. Breadfruit net-picker (a variation of the breadfruit picker which is found in Samoa at Fitiuta in Tau, "where the ground is covered with sharp pointed lava which would break the fruit if it fell to the ground" [Buck, p. 117], and which is not commonly used elsewhere, indicating that it is a specific development in response to local conditions)

2. Earth oven (although also present in Fiji, it differs there in its specifications; the Samoan earth oven is not hermetically sealed and is, therefore, porous to steam, whereas the Fijian earth oven is hermetically sealed with earth)

3. Fowler's hut (despite some evidence that fowling was also practiced in Fiji, the information as to the appliances used in this pursuit is too meager for identification)

4. Fowler's net (see 3 above)

5. Fowler's trap (see 3 above)

6. Coconut midrib vise (used in Samoa to hold tattooing comb during manufacture; no information obtainable from Fiji)
7. Coconut shell mortar (pottery bowl serves the same purpose in Fiji)
8. Coconut shell lamp (pottery lamp serves the same purpose in Fiji)
9. Sandal (a plaited receptacle for the foot to protect it from coral; the sandal is not found in Fiji)
10. Coconut leaflet toy canoe (a plaited toy for children not found in Fiji, where a canoe made of coconut husk fulfills the same specifications)
11. Sand bed for fish trap with coral sides (the disturbing of the sand during this operation is believed by the Samoans to create an attractive smell [puapua'i] which differentiates it from the same action in Fiji)
12. Fish house of coral (no artificial constructions of this sort are made in Fiji, so far as I know, although natural coral formations are carefully probed for fish)

A third list includes all the receptacles found in Fiji which are not present, so far as known, in Samoa, or which do not exhibit the same specifications in the two cultures.

1. Earth oven (see 2 of the Samoan list)
2. Pottery lamp (see 8 of the Samoan list)
3. Pottery mortar (see 7 of the Samoan list)
4. Pottery bowls (the subject of pottery will be discussed in detail below)
5. Pottery cooking utensils (see 4 above)
6. Sleeping mat (a double mat, made like a sleeping bag, is a variation not found in Samoa)
7. Turtle enclosure (an enclosure built in still tidal water to keep excess turtles; turtle fishing attained greater development in Fiji than in Samoa; there seems to be no obvious reason why the Samoan could not have developed a turtle enclosure had the need for one arisen, inasmuch as it is similar in all details to the fish enclosure found in both cultures)
8. Coconut husk toy canoe (see 10 of the Samoan list)

Comparison of the second and third lists reveals few differences of a fundamental nature in the receptacles of the two cultures. Only the occurrence of pottery in Fiji is found, upon careful inspection, to be of far-reaching importance. This might be expected from the

general specification to which pottery utensils conform—a specification apparently not met by any Samoan utensil. For purposes of illustration a detailed analysis of the part which pottery plays in Fijian culture is presented below. Column I lists the specific uses of pottery utensils in Fiji; column II indicates how the same problem is met in Samoa; column III states whether or not the Samoan method is also used in Fiji, an asterisk denoting that it is an important alternative method in Fiji.

A. USES OF POTTERY IN THE PREPARATION OF FOODS

I	II	III
1. Boiling man, pig, turtle, fish	Earth oven	Yes*
2. Boiling yam, taro, kumala, breadfruit	Earth oven	Yes*
3. Boiling fermented material for bread	Earth oven	Yes*
4. Boiling banana, papaia, or tavioka for puddings	Earth oven	Yes
5. Boiling coconut cream sauce (for puddings, meat, fish, or vegetables)	a) Earth oven; in banana leaf package	a) Yes
	b) Hot stones in wooden bowl	b) No
6. Boiling tavioka or arrowroot plain	a) Earth oven	a) Yes*
	b) Hot stones in wooden bowl	b) No
7. Boiling squid, crab, eel, taro leaves	Earth oven; in banana leaf package	No
8. Boiling chicken	a) Earth oven	a) No
	b) Grilled on fire	b) No
9. Boiling fish, squid, crab, eel, yam, taro, taro leaves, tavioka, or arrowroot with coconut cream	Earth oven; in banana leaf package	No
10. Boiling fish chowder, shellfish chowder	Absent	
11. Boiling tavioka or arrowroot, breadfruit, vutu, or the like before fermentation	Absent	
12. Boiling tavioka and arrowroot for flour preparation	Absent	
13. Boiling kumala with coconut cream	Absent	

The above comparison brings out the following points. The banana leaf package, together with the wooden bowl and hot stones, serves the purpose, in Samoa, of cooking liquids. The use of the earth oven for cooking solids in both Samoa and Fiji indicates that the method of boiling these substances in Fiji

is not paralleled in Samoa. The use of a pot which may be placed directly on the fire thus adds to the methods of preparing foods in Fiji. This is brought out most clearly, perhaps, with reference to food preparation during voyages in canoes. The Fijian boils his food on ship board much as he does on land, whereas the Samoan is forced to depend on either cold or grilled food. Furthermore, there are some articles of diet which, prepared in Fiji with the aid of the pot, do not appear in Samoan food preparation. It is likewise interesting to note that the banana leaf package is used in Fiji. The hot stones and wooden bowl method is also used in Fiji for the preparation of pig fat and entrail pudding, which is customarily made while the pig is being cooked in the oven. Another point of interest is that the earth oven differs in the two cultures in accordance with their general patterns of cooking; in Samoa, where there is no true boiling, the earth oven is not hermetically sealed, while in Fiji, where boiling is the vogue, the earth oven is made impervious to the escaping steam.

B. USES IN THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIALS ENTERING INTO OTHER ACTIONS

	I	II	III
1.	Making pastes[3]		
	a) Boiling arrowroot to make flour used as paste when mixed with water	Baked in oven to form cooked lump used for paste when dipped in water	No
	b) Boiling taro to make flour used as paste when mixed with water	Absent	
2.	Making dyes[4]		
	a) Boiling manui leaves for hair dyeing[5]	Absent	

3. The over-ripe breadfruit paste commonly employed in Samoa is very seldom used in Fiji. The Fijians deem this paste too stiff for their purposes and use it only when other pastes are not available. On the other hand, the juice of the viscid berry of the tou (*Cordia aspera*) is used in both cultures.

4. The dye-producing processes which do not require cooking are identical in the two cultures, with but very few exceptions.

5. Fijian hair dressing with this and the following dye is designed to make the hair itself perfection without the use of wigs (although some of the latter were used in the old days by chiefs). The hair is made to stand on end by means of lime, kura, and manui. It is dyed red or black according to preference. The bush of the hair gives protection against the sun, conforms to the native ideal of beauty, requires utilitarian combs and thus obviates the desire for ornamental combs, requires elaborate care at night and thus makes pillows and headbands necessary, and reemphasizes the sacredness of the head. Samoan hair dressing, on the other hand, involves the extensive use of wigs. Preparation of the hair itself is confined to slight bleaching with lime, primarily as a protection from the sun during fishing. The wigs are not dyed but are bleached with salt water and exposure in the sun. Ornamental combs are in vogue and utilitarian combs very scarce except for modern productions. The pillow is probably an importation, and no night headband is required.

I	II	III
b) Boiling kura bark for hair dyeing	Absent	
c) Boiling candlenut bark for black tapa dye[6]	Absent	
d) Boiling kura bark for red tapa dye	Absent	
3. Preparing materials either to alter color or to remove foreign substances		
a. Boiling coconut filled with salt water to decompose inner meat during production of water bottle.[7]	Filling with water and allowing to stand for a couple weeks	No
b. Boiling coconut husks, changing color (resulting in dark brown and black depending upon the maturity of the nut) and loosening interfibrous material	Steeping in water to soften interfibrous material, no change of color resulting	No
c. Boiling draudreka, an inferior voivoi or pandanus, to render it suitable as a mat material	Absent	
d. Boiling vau bast with drau ni tavola to produce black colored strips	Analogous process: pressing whole garment of ti leaves in mud of swamp	Yes
e. Boiling vau bast with kura bark to produce red colored strips	Analogous process: staining whole garment with red earth	Yes
f. Boiling voivoi (pandanus) with drau ni tavola after soaking in swamp mud, to produce black wefts[8]	Absent	
g. Boiling whale teeth in oil to age and color them	Absent	
h. Using hot shards to singe hair	Using lighted bark	No?

6. Fijian tapa is characterized by contrasting designs in red and black on a natural background; Samoan tapa, by soft contrasting shades of brown on a natural background. The same is true of the sennit designs of the two cultures.

7. The coconut water bottle is a more important utensil in Samoa than in Fiji. The reasons for this are two, both of them related to pottery. In the first place, the coconut water bottle is used in Samoa where pots serve similar purposes in Fiji. In the second place, the manufacture of coconut water bottles is facilitated in Fiji by pottery; an operation requiring two or three weeks for completion in Samoa is accomplished in a single day.

8. The black and natural contrast in plaiting so characteristic of Fiji is almost completely absent in Samoa, where the designs on mats are usually in two shades of brown, although an overlay of the black skin of the plantain is sometimes used. Connected therewith we find an elaboration of extremely fine plaiting in Samoa, which is absent in Fiji.

C. USES OF POTTERY NOT DEPENDENT UPON FIRE-RESISTING SPECIFICATION[9]

I	II	III
1. Water jar	Coconut water bottle	Yes*
2. Kava bowl, in which kava may stand or be brewed	Wooden kava bowl, in which kava is not allowed to stand for long lest the bowl become warped	Yes
3. Water pitcher, for pouring water into kava bowl during mixing	Dipping water from wooden bowl with coconut cup	Yes
4. Wash basin, in which hands are cleansed before mixing kava or eating	Pouring water over hands with a coconut cup	No
5. Lamp, burning coconut oil	Coconut shell lamp	Yes
6. Shard used for collecting soot of kowrie gum or candlenut	Stone used for same purpose	No?

We have now examined the receptacle and its ramifications throughout the cultures of Fiji and Samoa. Instead of comparing the methods of obtaining food or the plaiting techniques of the two cultures, we have made a cross-sectional comparison of the solutions offered by these cultures to the problem of retaining things. This analysis has exposed relationships hitherto unsuspected, demonstrating that the presence or absence of at least one type of receptacle may have far-reaching consequences. Regarding the methods of production and the specifications of the result, the great majority of receptacles in the two cultures are identical. The one difference elaborated in this paper illustrates the possible importance of dissimilar receptacles. The presence of pottery utensils in Fiji and the absence of these in Samoa has been seen to be surprisingly significant. The analysis shows, however, that the importance of pottery is not due to mere chance. Pottery utensils represent an important cultural difference because they offer a solution to the problem of cooking liquids directly over a flame—a problem not solved in Samoa. The fundamental difference between Fijian and Samoan material culture brought out here is not the absence or presence of pottery *per se;* it is the absence or presence of a solution to a specific problem. The specification to which the Fijian pot corresponds, namely, resistance to the effects of fire, is

9. It is important to note that all these uses of pottery in Fiji are paralleled by the use of comparable objects in Samoa.

not paralleled by any Samoan receptacle. Many contrasts between Fijian and Samoan material culture are hidden and mysterious until analytical study brings them together and demonstrates their dependence upon the presence of a single process.

Of the more striking contrasts between the two cultures, noted even by the casual tourist, a considerable proportion are directly traceable to pottery. The easily observable differences in cooking methods are obviously correlated with the presence and absence of pottery cooking utensils. Less obvious, but nevertheless demonstrable, is the dependence of the mode of hair dressing upon pottery. The Samoan, handicapped by the lack of a receptacle with fire-resisting properties, cannot parallel the waving, stiffening, and complex dyeing of the hair so characteristic of the Fijian. The Samoan, with his emphasis upon hair bleaching and the use of wigs, scarcely approximates the Fijian tonsorial art. The Fijian mode could not diffuse to Samoa without the accompanying diffusion of pottery or the independent development of a solution to the problem of cooking directly over a fire. The casual tourist also notes the differences between the two cultures in the colors and designs of tapa, mats, and sennit-work, and he tends to attribute these differences to fundamentally divergent ideals of beauty. This explanation seems less satisfactory, however, when it is realized that the Samoan could not, even if he wished, duplicate the contrasting black, red, and light brown designs so characteristic of Fijian art. Within his limitations, indeed, he has attempted to do so, e.g., by the use of an overlay of black plantain skin in mat-making and the blackening of ti leaf garments with swamp mud. But further conformity to Fijian design was not possible without the possession of pottery or a comparable means for the manufacture of the necessary dyes.

Purely technical studies of material culture or detailed investigations oriented within major cultural activities would not have exposed these relationships. Application of our method of analyzing material culture, however, demonstrates an integration of widely separated and apparently unrelated culture traits. Such an analysis dampens enthusiasm for oversimple diffusionist explanations of culture.

This method of analyzing material culture from the point of view

of the problems faced and the solutions offered by a culture is presented here to suggest a profitable way of conducting research concerning man's material adjustment. The specifications of the adaptive solutions constitute a key to the approach to fundamental differences in material culture. Though susceptible to future refinement, the method promises to facilitate the comparative study of material culture. An objective classification of primitive peoples based upon the respective problems faced and the actions developed in the course of their solution is made possible. In addition, the method of analysis and characterization here developed is apparently useful in exposing significant functional relationships between various customs and methods, both material and non-material, within a particular culture. The precise interrelation of primitive material culture with religious, æsthetic, and social elaborations may be determined within a given culture and compared with that of another culture. Thus light may be shed on problems of diffusion; the true nature of cultural complexes may be ascertained; and the essential cultural differences between specific tribes may be exposed. Finally, at least one of the major hypotheses of cultural science, namely, that the economic or maintenance mores are basic, may conceivably be verified or revised by the continued application of this method.

SHAMANISM IN CHINA

EDWIN D. HARVEY

MEN everywhere find sooner or later that they "are born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." Perplexity surrounds the minor events of life; doubt and indecision on its major issues arise to plague existence. The unexpected and the inexplicable impinge for good or evil on human interests. Mere living, it seems, sets up mental tensions which demand release. These affectional states, through the ages, have forced reflection and compelled men to take some sort of action which would secure closer and more harmonious adjustment to the conditions that faced them. Thus they have invented tools and institutions, which have brought partial security and some surcease from distracting fears. One such "invention" is shamanism.[1]

Although sometimes alleged to be the characteristic religion of nature peoples in general and of the Ural-Altaians in particular,[2] shamanism is in reality but one phase of man's universal religious adjustment, one aspect of his institutionalized responses to an imaginary environment of ghosts, spirits, and daimons.[3] More specifically, it is one set of practices and dogmas through which men have sought to control the unseen powers. Pre-scientific man habitually links this world of spirits with another and very real factor in his environment, namely, the aleatory element, the element of luck or chance in life.[4] Events for which his knowledge is insuf-

1. On this general subject consult such works as Maddox, J. L., *The Medicine Man* (New York, 1923); Bartels, M., *Die Medicin der Naturvolker* (Leipzig, 1893); Czaplicka, M. A., *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914); Radloff, W., *Aus Sibirien* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1884); Nioradze, G., *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Volkern* (Stuttgart, 1925); Réville, A, *La religion chinoise* (Paris, 1889); Swanton, J. R., "Shamans and Priests," *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* ed. F. W. Hodge, vol. II (Washington, 1910); also articles on shamanism in *Encyclopædia Britannica;* Hastings, J., ed., *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics; Meyers Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1924).

2. *Cf. Meyers Lexikon,* X, 1121.

3. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), II, chaps. xxii, xxvii, xxx, xxxviii, xxxix.

4. Keller, A. G., "The Luck Element," *Scientific Monthly,* IV (1917), 145 ff.

ficient to account, especially those that affect him adversely—drought and flood, famine and pestilence, and all the real and imaginary ills of life—press for an explanation. Historically, for whatever reasons, men have characteristically found the explanation of ill fortune in the agency of spiritual beings. Mishaps are attributed, not to human ignorance, miscalculation, or folly, but to forces and agents of superhuman potency. A sort of fatalism might have resulted but for the conviction that a measure of control over the unseen powers and their arbitrary actions may be exerted through the shaman and his arts. In the presence of exact science, itself the product of higher culture, such a solution of human difficulties becomes untenable. But where the stock of exact knowledge is limited, shamanism tends to make its appearance. It is part and parcel of the ancient and widespread philosophy of animism.[5]

Although shamanism, stemming as it does out of animistic conceptions, is well-nigh universal in one form or another, its classic home is in northern Asia. It was in Siberia that the religious phenomena in question were first adequately studied by ethnographers. In China, too, shamanistic beliefs and practices have prevailed from time immemorial; and they exhibit, as might be expected from the geographical proximity to Siberia, not only a generic relationship to the forms of other peoples the world over, but frequently also a specific, historical affiliation with those obtaining among the more backward peoples to the north.

That untutored man pays heed to the commands of his shaman gives no warrant, of course, to the assumption that he is deficient in native intelligence. Primitive men are as sensitive as ourselves to the impact of their surroundings. Their observations on the flora and fauna of their habitat frequently reveal an astonishing accuracy and a wealth of detailed knowledge rivaling that of scientific specialists.[6] Enlightened man differs from them in but one important feature: he has developed a technique for distinguishing fact from fancy by subjecting his postulates to a test of their credibility through a controlled comparison with the facts of external reality. With this single exception, the Chinese have shown them-

5. *Cf.* Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture* (London, 1871).
6. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, II, section 199.

selves as inventive as any other variety of man. They have contributed to the world such material traits as tea, paper, printing, and gunpowder. But until recently their achievements have been accomplished by empirical rather than scientific methods. Little check has been placed upon the luxuriance of the imagination and of fantasy.[7] Thus nearly everywhere—in almost every sphere of human interest—they have fallen into the bogs of irrational thought, into an uncritical acceptance of the premises of the ghostly environment. With the rest of Asia, whether relatively civilized or uncivilized, they still practice the arts of the shaman.

The general assumptions of the Chinese concerning the world of spirits hinge upon the prevailing conception of the nature of man. In Chinese thought man is regarded as having a dual nature, composed of bodily and spiritual or *yin* and *yang* elements. The body returns to the dust whence it came, but man's spiritual nature is capable of survival into the hereafter. This persuasion of a life after death and the consequent cult of the dead—"projectivism" and "eidolism,"[8] to use terms of scientific precision—play a dominant rôle in the Chinese mental outfit. The bodily part of man's dual nature, the *yin* element, may become, in accordance with prevailing animistic presumptions, the dwelling place of demons and good spirits. It is the latter alone, however, which give true unity and meaning to man's personality. "The *yin* and the *yang* in their entirety," say Chinese scholars,[9] "are what we call the course of the *Tao*, of the universe. The *yang* is a compound of myriads of *shen*, and the *yin* is a compound of myriads of *kuei*. As there is no thing or being which is not full of *yin* and *yang*, so neither is there anything which does not consist of *kuei* and *shen*, which cause creation and evolution to take place." Thus, one might say, man comes forth out of the spirit world, temporarily dominates the rest of creation, and returns into the great void out of which he sprang. His essential nature is spiritual. Chinese books are full of descriptions of the powers of the "spirit-man." As might be inferred from

7. See Harvey, E. D., *The Mind of China* (New Haven, 1933), pp. 4, 14, 33, 49, 79, 108, 150–1, *et passim*.

8. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, II, sections 206, 216–20.

9. Legge, J., "The Chinese Classics," *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. F. M. Müller (50 vols., Oxford, 1879–1910), XXVIII, 320. *Cf.* also index *s.v.* "spirit-man."

his dual nature, man is controlled not only by the great daimons of "high Heaven" but also, it may chance, by baleful ghosts and malignant demons, who touch him through his *yin* soul. He may also fall under the influence of the *yin* spirits, the *kuei*, because, his *shen* soul being weak, his *yang* nature is incapable of resisting them. Errors of judgment and moral lapses may thus be partly due to heredity, i.e., to the predominance of the *yin* in the individual.

The Chinese world-philosophy includes a belief in the existence of anonymous spirits and demons, who possess potential powers of ill-will toward man and who are subject only to the uncertain control of the shaman. Prominent among them, both in popular and in theological thought, are the disembodied souls of the human dead. Seemingly exempt from the conditions of time, space, and mass that govern human beings, these spirits are usually invisible, relatively immortal, and endowed with the power to move about with superhuman speed and to pass through solid objects. They may indwell, wholly possess, and govern any sensate or insensate object which their caprice may suggest to them. But, by a curious irrationality in native thought, they also depend for their ghostly life and well-being upon a proper fulfillment by mortals of the customary social and religious functions. When man is normally moral, and fulfills his obligations, the souls of men in the hereafter acquire a normal daimonic status and find their appropriate places and rôles in the pantheon. In such a case they favor men and will not harm them. Immoral man, he who consistently breaks the mores, may be regarded as the creator of evil spirits, for, when neglected, a disembodied human soul will become a revenant of frightful mien and behavior. The revenants pictured in the books certainly shiver the sensitive imagination by their horrible expressions and postures.

In China, as throughout northern Asia generally,[10] there are three classes of spirits with whom the shaman has to deal. They run the gamut in magnitude from the amicable souls of the recently dead, through familial ancestral ghosts and the tutelary deities of

10. The Chukchee, Koryak, Gilyak, Ainu, Gold, Altaians, Manchus, Yakut, Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese are among the peoples having this threefold classification of spirits.

the soil, to a pantheon recruited from the ranks of the hero-dead. The latter, who include the great spirits of the dynastic ancestors, frequently attain the rank of deities who are intimately connected with the weal and the woe of the corporate state. The *Li Ki*[11] reiterates the idea that the sage-kings and hero-spirits of the past have risen to deity and to earthly and spiritual leadership by reason of their distinguished civic or other services.[12] Among these great tutelary spirits are Kuan-ti, Kuan-yin, and even Shangti or Tien.[13] The living religion of the Chinese masses still ascribes divinity to eminent men who have faithfully served them. Very recently, for instance, the spirit of Dr. Sun Yat Sen has undergone apotheosis; the titles and honorific names bestowed upon him since his decease mark a graduated scale of increasing daimonic status.

But there is in China another large spirit population, ranging from violently wicked and obscene spirits, the familiars of the votaries of the black art, to the harmless genii of the mountain tops. The former include the ghosts of suicides and of murdered persons, of those unjustly treated in earthly life, and of those whose worship, either from the lapse of time or for other reasons, has been neglected or discontinued. The latter are good sprites or fairies, upon whom man's imagination delights to dwell, and who are sometimes painted with exquisite artistry. Now all of these spirits, even those whom time has rendered anonymous, have had human prototypes. They are the disembodied souls of deceased human beings. Their experience in the beyond, once the portal of death has been passed, corresponds roughly to their recent earthly experience.

Death, a universal loss caused, in the minds of the multitude, by the malignancy of demons, raises anew the problem of the nature of man and of the destination of his soul. The Chinese have solved these riddles in differing ways and with varying degrees of adequacy and felicity. There is the explanation of the peasant and that of the scholar. The peasants, in common with simpler peoples

11. Legge, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 377–8; XXVIII, 265.

12. Compare the historical case of Augustus Caesar, who was given divine rank by reason of his many-sided service to the Roman state.

13. *Cf.* Harvey, *op. cit.*, chap. xii, where Shangti or Tien is shown by ethnological and higher textual evidence to have had a specific human prototype.

like the Ostyak and the Samoyed,[14] but dimly apprehend the phenomenon of death. They know, to be sure, the gross differences between a living body and a corpse, but the ultimate significance of the crisis remains hidden from them, and their rationalizations are correspondingly obscure. Oncoming death, the common folk believe, may be staved off by magical means. The shaman is summoned, therefore, to exercise his appropriate arts in the endeavor to keep the soul from leaving the body. The Chinese scholar, on the other hand, in keeping with his superior culture and greater knowledge, realizes the finality of death in a corporeal sense. Abjuring magical means during the crisis, he arms his fortitude with contemplation of the excellencies of the deceased, the remembrance of ethical precepts, and an active comforting of the stricken family. In the *Li Ki*[15] occurs the following semi-popular statement concerning death: "All must die and in dying return to the earth of the fields, but the *shen* (the soul) rises upward and becomes shining light. The vapors and odors which produce a feeling of sadness are the subtle essences of things, and are a manifestation of the *shen* nature."

Such great thinkers as Hsuntze[16] and Chu Hsi,[17] during the long course of their mental discipline, became nihilists with regard to the continued existence of the soul after death. Severely rational in their outlook, they taught the complete dissolution of body and soul and denied the existence of any continuing spirit. But when hard pressed by their devoted, and devout, disciples, both yielded somewhat to the current mores, Chu Hsi in particular. They admitted adherence to what should properly be called a social and conditional immortality of the soul. Chu Hsi maintained that the good that men do lives after them, and that their filial descendants, in offering incense to their manes, are in effect building up their own personalities and indirectly conferring a social immortality upon their beloved forbears. In turn a Confucianist, a Buddhist, and a Taoist, Chu Hsi at length came to rest intellectually in pure ra-

14. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff., 10, 19.

15. Legge, *op. cit.*, XXVIII, 220–2.

16. Dubs, H. H., *The Works of Hsuntze* (London, 1928), books xvii and xxiii; idem, *Hsuntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* (London, 1927), pp. 60–73.

17. Bruce, J. P., *Chu Hsi and His Masters* (London, 1923), pp. 243 ff., 48, 240 ff.

tional thought. When off his guard, he granted some validity to the Buddhist tenets and cult. The soul might, he alleged, before its complete purification, descend into purgatory or wander unknown in ghostly purlieus, depending directly, in this transient state of incipient immortality, on the oblations rendered by its surviving relatives. This was, of course, a lapse into primordial animism, and, when challenged, he disavowed such statements and denied the soul any immortality.

The views just presented are the mental possession of the few in China, of persons removed from the immediate reach of economic want, of persons not subject to "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" as are the masses. The latter have the world's hard work to do; they feel the daily pinch of poverty; they suffer the various business and personal misfortunes that are the common lot of man; they have to marry and give in marriage—no slight burden in a poverty-stricken land; they see their loved ones sicken and die for no apparent reason. Inevitably they fling about in search of some solace from their aches, some definite aid in the troubles brought upon them by unknown and seemingly malignant powers. Possessing only a small stock of tested knowledge, they readily find consolation in the conceptions and practices of the priest-shaman.[18] In the specific crisis of death, popular and shamanistic thought runs somewhat as follows. The soul of our deceased loved one is invisible and intangible, yet real. It dwells in the beyond, not far from us, yet in a tenuous, dangerous, ghostly state. It is both selfishly and altruistically interested in its filial descendants. In its lifetime, it gave us protection and showered blessings upon us. Now it needs our loving ministrations. The soul, for its nourishment and to provide for its continued spiritual existence, needs the spiritual essence of material offerings. If these sacrifices are discontinued, it may lose its entity and disappear; or it may become a ravening marauder, wreaking disaster upon all with whom it comes in contact. One notes here the stringent ghostly sanctions that surround the fulfillment of every religious and social obligation. The pri-

18. Chinese and Asiatic thought not infrequently fails to distinguish between priest and shaman, between miracle and magic, as between "Moses and the Egyptian sorcerers." *Cf.* Réville, A., *Religion des peuples non-civilisés* (3 vols., Paris, 1883–89); Harlez, C. J. de, *La religion nationale des tartares orientaux* (Bruxelles, 1888), *s.v.* "chamanisme."

mary obsession of the ancient world may be said to have been religious, and herein doubtless lies an extremely important source of social solidarity.

At all events, in accordance with age-old ritual and tradition, and under the reiterated precepts of priest and shaman, the great body of the Chinese people still set out offerings of food and wine to the spirits of their departed relatives and to all spirits in the earth and of the sky and sea, hills and mountains, rivers and lakes. At the crisis of death they place food and wine on the bier, at the grave, and they smear the blood of white cocks on gravestones and elsewhere at appropriate seasons. When death is certain, they climb to the housetop and endeavor to recall the soul to dwell again in its familiar body. At the times of their seasonal sacrifices to their ancestral spirits, the Chinese are bidden by their manuals[19] to act as though the deceased were actually present; they are to pause and seem to hear his voice and footsteps. The spirit is believed to hover about and abide in the tombstone and grave marker. Implements, clothing, mock paper money, and other treasures are deposited in the grave and afterwards set out beside it on auspicious days. In all these matters and in many others, e.g., in the choice of a grave site, the services and counsel of the shaman are indispensable, since even a slight slip in the ritual might bring on dire calamity. The shaman shares these duties with the priest. While the Chinese state has never possessed a distinctly separate religious hierarchy—all civil officials from the emperor to his lowliest representative being *ipso facto* priests with minutely prescribed functions—it is interesting to note that the shamans have been legally accorded a place in the ritual. Along with the state officials, the shaman has always participated in the various religious acts of the Chinese people, whether for honoring the lares and penates of private families, for propitiating the manes of the larger family of the state, or for placating the fury of any neglected imperial or private ghost.

The socio-religious process by which a neglected ghost becomes a ravaging demon is curiously illustrated by the case of Prince Poh Yu. The prince had died without leaving an heir who could offer the proper sacrifices to his spirit. The latter, being left in a state of ghostly hunger, took vengeance by threatening misery and death

19. Legge, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 369, 444; XXVIII, 211 ff.

to several collateral "descendants." So terrifying were these threats that remedial measures became imperative. By an adoptive fiction an heir was provided for the princely ghost, and the assaults ceased. In explanation it was said:[20] "When the soul of the deceased person has someone to offer him sacrifices it does not return to plague the living. I have established an heir for Poh Yu who will in the future give him offerings, and we shall have peace." Someone asked if it were really possible for Poh Yu's spirit to return to earth. The answer was strongly affirmative and continued: "The large number of active principles contained within everything that man eats and drinks makes the two souls very strong. They become vigorous and enlightened, and one's soul becomes a spiritual intelligence. Even when a common man or woman dies a violent death, their two souls can enter human bodies and give rise to strange appearances. How much more would this be true in Poh Yu's case. He had the rule of his father and grandfather, and had tasted a considerable number of foods and dishes, out of which he had acquired a considerable amount of vital spirit. Moreover, his family is very powerful; hence, all in all, his soul had strong sanctions and support. Is it astonishing that he should return to plague men?"

Several other-worldly ideas are revealed here. There is but the slightest of dividing lines between this world and the next, and the departed spirit may move readily from one to the other. The soul is influenced by all the experiences of the body and mind of the subject. The mystically assumed essences of food and drink combine to produce mental and spiritual power. If neglected or meeting a violent death, a frequent theme in Chinese books, the ghost by a sort of spiritual compensatory mechanism becomes more powerful in the next life. These and kindred notions call for strong remedial measures and controls, which, in popular thought, are known only to the shamans. There must be a mediating specialist who, as the story clearly illustrates, knows the exact technique for handling the revenant soul so as to avoid earthly disaster for his patrons.

Who may become a shaman? Sometimes the office is hereditary, descending from father to son; spiritual descent of this sort carries great prestige. In other cases men and women, very frequently the latter, enter upon the practice because of certain peculiar per-

20. See Couvreur, F. S., *Tch'ouen Ts'iou* (Hokienfou, 1914), III, 140 ff.

sonal traits. Chinese sources are explicit on this point:[21] "Those among the people whose vital spirits were in a bright and flourishing condition, and not distracted in different directions; who moreover had the capacity of concentrating all their feelings of reverence and possessed inward rectitude—*their knowledge was able to rise to higher spheres and descend into the lower*, and distinguish there the things it would be proper to do; their perfect intelligence could then observe things in the distant future and explain them; by their sharpsightedness they could see them shine in their brightest light, and by the acuteness of their ears they could hear and scrutinize them. Being in this condition, intelligent *shen* descended into them; if a *shen* thus settled in a male person, this was called a *shih;* and if it settled in a woman, it was called a *wu.* As functionaries they regulated the places for the seats of the gods at the sacrifices; the order of the ancestral tablets; as also their sacrificial victims and implements, and the ceremonial attires."

This invaluable passage reveals that the shamans were also priests; it describes their functions with regard to the unknown powers; it tells of the clairvoyance of the shaman and of his ability to ascend to heaven or descend to hell to interview the supernatural powers for man's benefit; and it describes the sort of person who may come to exercise shamanistic functions. The reference to spirit-possession is especially noteworthy; a *shen* indwells the peculiarly qualified person, who thereby becomes a fetish-man. There is a pretty tale[22] in the classical literature of such a clairvoyant, the son of a Chinese general. When the father was away on a campaign in the west, the son was able to project his soul so as to divine the stratagems of the opposing commander. After a while, owing to moral transgressions, the boy's powers seemed to fade, and he died. His father thereafter was less successful.

Persons of unusually perspicacious mentality, or endowed with some bodily peculiarity such as polydactyly or a protuberant forehead, are found throughout northern Asia, where their presence, in tribes whose members otherwise showed marked uniformity in mental and physical endowment, was noted with surprise by the

21. *Cf.* Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 77. For the Chinese text see Wieger, L., *Folk-lore chinois moderne* (Sienhsien, 1909), No. 23.

observant Russian ethnographers. Sometimes an old shaman summons a promising younger person for induction into his profession. In other cases the subject himself retires into the forest and, after fasting and hallucination, returns to his people with the announcement that he has held intercourse with the unseen powers. Invariably, however, the shaman becomes such through spirit-possession, whether self-induced or otherwise. The word "shaman," it is generally agreed,[23] comes from the Tungusic dialect and means "one who is smitten, excited, who jumps about, one who is moved, raised, possessed." Réville[24] gives an admirable description of the Siberian shaman: "Upon the civilized the shaman makes the impression of a maniac. One must needs transport oneself in imagination to the steppe. . . . Let one imagine the sudden arrival of a strange man whose body is completely covered with rags, old bits of metal which clash at his every motion and have in the main the forms of quadrupeds, of birds and fishes, joined together with iron rings. These are objects endowed with magic power. On his head he wears a grotesque headdress, equipped with two horns of the same metal. In one hand he holds his magic medicine bag wrapped in a rat or marmot skin; with the other hand he vigorously beats a tambourine which he carries everywhere with him. By this means he announces his arrival, or prefaces his juggleries, or excites himself into an ecstasy. . . . He begins to jump . . . to cavort, to perform a sort of dance composed of short steps during which he crosses his legs in front or behind, even drumming or uttering cries or calls. Soon one notices his look become fixed, concentrated. Finally he falls to the ground as though inanimate, and he remains in that state for a longer or shorter time, a stranger to all that is going on around him. But the moment comes when the spasmodic excess drops, the shaman gets up tranquilly, and he gives the answers to the questions put to him."

This description, with but slight modifications, fits the Chinese shaman. Although not dressed quite so uncouthly as his brother of the steppe, his bag of tricks is substantially the same. As might be expected, shamanism in China is somewhat more organized. Whenever a *shen* settles in a man, for example, an association is formed

23. Nioradze, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2; Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–8.
24. *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, I, 236 ff.

for the preservation of the religious and economic values latent in the seizure. Such organizations are unknown among the Palæo-Siberians.

It is interesting to note, also, that the Chinese shaman has traits corresponding to those of the modern American or European medium.[25] He is regularly of slight build, and possessed of an extraordinary sense of double-sight. In China, a person whose horoscope is "light," whose constitution predisposes him towards an interest in the occult, whose mental qualities are unbalanced and akin to genius, is quite likely to become a medium for communication with the unseen powers. There is an ample literature[26] on spirit-possession in China, and a number of alleged cases came to the attention of the present writer while he was resident there. In one instance, a young woman, a member of a prominent family in a large city, became possessed by a fox demon; she accurately predicted events, at long range, for her own and other families, and, it was currently believed, for her native city. Similar data are at hand for Japan and Korea.[27]

Behind modern shamanism in China lies a long history and tradition of similar practices. I Yin, the celebrated counsellor of the eighteenth century B.C., reproves his sovereign, Tai Chai, for shamanism with the words: "If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces and drunken orgies in your abodes, it is nothing but *wu* mores."[28] The commentators state that the intoxication was produced by opiates in order to induce hallucinations, and that the whirling dances, like those of modern dervishes, likewise produced a species of auto-intoxication. The venerable *Li Ki* also contains strictures against these same *wu* practitioners. During a period of great suffering from drought, a ruler proposed to call down rain from heaven by exposing certain abnormal male persons to the

25. *Cf.* Garland, H., *Forty Years of Psychic Research* (New York, 1936), pp. 6, 10, 33, 61, 88–9, 104–6, 110, 137, 147, 194, 261.

26. Nevius, J. L., *Demon Possession and Allied Themes* (Chicago, 1895); Groot, J. J. M. de, *The Religious Systems of China* (6 vols., Leiden, 1892–1910), especially vols. V and VI.

27. See Kagawa, T., *Christ and Japan* (New York, 1934), pp. 86–8; Bishop, I. L. B., *Korea and Her Neighbors* (New York, 1898), pp. 399–406.

28. *Shu Ching, Books of Shang,* sect. "I Hsün" (Instructions of I); *Li Ki,* sect. "T'an Kung," II, 3.

scorching heat of the sun. His minister said: "When heaven does not give rain, it is an act of cruelty to expose such weak creatures. It may not be done." The ruler then suggested exposing some *wu*, and the minister replied: "It may not be done. How should heaven be moved by the exposure of some weak shaman women (*wu-fu-jen*)?"[29] The commentators explain that the ruler hoped, by exposing the boys and female shamans to the heat of the sun, to secure the compassionate intervention of "high Heaven" in bringing the needed rain. The boys, called *wang*, the character for which means "demon" and "crazy," were possessed by *shen*, as likewise were the women; Heaven, therefore, would have pity for them. In another Chinese classic, the *Chou Li* or *Chou Kuan*,[30] which is really the constitution of the Chou kingdom and which covers events from about 1122 to about 221 B.C., the shamans are assigned an official position, but one subordinate in rank to the augurs and grand officers of prayer. Elsewhere in the same work occur descriptions of dances and ceremonies which are nothing if not shamanistic.

The histories of China are replete with references to recourse to shamans by all classes of the population. An interesting, if gruesome, instance is the following:[31] "At the time of the ruler Wen of the Wei kingdom (425–387 B.C.), a certain man, named Pao Hsi-men, was made prefect of Yeh. On his arrival he called the elders of the people together and inquired what things afflicted the people. 'The worst thing,' they said, 'is the marriage of the river-lord; for this reason we are poor.' Pao inquired of the cause and they told the following story. 'When the three elders of Yeh and their officers collect the yearly taxes from the people, they take away many millions for the marriage expenses of the river-lord; then they spend two or three hundred thousand on the marriage of the river-lord; and, dividing the rest with the *wu-chu* (shamans), they go home with it. At the time of the ceremony the *wu* then move about seeing which of the families have the prettiest women, and say that such and such an one shall become the river-lord's wife. They betroth her, bathe her, and put new silk and satin garments

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Chou Li*, chaps. XVIII, XXIV–XXV.

31. Groot, *op. cit.*, VI, 1196–9, quoting Ssu Ma-Tsien, *Historical Records*, chap. 126.

on her, and have her fast alone in a specially prepared fast house. They then erect a brown tent on the river bank and put the girl in it, prepare a sacrificial ox, wine and food, and carry her around in procession for each of ten days. They paint her face white with pigments, and adorn a marriage-bed, tell her to sit on it, and launch it out into mid-stream. It will then float away several miles and will founder. Families that have beautiful girls fear lest the chief shaman (*ta wu-chu*) will come and fetch them for the river-lord. Accordingly they flee a long way off, taking the girls with them, hence there are so few people in the city, and these practices have led to poverty now this long time.' Pao Hsi-men said, 'When the marriage feast of the river-lord next arrives, I want the three elders and the *wu-chu* to set the maid adrift on the river. Also come and tell me that I also may come and speed the girl away.' So at the promised time Pao Hsi-men went to meet them at the river bank. The three elders, the officials and their retinues, and the ward-headmen all met there, together with some two or three thousand onlookers. The old shamaness, *nu-wu*, who was about seventy years old arrived, and she was followed by ten female disciples, all dressed in silk gowns. Standing behind her, Pao Hsi-men called out, 'Bring the river-lord's wife here so that I may see whether she is pretty or homely.' They had her come out of the tent and stand before him. Pao looked at her, and turning to the three elders, the *wu-chu*, and the old men said, 'This woman is no good; chief *wu*-dame, go into the water and tell the river-lord that we will search for a really pretty woman, and will send her at a later day.' Then his assistants seized the chief female shamaness and threw her into the river. After a while he said, 'The shamaness is tarrying a long time, send her disciples to tell her to hurry.' So they cast the disciples into the river. Again he said, 'Why are the disciples so long? Send others to inquire for her.' In all he dispatched three in like manner. Pao then said, 'The shamaness and her disciples are merely women, they cannot speak properly; send the three elders to deliver the message.' So they too were cast into the river. (And did not return.) Pao now stuck his writing pencil into his hair, and inclined himself over the river for a very long while, until the old men and the spectators were horror-struck. Hsi-men now said, 'How is it that the shamaness and the disciples and the three leaders do not

return? I will now dispatch a noble and an official to hurry their return.' But these all *kowtowed* repeatedly until their foreheads bled and their faces became ashy pale and the color of death. Hsi-men then said, 'Well, let us wait here awhile.' And then he said, 'Officers, get up, the river-lord has detained his guests so long that they are gone for good. Let us go home.' So great a fright came on all the officials and people that none dared henceforth to mention the marriage of the river-lord."

Even Han Wu-ti (*obit* 87 B.C.), the great emperor of the Han Dynasty whose victories first welded the vast land of China into a unit, could not wholly free himself from the mores of his time, and fell under the sway of the sorcerers and shamans. In fact, he very nearly lost his hard-won empire through the chicaneries and intrigues of a court cabal, aided by the shamans who had flocked to the court from all parts of the country. As it was, the rebellion cost the life of the prince imperial and of one empress, and led to the extermination of one entire branch of the imperial family and to the wholesale beheading of members of the imperial chancellery. Such were the ramifications of the shamanic plots, so obscure was the evidence at first, and so "superstitious" was the emperor, that innocent and guilty alike came to feel the keen edge of the executioner's sword.

A transcription from the official history of the dynasty[82] reads as follows: "The next year [118 B.C.] . . . the Son of Heaven fell gravely ill at the Ting Hou palace. There was not a single sorceress nor other doctor whom he did not consult. But he made no progress toward recovery. Then Yu-shui Fa Ken said that in the capital district there lived a female *wu*, who when sick had a *shen* alight in her body. The emperor commanded her services and established a sacrifice in her honor at Kan Ch'uen. Then when she was unwell, that is, demon-possessed, he sent thither to inquire concerning the Princess Shen. (She was a divinity of spirits and was the disembodied soul of a former imperial princess.) The shamaness answered, 'Let not the Son of Heaven be disturbed by his sickness; as soon as he is a bit recovered let him come to me at Kan Ch'uen.' Growing better he went thither. . . . Spirits were evoked. . . . The

32. Groot, *op. cit.*, VI, 1201–2.

spirits could not be seen but they could be heard speaking; their voices resembled those of men. . . . They kept behind the curtains in the hall. . . . The emperor went to the altar only after severe vigil and purification. . . . Since he firmly believed in the *wu*, he kept the taboos on eating and drinking. . . . That which the Princess Shen had to communicate she did through the *wu*."

Thus, ere one-third of his long reign was over, the great emperor was already predisposed to confidence in the shamans. The foregoing narrative reveals the familiar shamanistic devices of spirit-possession, shamanistic healing, the control of destiny by occult means, the evocation of spirits, and the curtain trick. Other shamanic arts appear in a second excerpt,[33] which records events occurring toward the end of the same reign. "In the year [92 B.C.] the emperor was in the palace Chien Chang, when he saw a man with a naked sword rush in through the Hua Gate. (This was calculated and incipient rebellion.) The emperor ordered the man's arrest but he was nowhere to be found. The enraged ruler had the captain of the guard beheaded, and the whole palace was searched again and again but the man could not be found. This was the beginning of the whole affair of *wu-ku* sorcery. . . . In the year 91 a princess and an imperial nephew committed suicide in despair of ever clearing themselves of the charges of *wu-ku* sorcerous rebellion. . . . The emperor was very severe in the matter of the execution of the empire's laws and his crown prince, who at times had the mandate for their execution was, on the contrary, quite lenient. This won him the love of the populace and also the hatred of highly placed officials. . . . The palace intrigues, in which eunuch shamans were involved, came off. They miscarried and the eunuchs were put to death. The shamans practiced all their tricks and mysteries because of the importunity of the harem inmates. . . . They practiced imitative magic; the calling up of spirits by means of little wooden images; the wounding of these same images and so of human beings of whom they were the similitude; they used incantations and sacrificial offerings. . . . The emperor had at first paid no attention to these goings on until at length he had a dream, and then fell sick almost immediately thereafter. . . . Now a certain commander of the palace guard was a mortal enemy of the crown

33. Groot, *op. cit.*, IV, 437.

prince. This man, Kiang Ch'ung, fearing the immediate death of the emperor and his own execution at the hands of the prince imperial's clique, persuaded the emperor that his sickness was due to a recrudescence of the *wu-ku* sorcery. The aged, failing emperor gave him temporarily unlimited powers, powers exceeding those of the crown prince. Thousands of innocent people were arrested and questioned. The crown prince, without waiting to bring the truth or the falsity of the charges to the emperor's attention, rushed matters by apprehending Kiang Ch'ung and summarily executing him. . . . By this time matters had become so uncontrollable and had gone to such lengths that he found himself in dire opposition to his imperial majesty, whose rage was so great that all fled from the Presence. . . . The innocent prince was now deserted by all his followers and fled alone to a hut eastwards. Despairing of making himself understood and on the brink of arrest he hanged himself. After a time the *wu-ku* sorcery was no longer believed in and the emperor saw that the crown prince had acted through fear of Kiang Ch'ung. So he directed his rage to the extermination of the whole clan of Kiang Ch'ung. The whole episode lasted ten months; was marked by bloody slaughter; and cost the lives of tens of thousands of innocent people."

Still later, in the fifth century A.D., the following reference to shamanism occurs in the records of the Early Sung Dynasty:[34] "Once there was a *wu* who could see spirits, and who assured the emperor that it would be possible to make his secondary consort appear. The emperor was very glad of this and bade him evoke her. In a few moments she appeared and had the same form she had had when alive. The ruler desired to speak with her but she remained silent. Just as he would fain have grasped her hand she disappeared. His sorrow was increased by the incident."

Harlez[35] reports the prevalence of shamanism among the Tatars of the Liaotung Peninsula in the twelfth century, A.D. The word "shaman," in use among them, he shows to be the equivalent of the Chinese word *wu*. He further notes the presence among the Manchus of the threefold division of spirits and of the shamanistic arts to control them. The Manchu-Tatar shaman is the exorcist of

34. Groot, *op. cit.*, VI, 1216, quoting *History of the South*, chap. XI.
35. *Op. cit.*, pp. 90–1.

hutu or evil spirits; the term *manggiyan* denotes "a shamanic spirit, brought down by charms, who is the servant of the shaman." The official history of the Kin or Golden Tatar Dynasty narrates the story of the great-grandfather of its founder, one Shihlu. He, it seems, was childless—the greatest of all deprivations where ancestor worship prevails. At length a shamaness predicted the birth to him of four children, two daughters and two sons, and further foretold that one of the sons would be dissolute, rebellious, and unfilial. But Shihlu, eager for an heir, did nothing to avoid the fulfillment of the terrible prophecy, and, as the sorceress had foretold, one son became a drunkard and continually showed disrespect toward his mother.[36]

Shamanism has not, however, flourished under every dynasty. From time to time the current of the mores has changed, and its practitioners have been neglected or even persecuted. An occasional ruler or official, motivated perhaps by the use of the black art by some aspirant to the throne, has proscribed its practice, and these proscriptions have become more severe with the passage of time and the advance of culture. During the Ming dynasty, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, A.D., a series of repressive edicts was issued against the *wu*, and these were continued in the next dynasty and incorporated in the Manchu imperial laws, the *Ta Tsing Lu Li*. Typical of the persecution of shamans in Ming times is the following report:[37] "There was a male *wu*, who could render himself invisible, and commit all manner of sexual irregularities with other men's wives and daughters. He was arrested and vigorously chastised with rods, but felt no pain. The magistrate had him brought back and had an impression of his official seal made on his back. This caused him to die forthwith." The efficacy of the mandarin's seal derives from the fact that the mandarin is himself a fetish-man and imparts the powers and qualities of his own indwelling *shen* to the implements he uses. But shamanism continued to fill an emotional need of the common people, who found ways of circumventing official proscriptions. Indeed, as late as the time of Chien Lung, the last really great Manchu emperor, the shamans once more managed to gain recognition for their office and status

36. Harlez, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 196–8. 37. Groot, *op. cit.*, VI, 1239–40.

in the official Manchu manual of public religious worship at the altar of Heaven.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the system still persists, even in the present century, among the masses of the Chinese. In parts of Anhwei province, it is reported,[38] shamans and sorcerers are the only religious officials; they get adherence from the people, who tend to despise their civil-religious officers. The shamans are said to cultivate the worship of the sun's disk and that alone. Any person long resident in China is certain to learn of one or more incidents like the following.[39] A young man, while passing through the fields carrying a load of beans to market, suddenly became possessed by a spirit. He alleged that "he could no longer walk and that his baskets and load were so heavy that he could no longer lift them. His comrades thought him insane but carried both him and his baskets home. There he gave way to crazy extravagant actions, and pretended he was Er Niang, the second female *shen* of the fox-trinity. The occurrence happened at a fortunate time from the standpoint of the daimonology, for a violent epidemic of smallpox was then raging. The possessed youth claimed to have the power to drive out this disease and to heal those afflicted with it. Crowds came to him for healing, money was showered on the youth, and the magistrate sent his official chair to convey the shaman to the palace to heal his sick son. The boy 'fortunately' recovered and the magistrate presented the *chi-tung*, shaman, with a packet of one hundred dollars. The people talked of nothing but his power, and his services were in request everywhere. But now he refused to leave his place and those who wanted healing had to come to him, or, failing that, he, at a price, sent a little healing powder to them. This powder was nothing more nor less than some of the powder of the incense burned to him at his shrine. It was accounted enough simply to dissolve it in water, drink it, and be healed." It may be added that an association was quickly formed in order to secure the maximum benefits to the public and to the relatives of the possessed youth.

The persistence of shamanism among the masses of the Chinese

38. Doré, H., *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine* (14 vols., Chang-hai, 1911–), première partie, II, iv, 380–8.

39. Harvey, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.

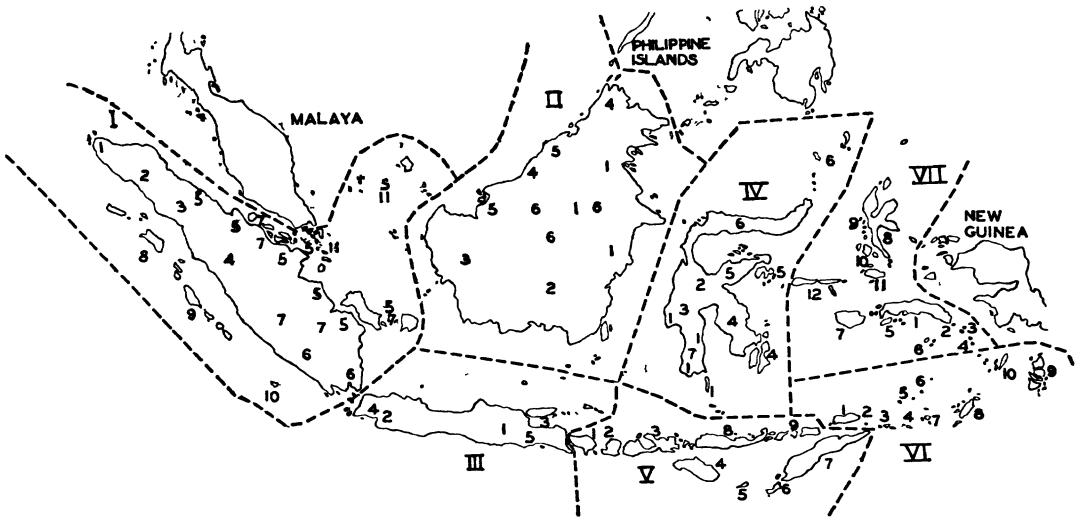
people is mute evidence of their inability to think other than in terms of personal agency, human or superhuman. Ignorant as yet of the scientific notion of impersonal causation, they can attribute the incidence of drought, flood, famine, disease, death, and the other ills of life only to the mischievous activity of the hordes of personal unseen powers with which their imagination peoples their world. Lacking confidence in their own ability to control these powers so as to gain good fortune and avert evil, they resort for aid to those persons in the community whose peculiar personal endowments seem to substantiate their claims to supernatural knowledge. Compelled to take some action in the face of the alcatory element, in short, they place their reliance in the mediating powers of the shaman.

A SURVEY OF INDONESIAN CIVILIZATION

RAYMOND KENNEDY

INDONESIA, westernmost of the major insular areas of Oceania, lies southeast of Asia between this continent and the large islands of New Guinea and Australia. It includes Formosa; the Philippines; the large, or "Greater Sunda," islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes; the smaller, or "Lesser Sunda," islands east of Java from Bali to Timor; the small islands between this chain and New Guinea, collectively termed the Southeastern and Southwestern Islands; and the Moluccas, a vast array of islands, large and small, in the Banda and Moluccas Seas between Celebes and New Guinea. Formosa and the Philippines, since information concerning them is readily available in English, will not be considered in this paper. The rest of Indonesia, with a land area of approximately 650,000 square miles, includes the Dutch East Indies (except Dutch New Guinea, which falls within the so-called Papuan culture area), the British sections of Borneo, and the small Portuguese holding in Timor. It has a population of approximately 58,000,000—about one-third of that of the entire continent of North America, more than one-third of that of Africa, and roughly three-fourths of that of South America. Of this number, about 40,000,000 inhabit the relatively small but extremely fertile island of Java (with Madura), where the density of population reaches the extraordinarily high average of 800 per square mile. This contrasts strikingly with the relatively low densities per square mile in other parts of Indonesia: Sumatra, 42; Borneo, 9; Celebes, 59; the Lesser Sundas, 100; the Southeastern and Southwestern Islands, 13; and the Moluccas, 12.

The following table presents a classification of the peoples under consideration, first of all into seven main divisions with the approximate area and population of each, and then into the constituent tribal complexes or islands of the several divisions with the estimated population of each. The Roman and Arabic numerals of the table provide a key to the accompanying map.


PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
MALAYA
NEW GUINEA
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII

	Population
I. Sumatra (180,000 sq. mi.)	7,500,000
1. Atjehnese	750,000
2. Gayo and Alas	50,000
3. Batak	1,000,000
4. Minangkabau	1,500,000
5. Coastal Malays	3,500,000
6. Redjang-Lampong (Redjang, Lampong, Lebong, Pasemah, etc.)	500,000
7. Kubu (Kubu, Mamak, Sakai, Akit, Lubu, Benua, etc.)	25,000
8. Niassans	200,000
9. Mentaweians	10,000
10. Enganese	300
11. Orang Laut ("Sea Gypsies"; many small scattered groups in Sumatra and other parts of the archipelago)	10,000
II. Borneo (290,000 sq. mi.)	2,500,000
1. Bahau (Kenya, Kayan, etc.)	300,000
2. Ngadju (Ot Danom, Maanyan, Lawangan, Katingan, Biadju, etc.)	400,000
3. Land Dyak (Landak, Tayan, etc.)	200,000
4. Klamantan (Murut, Dusun, Milanau, Kalabit, etc.)	300,000
5. Iban ("Sea Dyak")	200,000
6. Punan (Bukit, Bukitan, Basap, etc.)	50,000
7. Coastal Malays	1,000,000
III. Java (50,000 sq. mi.)	40,000,000
1. Javanese	26,000,000
2. Sundanese	8,500,000
3. Madurese	4,500,000
4. Badui	1,200
5. Tenggerese	10,000
IV. Celebes (70,000 sq. mi.)	4,000,000
1. Macassar-Buginese	2,500,000
2. Toradja (Palu, Napu, Poso, Besoa, Parigi, etc.)	200,000
3. Sadang (Sadang, Seko, Rongkong, etc.)	500,000
4. Mori-Laki (Mori, Bungku, Laki, Kabaena, Muna, Buton, etc.)	200,000
5. Loinang (Loinang, Wana, Balantak, Banggai, etc.)	100,000
6. Minahasa-Gorontalo (Minahasa, Gorontalese, Bolaang Mongondou, Sangirese, Talaut, etc.)	500,000
7. Toala	100
V. Lesser Sunda Islands (35,000 sq. mi.)	3,500,000
1. Bali (Balinese, Bali Aga)	1,200,000
2. Lombok (Sasak, Bodha, Balinese)	500,000
3. Sumbawa (Sumbawanese, Bimanese, Do Donggo, etc.)	300,000
4. Sumba	100,000
5. Savu	27,000
6. Roti	60,000
7. Timor (Belu, Atoni, Kupangese, etc.)	700,000
8. Flores (Manggarai, Ngada, Sika, Roka, etc.)	500,000
9. Alor-Solor	150,000

	Population
VI. Southwestern and Southeastern Islands (10,000 sq. mi.)	125,000
1. Wetar	7,500
2. Kisar	9,000
3. Leti-Moa-Lakor	15,000
4. Luang-Sermata	5,000
5. Nila-Teun-Serua	3,000
6. Roma-Damar	3,000
7. Babar	10,000
8. Tanimbar	25,000
9. Aru (Arunese, Gungai, Tungu)	20,000
10. Kei	30,000
VII. Moluccas (25,000 sq. mi.)	300,000
1. Ceram (Patasiwa, Patalima, Bonfia, etc.)	60,000
2. Ceramlaut	6,000
3. Goram	6,000
4. Watubela	2,500
5. Ambon	60,000
6. Banda	6,000
7. Buru	20,000
8. Halmahera-Morotai (Galela, Tobelo, Tobaru, etc.)	50,000
9. Ternate-Tidore	35,000
10. Batjan	10,000
11. Obi (no permanent population)	
12. Sula	15,000

Indonesia lies directly on the equator, and the climate in the lowlands is extremely hot and moist. In the mountainous interior of the larger islands the mean temperature falls much lower, but rainfall is even heavier, so that the entire archipelago, with its humid atmosphere and largely volcanic soil, represents one of the most fertile regions of the earth.

The accidents of history, which, after the stormy imperialistic period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, gave the island empire of Indonesia to the Dutch, account for the lack of knowledge regarding this crucial area on the part of most English-speaking social scientists, few of whom possess a reading knowledge of the language of the Netherlands.[1] This lack of knowledge, and the resulting lack of appreciation of the importance of the Indonesian area for culture history and societal evolution, are the more un-

1. A notable exception should be pointed out in the case of W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, whose broad comprehension of the world's anthropological literature in a dozen languages is illustrated by the numerous citations from Dutch sources on Indonesia in *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927).

fortunate when one realizes that for some two hundred years the industrious Dutch have been systematically investigating the native peoples of the archipelago and recording their observations in thousands of volumes and a number of periodicals of high quality. There would seem, therefore, to be ample justification for an attempt to make available to English-speaking scholars a survey of the accumulated knowledge regarding the archipelago and its peoples. Since the present survey represents a highly concentrated distillation of source materials enormous in bulk and scattered through thousands of books and periodical articles, the citation of authorities is impracticable.

The importance of Indonesia for the study of the history of mankind and its culture is readily apparent from its geographical position at the threshold of Oceania, and becomes even more impressive when one considers that here some of the oldest skeletal remains of man have been discovered, here some of the most primitive tribes of the earth roam the jungles and swamplands, and here have flowered some of the greatest native civilizations in world history. For countless centuries waves of migrants have poured into this island area from the funnel neck of southeastern Asia. Some have remained, to mingle with later arrivals or to succumb to annihilation before their onslaughts; others have pushed on or been forced out into the Pacific, where they have settled the distant islands of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Far back in time, from all indications, the ancestors of the Papuans of New Guinea and of the aborigines of Australia, as well as of the now extinct Tasmanians, most primitive of all historic peoples, must have passed down the island highway of Indonesia to reach their ultimate homes. The echoes of the "drums and tramplings" of long-past centuries still reverberate in the islands, and a confused picture of hundreds of invasions, flights, and wary peacemakings between newcomers and older settlers flickers dimly behind the present scene. This ancient background can never become clear, for it lies too distant in the past, and too many more recent shiftings and upheavals intervene and distort perspective. An archeological find here, a bit of suggestive folklore there, and an occasional striking correlation in culture traits, language, or physique between groups constitute the slender clues which the student seizes upon in reconstructing the

ancient history of these peoples, only a few of whom have acquired the knowledge of writing in relatively recent times. That ethnologists have so frequently sought to discover Polynesian and Melanesian origins in India, China, and other parts of Asia, overlooking completely an intervening area of the size and diversity of Indonesia, strikes one with wonder, and the results of these "stabs in the dark" demonstrate their ineptitude.

At present the native inhabitants of Indonesia range in the scale of cultural achievement all the way from the lowly forest and swamp nomads of Sumatra and Borneo to the highly civilized Javanese and Malays, with various intermediate levels of culture represented by the interior groups of the larger islands. As striking as its wide range in level is the kaleidoscopic variety of Indonesian culture. Adjacent groups frequently display marked dissimilarities, not only in specific departments of culture such as social organization and religion, but also in their total cultural configurations. Examples of this diversity crowd to mind, but one illustration must suffice. In central Sumatra, within an area roughly the size of New York state, live the Batak, Minangkabau, Malays, and several minute tribes of the Kubu group. The first two are primarily mountain dwellers; the Malays, a river and coastal people; the Kubu bands, jungle and swamp denizens. The Batak are proto-Malay in physical type, pagan in religion (with Hinduist accretions), and organized in patrilineal sibs. The Minangkabau are of mixed proto- and deutero-Malay stock, Mohammedan in religion (with numerous pagan survivals), and possessed of one of the most rigidly matrilineal sib systems known to anthropology. The Malays are deutero-Malay in race, Mohammedan in religion, and grouped in sibless, bilaterally organized village and town units. The Kubu approximate the Veddoid physical type, have very rudimentary religious concepts, and wander about in loosely knit bands, sibless and bilateral in composition. Similar cases of diversity within restricted areas could be multiplied.

To the student of history and acculturation, Indonesia offers a peerless field of research, in which stratum after stratum of ethnic and cultural accretion may be dissected and the differential effects of each analyzed and evaluated. For the field anthropologist, it stands out as one of the few remaining areas where actively func-

tioning and relatively intact native cultures may still be studied. Most of the interior regions have only recently been opened up to outside access, many large districts still remain practically untouched by European influence, and the Dutch colonial administration maintains a beneficent, paternalistic attitude toward its subject peoples, but the strongest single bulwark against cultural disintegration has been the enormous population, relatively speaking, of most of the native tribes. In individual cases, to be sure, lack of numbers has spelled doom to a culture. The Toala, for instance, a tribe of barely a hundred members discovered by the Sarasins in 1902 living under very primitive conditions in the mountain fastnesses of southwestern Celebes, have already succumbed to Buginese civilization and are rapidly being absorbed into the surrounding population. This example, and that of several small Kubu groups in southern Sumatra who have within thirty years practically vanished into the Malay society around them, must strike a responsive chord in the minds of anthropologists who have worked with shattered American Indian tribes whose aboriginal cultures can be reconstructed only by prodding the failing memories of a few grizzled oldsters. Australia, Polynesia, and large parts of Africa present the same discouraging picture to the student of primitive society. This is not true, however, in most of Indonesia, where force of numbers has given strength in resisting alien influences and where relative cultural stability still prevails.

About fifteen hundred years ago, as a result of the venturings of Hindu voyagers and traders into the island world of the eastern ocean, Indonesia entered upon its historic, in contradistinction to its prehistoric, phase. The newcomers brought with them, among the accomplishments of the civilization which had been evolving for centuries in India, the art of writing. The earliest fragments of written history in Indonesia, in the form of scattered inscriptions found in Java and Borneo, date from about the fifth century, A.D. The oldest Sumatran inscriptions thus far unearthed go back no further than the seventh century. These earliest records consist of short, disconnected references to the rulers of the Hindu colonial states in the islands, and tell us little except that Indian dynasties were establishing themselves in various parts of western Indonesia by 500 A.D. More extensive, and exceedingly valuable for Indone-

sian history, are the travel notes of two Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa-Hsien, who passed through Java and Sumatra on his way to India in the fifth century, and I-Tsing, who visited Sumatra in the seventh century. After the eighth century, inscriptions become more plentiful in Java and Sumatra, and by the eleventh century the scribes and poets of the Javanese courts were recording the chronicles of the archipelago in connected narrative form. Indian and Chinese writers of the period were also making numerous references to the islands, and regular communication and trade had been established throughout the region. Intermittent wars punctuated the medieval history of Indonesia. The empire of Shrivijaya in South Sumatra passed through a troubled period of naval and military engagements with the states of southern India and Ceylon in the eleventh and again in the thirteenth century; the Javanese defeated a great force sent by Kublai Khan to the north coast of Java in 1294; and throughout this era the Sumatran and Javanese dynasties were warring for control of the archipelago—a struggle which culminated in victory for the Javanese and gave the great empire of Modjopahit supreme rule over practically all of Indonesia during the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth century.

The seeds of defeat lie in the fruits of victory. Mohammedanism, brought from India to Malaya and Sumatra in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, spread irresistibly over the vassal states of Modjopahit in Sumatra and western Java. The converted dependencies revolted one after another, until finally, late in the fifteenth century, the last strongholds of the old regime in eastern Java fell before the attacks of the Islamized rebels. Mohammedanism replaced Hinduism as the dominant religion wherever the latter had formerly prevailed, except in Bali where the cult of Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu still lives on today as the last survival of the medieval Hindu church in the archipelago. The fall of Modjopahit marked the end of whatever political unity had been attained in the islands. In place of the single empire with its loosely affiliated vassal principalities, most of the archipelago was now split up into innumerable petty states, all professing Mohammedanism, but engaged in constant war and intrigue one against another.

Such was the situation when the first European voyagers reached the islands in the early part of the sixteenth century. Playing ruler

against ruler, and fighting savagely amongst themselves, the Western powers enacted a bloody drama of colonial imperialism for two hundred years. Portugal and Spain dropped from the struggle early in the seventeenth century. The former held on for some time in the Moluccas or "Spice Islands," but was finally forced to relinquish all her holdings except the eastern half of the small island of Timor, which she still retains. Spain retreated from the Moluccas early in the seventeenth century and entrenched herself in the Philippines to the north, until driven out at last by the United States. England and Holland were left to divide the spoils, and the fortunes of war and diplomacy in Europe and the Orient finally gave by far the richer share to the Netherlands—potentially and actually the most valuable colonial possession of its size in the world.

The location and population of the various peoples of the archipelago are indicated in the accompanying map and table. A few of the more scattered groups, however, require special mention. The Orang Laut or "Sea Gypsies," a remarkable group of maritime nomads who spend most of their lives in their boats, are found wandering about the islands off the east coast of Sumatra, but groups of them are also encountered in other parts of the archipelago as far east as the Moluccas, as well as along the shores of Malaya and Burma. Semi-nomadic bands of the primitive Kubu group are scattered through the Redjang-Lampong territory of southern Sumatra and the Malay zone along the east coast, as well as in the islands between Sumatra and Malaya. In Borneo, great numbers of Malays from Sumatra and Malaya have settled in the coastal sultanates, while dispersed groups of nomadic Punan range the jungles of the interior in the regions held by the more settled tribal complexes. The Buginese, who, with the allied Macassar, constitute the largest ethnic and cultural group in Celebes, have spread from their homeland in the southwestern peninsula to occupy the coastal regions of other parts of the island. Java with its enormous population, saturated for centuries with diverse alien influences, offers today more of interest to the sociologist and the student of history and acculturation than to the ethnologist. Two small tribes, however, the Badui in the forests of western Java and the Tenggerese in the lofty mountains of the eastern end of the island, reveal cul-

tural configurations of rare interest, in which Hindu-Javanese and old Indonesian traits have syncretized. The Madurese occupy a section of the northeast coast of Java as well as the adjacent island of Madura. The Hinduist Balinese have spread from their own island to neighboring Lombok, where, until recently, they ruled the Islamized natives, who are known as Sasak. In the interior of both Bali and Lombok, small groups, called respectively the Bali Aga and the Bodha, retain a more ancient type of culture than the general population. Similarly, in the eastern mountains of Sumbawa, the small Do Donggo tribe has preserved vestiges of an archaic culture in the midst of Mohammedan neighbors. Obi, a relatively large island in the Moluccas from which the original population has disappeared, now supports only a few transient fishermen and gatherers of forest products.

At the present stage of our physical anthropological knowledge of the archipelago, four principal racial strata may be distinguished. Presumably the most ancient of these is the Negrito stock, which exists relatively unmixed only in Malaya (the Semang), the Andaman Islands, the Philippines (the Aeta), and the interior of New Guinea, but traces of which are apparent in Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and some of the eastern islands, notably Timor, Alor, and Wetar. Another very archaic stratum of population is the so-called Veddoid strain, found in relatively pure form among the Vedda of Ceylon. Although some authorities connect the Veddoid type with the Australoid and others regard it as a product of Negrito-Malay intermixture, it seems advisable, at least for the present, to treat it as a separate racial stock. This small, frail, weak-chinned, light brown, wavy-haired, flat-nosed, long-headed type is represented in varying degrees among most of the peoples of the archipelago, even among the predominantly deutero-Malay Javanese, as Nyessen's exhaustive researches have demonstrated. The more remote the region, generally speaking, the higher the proportion of Veddoid blood in the inhabitants. Thus the secluded Gayo of Sumatra seem to show clearer Veddoid characteristics than the neighboring Batak, whose territory is more accessible from the coast. Correspondingly, the isolated Bodha of Lombok include a far higher proportion of individuals of Veddoid physique than do the Sasak. The purest Veddoids in Indonesia, the Kubu, roam the impenetrable

jungles and swamps of eastern Sumatra, while other largely unmixed Veddoid populations inhabit isolated districts in eastern, southeastern, and southwestern Celebes (the Toala, Muna, and certain Laki and Loinang groups), central Borneo (the Ot Danom), and eastern Ceram (the Bonfia). Veddoid types are far more numerous and widespread in the archipelago than are Negritoid types. Indeed, it may well be that in very early times, before the advent of the first Malays, most of Indonesia was inhabited by Veddoid tribes, among whom small groups of Negrito stock were interspersed.

Despite the tentative nature of hypotheses in physical anthropology, most authorities are agreed that Veddoid and Negritoid peoples preceded the Malays into Indonesia, and that two, or possibly three, other ethnic types migrated into and through the archipelago in pre-Malay times. The most ancient of these, probably predating even the Negritos, is the Australoid stratum. The earliest human skeletal remains, excepting only those of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, are the so-called Wadjak skulls found in Java, which show decidedly Australoid characteristics. So ancient is this type, however, that it has now vanished from possible detection in most parts of the archipelago. Only in the Flores-Timor zone in the Lesser Sundas do occasional individuals of unmistakably Australoid type occur, as Bijlmer's researches have shown. Unfortunately, however, this is precisely that part of Indonesia closest to Australia, and the possibility of a relatively late reflex movement into Timor from across the Arafura Sea cannot be excluded. Nevertheless, mere geographical necessity demands the assumption of the passage of the ancestors of the present Australians through the archipelago in very ancient times. A second archaic type, also found by Bijlmer in the Flores-Timor zone, approximates the Melanesian or Oceanic Negroid norm. Although presumably Melanesian physical types have been reported from many other parts of Indonesia, this element, like the Australoid, is rare and elusive everywhere except in the Flores-Timor region, which seems to have functioned as a sort of geographical *cul de sac* for most of the waves of migration into the archipelago. Here exists a veritable *mélange* of physical varieties: deutero-Malay, proto-Malay, Veddoid, Negritoid, Australoid, Papuan, and Melanesian in widely

varying proportions. Moreover, as will presently appear, the cultures of this region diverge strikingly from those of the rest of the archipelago. The third of the subordinate archaic strata is the Papuan, whose archetype is represented by the natives of New Guinea. Tall, slender, long-legged, dark brown, curly-haired, bearded, big-nosed, long-headed individuals of Papuan type begin to appear, as one goes from west to east, in the Lesser Sundas and eastern Celebes, and increase in regular progression until, in the islands closest to New Guinea, they form by far the most numerous element in the population. In the Moluccas and the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands, intermixture of the Papuan and proto-Malay types has produced the so-called Alfur sub-type, characterized by medium to tall stature, slender build, medium to dark brown skin, straight to wavy hair, a relatively hairy body, a mesocephalic skull, and features ranging from the broad-faced, flat-nosed proto-Malay norm to the narrow-faced, "Semitic"-nosed Papuan conformation.

The latest arrivals in Indonesia, aside from the historic Hindu, Chinese, Arabian, and European immigrants, are the Malays, who are customarily subdivided into the proto-Malay and deutero-Malay types. Future research is almost certain to refine this schematic classification, especially in the case of the obviously heterogeneous proto-Malays, but in the absence of exhaustive somatic data the traditional dual "catch-all" categorization must suffice as a working hypothesis. The proto-Malay stratum constitutes the principal component in the racial composition of all the inland peoples of the Greater Sundas (e.g., Batak, Bahau, Toradja) and most of the Lesser Sundas (e.g., Sasak, Sumbanese), whereas the more strongly Mongoloid deutero-Malay strain predominates in the coastal populations (e.g., Javanese, Malays). The probability is that the proto-Malays left the Asiatic mainland before the descending Mongoloids swept in force over the southeastern part of the continent, and thus retained to a greater degree their specific type, which approaches more nearly the Caucasoid than the Mongoloid norm. They are distinguished from the kindred but more Mongolized deutero-Malays by their shorter stature, darker skin, slightly higher frequency of wavy hair, much higher percentage of dolichocephaly, and a markedly lower frequency of the epicanthic fold. It

is, of course, not strictly true that the proto- and deutero-Malays represent two distinct waves of migration into the archipelago. Rather is it probable that from early times onward until about 2000 B.C., when the final Malay influx appears to have left Asia, a constant flow of population from the southeastern part of the continent drained into the islands of the archipelago. As time went on, the Mongolian peoples from the north descended in ever increasing numbers into southeastern Asia, and, mixing with the ancestors of the Malays who were settled there, finally changed the character of the latter from a predominantly Caucasoid to a predominantly Mongoloid type. In Indonesia, the less Mongolized Malays, having arrived earlier, were gradually driven inland by the progressively more Mongoloid newcomers. Finally, to complete the reconstruction, the deutero-Malays, inhabiting the coastal districts principally, received the full impact of the later immigrations of Hindus and Chinese, which further altered their physical character as compared with that of the more secluded proto-Malays. The deutero-Malay stratum occurs mainly in Sumatra and Java, and has only recently spread in appreciable force to the coastal lands of Borneo, Celebes, and the eastern islands.

Despite its cultural, somatic, and historical diversity, Indonesia presents in many respects a fundamental cultural unity. One finds almost universally, for example, a highly developed ancestor cult, even in Islamized districts. Shamanism plays an important rôle in cult activities throughout western Indonesia and in several sections of the eastern area. Headhunting is widespread in most of the more remote regions. Stratified social classes characterize the peoples of the greater part of the archipelago. Types of weapons, methods of agriculture, forms of bodily mutilation, styles of clothing and architectural construction all show widespread similarities over continuous and between far separated areas. The languages, above all, exhibit a fundamental interrelationship.

All of the peoples of Indonesia speak languages belonging to the same basic stock, the Malayo-Polynesian or Austronesian, which is also diffused over most of the Pacific islands, part of southeastern Asia, and Madagascar. One small exception must be noted for the sake of completeness. The natives of northern Halmahera possess languages which, though not as yet definitely classified, appear

to be closely related to the Papuan tongues of the neighboring island of New Guinea. Knowledge of writing, except for the recent teaching of the Arabic and Roman scripts in the Mohammedan and government schools, is confined to a few advanced groups in Indonesia. The old scripts of Sumatra, Java, southwestern Celebes (Macassar and Buginese), Sumbawa (Bimanese), and the Philippines (Tagalog, Visayan, Mangyan, and Tagbanua) are all ultimately derived from the ancient Hindu Brāhmī alphabet. Until the recent introduction of the native school system, ability to read and write was limited to these areas, and even there to but a small proportion of the people. Written literature, consequently, except for the abundant productions, particularly in drama and history, of the medieval Javanese scribes and poets, has always been very restricted in quantity. A large part of the native writings still extant have been translated and published by Dutch scholars, and a good start has been made in collecting the oral folklore and traditions of the illiterate peoples. A thoroughgoing analysis of the folk literature, however, with attention to comparative material in Asia and Oceania, must await further research and publication in Indonesian legendry.

The principal economic activity throughout Indonesia is agriculture. Exceptions to this rule occur among the nomadic Kubu of Sumatra and the wandering Punan tribes of Borneo, who subsist by hunting and collecting forest products. The Orang Laut or "Sea Gypsies," who spend their lives sailing around the most unfrequented coasts of the islands, also eschew agriculture and live principally by fishing. Yams and taro are cultivated in practically all regions, but constitute staples only in Nias, Mentawei, and Engano, the peripheral islands off the west coast of Sumatra, and in Banggai, an island off the eastern peninsula of Celebes. Sago, the "staff of life" in the Moluccas and in the southeastern Kei and Aru island groups, is important in western Indonesia only in Siberut, the northernmost of the Mentawei chain, and in certain remote sections of Celebes. Maize, the present mainstay of subsistence throughout the eastern Lesser Sundas (Flores, Sumba, Timor, and Alor-Solor) and most of the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands, as well as in the Moluccan Sula group, attains first place as a cultivated crop in western Indonesia only in the Tengger high-

lands of eastern Java. Manioc assumes prime importance only among the primitive Sakai and Akit of the eastern Sumatra swamplands. Rice is by all odds the principal crop of the western Indonesian peoples, with the few exceptions noted above, but in the eastern maize and sago zones it is cultivated either rarely or not at all. The more archaic method of rice cultivation, which consists in clearing and burning the natural growth and planting the grains with digging-sticks in the ash-covered earth, prevails throughout most of Borneo and Celebes, in the remoter mountain districts of southern Sumatra and western Java, in certain isolated highland portions of Lombok, and throughout Sumbawa. Irrigated cultivation of rice, either on flat land or on artificially constructed hillside terraces, flourishes in practically all of Java and Sumatra, in a few coastal districts of northwestern Borneo, in southwestern Celebes, in the Lesser Sunda islands of Bali, Lombok, Sumba, Savu, and Roti, and in the small Moluccan islands of Ternate and Tidore. This more advanced type of agriculture has yet to penetrate the islands off the west coast of Sumatra, the greater part of Borneo and Celebes, and most of eastern Indonesia. The use of the plow coincides almost precisely with the practice of artificial irrigation.

In addition to the dog, which is universal except among the Badui of western Java, who impose a taboo on all forms of animal husbandry, the principal domesticated animals in Indonesia are the ("barnyard") fowl, the pig, and the water buffalo. Fowls are plentiful among all groups, including even the Badui, with the exception of the nomads. Even the wandering Orang Laut carry chickens with them in their boats on their endless voyages. With three exceptions, namely, the Mohammedanized groups, the nomadic primitives of Sumatra and Borneo, and the Badui, all the Indonesian peoples keep pigs. Water buffaloes, or carabaos, are absent among the nomads and the Badui, in large parts of Borneo and some remote districts of Celebes, in Mentawei and Engano, and in the eastern islands of Ceram and Aru. They are rare even where they occur in Borneo, interior Celebes, Alor-Solor, Timor, Tanimbar, Kei, Buru, and Nias. Elsewhere, especially in Java, Sumatra, southern Celebes, and Bali, they serve as food and draught animals. As in the case of irrigation and the use of the plow, the water

buffalo predominates in western Indonesia and decreases steadily in importance to the east. Goats are of less economic significance than pigs and water buffaloes, but goat-herding is an ancient pursuit in most parts of western Indonesia and in many sections of the eastern archipelago as well. Sheep, according to all indications, were first introduced by Europeans. Horses, probably imported originally by Hindus, now flourish in most islands except Borneo, the Moluccas, and the peripheral chain off the west coast of Sumatra. They are diminutive animals, whose basic strain is apparently derived from the small wild horse of central Asia (*Equus Przewalskii*).

Fishing contributes vitally to the livelihood of all the coastal dwellers, while hunting holds a definitely subsidiary place in the economic life except among the nomads of Sumatra and Borneo and the Mentaweians. Wine, made from palm sap, and betel are almost universal in Indonesia, having penetrated to all regions except Mentawei, Engano, and a few sections of Sumatra and Borneo.

Cave-dwellings were in use until recently among the Toala of Celebes and one Punan tribe in Borneo. Tree-houses, excepting temporary structures used in emergencies or as watch-towers, are totally lacking in Indonesia, although eighty years ago travelers reported permanent tree-dwellings among the primitive Lubu of central Sumatra. Houses built on rafts occur among the Akit and Palembang Malays in Sumatra. The nomads of Sumatra and Borneo erect small temporary shelters of wood and leaves; these have raised platforms for floors except among the wandering Orang Benua of some of the islands off the east Sumatra coast, whose rude huts are floorless. The shelters of the nomadic tribes usually have four upright posts supporting the roof; rarely are they simple two-post windscreens. The most widespread style of building in the islands is the pile-dwelling with rectangular ground plan. In western Indonesia only the Javanese and Madurese build houses directly on the ground; in eastern Indonesia rectangular structures are usually set on piles, although in parts of Adonara and Lomblem, Ambon, and in the Ternate-Tidore group they rest directly on the earth. Balinese dwellings are rectangular in ground plan, but the walls are generally of clay, an unusual type of construction in the archipelago. Sasak houses, in Lombok, stand, not on piles, but

on stone mounds. Rectangular pile-dwellings and structures without piles occur side by side in the Sundalands of western Java, in parts of the smaller Southwestern Islands, in Ceramlaut and Goram, in Buru, and in Halmahera. The Indonesian pile-dwelling ranges in size from the small single-family Malay structures to the enormous Borneo longhouses, which often measure hundreds of feet in length.

Deviations from the usual rectangular ground plan occur in a few places. Round "beehive" dwellings built on piles, probably a very archaic type, are found in Engano (where they markedly resemble Nicobarese houses), in western Flores, and in a portion of Lomblem, while in only one place, western Timor, are round houses built directly on the ground. Oval structures prevail in northern Nias and Savu—invariably on piles. Houses with an octagonal ground plan occur only among the Land Dyak of southwestern Borneo and in northeastern Halmahera. In the former district they are raised on piles; in the latter they rest on the earth.

Although Indonesian dwellings are practically never constructed of stone, the temple ruins of medieval Java and the modern Balinese sanctuaries display notable skill and artistry in stone architecture. Megalithic remains—platforms, pavements, statues, dolmens, alinements, etc.—lie scattered in central Java, Sumatra, central Celebes, Bali, and Lombok, and work with large stones is still carried on in Nias, the Bataklands of Sumatra, northern Celebes, Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores, Alor-Solor, Timor, Wetar, and some of the Moluccan islands. Modern megalithic art, aside from the Hindu-derived stone architecture of Bali, is more highly developed in Sumba than in any other place except Nias, where it reaches a peak of achievement that is simply astounding. Stone remains from the Hindu period occur in Sumatra, Java, and very infrequently in Borneo, but nowhere east of Bali. In the latter island, the medieval Hindu-Javanese art of masonry and sculpture still lives on in flourishing vigor.

The village pavilion, used for ceremonials and council meetings, is characteristic of Indonesia. Where no separate building is devoted to such purposes, as in parts of Borneo and Celebes, the chief's house or his section of the longhouse includes a portion which serves as the communal meeting-place. The ceremonial char-

acter of most of the gatherings in the council room, in addition to the fact that communal heirlooms of fetishistic significance are stored there, stamps these buildings or chambers with a religious imprint. In Mentawei, western Borneo, central Celebes, and throughout most of eastern Indonesia, indeed, the communal meeting-houses become actual temples of the pagan cults, adorned with altars, fetish-bundles, and other esoteric paraphernalia. The pavilions function as boys' sleeping-houses among the Atjehnese, Gayo, Batak, and Minangkabau in Sumatra, in the Land Dyak territory of southwestern Borneo, in one district of central Adonara, and in western Ceram. Adolescent boys spend their nights in the men's drinking-houses in Tanimbar and in the Koran schools in Java—survivalistic indications, perhaps, of the former existence of actual boys' houses in these islands. Girls' dormitories, such as occur in northern Luzon in the Philippines, are found in the Dutch area only in the Batak country of Sumatra and, according to one report, in eastern Lomblem.

Primitive garments of leaves are still worn in Mentawei, Engano, and central Buru; mat skirts, in Aru and southwestern Ceram. Tapa or barkcloth, the ancient clothing material throughout Indonesia has now disappeared from all regions except Nias, Mentawei, Engano, remote parts of Sumatra, central Borneo, inland Celebes, the interior of Sumba, and the more inaccessible portions of Alor, Wetar, Babar, Tanimbar, Aru, Kei, Ceram, Buru, Sula, and Halmahera. Elsewhere, locally woven or imported fabrics are employed for garments. A peculiar article of clothing, the seat-mat, made of plaited material or animal skin, occurs in Borneo and Celebes.

Ear ornaments, of innumerable varieties, ranging from enormous metal hoops in Nias to small discs of wood or metal in Java, are worn by all Indonesian peoples except the Mentaweians, the Toala, certain Kubu tribes, and the Orang Laut. Recently even these primitive groups have begun to adopt this type of decoration. In the more advanced regions the men are rapidly abandoning the practice of ear-piercing, but among the remoter peoples both sexes undergo the operation. Filing of the front teeth—to points, down in an even line (in many cases to the gums), or with concave grooves on the outer surfaces—has a more restricted dis-

tribution. Horizontal filing is by far the most prevalent form. Dental mutilation is absent, or very recently adopted, among the Kubu tribes, the Punan, the Toala, and in the greater part of Timor. The Enganese do not file their teeth, but women must have their upper canines knocked out before marriage. Among the Western Toradja, in Celebes, the front teeth of the women are knocked out entirely, and the incisors of the men are broken off at the gums; among the Eastern Toradja both sexes submit to the latter operation. The fashion of wearing gold caps over the teeth, and gold or other metal pins between or through them, is common in large parts of Borneo and Celebes and to a lesser extent in certain districts of Sumatra.

Mutilation of the genital organs is absent, or very recently adopted, among the Mentaweians and Enganese, in most parts of Borneo, a few sections of Celebes, in Bali, western Flores, Alor-Solor, most of the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands, Goram, Ceram, and Halmahera. Actual circumcision prevails principally in Islamized areas, although it occurs rarely elsewhere. Incision of the female genitals also appears to be restricted mainly to Mohammedan groups. Supercision, or slitting the upper part of the prepuce, is the most widespread and probably the most ancient type of genital mutilation in the archipelago. Those peoples who practice both incision of girls and either circumcision or supercision of boys include the Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese in Java and the Gorontalo and Bolaäng Mongondou groups in northern Celebes. Circumcision and female incision prevail among the Atjehnese, Gayo, Alas, Malays, Minangkabau, and the Islamized Redjang-Lampong peoples in Sumatra, the Macassar and Buginese in Celebes, the Sasak in Lombok, and the natives of Ceramlaut and the Ternate-Tidore chain. The Batak of Sumatra, the Laki of Celebes, and the natives of Buru supercise boys and incise girls. The Minahasa of northern Celebes supercise or circumcise boys, but perform no genital operations on girls, while the Ambonese and possibly some of the Sumbanese merely circumcise. Those peoples who supercise boys but do not operate on the female genitals include the inhabitants of Nias, the Land Dyak, Iban, and Katingan (a Ngadju tribe) in Borneo, the Badui and Tenggerese in Java, the Toradja, Sadang, and most of the Loinang and Mori-

Laki groups in Celebes, the Do Donggo in Sumbawa, the Sumbanese, the central and eastern tribes of Flores, and the natives of Roti, Savu, Timor, Aru, and Sula. The Bahau of Borneo, who perform no other genital operation, pierce the penis for the insertion of small knobbed bars or rings of anteater scale, which are removable when not in use. Their purpose is erotic—to augment the sensation of the women in copulation. The Katingan of southern Borneo and the Sadang and Minahasa of Celebes also employ this strange device, the latter often substituting a goat's eyelid for the usual bar. The Batak of Sumatra sometimes resort to a comparable stratagem: the men make small incisions in the flesh of the penis and insert little round stones in the cuts, which are allowed to heal over, leaving minute bumps on the surface of the organ.

Tattooing, formerly more widespread, is now practised in southern Nias, Mentawei, most of Borneo, among the Sadang and Laki in Celebes, in central and eastern Flores, parts of the Alor-Solor chain, Timor, Savu, Roti, Wetar, Babar, Kei, Aru, Tanimbar, Ceramlaut, Goram, and western Ceram. In most of these places both sexes submit to the operation; in some, either men or women, exclusively, are so decorated. The Bahau tribes of Borneo use wooden stamps to imprint the design before pricking the skin, while the Bukat and Bukitan of the Punan group do "negative" or "relief" tattooing, coloring the surrounding surface of the skin in order to make the design stand out in the natural color of the body. The employment of paint for bodily decoration, except for the general use of white and yellow powder by women, is quite rare in Indonesia, occurring only among the Karo Batak, the Mentaweians, some of the Redjang-Lampong peoples, the Minahasa of Celebes, and certain groups in northern Halmahera. Stippling the face and hands with resin in dot and line designs is a form of ornamentation confined to the Western Toradja of Celebes. The practice of cicatrizing designs on the body by burning occurs only in parts of Celebes, in northern Nias, Babar, Tanimbar, and Aru. Bleaching the hair with lime, a custom popular in the Papuan and Melanesian areas, occurs in Indonesia only in the eastern islands of Babar, Tanimbar, and Kei. Nose-piercing, another Papuan and Melanesian practice, is found nowhere in Indonesia proper, appearing for the first time, passing eastward, in the peripheral Pa-

puan island of Salawati, off the northwestern tip of New Guinea. Artificial cranial deformation is rare, being performed only by the Milanau (a Klamantan tribe) in western Borneo, some Gorontalese and Minahasa in northern Celebes, and the Redjang of southern Sumatra. The Redjang manipulate the heads of very young infants with the hands; in the other two regions the parents use special contrivances to alter the shape of the skull.

Among weapons of war and the chase, spears and swords occur throughout Indonesia. Before metal was available for their manufacture, the points and blades were made of wood, bone, or other suitable substances. The bow has disappeared, except for rare occurrences, in Java and Sumatra. The Enganese until recently relied on the bow in warfare, while in the Mentawei Islands, where the arrows are poisoned, it remains the principal weapon. In certain parts of Borneo, according to archeological and historical evidence, it had a restricted use in former times. Some Klamantan tribes still employ the bow with captive arrow for fishing, while the crossbow occurs as a toy in the Bahau territory. The Sadang of Celebes, who now also use the crossbow as a toy, employed it, with poisoned arrows, as a weapon of war within historical times. Elsewhere in Celebes the simple bow is still in practical use among the Wana and Bungku and in the Sangir and Banggai Islands; the Sangirese, moreover, poison their arrows. Throughout central Celebes miniature models of bows function as ritual objects, connected, remarkably enough, with superstitions regarding ironsmithing. In eastern Indonesia, with the exception of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Savu, eastern Wetar, the smaller Southwestern Islands, Buru, and Sula, the bow is an important weapon; so far as is known, however, poisoned arrows occur in this area only in northern Halmahera. The people of the Aru Islands alone use the sinew-backed bow.

The blowgun, generally speaking, increases in importance in those regions where the bow is rare or absent. As in the case of the bow, however, its disappearance from many places renders difficult the attempt to determine its former range of distribution. In eastern Indonesia, where the bow is prominent, the blowgun occurs rarely, its present or recent area of distribution including only Bali, Lombok, parts of Sumbawa, Timor, Lomblem, Roti, Babar,

Tanimbar, and northern Halmahera. In western Indonesia, however, it is used throughout Borneo and Celebes and was formerly, according to available evidence, widespread in Java and Sumatra, although the Mentaweians, Enganese, and certain Kubu tribes are unacquainted with it. For the most part, Indonesian blowguns are made of bamboo, wooden tubes being used only in Borneo, in parts of Sumatra, in the Toradja and Sadang districts of Celebes, and in Lomblem. The use of unpoisoned darts, effective only in bird-hunting, is also exceptional; the Niassans, the Minahasa, and the Tobaru of northern Halmahera alone employ them exclusively. Slings are rare in the archipelago. Simple pocket slings occur only among the Batak and Minangkabau of Sumatra and the Wana of Celebes, while the mountain tribes of the Western Toradja complex shoot pellets and stones at birds from curved, grooved, scythe-shaped wooden slings. Few groups employ clubs as weapons. The Enganese, Minahasa, and the people of Banggai and Buru use them for striking only; the Toala and the natives of Sumba and Aru, for hurling as well. Throwing-sticks are used as weapons among the Sadang and in a small Macassar district in Celebes. In the former case they are straight and pointed at both ends; in the latter, they are bent at an angle somewhat in the shape of the boomerang. Actual returning boomerangs are said to be used as toys in parts of the Toradja country. Indonesian shields, made of metal, wood, or hide, may be rectangular, round, oval, or of hourglass form. Rectangular shields, some pointed at one end or both, predominate, while the other types have more limited areas of distribution. Oval shields, which may taper to a point at one end or both, occur in Nias and Mentawei, and among the Land Dyak of Borneo and the Macassar and Buginese of Celebes. Round forms are used by the Atjehnese and Gayo of Sumatra, the Klamantan tribes of Borneo, the Macassar and Buginese, the Sumbanese, and the natives of central Flores and eastern Wetar. The old Javanese shields were also round. Shields of hourglass shape occur in south-eastern Celebes, Banggai, northern Wetar, and Halmahera.

Transportation of goods overland, except in areas where draught animals take the place of human power, regularly involves the use of back-baskets, with tumplines, shoulder straps, or both, in all the less advanced regions of Indonesia, whereas the balance-

pole has replaced the back-basket among most of the more highly cultured groups. The relatively backward Niassans and Enganese, however, use the balance-pole. Dugout canoes, sometimes enlarged by the addition of planks sewn or pegged to the log foundations, occur among all groups except the primitive nomads of central Sumatra and Borneo. In most places outriggers are used to steady the canoes, but their construction varies widely in different regions. The maritime Orang Laut dispense with outriggers, as do most of the Borneo natives, and the sewn plank vessels of Buru and Kei also lack outriggers. Direct lashing of float to outrigger prevails throughout Sumatra. In Java the lashing may be either direct or indirect, the latter by means of a connecting stick which holds the float to the boom. To the east, in Celebes, the Lesser Sundas, and the Moluccas, direct lashing becomes increasingly rare, while extremely complicated types of outrigger attachments are found in northern and southeastern Celebes and the northern Moluccas. Double outriggers are the rule; only in Babar are single outriggers used exclusively, although they occur in northeastern Java, southeastern Celebes, and Kei. The typical Indonesian vessel carries two booms for supporting the outrigger floats; triple booms, common in the southern Philippines, are employed in the Dutch area only in the islands of Buton, Sangir, and Talaut off the coast of Celebes.

Woodworking and the manufacture of mats and baskets are known to all the peoples of Indonesia. The three material arts whose areas of distribution are most significant are pottery, weaving, and ironsmithing. All three are lacking among the nomads of Sumatra and Borneo, the Mentaweians, the Toala, and the natives of Wetar, Kei, central Ceram, Buru, and Halmahera. Pottery is not made by the Wana and Kabaena of Celebes, the Badui and Tenggerese of Java, the Do Donggo of Sumbawa, or the tribes of Aru, Ceram, Babar, the Leti group, and Sula. Weaving is absent among the Enganese and Orang Laut, the Wana, Loinang, Toradja, and most of the Mori-Laki of Celebes, the inland Sumbanese, and the natives of eastern Lomblem, central Pantar, Alor, and Aru. Ironsmithing is unknown among the Enganese and Orang Laut, the Badui and Tenggerese of Java, the Gorontalese, Talaut, and Loinang of Celebes, and the peoples of western Flores, Adonara, Ceram, and Sula. From the viewpoint of material culture as a whole, the

island peoples off the west coast of Sumatra, the nomads of Sumatra and Borneo, the "internally peripheral" tribes of Borneo and Celebes, and the natives of the northern Moluccas exhibit the lowest degree of knowledge and accomplishment.

Social organization, a difficult subject to cover in a restricted space, can be sketched here only in the broadest outlines. In Sumatra, loosely integrated nomadic band organization characterizes the primitive Kubu tribes; village units with bilateral descent prevail among the Mentaweians, the Malays, and the coastal Atjehnese, although the latter require matrilocal residence after marriage; patrilineal sib systems form the basis of the social structure among the Gayo, mountain Atjehnese, Batak, Niassans, and the Redjang-Lampong tribes; the Minangkabau, finally, are organized in matrilineal clans. The Borneo tribes are all sibless, and reckon descent bilaterally, but, except in the case of most Klamantan groups, require matrilocal residence after marriage in the event of intervillage matings. Celebes social organization follows the same fundamental pattern. Java, too, lacks unilateral groupings, the people living in villages and reckoning descent bilaterally. Here, as in the coastal regions of Celebes and Borneo and in the Malay and Atjehnese territories in Sumatra, dynastic state governments have been superimposed upon the simple village organization. Eastern Indonesia, except in parts of the Southwestern Islands, central Flores, northwestern Sumba, and southern Timor, where matrilineal descent prevails, is predominantly patrilineal in social organization. Sibs, however, are infrequent. Nevertheless, patrilineal sib systems occur in Flores, Sumba, eastern Sumbawa, Alor-Solor, Roti, and Buru; matrilineal sibs, in two small enclaves in this predominantly patrilineal area, namely, in Tana Ai in Flores and in Kodi in Sumba. Totemistic concepts linked with the social organization are vaguely apparent in parts of western Indonesia and in several of the eastern islands, but full-fledged totemism, firmly imbedded in the sib system, definitely characterizes the social structure of central and eastern Flores and the Alor-Solor Islands. Here, moreover, in some districts, the sibs are grouped in what might be termed marriage classes, with complicated rules of intergroup mating, a pattern strikingly reminiscent of certain Papuan, Melanesian, and Australian social systems. At the present time,

descriptions of these peculiar forms of organization are few and fragmentary, but the region promises in the future to yield exceedingly important information for western Oceanic ethnology.

The preceding paragraph presents only a generalized picture of Indonesian social organization. Exceptions occur in nearly all regions. In patrilineal areas, for example, the device known as *ambil-anak* is widespread. This involves omission of the bride-price, matrilocal residence, and affiliation of the offspring with the mother's group. Usually it functions as a measure to avoid extinction of a family line where sons are lacking. In matrilineal regions, correspondingly, but much less frequently, a sort of reverse *ambil-anak* may be employed to insure continuation of a family line. A girl, in this arrangement, comes to live with her husband's matrilineal relatives, and her children belong to the group of their father's mother and sisters. In southern Sumatra, particularly, various gradations of this general pattern occur. In one case, for example, the father may pay a reduced bride-price and receive the right to the possession of one or more children, the remaining offspring belonging to their mother's group. Another exceptional arrangement occurs in the Macassar and Buginese area of Celebes, where a child is regarded as "belonging to" either mother or father depending upon the order of his birth. Odd-numbered offspring "belong to" and inherit from their mother, while even-numbered progeny are affiliated in corresponding manner with their father. In Sula the mother "owns" the daughters, the father the sons, and in case of divorce or orphanage they are so divided. Similar examples of variation from regional norms of social patterning could be multiplied indefinitely.

Succession to office, with few exceptions, is patrilineal in bilaterally and patrilineally organized societies, while matrilineal succession, from mother's brother to sister's son, characterizes only those groups who reckon descent in the female line. Generally speaking, also, bilateral and patrilineal peoples require payment of a bride-price, whereas matrilineal peoples do not. Post-marital residence follows the line of descent in nearly all unilaterally organized societies, but a large number of groups who reckon descent bilaterally require matrilocal residence after marriage. These include the Atjehnese of Sumatra, most of the Borneo tribes, and the Toradja

of Celebes. Inheritance, finally, follows the prevailing mode of descent in nearly all cases, although local rules cause infinite minor variations.

Social stratification, in Indonesia, tends to become more rigid with the presence of higher culture. Completely unstratified societies, in the sense that all members are equal in status, can hardly exist, of course, but a close approximation to this situation occurs among the classless Mentaweians, Enganese, Toradja, Toala, and the nomads of Borneo and Sumatra. Intermediate grades of stratification, with more or less rigid maintenance of "noble" and "commoner" classes, characterize most of the central Sumatran peoples, most of the interior tribes of Borneo and Celebes, and the natives of Flores, Sumba, Savu, Roti, Alor-Solor, most of the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands, Buru, and Sula. Strongly developed hereditary nobilities, linked in most cases with dynastic state governments and despotic systems of feudalism, exist, or did until recently, in Atjeh, the Malay states of Sumatra and Borneo, Java, the parts of Celebes under Macassar and Buginese rule, the islands of the Moluccas under Ternatean and Tidorese overlordship, Bali, Sumbawa, some districts of Flores, and large sections of Timor. Slavery, more or less highly developed, prevailed until recent years in most parts of Indonesia. The status was hereditary in practically every case, but as a rule it involved no inhuman treatment. The only peoples who seem never to have possessed this institution are the nomads of Sumatra and Borneo, the Mentaweians and Enganese, the Badui and Tenggerese of Java, and the Toala of Celebes.

The bewildering complexity of funeral practices in Indonesia renders impossible in this paper anything but a very superficial review. The enormously complicated and long-drawn-out mortuary ceremonies of those peoples in particular who reveal an "intermediate" level of culture (e.g., the inland tribes of Borneo and Celebes and the natives of the larger Lesser Sunda Islands) defy condensation. Earth burial, with or without coffins, occurs either as the sole method of disposal or in conjunction with other preceding or ensuing forms of treatment among nearly all Indonesian groups except the Bahau and most of the Ngadju tribes of Borneo and sev-

eral of the Mori-Laki peoples of Celebes. Platform disposal is found among the Niassans and Mentaweians, the Batak of Sumatra, the Iban, Bahau, and some of the Klamantan tribes of Borneo, the Do Donggo of Sumbawa, in parts of Timor, Flores, and central Ceram, and in the islands of Solor, Babar, Tanimbar, Aru, Goram, Buru, Sula, and Halmahera. Cave burial, or, in most cases, mere storing of the bodies on the floors of caves, is practiced by the Bahau and some Punan tribes of Borneo, the Toradja, Sadang, Mori-Laki, and (formerly) Macassar and Buginese of Celebes, and the peoples of Babar, Tanimbar, Aru, Kei, and parts of central and northwestern Ceram. Cremation occurs among the Batak and some Kubu tribes of Sumatra, the Enganese, the Land Dyak and Ngadju of Borneo, the Balinese, and the Arunese; formerly the Javanese also practiced cremation, and some evidence seems to indicate that the primitive Toala of Celebes once burned their dead. Special buildings may house the remains of the dead among the Batak of Sumatra, the Land Dyak, Ngadju, and some Klamantan tribes of Borneo, the Loinang of Celebes, some of the Sumbanese, and in Lomblem, Babar, Tanimbar, Watubela, Buru, central Ceram, and parts of Timor and Halmahera. The Niassans, Mentaweians, and Enganese, the Iban of Borneo, and the natives of Lomblem, Ambon, Wetar, Tanimbar, Kei, eastern Timor, and central and northwestern Ceram may place the corpses of their dead in the branches of trees, while the unusual practice of inserting bodies in the trunks of living trees occurs among some of the nomadic Kubu and Punan tribes in Sumatra and Borneo, respectively, and in parts of the Toradja country in central Celebes. Stone mausoleums, of various sizes and shapes, are still used as tombs by the Batak, Sumbanese, and Niassans (in the case of the latter for skulls only). They were employed by the Minahasa of Celebes until very recently, and remains of old stone sarcophagi are found widely scattered in central Celebes. Large glazed jars, of problematical provenance, serve as receptacles for either the ashes or the bones of the dead in many parts of Borneo and Celebes. Finally, abandonment of bodies in secluded places, without burial, is occasionally resorted to by some of the Kubu nomads of Sumatra, the wandering Punan of Borneo, the Niassans, the Mentaweians, the Bali Aga of Bali, the Bodha of

Lombok, the Do Donggo of Sumbawa, the people of Babar, Kei, and Buru, the Gungai and Tungu of Aru, and certain tribes of Ceram and Halmahera.

Commemorative ceremonies, generally linked with the ancestor cult, characterize the funeral rituals of the majority of the Indonesian peoples. They may be celebrated long after the death of the person or persons involved, and frequently they take the form of elaborate communal festivals in which all the people of a village or district participate. In many cases the actual remains of the dead are removed from their temporary storage places and brought to the memorial services. Such a mode of procedure, which may aptly be termed a "second funeral," occurs in Sumatra among the Karo and Pakpak Batak, in Nias, in the Pageh Islands of the Mentawei group, in Borneo among the Klamantan, Ngadju, and some of the Bahau tribes, in Celebes among certain of the Toradja, Sadang, and Mori-Laki peoples, and in the islands of Bali, Sumba, Flores, Adonara, Lomblem, Timor, Babar, Tanimbar, Aru, Ceram, Ambon, Buru, Sula, and Halmahera. In some regions, notably among the Tenggerese of Java, in the Ngadju and Land Dyak territories in Borneo, in the Sadang and Laki districts in Celebes, in parts of the Bataklands, and in Nias and the Leti group, puppets are used to represent deceased individuals in commemorative rituals, pointing to the former presence of the actual remains at the ceremonies.

Indonesian native religion rests basically upon two partly overlapping and partly independent sets of concepts, namely, generalized animistic beliefs regarding spirits of innumerable varieties, and ideas connected with the ancestor cult. Both systems prevail in all regions, and it is difficult to determine their relative importance in any one area. Pantheons of beings higher than the hordes of minor spirits, as well as actual deities, function as integral parts of the cults throughout most of Indonesia, but the great majority of these superior beings are otiose and receive little direct attention in ritual and sacrifice. In eastern Indonesia, however, from eastern Celebes and the Lesser Sundas to New Guinea, sky-earth dualism, usually involving pairs of celestial male and terrestrial female deities, rises to parallel the ancestor cult in significance, while the purely animistic spirit cult, which predominates in most parts of

western Indonesia, drops into a relatively minor position. Here in the eastern islands, also, stone fetishism, traces of which are found in various sections of western Indonesia, reaches full flower, linked vitally with both sky-earth dualism and the ancestor cult. Totemistic beliefs, as mentioned above, play an important part in the religious and social structure in the Flores-Timor zone. An extremely interesting development of what might be termed "local totemism," based on the concept of guardian spirits, has occurred in the Iban territory in Borneo. Not more than one person in a hundred is fortunate enough to possess a familiar spirit, but a young man will spend days and nights fasting on the grave of a famous personage or in a wild, remote place, in order to receive the vision which informs him that from now on he has a "secret helper." If the guardian spirit takes the form of an animal, all beasts of the species are revered by the individual, who tries to keep other persons from harming them. In this way an actual cult of a totemic character may be imposed by an influential possessor of a guardian spirit upon a whole household or village.

Puberty ceremonies, generally involving the infliction of bodily mutilations as symbols of maturity and linked, in some places, with headhunting and war ceremonials, mark the transition of adolescents, especially boys, into adulthood in most regions of Indonesia. Actual initiation into a secret society, however, occurs only in western Ceram, boys alone being inducted. Headhunting, closely associated with religion, characterizes most of the remoter sections, particularly of Borneo and Celebes, and appears in survivalistic symbolic form in many other regions. Usually it involves partial cannibalism of a ritualistic sort. Actual cannibalism, principally ritualistic or juridical (i.e., as an extremely drastic punishment for condemned criminals or enemies), has existed within historical times only among the relatively advanced Batak of Sumatra. Here, it is recorded, the taste for human flesh sometimes incited murder for the sole purpose of gratifying the desire for the delicacy, but apparently such action was never condoned socially. While the heads of slain enemies are, or were until recently, taken for ritual purposes throughout most of Indonesia, the practice of preserving the skulls of deceased ancestors as fetish objects, i.e., the so-called "skull cult," has a much more limited distribution, occurring only

in Nias, among the Karo Batak of Sumatra and the Lawangan Ngadju tribe of Borneo, and in Lomblem, Babar, Tanimbar, Buru, central Ceram, and, formerly, Ambon. Human sacrifice, now practically obsolete, constituted until recently a necessary part of certain religious rituals among the Batak of Sumatra, the Toradja, Seko (a Sadang tribe), and Minahasa of Celebes, the Sumbanese, and the Savunese. The slaughter of human victims as funeral sacrifices was more widespread, however, occurring in Nias, the Batak country, Sumba, and throughout most of Borneo and central Celebes. The Hindu practice of suttee, or self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands, survived until the advent of Mohammedanism in Java, and until the early part of the twentieth century in Bali.

Shamanism, involving actual possession of the body of a medium by a spirit who speaks through the mouth of his temporary human incarnation, constitutes an important cult activity throughout most of western Indonesia, being absent only among the Niassans, Mentaweians, and Enganese, most of the Kubu nomads in Sumatra, the Bahau and Punan tribes in Borneo, and the Eastern Toradja and Mori-Laki groups in Celebes. East of Bali, however, according to available reports, shamanism drops out entirely in the Lesser Sundas, the Southwestern and Southeastern Islands, and the southern Moluccas, reappearing only in the northern islands of Buru, Sula, and Halmahera. "Soul-projection," or the voluntary separation of the soul of a priest or priestess from the body and its dispatch in search of the errant soul of a sick person, appears to be a western Indonesian practice exclusively, and even here it is confined to the Mentaweians, the Minangkabau of Sumatra, the Bahau and Land Dyak of Borneo, and the Toradja and Mori-Laki of Celebes. Among the Bahau and the Toradja priestly positions are filled exclusively by women; among the Enganese, the nomads of Sumatra and Borneo, the Tenggerese and Badui of Java, and the Toala of Celebes, by men alone; in the remainder of western Indonesia, by individuals of either sex. Throughout most of the Lesser Sundas men appear to monopolize the sacerdotal occupations, but in the rest of eastern Indonesia, according to the scanty information available, such activities are open to both sexes. One qualification should be made with regard to the sex of

religious functionaries. In the Toradja district of Celebes, where men do not act as priests, and in four areas where either sex may perform religious offices, i.e., in the Ngadju and Iban lands of Borneo and in the Sadang and Macassar-Buginese territories of Celebes, male transvestites, who may be either actual hermaphrodites or physiologically normal males who dress and behave like women, occupy positions of priestly power. Indeed, they are regarded as possessed of even greater potency in dealing with supernatural affairs than are the normal men and women who share the official duties of religion with them.

Mohammedanism and Christianity are spreading rapidly in most parts of the archipelago at the present time, but their areas of influence are mutually exclusive to a striking degree. Sumatra and Java are almost solidly Islamized; only in the Bataklands of the former island, where paganism has beaten off the surges of Mohammedanism for five centuries, has Christianity made substantial progress. Similarly, in Celebes and eastern Indonesia, Christianity, arriving late, has been able to make extensive conversions only in regions where Islam was not already established before European missionaries appeared on the scene. Regardless, however, of their superficial show of affiliation with either Mohammedanism or Christianity, the natives in practically all parts of Indonesia still cling tenaciously to their ancient beliefs and practices, and this conservatism, this massive inertia of the pagan religions of the archipelago before the steady efforts of the proselytizing faiths to push them aside, typifies also the powerful resistance as wholes of the indigenous cultures of these millions of people in the face of the ever-expanding civilization of the Western world. For the social scientist the East Indian field is rich in facts and implications which bear vitally upon the total knowledge of human history and the development of man's civilization in its multifarious manifestations, and, unlike so many other areas of the world, Indonesia will preserve its native cultures for many years to come, before the inevitable syncretism with foreign civilizations alters the ancient ways beyond recall.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS

SAMUEL KOENIG

MARRIAGE, to the Ukrainian[1] peasant, is not only a natural state but also an economic necessity. Even in direst poverty a man contemplates matrimony "in order to have somebody to mend his shirts and wash his clothes."[2] Aside from her economic indispensability, a wife enhances a man's prestige in the community. Indeed, marriage might even be called the very condition or basis upon which society admits a man to full membership. Celibacy, therefore, although not altogether unknown, is exceedingly rare.[3]

A girl, too, looks forward to marriage upon reaching the proper age. To have her tresses turn gray while she is still unmarried is the greatest calamity that can befall her.[4] Society contributes to her anxiety by expressing disapproval of the old maid, and encouragement to the prospective bride, in the form of proverbs, e.g.: "Every betrothed girl is beautiful."[5] Hence, when a girl attains nubility, nothing so preoccupies her mind as the prospect of matrimony. She misses no opportunity, of the multitude offered by holiday festivities as well as in the daily routine of life, to accelerate the desired consummation by magical practices. Thus a girl always sweeps the floor from the door toward the center of the room, for this draws the boys to her. She must not wash the clothes

1. The Galician Ukrainians, also known as Ruthenians, constitute a branch of the Ukrainians or Little Russians, an East Slavic people inhabiting southern Russia. They occupy the eastern part of the former Austrian province of Galicia, at present a part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the latter the Carpathians to the south. The mountaineers comprise three distinct tribes: the Hutsuls, Boiki, and Lemki.

2. Barwinskij, A., "Das Volksleben der Ruthenen," *Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Wien, 1898), XIX (*Galizien*), 402.

3. Zawadzki, W., *Obrazy Rusi Czerwonej* (Poznań, 1869), p. 60.

4. Barwinskij, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

5. Franko, I., "Halicko-ruski narodni prypowidky," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnik* (Vols. XVI, XXIII–XXIV, Lwiw, 1905–08), XVI, 574–5.

of a dead man, else she will be prevented from marrying. On the eve of St. Andrew (November 30th, O.S.), it is customary for girls to shake a willow tree, saying: "Willow, I am shaking you so that he will tremble the same way for me." On the same occasion they fetch water from the well in their mouths and use it to knead dough for a cake, which is suspended from the ceiling of the room; each girl tries to get a bite of the cake, and the one who first succeeds, it is thought, will be the first to marry.[6] A girl may induce a speedy marriage by stripping off all her clothes, sowing flaxseed, and then burying her shirt in the ground; by the time the seeds have come up, it is believed, she will be engaged. Maidens can also make themselves desirable by rolling nude in the dew-covered grass on the morning of St. John's Day.[7]

Boys and girls begin to seek the company of one another as soon as they reach maturity. Their associations become at times exceedingly intimate, owing to the numerous opportunities offered, especially in the mountains, for trysts in the far-off fields and pastures. Natural conditions, however, are only partly responsible for the frequency of premarital relations. The decisive factor is the comparative leniency of the peasant, particularly the highlander, toward such relationships. Even adultery, as we shall see, is lightly treated by the mountaineer, while the lowlander regards affairs between unmarried boys and girls as by no means unpardonable, particularly if pregnancy does not ensue.[8] The mountaineers are far from holding a marriage invalid because the bride is found not to be a virgin.[9] Indeed, according to an interesting belief prevalent among them, it is a sin for a woman who can bear children to deny herself to a man; in the other world such a woman will have to eat the children she could have borne had she not refused.[10] The conviction that unpleasant consequences can be avoided by means of magical formulas and concoctions, thinks Szuchiewicz,[11] is another factor contributing toward sexual laxity among girls.

6. Kaindl, R. F., "Aus dem Volksglauben der Rutenen in Galizien," *Globus*, LXIV (Braunschweig, 1893), 93, 95.

7. Kaindl, R. F., *Die Huzulen, ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (Wien, 1894), p. 13.

8. Kaindl, R. F., "Die volkstümlichen Rechtsanschauungen der Rutenen und Huzulen," *Globus*, LXVI (Braunschweig, 1894), 271.

9. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 20. 10. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

11. Szuchiewicz, W., *Huculszczyzna* (4 vols., Lwów, 1902–08), I, 57.

The liberal attitude regarding sex relations is doubtless a survival of the ancient sex mores of the people. Arabic travelers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries report of the Ukrainians that "their women are not loose, but when one, being yet unmarried, takes a liking to any of the youths, she goes to him to still her desire; hence a man who marries one, as soon as he finds her in a state of virginity, gives her up, considering her not worth much, since nobody before him has found her desirable."[12]

Christian morality has, of course, exerted an influence upon the primitive sex code of the peasant, with the result that illicit sex relations evoke, to a greater or lesser extent, the disapproval of the community. Peasant society, especially in the lowlands, does not at present allow the transgressor, particularly in the case of a girl to escape without punishment. It even exercises a certain measure of control over its youth through superstitious beliefs. Boys and girls are deterred, for example, from walking by themselves at night on lonely roads and in the fields and woods by the fear that evil spirits may harm them.[13]

When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, it is her duty immediately to report her condition to another woman, usually a neighbor. The latter visits her and winds around her head a kerchief of the sort that distinguishes a married from an unmarried woman. If the girl neglects this step, the village elder orders a midwife to go and "cover" her head. Before the "covering" (*zawywanie*),[14] in former days, the girl's hair was publicly shorn in front of the village inn, amid the jeers of the crowd that gathered for the occasion, but this practice has gone out of existence.[15] Even the Hutsuls, who view sexual transgressions considerably more lightly, adhere to the "covering" ceremony. A pregnant girl, accompanied by her mother or an older sister, usually repairs to the priest, who reads a special prayer and covers her head with a cloth.[16] Such a girl is known as "the covered one" or "the misled

12. Rawita-Gawrónski, F., *Ustrój państwowo-społeczny Rusi w XI i XII wieku w zarysie* (Lwów, 1896), p. 120.

13. Kolberg, O., *Pokucie: Obraz Etnograficzny* (4 vols., Kraków, 1882–89), III, 101.

14. Ukrainian terms, throughout this article, are transcribed according to the standard Polish orthography, in order to avoid the use of Cyrillic characters. Other systems of transliteration proved to be inadequate.

15. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 210.

16. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 47.

one," and in the lowlands is often exposed to public scorn and even to mistreatment. After the birth of her child she is forced to pay a fine, which is appropriated by the church or the village treasury. The father of the child is requested to marry the girl, if he has so promised, or at least to pay her "for the wreath," i.e., for her loss of virginity. Only in the most exceptional cases, however, is the girl willing to disclose the name of the man.[17] When asked by one unacquainted with the circumstances where her husband is, she usually replies: "He has hanged himself."[18]

In order to escape shame and scorn, a pregnant girl often resorts to means of ridding herself of her unborn child. The simplest method of abortion is to drink a decoction of evergreen leaves.[19] A more effective means is a patent medicine, known, strangely enough, by its English name of "pain expeller," to which a little pulverized rock salt, phosphorus, and alum are added. By consuming this mixture, it is believed, the girl, though she may suffer a little, will not give birth to a child.[20]

Unmarried girls, also, not infrequently undertake preventive measures, which are usually magical in nature and often fantastic. The preparation of one of those "contraceptives," described by Szuchiewicz,[21] is worth recounting in detail.

In order to prevent conception, girls remove the eyes of a mole and those of a mouse, cut off the wing of a bat and remove its veins, tear the head off a butterfly, take some mercury, the eye of a needle, the base of a bullet, some soot removed from the chimney of a "smoky hut," and some incense—all these they put together and insert in a nutshell, saying as they do so: "May a man fly by me as the butterfly flies over the road; may I be as liable to become pregnant from a man as the road is to meet the sea; may a man have as much power to give me a child as this nut has to bud in the spring; may I have a child from an unwedded man only when this mole shall see with these eyes, this mouse shall fight, and this bat shall catch a butterfly." After this conjuration, the girl ties the nutshell in a narrow woman's girdle and says: "I am tying up the entrails of the man as the head of the butterfly is tied in this shell; may he have the power to give me a child only when wedded to me, but as long as he be not wedded to me may he not be able to do anything to

17. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 271–2. 18. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 146 n.
19. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 95. 20. Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna*, II, 12.
21. *Huculszczyzna*, II, 12.

me; just as this knot which I am tying in the girdle (at this moment she makes a knot) cannot untie itself, so may he not give me a child."

Abortion and infanticide—the latter is extremely rare—are not punished as severely in the case of an unwedded girl as in that of a married woman. The belief is nevertheless current, even among the Hutsuls, that a woman who murders her child will have to eat it in the other world; moreover, since the child will become whole anew every Saturday, she can never finish devouring it.[22] Abortion is much less frequent among the highlanders than among the lowlanders because of the more lenient attitude taken by the former toward a "misled" girl or unmarried mother.[23]

Illegitimacy is comparatively common among the highlanders. Toward the end of the last century there were villages where forty per cent of the children were born out of wedlock.[24] Illegitimate children are exposed to much less mistreatment in the mountains than in the lowlands, although a certain stigma nevertheless attaches to them.[25] Even in the lowlands, however, wealthy peasants are willing to hold an illegitimate child during its baptism, believing that this act will be beneficial to their cattle. Such a person, nevertheless, makes sure that he has a rope, of the kind used in harnessing an ox, girded around him during the ceremony.[26] The priests confer upon illegitimate children (*benkarty* or *bachury*) names that are as strange as possible, e.g., Karpan, Markian, Fteopumpt, Ksenofont, Onysyfer, Akepsym, and Amfylock for boys, and Fifrona, Jewhenia, Ahaftijah, and Hlykkerya for girls.[27] A fatherless child usually bears the surname of his mother. While not considered exactly an outcast, he nevertheless experiences difficulty, as a rule, in his attempt to become accepted as a full-fledged member of the community.

The age at marriage varies widely, depending upon locality and circumstances. While it is not unusual for men of thirty or thirty-five, or for women between twenty-five and thirty, to marry for the first time, the great majority of alliances take place between much younger people. Girls, in particular, are usually declared[28] mar-

22. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273.
23. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 47, 95
24. *Ibid.*, p. 10 n.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
26. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, I, 210.
27. *Ibid.*, I, 210.
28. Not formally, to be sure, for the parents, as a rule, do not know the age of their children (Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 15).

riageable when not more than sixteen years of age, and oftentimes, especially among the mountaineers, they wed at an even earlier age.[29] Boys, on the other hand, seldom marry before they reach twenty-four, the age when they have completed their military service. A boy who is not yet considered marriageable is called *chlopec;* an immature girl, *diwczyna.* As soon as they are thought ready for matrimony, however, they are called *parobok* and *diwka* respectively.[30]

Although parents naturally exert an influence in the selection of partners by their children, especially in the case of daughters, their control is usually comparatively slight, especially in the uplands.[31] But whenever they do insist upon a certain choice, or voice their disapproval of the selection made by the child, the latter seldom offers resistance. Kaindl,[32] in his long years of acquaintance with the highlanders, encountered only three cases of uncompromising resistance, one by a girl, two by boys. Forced marriages, even in cases where the bride manifests a positive antipathy toward the groom selected by her parents, are by no means infrequent.[33] In the great majority of cases, however, the boy and girl come to an understanding by themselves, and the parents, when consulted, give their consent as a matter of form.[34]

In the choice of a spouse, a peasant youth or girl is usually guided by the advice of parents and friends, who tend to consider, primarily, the economic advantages to be derived from the union and, to a lesser extent, the social standing of the future partner. A wealthy father, of course, likes to see his child marry into a hospodar's family, but differences in social status by no means constitute an insurmountable obstacle. Indeed, rich men not infrequently give their daughters in marriage to boys in the service of the house, and oftentimes a youth weds a girl who is utterly destitute, asking for nothing more than that she have a wedding dress.[35]

Tradition requires that older brothers and sisters marry before

29. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen,* pp. 13–14. 30. *Ibid.,* p. 13.
31. *Ibid.,* p. 15.
32. Kaindl, R. F., "Neue Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus,* LXII (Braunschweig, 1896), 92.
33. Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.,* I, 57. 34. Kolberg, *Pokucie,* I, 224.
35. Jandaurek, J., *Das Königreich Galizien und Lodomerien und das Herzogtum Bukowina* (Wien, 1884), p. 57.

their juniors, but this is not an inviolable rule.[36] Unions are contracted, with a high degree of consistency, within the village, so that marriage is predominantly endogamous in character.[37]

The observances and ceremonies connected with courtship, betrothal and the wedding[38] are rigidly stereotyped and highly symbolic. Variations occur, to be sure, but they are mainly regional or local rather then personal in character. Thus the most opportune time for choosing a spouse is the Yuletide season,[39] while the proper time for wooing is on a Wednesday, a Thursday, or a Saturday night.[40] The young man, with the previous knowledge of his parents, selects one or two *starosty* (elders) from among his relatives or friends, and either accompanies them on their visit to the girl's home, or lets them go by themselves. After knocking thrice at the door, the visitors are invited in, and the usual greetings are exchanged. The older of the *starosty* begins the conversation in the following manner: "As the hunting companions of a prince, we have been pursuing a she-fox to this very place; we come, therefore, to ask you to hand her over to us." The people of the house pretend to be victims of a false accusation and demand the immediate departure of the impostors. After a further exchange of abuse, however, the conversation takes on a friendly tone, and the real object of the visit comes up for discussion.[41]

This preliminary meeting, if successful—and it very rarely is not, since the boy and his parents usually make sure of their chances beforehand[42]—is followed after a couple of days by another one, at which the parents, relatives, and friends on both sides are present, and the matters regarding the dowry and residence of the couple are decided. If a mutual agreement is reached, the formal betrothal (*zaruczyny*) takes place. The bride then takes two rings presented to her on a plate by the *starosta* and places one on the finger of the groom and the other on her own.[43] The for-

36. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 15. 37. Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

38. A description of the elaborate and complicated ceremonies accompanying these three parts of the wedding cycle has been omitted, owing to limited space.

39. Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 69. 40. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, I, 224.

41. Barwinskij, *op. cit.*, p. 402; Kolberg, *Pokucie*, I, 224.

42. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, I, 286.

43. Kolberg, O., *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 115; Tomaszewska, M., "Obrzędy weselne ludu ruskiego we wsi Winnikach," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, XII (Kraków, 1888), 56.

mal betrothal, however, is not always celebrated at the second meeting; in some places it does not occur until a week before the wedding,[44] while in others it immediately precedes the wedding ceremony in the church.[45]

The wedding proper usually takes place on a Sunday, but it is both preceded and followed by several days of elaborate ceremonies in the homes of the bride and groom. These ceremonies are regarded as of greater moment than the actual church wedding. Indeed, it is held by all the Ukrainians that if the groom dies after the ceremony in church but before the following ritual in the home, the bride is not to be considered a widow, but an unmarried girl.[46] The parents, as in the case of the ceremonies after childbirth, are kept in the background, except for a few occasional moments. This is especially true of the fathers of the couple. The principal actors in the whole complicated cycle of ceremonies are the bride and groom and their respective wedding parties. In general, marriage is accompanied by even greater publicity than birth; as a matter of fact, the whole affair seems to be designed to draw the attention and receive the approval of the community to an act in which it is vitally concerned.[47]

It is also noteworthy that the ceremonies reveal definite and unmistakable traces of both purchase and capture—forms of marriage which may well have been prevalent at some former time.[48] The formal wooing begins, as we have seen, with a survivalistic form, and the betrothal and wedding ceremonies on many occasions simulate force and resistance.[49] The terms "prince," "princess," and "noblemen," applied respectively to the groom, bride, and their trains, and the songs, which profusely accompany practically every act during the entire series of ceremonies, offer additional evidence to the same effect.[50]

44. Tomaszewska, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

45. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 18.

46. Zelenin, D., *Russische* (*Ostlavische*) *Volkskunde* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), pp. 307–8.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

48. Łoziński, W., *Prawem i Lewem · Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi* (2 vols., Lwów, 1904–13), I, 270 ff.; Rawita-Gawroński, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

49. Vowk, C., *Studii z Ukraińskoi Etnografii ta Antropologii* (Praha, n.d.), p. 195.

50. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 19–20; Roszkiewicz, O., and Franko, I., "Obrzędy i pieśni weselne u ludu ruskiego we wsi Cetuli," *Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej*, I (Kraków, 1886), 4.

A newly wedded couple usually reside in the house of the groom's parents. This arrangement, which may be either temporary or permanent, is reminiscent of the house-communalism of former times. Both in the plains and in the mountains it is still the rule for the young pair to move into the "small room" (*mała chata*) of the paternal house. Although this room serves ordinarily as a storeroom, the fact that it forms an almost invariable part of the peasant house suggests that it is a survival from a time when it was specifically designed to provide a home for the married son.[51]

Today, particularly in the lowlands, the patrilocal residence is in most cases only temporary.[52] While it lasts, however, the young couple, despite their nominal independence, remain under the domination of the groom's parents, to whose supervision and advice they are constantly subject. Only when the young man has built a home for himself on his own propery, usually received as a dowry, can it be said that the couple have severed their connection with the parental home and have set up an independent household. When this happens the people say of the groom: "He has separated himself" (*win widdiliw sia*).[53]

A married woman occupies a definitely inferior status. The husband, among both lowlanders and mountaineers, regards his wife as his property in the strictest sense of the word.[54] The man is the master of the house, and the woman owes him unconditional obedience and respect. A girl who marries a widower does not dare to address him by the familiar "thou" (*ty*), but uses the plural "you" (*wy*). If a wife presumes to interfere in her husband's business, she is usually silenced with "*Paż swoje!*" (mind your own business!) or "*Zatkaj sy!*" (shut up!).[55] When they walk together, the wife usually keeps at least half a pace behind her mate, and when they enter the house he always precedes her. When there is only one animal at their disposal, it is the husband who rides upon the horse, while his wife trails behind on foot. If there is a burden to be carried, it is usually the woman who bears it.[56]

In private, husband and wife usually address each other by their

51. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 22; "Haus und Hof bei den Rusnaken," *Globus*, LXXI (Braunschweig, 1897), 140.
52. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273.
53. *Ibid.*, LXXI, 140.
54. *Ibid.*, LXVI, 271.
55. Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, I, 40.
56. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 271.

names, but in speaking to a third person the former commonly refers to his wife as *moja* (mine), while she calls him *mij* (mine). Often one refers to the other as his "fate" (*dola*); in this sense one frequently hears of a person with a good or bad fate. In speaking contemptuously of his wife, a husband usually refers to her as *baba* (old woman), even though she is quite young; endearingly, he calls her *mołodyczka* (young wifie), however old she may be.[57]

In his treatment of his spouse, the peasant holds fast to the theory that "if you wish to have a good wife, you must strike into her as into a piece of wood."[58] Other guiding principles are: "An unbeaten wife is like a dull scythe"; "A wife is like still water; unbeaten she stagnates"; "Love your wife with your heart, but flay her with your hands."[59] Consequently, it is a rare husband indeed who fails to administer a beating to his wife on certain, and by no means infrequent, occasions. The women, curiously enough, do not seem to object to this treatment. On the contrary, a wife whose husband never beats her feels that she is being neglected and that he no longer loves her.[60] This attitude is expressed in the sayings: "A man does not love his wife unless he beats her";[61] "A woman does not care for a man who does not beat her."[62] Other maxims expressive of the peasant's attitude toward his wife include the following: "A wife is lovable only twice: when she enters the house after the wedding, and when she is carried out"; "A wife should be obeyed on two occasions: when she calls you to eat and again when she asks you to sleep"; "I love my wife, but only at night; in the day I work with her as with a horse"; "Never tell your wife the truth";[63] "A woman and a dog are not to be trusted."[64] On the other hand, the importance of the woman in the household also finds expression in sayings, e.g.: "Lacking a wife is like being without hands"; "It is bad with a wife, but it is worse without her";[65] "A good wife reforms a bad man."[66]

With the exception of her clothes and of other articles which she may have brought with her as a dowry, a wife has scarcely anything which she can call her own. Even land received by her as part

57. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 23.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
59. Franko, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 127–8.
60. Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
62. Franko, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 127.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 128, 131.
64. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 197.
65. Franko, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 124.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

of her dowry or as an inheritance, though often registered in her name, actually falls completely under the control of her husband.[67]

According to the prevailing division of labor by sex, household tasks such as cooking, washing, spinning, and sewing are considered strictly as woman's work. Milking and water carrying, too, are sometimes assigned exclusively to women. A man, as a rule, scorns to perform a task that has come to be regarded as feminine. A highlander, for example, will rarely degrade himself by fetching water from the well, "because it is the work of a woman."[68] Other types of work, such as the construction of vehicles, tools, and utensils for home consumption or for the market, are generally regarded as man's work. In the mountains, moreover, men alone are entrusted with driving the cattle to the distant pastures.[69] Aside from these occupations, however, there is scarcely a type of work in which women do not participate, and in which they do not exhibit a skill equal to that of their husbands.

Since matrimonial alliances are only in the rarest of cases the product of love, married life seldom exemplifies genuine mutual affection.[70] In most cases, however, husband and wife get along together reasonably well, remain faithful to one another, and are free from mutual suspicion and jealousy.[71]

Adultery and irregular sexual unions are common only in the mountains. Here men sometimes live *na wiru* (on faith) with women to whom they are not legally married. Such cases do not arouse the condemnation of the community, and are by no means infrequent. In the small settlement of Zelenycia alone, in 1908, there were nine couples living "on faith."[72] An unmarried mother is often taken "on faith" by the father of her child, or, if he refuses, by some other man. In the latter case the people say: "*Druhyj prystaw do neji*" (another has joined her). The "other" may be an old widower who is willing to adopt the child.[73] In entering into a union "on faith," the two parties usually swear mutual fidelity and obedience

67. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273.
68. Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, I, 40.
69. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 22.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 21; Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
71. Zawadzki, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
72. Onyščuk, A., "Z narodnoho życia huculiw," *Materyały do Ukraińskoi Etnologii*, XV (Lwiw, 1912), 114.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

over a piece of salt and two burning candles.[74] The reasons commonly given for such unions are: (1) that the priest demands too high a fee for his services, (2) that a wedding would involve heavier expenses than the couple can afford, or (3) that family disputes over the bride's dowry or the groom's gift are thereby avoided.[75] Although possibly to be regarded as contributory causes, these reasons, of course, could never have produced this type of illegitimate union if the group had not, at least in a measure, lent its sanction thereto.

Extra-marital relations are frequently indulged in among the mountaineers. Many married men, although living with their wives, openly keep mistresses (*lubaski*) on the side, while a considerable number of married women have lovers (*lubasi*), sometimes even Jews from the same or a neighboring village.[76] Women most commonly enter upon a love affair when, for one reason or another, they have forsaken their husbands or have been driven out by them. In such cases each chooses a partner with whom he lives "on faith."[77] Even where there has been no separation, adulterous behavior is by no means considered unpardonable in a husband, nor even always in a wife. The following cases illustrate the lenient attitude toward adultery.

W. B. drove his wife out of the house. In order not to be left without a mate, however, he repaired to the Hutsul, M. O., and bought from him his daughter for 50 gulden. Upon being informed of this, the court levied a fine upon him, but this did not terminate his relations with the girl. Finally tiring of her, he seduced the wife of a Hutsul. When the latter came to get his wife back, W. B. succeeded in inducing him, by the payment of 60 gulden, to leave her with him for another year. For this, too, W. B. was convicted, but he continued to live with the wife of the Hutsul for the remainder of the year, whereupon the latter came to receive her back.[78]

The youth S. D. fell passionately in love with the wife of D. H. She responded to his entreaties and satisfied his passion. Soon afterwards, however, S. D. was informed that the woman had proved unfaithful to her husband, not only with him but with another. To punish her he gave

74. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273. 75. Onyščuk, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
76. Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, I, 56.
77. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273; *Die Huzulen*, p. 23.
78. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXIX, 70.

her a sound beating. Finding no other way of taking revenge upon her lover, the woman confessed the whole affair to her husband, who then accused S. D. before the court of seduction and mistreatment of his wife. The accused succeeded, however, through the mediation of T. S., in reconciling the man and in inducing him, upon the payment of five (!) gulden, to withdraw his accusation.[79]

The mountaineer is inclined to close his eyes to transgressions on the part of his wife, providing the seducer is a wealthy man. He then looks upon his wife's affair as a good source of income.[80] This attitude does not appear strange when one considers that as late as the beginning of the last century the people are supposed to have practiced a sort of sexual communalism, according to which husbands often offered their wives to friends.[81]

Despite the leniency with which the mountaineer views his wife's affairs, he is by no means devoid of jealousy. At times he may interpret even the most innocent attempt on the part of his wife to please another man as infidelity and punish her accordingly.[82] Among the lowlanders, who reveal a much stricter attitude toward sexual irregularities, an adulterous woman is exposed to heavy chastisement as soon as she is caught, and her lover is punished by the husband and his friends. Indeed, to assist an offended husband in wreaking revenge upon the seducer of his wife is viewed as a special duty.[83]

The highlander displays little abhorrence even at incest—an act which arouses extreme repugnance among the lowlanders. Cases of the cohabitation of father-in-law with daughter-in-law are the most frequent. In some localities, indeed, a man considers it his duty to see to it that his childless daughter-in-law bears children.[84] Sometimes a father-in-law carries on a regular love affair with his son's wife—he lives with her "on faith"—secretly bringing her presents of white bread, tobacco, brandy, etc. Indeed, in some cases, especially when the married son proves impotent, no attempt is made to keep the relations secret.[85] Kaindl[86] regards this practice as a

79. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 22.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 27.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
83. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 271.
84. Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, I, 56.
85. Onyščuk, *op. cit.*, 114.
86. Kaindl, R. F., "Aus der Volksüberlieferung der Bojken," *Globus*, LXXIX (Braunschweig, 1901), 155.

vestige of house-communalism and of the once prevalent custom according to which the elder of the house, i.e., the father, married off his immature son to a mature woman and acted as husband in his stead until the boy reached adolescence.

Cases of a man living "on faith" with his daughter, or even his granddaughter, are by no means unknown. What is more, such relationships do not seem to arouse any particular disgust; the people are even said to regard them as quite natural.[87] The above-mentioned writer[88] relates the case of a mountaineer who had intercourse with his daughter, herself the offspring of an illicit affair, and then with his granddaughter, the issue of the union.

Formal divorce is extremely rare. Instead, the dissolution of marriage usually takes the form of desertion or of the forcible expulsion of a wife by her husband. Divorce is fully justified only when one spouse has attempted to take the life of the other, or when one is a hermaphrodite. A husband may, however, without drawing upon himself any social condemnation, drive his wife out of the house on the grounds that she is a scold or a bad housewife, while a wife may forsake her husband for mistreating her. When such a separation occurs, the husband usually takes another woman into his home and lives with her "on faith," and the wife either returns to her parental home or finds a lover with whom she lives on the same terms.[89] Upon the dissolution of a marriage, the children are ordinarily retained by the parent who remains in the house, usually the father.[90] So far as the wife's personal belongings are concerned, the husband is obliged to return them to her only if he has forced her to leave his home.[91]

Contrary to the practice of the Polish peasant, who endeavors to leave his property undivided,[92] the Ukrainian usually distributes his property among his several children, and, if possible, assigns a particular share to each before his death. Daughters ordinarily do not inherit, especially among the Hutsuls. Their rights to their parents' property are thought to cease, once they have been given

87. Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, I, 56.
88. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 9.
89. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
91. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 23.
92. Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (5 vols., Chicago and Boston, 1918–20), I, 118.

a trousseau and a dowry.[93] In dividing his property, the father usually takes into consideration the quality and quantity of services rendered by each of his children, and endeavors to reward them accordingly. An older son who has worked long and hard, or one who has notably increased the prosperity of the household by his earnings, receives a larger than proportionate share of the estate.[94] This practice often results in protracted lawsuits among the heirs, especially since the decedent rarely leaves a written will. If a wife dies intestate, her property is inherited by her husband,[95] unless she has borne no children, in which case her possessions usually revert to her parents. If, however, the marriage has been a long and enduring one, the widower may rightfully claim the property, even though his wife died childless, in compensation for his lack of children.[96]

The peasant family (*rodyna, rid, pol,* or *familja*) includes, in the wider sense of the term, all relatives by blood or marriage. Kinsmen in the male line are called collectively the *mużeckij rid;* those in the female line, the *żenskij rid.* The patrilineal tie is considered the more important. When, for example, the legality of an intended marriage is in question, kinship in the paternal line is held to be a more serious obstacle.[97]

The family circle, including relatives-in-law, is customarily enlarged by the admission of the godparents (*kumstwo*) and of what we might call, for lack of a better term, the bridal parents (*u batkach*), namely, the persons who have played the part of parents during the wedding ceremonies. Artificial parents of both types are collectively termed *manaszki,* and their "children" are called *finy.* The bond between a person and his *manaszki* and *finy* is purely ceremonial, or what Kaindl[98] terms "spiritual kinship."

A list of Ukrainian kinship terms[99] follows. Diminutive forms of these terms, which are exceedingly numerous and extensively used

93. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen,* p. 23.
94. Bujak, F., *Galicya* (2 vols., Lwów-Warszawa, 1908–10), I, 498.
95. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen,* p. 23.
96. Kaindl, in *Globus,* LXVI, 273.
97. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen,* p. 23.
98. *Ibid.,* p. 25.
99. Compiled mainly from Kaindl, *Die Huzulen,* pp. 24–5, supplemented by Żelechowski, E., *Małoruskij-Nimeckij Slowar* (2 vols., Lwiw, 1886), and Piskunow, F., *Slowar Żywaho Narodnoho i Piśmennaho Aktowaho Jazyka Ruskich Juzan Rosijskoj i Awstro-Wengerskoj Imperii* (Kiev, 1882).

in reference as well as in address, are shown by representative examples, distinguishable by their suffixes.

Relatives (in general): *krewni, swoji.*
Ancestors (in general): *predki, praotci, didy.*
Great grandfather: *dieda, pradiad, pradidek.*
Great grandmother: *prababa, prababka.*
Grandfather: *did, didak.*
Grandmother: *baba, babka, babuszka.*
Father: *oteć, tato, batko, tatko, tatońko.*
Mother: *mater, maty, mama, mamka, mamunia, mamoczka.*
Paternal uncle: *stryj, diadko.*
Maternal uncle, great uncle: *wij, wijko.*
Aunt (in general), great aunt: *teta, tetoczka.*
Paternal aunt, wife of paternal uncle: *stryjna.*
Maternal aunt: *wijna, diadyna, wijenka.*
Brother: *brat, bratczok.*
Sister: *sestra, sestryczka.*
Male cousin (in general): *kuzen.*
Female cousin (in general): *kuzenka.*
Father's brother's son: *stryjczynok.*
Father's brother's daughter: *stryjczynka.*
Son: *syn, synku.*
Daughter: *docz, doczer, doczka, dońka, donia, doneczka.*
Nephew (in general): *nepot.*
Brother's son: *brataneć, synoweć.*
Sister's son: *sestryneć.*
Niece (in general): *nepota.*
Brother's daughter: *bratanycia.*
Sister's daughter: *sestrynycia.*
Grandson: *wnuk, wnuczok.*
Granddaughter: *wnuńka, wnuneczka.*
Great grandson: *prawnuk, prawnuczok.*
Great granddaughter: *prawnuńka, prawnuneczka.*
Husband: *muż, czolowik, mużeńko.*
Wife: *żena, żinka, żineczka.*
Husband's father: *świekor, świekorok.*
Wife's father: *teść, teścienko.*
Husband's mother: *świekra, świekriwońka, świekrucha* (contemptuous term).
Wife's mother: *teścia, teścieńka.*

Stepfather: *witczem, otczem.*
Stepmother: *maczocha.*
Brother-in-law, son-in-law: *zieć, zieciuńko.*
Sister-in-law: *bratowa, newistka* ("she who knows nothing").
Daughter-in-law: *synowa, newistka, synucha* (contemptuous term).
Stepson: *paserb.*
Stepdaughter: *paserbycia.*

The peasant looks with favor upon the adoption of children, for the simple reason that an increase in his family means additional working hands. Few except orphans, however, are adopted; parents are loath to part with their children, even when in direst need, since the loss of a child diminishes the earning capacity of the family.[100] Once parents have decided to give up a child, however, they usually consent to sever completely their connection with it. An adoption is never concluded with legal formalities, but rather by a mutual oral agreement between the two parties. The only conditions are those sometimes advanced by the parents of the child regarding its trousseau and wedding.[101]

Adopted children (*hodowanci*) call their foster parents "father" and "mother," and are addressed in turn as "son" and "daughter." The relationship between foster parents and children, nevertheless, is not considered as equivalent to blood kinship, and marriage between an own and an adopted child is permissible. In actuality, however, such marriages very rarely take place; the daily association and the resulting habit of calling each other "brother" and "sister" seem not to conduce to unions between siblings by adoption.[102] The advantages of adoption accrue mainly to the foster parents. All that an adopted child can expect in return for the services he renders over many years is some property as a wedding gift.[103]

A second and more businesslike type of adoption, in this case more to the advantage of the person adopted, is prevalent among the mountaineers, who adhere to a curious custom of adopting adults. An elderly, forsaken person, who nevertheless possesses a certain amount of property, formally adopts a well-to-do head of a family. The terms laid down at such a transaction include a prom-

100. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 273–4.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 274.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

ise from the foster child to care for his "father" as long as he lives, and then to provide him with a proper burial; in exchange for these services the "child" is designated as heir to his "father's" property. The agreement is usually concluded in writing, less frequently orally, in the presence of witnesses. The adopted child is held strictly to his promises; if for any reason he fails in his obligations, the foster parent has the right to annul the agreement.[104] Relatives are rarely adopted in this manner, for, having a claim upon one's property anyway, they cannot be so thoroughly trusted to discharge their duties faithfully. On the other hand, Jews are often especially favored, since it is expected they will manifest a special interest in the property of their foster parents. It is not uncommon, therefore, for a peasant to select a Jew as his *chowanec* (foster child); sometimes he even adopts both a Jew and a non-Jew, who then share equally in the duties and privileges that are theirs. It is clear that the relative status of foster parents and children of this type is precisely the opposite of that which prevails in an ordinary adoption, since the adopted person is the one who takes care of the adopter. Nevertheless, they usually call one another "father" and "son."[105] The development of this peculiar form of adoption is easily explained, thinks Kaindl,[106] by the hard conditions of life prevailing in the mountains. Solitary elderly people often find themselves exposed to unbearable hardships, and resort to this expedient as a means of relief.

When, as sometimes happens, a married son with his wife and children resides permanently with his parents, an association of families is formed wherein the father wields a patriarchal authority over the whole group. This recalls the ancient institution of house-communalism, once widely prevalent among the people.[107] Family associations of this sort are still found here and there, although only in the highlands.[108] They usually consist of a father and mother, their married sons, and the wives and children of the latter, all living together and sharing in the household. The father is considered the head of the whole family and has the final decision in all matters. He administers all property acquired by himself or

104. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 26.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
107. Kaindl, in *Globus*, LXVI, 273–4.
108. Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 28, 29.

his children and grandchildren, and treats all the members of his family as minors, who owe him absolute obedience. Clothing alone is privately owned; everything else is considered common property. Earnings are pooled in a common treasury, and needs are met from the same source. When the patriarch dies, the management of the household descends to the eldest son.

Vestiges of house-communalism have been preserved best among the Boiki.[109] According to Ochrymovyč,[110] family associations of the type described above were practically universal in some Boiki villages as late as the middle of the last century. Only in exceptional cases did a son "break away," and such an act was considered an actual transgression. The number of families thus living together was usually four. By the beginning of the present century this practice had weakened considerably, but it had still by no means gone completely out of existence. Associations of two or three families were still fairly common. In one Boiki village practically half of the inhabitants were living under communalistic arrangements in 1899, and severance from the group was still regarded as highly improper.[111]

House-communalism, as it is found at present, assumes two principal forms: (a) an association of father and married sons, or (b) one of two or three brothers with their families. The arrangement, however, is identical in the two cases, the father in the one instance, the oldest brother in the other, being the *starszyna* or head of the household. Since the practice is slowly becoming obsolete, it reveals different gradations—from extreme cases of complete sharing, which are few, to cases where one or two things only are held in common, which are comparatively numerous. Where everything is shared, the head of the family, though still looked upon as the sole authority, can no longer afford to be despotic, for as soon as a grievance occurs the family concerned does not hesitate to sever its connection with the rest. In the village of Czeneczow there were, in 1899, ten communalistic households of the extreme type in a population of eight hundred. The other family associations shared

109. One of the three mountaineer tribes.

110. Ochrymovyč, W., "Pro ostanky perwisnoho komunizmu u bojkiw," *Zapisky Naukowoho Towarystwa Imeni Szewczenka,* XXXI–XXXII (Lwiw, 1899), 13–14.

111. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

only certain properties. A group of two or three families living together might own in common the fodder for the cattle or the products of the fields but not the cattle or the fields, or *vice versa*. The slightest degree of communalism, and hence the most prevalent form, is found where the house alone is shared, while everything else is considered the exclusive property of a particular family. The women cook individually for their own families, and even serve the meals at different times. Only on Christmas do all gather at a common table for their holiday dinner.[112] Vestiges of house-communalism can also be detected in the sex mores, especially in the above-described relationship between father-in-law and daughter-in-law.

112. Ochrymovyč, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

ALTERNATING GENERATIONS IN AUSTRALIA

WILLIAM EWART LAWRENCE

THIS excerpt from a larger study of Australian social institutions seeks to clarify certain matters which seem unnecessarily abstruse in much of the literature.[1] From our knowledge of other regions we are familiar with unilinear systems of descent, which result in the alignment of individuals into kin-groups or sibs, either exclusively matrilineal or exclusively patrilineal. Occidental culture lacks unilinear systems of either type; our method of reckoning descent abolishes the kin-group. Australian social organization is of particular interest since it neither lacks unilinear principles entirely nor adheres to one type exclusively but applies both principles coextensively. Not only are the patrilineal and the matrilineal systems both fully developed, but they coexist and attain wide extension—tribal, intertribal, transcontinental. In combination they yield complex kin-groups of unique pattern, which are nevertheless resoluble into simple component elements.

In Ashanti, West Africa, society is divided into exogamous matrilineal sibs or clans, called *abusua*. A man is believed to derive his blood solely from his mother; uterine relatives alone are blood-kin. A man derives his soul (*ntoro*), however, from his father, who, in turn, has gotten his *ntoro* from the father's father. Thus, in addition to his matrilineal *abusua*, a person belongs to a *ntoro* group, also apparently exogamous, consisting of patrilineal ancestors and collaterals who form a patrilineal kin-group or sib.[2]

Australian institutions, though differing from these Ashanti forms in the possession of a dual organization, nevertheless resemble them in principle. Exogamous "matri-clans" and "patri-clans"[3]

1. Acknowledgment is made to Dr. George Peter Murdock for comprehensive and penetrating criticism, to Dr. Newbell Niles Puckett for pertinent suggestions, and to Mr. Alden Shepard for the loan of maps.

2. Rattray, R. S., *Ashanti* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 36–9, 79; idem, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1927), p. 323.

3. The term "clan," already confused in anthropological literature, is particularly inapplicable in Australia without incessant reminder as to filiation. "Patri-clan" and "matri-clan," denoting small exogamous kin-groups with patrilineal and matrilineal descent respectively, are suggested to eliminate monotonous repetition of adjectives.

and exogamous aggregations of both are far-flung, coexisting. An Australian is affiliated with his uterine kin-folk, also with his agnatic kin-folk, and avoids marriage with either, but he stands in especially close association with those persons who by the mores of his particular tribe are both patrilineally and matrilineally akin to him. For reasons to be explained such persons fall into "alternating generations."[4]

Several distinct patterns of social organization have been described in Australia (see Map A). Special attention is here directed to three types, which cover most of the continent and which constitute together what may be called the "class area." In this region there exists a matrilineal dichotomy associated with two, four, or eight named divisions of a tribe,[5] so related that one, two, or four divisions respectively are found in each matrilineal moiety.[6] These named divisions will be denominated "matri-moieties"[7] where there are two, "sections"[8] where there are four, and "subsections"[9] where

4. An expression adopted from Mathews, R. H., "Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Western Australia," *Queensland Geographical Journal,* XIX (1903–04), 61, perhaps inspired by Forrest, J., "The Marriage Laws of the Aborigines of North-Western Australia," *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science,* II (1890). *Cf.* Deacon, B. A., "The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LVII (1927), 326; Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Oceania,* I (1931), 443; Elkin, A. P., "Social Organization in the Kimberley Division, North-Western Australia," *Oceania,* II (1932), 315, n 7; unsigned review, in *Oceania,* II (1932), 500, of Hocart, A. M., "Alternate Generations in Fiji," *Man,* XXXI (1931), No. 214.

5. Labeled "2M," "4" or "4x2," and "8" respectively on Map A.

6. Mathews, R. H., "Marriage and Descent among the Australian Aborigines," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales,* XXXIV (1900), 120. This passage summarizes the import of many observations. Sole credit is due to Mathews for recognition of nearly universal matrilineal dualism. For this brilliant discovery he was castigated by Spencer, B., "Totemism in Australia," *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science,* X (1905), 380 n.

7. The accepted term, "moiety," leads to confusion between patrilineal and matrilineal dichotomies. "Matri-moiety" and "patri-moiety" are suggested for dual named divisions with matrilineal and patrilineal descent respectively. "Matrilineal moiety" and "patrilineal moiety" may be reserved for unnamed dichotomies.

8. Mathews, R. H., "The Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales,* XXXI (1897), 156, and subsequent articles; apparently adopted from this source by Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLVIII (1918), 224.

9. Radcliffe-Brown, *loc. cit.*

there are eight. "Class"[10] will be used as a generic term for all of these. Divisions precisely like classes, but bearing no names, will be termed "anonyms."[11]

The regions over which these types are distributed are not to be regarded as culture areas, for, aside from features of social organization, they may show variance. Thus the southeastern area of matri-moieties has three different initiatory systems, all lacking in the similar southwestern area. Regions ignorant of the grinding of stone and those lacking boomerang, spear-thrower, or shield agree accurately neither with each other nor with class areas. Nor do types of totemism, richly varied in Australia, conform readily to class systems, while the constricted distribution of circumcision tramples across all other trait allocations.

Despite other important cultural distinctions, classes play an enormous rôle in the life of the people, especially in the cult, vengeance, and marriage. Over distances which, in view of the backwardness of the material culture, constitute a marvel in anthropology, tribes stand in relations of *commercium et connubium.* In association with these far-flung intertribal contacts—certainly in part instrumental as well as consequential—there has developed a recognition of the equivalence of classes the length of the continent.[12] By this is meant that, though the number of classes in-

10. It seems permissible to revive this term in default of a substitute in contemporary specialized literature. "Class" has not disappeared in current anthropology; *cf.* Deacon, *op. cit.*, p. 326; Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology* (New York, 1923), p. 233; Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New York, 1934), p. 28; Seligman, B. Z., "Bilateral Descent and the Formation of Marriage Classes," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LVII (1927), pp. 349 ff.; Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), III, 1595.

11. It is my belief that this term has been used before, but I do not find it in my notes.

12. Notable tabulations include: Ridley, W., "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* II (1873), 265; Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 142; Roth, W. E., *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), pp. 56–8; idem, "Social and Individual Nomenclature," *North Queensland Ethnography,* Bulletin 18, *Records of the Australian Museum,* VIII (1910), 100; Bates, D. M., "Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes," *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science,* XIV (1914), 387 ff.; Spencer, B., and Gillen, F. J., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 100–1; Thomas, N. W., *Kinship Organizations and Group Marriage in Australia*

crease, though the names of classes be unlike, though like names be arranged in unlike affiliations, the native nevertheless recognizes the corresponding divisions in different tribes. Over a thousand miles of territory, or so far as his knowledge of other peoples reaches, he looks upon marriage into a forbidden class or its equivalent in another tribe as an unspeakable, incestuous abomination.

These class laws seem to be supplemented extensively in the class area by additional rules prohibiting marriage with those too closely akin by genealogical relationship or so-called "consanguinity."[13] The literature is filled with futile attempts to derive class exogamy from genealogical incest taboos. There is no warrant for this, since class affiliations reach far beyond any possible recollection of actual relationship. Roth[14] has taken pains to point out that "consanguineous" restrictions are governed by separate laws of their own.

Throughout the class area, if not the continent, so far as known, tribes are divided into petty local bands, called "hordes"[15] in accepted literature. In an overlooked work, Curr[16] early demonstrated the solidarity of the band. Devoid of internal friction, jealous of its personnel and its territory, it is the unit in war, commerce, intermarriage, and other tribal and intertribal relations. In consequence of an inexorable rule of exogamy, in conjunction with uniform patrilocal residence, the band constitutes a patrilineal sib or patri-clan, plus the wives of its male members, minus their married sisters. Such a band is a petty aggregation of families, which have definite but altogether subsidiary functions. Even in the food

(Cambridge, 1906), chap. IV; Mathew, J., "The Origin of the Australian Phratries and Explanations of Some of the Phratry Names," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XL (1910), 170.

13. Bates, D. M., "The Marriage Laws and Some Customs of the West Australian Aborigines," *Victorian Geographical Journal,* XXIII (1905), 51; Fison, L., "Group Marriage and Relationship," *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science,* IV (1893), 697; Howitt, *op. cit.,* p. 241.

14. "Social and Individual Nomenclature," p. 102.

15. Howitt, A. W., and Fison, L., "On the Deme and the Horde," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XIV (1885), 142 ff., whence the term was apparently adopted by Radcliffe-Brown, "Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes," p. 222.

16. Curr, E. M., *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, then called the Port Philip District* (Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, 1883), pp. 246–7, 274. For the definition of clan see McConnel, U., "The Wik-Munkan Tribe," *Oceania,* I (1930), 181.

quest, chief task of the family, whenever the band is in assembly the men of the band troop off to hunt, and the women to gather, in groups. At puberty, marriage removes the girl, initiation the boy, from further close association with the family of birth; allegiance is to the band. Had Curr's description been heeded, much confusion in the earlier literature would have been avoided. Many incomplete statements[17] warrant the assumption of the universality of the exogamous band or horde, but it was Radcliffe-Brown,[18] in 1913, who first properly developed its significance.

Tribes throughout the class area are divided, not only into these petty local patri-clans, but also independently into two matrilineal divisions—simple under matri-moieties, complex under sections, still more complex under subsections. It is this combination which causes alternating generations to be classed together. This is readily seen in the simple case—the exogamous patri-clan in a system of matrilineal moieties. Let the two matri-moieties be designated A and B.[19] Since these divisions are also exogamous, a man of A may marry only a woman of B. A child, though of its father's patri-clan, belongs to its mother's matri-moiety. Thus the son of an A man and a B woman is B, like his mother; when he marries an A woman, as he must, his offspring are A, like their grandfather, and his son's children are B, like himself. The line of descent in a patri-clan from a man to his children to his sons' children, etc., thus fluctuates from A to B to A to B with endless repetition. Successive generations in patrilineal descent alternate or "cycle"[20] between the two matrilineal moieties.

A system of named matri-moieties does not mean that the local patri-clans are divided into two kinds. Elsewhere this occurs but not here. It means that a tribe is composed of several patrilineal

17. Howitt and Fison, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Fison, *op. cit.*, p. 696; Roth, "Social and Individual Nomenclature," p. 104; Dawson, J., *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), p. 26; Bates, D. M., "Tribus du sud-ouest de l'Australie," *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires,* IV (1923), 236; Moore, G. F., "Aborigines of Australia—Swan River," *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal,* V (1841), 314–15.

18. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Three Tribes of Western Australia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLIII (1913), 144–7, 188–9.

19. Howitt and Fison, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

20. The term "cycle" appears in Mathews, R. H., "Notes on Some Native Tribes of Australia," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales,* XL (1907), 95 ff.

local camps within any one of which a man, his father's father, his brother, and his son's son are not only patrilineally akin but also belong to his matri-moiety, while his father, his son, and his son's son's son, though agnatic relatives, are not matrilineal kin-folk. Uterine ties extend between patri-clans, not to adjacent generations within a given patri-clan. One matri-moiety, consequently, embraces half of each patri-clan, including persons two generations removed, while the intervening generations in all the patri-clans belong to the other matri-moiety.

As in other lands, matrilineal descent includes all those who deem themselves related by a uterine tie, extending from tribe to tribe as far as matri-moiety names are recognized as equivalents. That the persons thereby included are genealogically akin is beyond examination; common ancestries would reach far into the mythical past. They are conventional kin, governed by a conventional incest concept, commonly sanctioned by the penalty of death. In contrast, the patri-clan is geographically compact and small enough to warrant acceptance of its members as "consanguine," except for adoptions. Patrilineal kinship is not extended artificially beyond the patri-clan by class names in a matri-moiety system as we shall find to be the case in more complex systems.

In a four-class tribe the same conditions exist subject to this innovating extension of patrilineal descent. There is, as in the previous case, a matrilineal dichotomy, but there is now also a patrilineal dichotomy.[21] Four divisions, called "sections" if they bear names, are formed because the patrilineal moieties and the matrilineal moieties bisect each other. The four sections, in other words, may be paired in one way to make patrilineal moieties, or in another way to make matrilineal moieties. In most of Queensland and New South Wales, matri-moiety names are found, two sections being associated with each matri-moiety;[22] but where such names are lacking, as in northern Queensland or in tribes resembling the Kariera in Western Australia, the interrelationship of the sections is precisely the same, so that pairs of sections form unnamed matrilineal moieties. Another alignment of sections, on

21. This expression occurs in Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LVII (1927), 344.

22. Thomas, *op. cit.*, Map III, facing p. 40.

the other hand, yields two patrilineal moieties, with two sections in each. These, not to be confused with the A and B matri-moieties since they involve an entirely different alignment of persons, may be designated X and Y.[23]

The accepted conventional symbol for a system of this type is shown in Fig. 1.[24] Here the equality signs denote intermarriages; the vertical double arrows, matrilineal descent; the diagonal double arrows, patrilineal descent. This symbol, though doubtless convenient in field study, has a drawback, for unaided memory must keep in mind the following:

Matrilineal moiety A cycles as A, C, A, C, etc.
Matrilineal moiety B cycles as B, D, B, D, etc.
Patrilineal moiety X cycles as A, D, A, D, etc.
Patrilineal moiety Y cycles as B, C, B, C, etc.

This is more readily seen if, using minuscules to avoid confusion, Fig. 1 is rearranged as in Fig. 2, placing the patri-moieties horizontally and the marriages consequently diagonally. If this is then simplified as in Fig. 3, we may observe at a glance that AX forms a cycling moiety, or "matri-cycle,"[25] with AY, and a "patri-cycle" with BX.

Fig. 3 is simply another way of representing the section system, comparable to the currently accepted symbol of Fig. 1, without resort to perplexing sets of native terms. It enables the reader to follow the system more readily. He will note that, for example, a man of AX may not marry a woman of AX or AY, being of his own matrilineal moiety A, nor a woman of AX or BX, being of his own patrilineal moiety X. He may marry only a woman of the BY section, who is related to him neither matrilineally as A nor

23. Radcliffe-Brown, "Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym," p. 344.

24. Figs. 1 and 4 were developed from tables of class systems by Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Marriage and Descent in North Australia," *Man*, X (1910), No. 32. Figs. 3 and 7 were similarly developed directly from class tables out of a desire to tabulate classes in conformity with the horde-structure. Fig. 7 is not equivalent to the Mara diagram of Radcliffe-Brown ("Social Organization of Australian Tribes," p. 40).

25. Radcliffe-Brown ("Three Tribes of Western Australia," p. 148) uses "cycle" for classes matrilineally connected, and "couple" for those patrilineally connected. Since "couple" seems inappropriate to the Murngin and Nangiomeri cases, where patrilineal descent cycles through four classes, "matri-cycle" and "patri-cycle" are suggested.

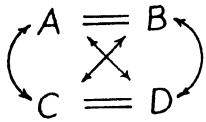


fig. 1

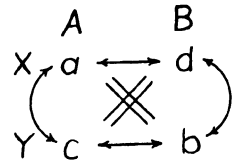


fig 2

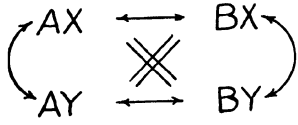


fig 3

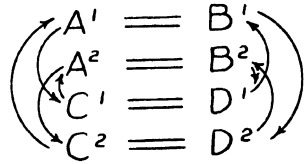


fig 4

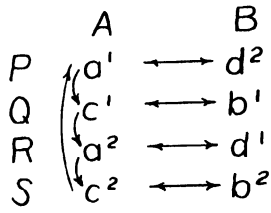


fig. 5

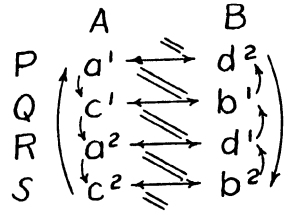


fig. 6

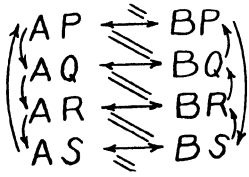


fig. 7

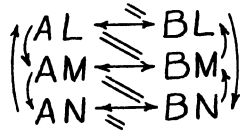


fig. 8

patrilineally as X. Moreover, when a man AX marries a woman BY, their child is BX—X like his father, B like his mother—and when AX gives his sister to a BY man, their child is AY, who is free to marry only BX. If savages could invent this, any civilized reader is capable of taking pencil and paper and comprehending it. He will then see that not only does the patrilineal line cycle in alternating generations from A to B, but that the matrilineal line swings to and fro similarly between the patrilineal moieties X and Y. A child belongs to the grandparent section by both patrilineal and matrilineal descent. Though Galton[26] long ago advanced this observation as the key to understanding the class system, earlier writers failed to acknowledge it.

Radcliffe-Brown,[27] in his study of the Kariera tribe, has greatly clarified this system by showing its relation, or "articulation,"[28] to the horde or band system. His census revealed that half of the patri-clans of the tribe consisted of the sections here called AX and BX; the other half of AY and BY. From this it appears that a patri-moiety includes one-half of the patri-clans, while a pair of sections forming a matri-moiety, e.g., AX and AY, includes half of each patri-clan.

The innovation appearing in a four-class over a two-class system is the addition of patrilineal dual exogamy to matrilineal dual exogamy, which is not lost but retained. More precisely, the exogamous matrilineal bisection of each patri-clan in alternating generations being preserved, a man is forbidden to marry not merely within his own horde or patri-clan but within his patri-moiety, or

26. Galton, F., "Note on the Australian Marriage Systems," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XVIII (1889), 70–2. He used A, B, C, D for our A, C, D, B in Fig. 1, and P, Q, 1, 2 for our A, B, X, Y in Fig. 3. Galton's statement was partly anticipated by Fraser, J., "The Aborigines of New South Wales," *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales,* XVI (1882), 222. Note was taken by others, e.g., Forrest, *op. cit.,* pp. 653–4; Radcliffe-Brown, "Three Tribes of Western Australia," p. 148; Bates, "Marriage Laws," p. 41; Mathews, "Ethnological Notes," p. 61. It was reserved to Deacon (*op. cit.,* p. 340), with reference to Ambrym, to develop Galton's contention that classes result from crossing lines of descent. Radcliffe-Brown ("Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym," p. 347) and Mrs. Seligman (*op. cit.,* p. 353) have endeavored to bend Deacon's work to another view.

27. "Three Tribes of Western Australia," p. 159.

28. *Cf.* Warner, W. L., "Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXXII (1930), 186 ff.

that half of the hordes of his tribe now associated with his own. The result of adding to a dual matrilineal exogamy, which forbids in marriage half of the tribe, a patrilineal dichotomy involving a wholly divergent alignment of persons, is the formation of four classes. An individual finds three of these closed to him as regards marriage, and one alone open. The persons whom he may marry are confined to half the generations only, of but half of the patri-clans.

In an eight-class system the subsections are distributed in pairs among four kinds of hordes. Spencer and Gillen,[29] who made a sketch map of the territorial distribution of seventy-three hordes among the Aranda, found that one set of hordes carries two subsections, another set two more, a third and a fourth set likewise two each. Thus the eight subsections form four patri-cycles, each a cluster of bisected patri-clans. Spencer and Gillen assemble evidence to show that this came about by the subdivision of the patrilineal moieties, so that a man is forbidden to marry, not only into the two patri-cycles constituting his own patrilineal moiety, but also into one of the patri-cycles of the opposite moiety. This is virtually accepted by Radcliffe-Brown,[30] whose symbolic representation of the system, now standard in the literature, modifies the A, B, C, D lettering of Fig. 1 as shown in Fig. 4. We owe it to Mathews,[31] however, that the eight subsections are also seen to fall into two unnamed matrilineal moieties, of four subsections each. In Fig. 4, matrilineal descent, indicated by the vertical arrows, cycles through four subsections, thereafter repeating, so that a person belongs in the subsection of his mother's mother's mother's mother. The patri-cycles, not shown in Fig. 4, are listed separately by Radcliffe-Brown as A^1D^2, A^2D^1, B^1C^1, and B^2C^2. They cycle in alternating patrilineal generations as before, so that a man belongs to the subsection of his father's father, his brother, and his son's son, which is the same as that of his mother's mother's mother's mother.

The reader will find his memory taxed to carry these details in mind in reference to Fig. 4. Hence the symbols might be rearranged

29. Spencer, B., and Gillen, F. J., *The Arunta* (2 vols., London, 1927), I, 354.
30. "Marriage and Descent in North Australia," p. 56.
31. Mathews, R. H., "Divisions of North Australian Tribes," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* XXXVIII (1899), p. 75, and numerous ensuing publications.

in terms of the four patri-cycles, lettering them P, Q, R, S according to their sequence in matrilineal moiety A. This is done in Fig. 5. If, now, marriages and the order of descent in matrilineal moiety B are added, Fig. 6 results. By throwing out the central lettering in Fig. 6, we may effect the simplification of Fig. 7.

Fig. 7 has the advantage over Radcliffe-Brown's symbol, Fig. 4, of showing the patri-cycles, or pairs of subsections, which articulate with the horde system. Each of the four patrilineal semi-moieties, P, Q, R, and S, representing an aggregation of patri-clans, is seen also to be a patri-cycle of two subsections, one from each matrilineal moiety. Each matrilineal moiety is a matri-cycle of four subsections, one in each patri-cycle. But it will be noted that if P, Q, R, S be the descending affiliation in matrilineal moiety A, cycling through the clan-aggregations in one set of alternating generations, S, R, Q, P is the similar descending order of matri-cycle B in the intervening generations. Fig. 4, at the cost of omitting agnatic descent, retains a lettering to show the pair of subsections corresponding to a section in a four-class system, whereas Fig. 7 shows agnatic descent but lacks a designation of the sections to which the subsections correspond. It is believed, however, that the reader, being now familiar with alternation, will not find it difficult to remember that semi-moieties P and R correspond to patrilineal moiety X, Q and S to Y. APX, BPX, AQY, etc., may be used if desired.

The social structure shown in Fig. 7 is worth examination with some care. If we take ego as belonging to class AS, his mother is found in AR, his mother's mother in AQ, his mother's mother's mother in AP, his mother's mother's mother's mother in AS like himself. Since a man of AS marries a woman of BP, it is apparent that his wife may not come from patri-clans of S, R, or Q, but only from P and the BP subsection therein. That is, a man marries a woman of no clan in his own patri-cycle (AS$\longleftrightarrow$BS), nor in his mother's (AR$\longleftrightarrow$BR), nor in his mother's mother's (AQ$\longleftrightarrow$BQ); he may marry only into the patri-clans of his mother's mother's mother's patri-cycle, and therein not into the alternating generations belonging to his own matrilineal moiety (subsection AP) but only into those of the opposite matrilineal moiety (BP). Under a four-class system, where semi-moieties Q and S would equate with

patrilineal moiety Y, and P and R with X, the same man, as a member of AY, could not marry into Q or S but might marry into either P or R. The innovation in an eight-class system is the prohibition of R, the patrilineal semi-moiety to which the mother belongs. In other words, whereas four-class laws forbid marriage in the own and mother's mother's patri-cycle, permitting it in the mother's and mother's mother's mother's, eight-class laws exclude the mother's as well. This exclusion of the mother's patrilineal kin-group constitutes the innovating feature; to half of the tribe's patri-clans, already excluded, is added half of the remainder, leaving only one-fourth of the patri-clans open, and only the alternating generations thereof.

The argument to this point may be summarized as follows: (1) a matrilineal two-class system forbids marriage in one's own matrilineal moiety—alternating generations in all patri-clans—and usually, probably always, in one's own patri-clan as well; (2) a four-class system retains this rule and adds to it an extended patrilineal taboo, prohibiting marriage with half of the tribe's patri-clans; (3) an eight-class system retains both rules and adds a prohibition against marriage within the patrilineal semi-moiety to which the mother belongs.

In a brilliant study of Ambrym in the New Hebrides, Deacon[32] describes a system of six unnamed classes, diagrammatically represented in Fig. 8. The classes form three patri-cycles, L, M, and N, which fall in alternating generations into two matri-cycles, A and B. The latter cross the patri-cycles, cycling in such a manner that the ascending sequence with respect to A is the descending sequence with respect to B. The result of this system is that a man may not marry into his own patrilineal kin-group, nor into his mother's patrilineal kin-group, but only into his mother's mother's patrilineal kin-group and only alternating generations thereof—those not belonging to his own matri-moiety. This is an interesting instance of near-parallelism. To a matrilineal dualism are added the own and mother's patrilineal taboos, creating six classes instead of eight as in Australia.

To this point the discussion has failed to clarify the true nature

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 334; *cf.* also p. 340. Fig. 8 is consolidated from Deacon's matrilineal chart I and patrilineal chart II.

of interclass relations. Under matri-moieties, according to the symbols given, a man of A marries a woman of B, and a man of B a woman of A; under sections, similarly, a man and woman of AY marry respectively a woman and man of BX; under subsections, the same is true of marriages between AS and BP. These unions involve the exchange of class-sisters in marriage. They seemingly rest upon a practice of marriage by horde-sister exchange—a fact not satisfactorily demonstrated in the literature but an almost inescapable conclusion from the data available.[33]

This practice affects kinship relations by instituting twin sets of relationships. For example, if two men exchange sisters as wives, each is at the same time sister's husband and wife's brother to the other. This double relationship is carried over into the next generation, so that the sons of these unions are simultaneously both mother's brother's son and father's sister's son to each other. This rests on the fact that their relationship is traceable through two genealogical routes. Reference to Fig. 3 will illustrate how this works out in a four-class tribe like the Kariera. If a man of AX marries a woman of BY, their son belongs to BX. When the sister of the first marries the brother of the second, their son falls into AY. The two boys are male cross-cousins—not in one but in two ways. To the AY boy, the BX boy is not only his father's sister's son through his father and paternal aunt, who are AX, but also his mother's brother's son through his mother and maternal uncle, who are BY. To the BX boy, the AY boy is similarly his cross-cousin through two routes—BX, BY, AY, and BX, AX, AY. The genealogy is traced, of course, not through groups of people, but through individuals belonging to the sections in question.

The manner in which marriage by sister exchange gives rise to dual genealogies stands out more clearly in reference to Fig. 7, which represents a system of subsections as among the Aranda. Here, as it is commonly reported, a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. This means, for example, that

33. In the early literature, references to marriage by sister exchange are numerous, but specific statements that such exchanges involved two hordes are rare. Curr (*op. cit.*, pp. 130, 248) and Dawson (*op. cit.*, p. 34) are explicit. However, concerning extinct tribes, horde-sister exchange must have prevailed when two men exchanged sisters in all cases in which the exogamy of the horde is established.

a man of AS and a man of BP, who are about to exchange sisters as wives, stand each to the other as mother's mother's brother's daughter's son, which is true, however, only if two different genealogical routes are followed. Thus the route from AS (ego) to AR (his mother) to AQ (her mother's brother) crossing to BQ (his daughter) to BP (her son) makes the man of BP stand in the stated relation to ego. But ego stands in a like relation to the man of BP by following the route from BP to BQ to BR (mother's mother's brother of BP) to AR to AS. Tracing these relations in the reverse direction makes each man stand to the other as mother's father's sister's daughter's son.

In large measure Australian kinship systems reflect this condition by employing what may be called identical reciprocals. Ego and the man of BP, for example, address each other by the same term. That this is associated directly with sister-exchange marriage is clearly established by the recent discovery of several areas in the north where marriage is not conducted by sister exchange—the so-called "unilateral marriage"[34] of the literature. Invariably in these cases reciprocal terms between persons of different lines of patrilineal descent are unlike.[35]

Marriage by the exchange of class sisters is also an essential element in the class systems, because it controls the pattern of cycling. Though patri-clans in conjunction with matri-moieties are sufficient to create alternating generations in the male line, they do not account for matrilineal cycling unless the factor of marriage by sister exchange be added. This is illustrated in Fig. 9, in which "kin-group" may mean either a patri-clan or an aggregation of like patri-clans. If ego be taken as A_1, then his sister's son, A_2, is found in the patrilineal kin-group, whether patri-clan, section, or subsection, of B_1, to whom he gave his sister in marriage (shown by the diagonal). If marriage by sister exchange prevails, B_1 gave his sister to ego, and his sister's son, B_2, is in ego's own

34. The expression "unilateral" cross-cousin marriage, in which the "patrilateral" father's sister's daughter is proscribed, is employed by Elkin (*op. cit.*, p. 299).

35. See, for example, Warner, *op. cit.*, Chart 8, facing p. 187, in which it should be noted that the first column contains reciprocals of the seventh, the second of the sixth, and the third of the fifth. The chart is described as of seven lines. In reality it shows four lines, having unlike reciprocals.

Figure 9

M. m. m. m.'s	patrilineal kin-group	A —B
M. m. m.'s	patrilineal kin-group	↓ A —B
Mother's mother's	patrilineal kin-group	↓ A —B
Mother's	patrilineal kin-group	↓ A —B
Own (ego is A_1)	patrilineal kin-group	↓ A_1—B_2
Sister's son's (A_2)	patrilineal kin-group	↓ ↑ A_2—B_1

kin-group, starting the descending line in matrilineal moiety B, here indicated by one arrow, in the direction reverse to the descending order in A. Thus the matrilineal cycling in four, six, or eight classes is dependent upon sister-exchange marriage for its type, as is confirmed by the fact that in the "unilateral" Murngin the cycling is off pattern, the B arrows pointing downward like those of A.[36]

There is also another influence here. Under marriage by sister exchange the sister's son will be found in the same kin-group from which ego obtains his wife. Therefore, if a marriage law develops, a cycling rule ensues. In a four-, six-, or eight-class system the sister' s son, A_2, finds himself in the same class, respectively, as his mother's mother, or his mother's mother's mother, or his mother's mother's mother's mother, according as marriage rules develop which require his maternal uncle, A_1, to marry into patri-clans of the first, second, or third matrilineal degree respectively. The father's father, brother, and son's son of A_2 will be similarly classed by patri-cycling rules. These results would not ensue, however, did not A_1 habitually send his sister, the mother of A_2, to the horde from which he obtains his wife.

Since both matrilineal cycling in the class system and "identical reciprocals" in the kinship system, which falls within the class sys-

36. *Cf.* chart in Elkin, A. P., "Marriage and Descent in East Arnhem Land," *Oceania,* III (1933), 412. Elkin fails to make comment. Chart 7 of Warner (*op. cit.,* p. 186), which would suit an Aranda system, refuses to conform to his Murngin data.

tem, are influenced by sister-exchange marriage, this factor must be deemed an essential ingredient in all the types of social organization within the class area. Three factors, it may now be noted, must coexist to provide the common denominator of all Australian class systems, viz.: (1) marriage by sister exchange; (2) matrilineal descent in exogamous moieties; and (3) patrilineal descent in exogamous patri-clans. Conjointly these factors create the condition noted by Deacon[37] as fundamental to a class system, that men of alternating patrilineal generations find their wives classed together, with the added proviso that a like relation exists between the brothers of the latter and the sisters of the former.

All Australian forms, whether within or without the class area, may be comprehended with relation to these three elements. Outside the class area, one or another of these elements will be found lacking. If the second, matrilineal dichotomy, is absent, there are no classes. If the first, sister exchange, is lacking, the cycling of classes or the kinship terminology is off type. Within the class area, on the other hand, all three factors are invariably present; the distinction between matri-moieties, sections, and subsections rests upon the elaboration of the third element, patrilineal descent, i.e., upon whether it is confined to patri-clans or is extended to aggregations or to divided aggregations of patri-clans. The distribution of these and other forms of social organization in Australia, as ascertained in our study, is presented in Map A.

All the earlier authorities acknowledged the derivation of subsections from sections, and of the latter from matri-moieties. To Thomas,[38] in the résumé of the state of knowledge as of 1906, this view seemed so unanimously accepted as to require only summarization, not critical discussion. The older writers did not, however, apprehend that systems of sections and subsections are simultaneously matrilineal and patrilineal in constitution. Thus Spencer[39] roundly scored Mathews for aligning subsections matrilineally, and Howitt,[40] to the detriment of his contribution, sought to classify four-class tribes as either matrilineal or patrilineal, failing to note that this is possible only with reference to some other factor than the descent of the sections.

37. *Op. cit.*, p. 326.
38. *Op. cit.*, p. 71.
39. *Op. cit.*, p. 380 n.
40. *Op. cit.*, pp. 103–19, 199–240.

Subsequent evidence suggests modification of the older view to the following effect: sections have come from matri-moieties by the addition of patrilineal dual exogamy to matrilineal dual exogamy, and subsections have come from sections by the superimposition of a third exogamous dichotomy arising from the prohibition of marriage within the mother's patrilineal kin-group. In each case the older taboos have not been relaxed but retained in full vigor. Four classes and then eight, in short, have evolved from a foundation of matrilineal moieties as successive dichotomies have bisected the antecedent ones. The six-class system of Ambrym appears to have evolved from a similar matrilineal dual foundation by the imposition of similar exogamous taboos on the own and the mother's patrilineal kin-groups. Instead, however, of being imposed successively, as in Australia, yielding eight classes, these taboos appear to have been imposed simultaneously, yielding six classes. In other words, six classes are formed by a patrilineal trichotomy of an antecedent matrilineal dichotomy, whereas eight classes result from the dichotomy of a dichotomy of a dichotomy.[41]

At this point a digression becomes necessary. Radcliffe-Brown,[42] in 1913, in the same publication in which he so greatly clarified the comprehension of Australian class systems by his examination of their relation to patri-clans, also makes the following statements. "In all Australian tribes about which we have detailed information marriage is regulated by relationship. In all tribes a man may only marry women who stand to him in a certain relation of consanguinity." ". . . the marriage laws of Australian tribes are not in any way whatever affected by the existence of two or four named divisions." "In tribes with a marriage law of type I, a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, or some woman who stands to him in an equivalent relation. Where the marriage law is of type II, a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or some woman who stands to him in an equivalent relation." "Marriage is regulated by consanguinity and by consanguinity alone." These continent-wide generalizations followed a scrutiny of three peripheral tribes on the west coast. Apart from

41. This diverges from the view of Radcliffe-Brown ("Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym," p. 347) and Mrs. Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 353).

42. "Three Tribes of Western Australia," pp. 190–3, 158.

minor modification, they appear not to have been subsequently retracted, and comparable views dominate nearly all recent investigation. Since these statements stress consanguinity to the exclusion of class affiliation, they render inescapable here some discussion of kinship terminology.

Prior to Radcliffe-Brown, Thomas[43] had presented two tabulations of Australian kinship terms as then known. For the four-class Ngerrikudi tribe, he listed the terms in two vertical lines, each staggered into double columns in the alternate generations to show articulation with the four sections. The other system, that of the eight-class Aranda of Spencer and Gillen, had four lines of descent similarly staggered into double columns of alternate generations conforming to subsections. In the former a man married his mother's brother's daughter; in the latter, his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. Thomas noted similar systems of kinship and marriage rules in two-class and classless tribes. With reference to the fact that the matrilineal two-class Dieri marry according to the rule of eight-class tribes, he concluded that either the Dieri must have borrowed the rule or else "the eight-class organization is a systematization of the Dieri rule."

Radcliffe-Brown[44] adopted these tabulations with minor modification and without acknowledgment to Thomas. He entitled them Type I and Type II, asserted (with insufficient warrant) that no other types were known in Australia, discarded without semblance of examination the diffusion alternative, and later maintained that sections are a systematization of Type I and subsections of Type II. By fiat, not by critical discussion, he abnegated class regulation of marriage, disregarding innumerable statements in the literature that the natives view violation of class laws with horror.

This revolutionary contribution has had a mixed influence upon Australian ethnology. On the one hand, it has promoted an examination of the neglected field of kinship terms. It has shown that "classificatory" terms express person to person relationships and has thereby helped dispel the mistaken doctrine of group marriage.

43. *Op. cit.*, pp. 93–8.

44. "Three Tribes of Western Australia," pp. 155, 186–8. The matrilineal Ngerrikudi tabulation of Thomas becomes patrilineal by shifting the fourth column to first position.

It has demonstrated beyond question that, in Australia, kinship terms are neither survivalistic nor psychological, but constitute an actively functioning ingredient in the social relations of the people, adapted to the existing societal order. On the other hand, the standard set by Radcliffe-Brown's original investigation, in which kinship terms were articulated to horde structure and class organization, has not been maintained. Consequently, the extension of application of individual kinship terms, the emplacement of the persons included by each such term, remains little known.[45] Without this information a tabulation of kinship terms is of impaired value. Yet indulgence in doctrines where there is ignorance of articulation continues apace.

On this uncertain foundation Radcliffe-Brown[46] has offered a developmental hypothesis, inconsistent with an avowedly "unhistorical" position and at variance with older views. According to this theory, sections and subsections are systematizations respectively of Type I and Type II kinship systems, and Type II represents a development from Type I. This differs from the older view in the assumption that four- and eight-class systems, though matrilineally dualized, are not derived from a matrilineal two-class organization, but that a Type I kinship system, whether found in classless, two-class, or four-class tribes, constitutes the developmental foundation.

The obscurities and confusions involved in the treatment of kinship terminology find a focus in the expression of Radcliffe-Brown[47] that a kinship term denotes a consanguine relative or some person "who stands in an equivalent relation." This involves an admission that a kinship term, though expressing a person to person relationship, is applicable to a group of people, just as is a class name. The question arises: How does the grouping of people under different class systems correlate with the grouping of people under different kinship systems, or *vice versa?* Since there are several types of class organization and, with anomalous forms, numerous kinship tabulations, the permutations are manifold. Examination

45. Little heed appears to have been paid to the need of distinguishing between class and clan kinship, noted by Thomas (*op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 1).

46. "Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym," p. 344; *cf.* also his "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," p. 440.

47. "Three Tribes of Western Australia," p. 191.

is here precluded by limitations of space, but certain salient points, obscured in the literature, may be indicated.

Where sections and subsections exist, according to the limited data available, a given kinship term is applicable to persons found in all the patri-clans aggregated into a patri-moiety or semi-moiety; that is, a patrilineal column or "line" of kinship terms is articulated throughout the tribe within the patri-cycles of sections or subsections. Granted this extension of kinship terms, there are three different implications which should be kept distinct and not confused.

First, where there are four named sections, these may be divided into eight unnamed classes, precisely like subsections. In such cases, in default of subsection names, the eight "anonyms" are demarcated within the sections by kinship terms. Second, where there are four named semi-moieties, as among the Mara, eight unnamed divisions may exist, precisely like subsections, because the marriage laws confine permissible marriages to alternating generations within the appropriate semi-moiety. Neither of these cases warrants the repudiation of class-law regulation of marriage. They were noted, prior to Radcliffe-Brown's contribution, by Spencer and Gillen,[48] who discovered three of the five regions where such a situation is known to exist. There are, moreover, three areas[49] having named patri-moieties where class laws restrict marriages to alternate generations of the appropriate patri-moiety, apparently creating four unnamed classes in a manner similar to the formation of eight among the Mara.

The third case involves a distinct question by no means to be confused with either of the preceding. In the four-section Kariera tribe, with a kinship system of Type I, a man of AX calls some of

48. Spencer, B., and Gillen, F. J., *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), pp. 90 ff., for the southern Aranda; Spencer, B., *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory* (London, 1914), pp. 53–4, for the Warrai; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia,* pp. 119–20, for the Mara. The regions in question are indicated on Map A as "4x2" and "4Px2" respectively.

49. Kawadji: Thomson, D. F., "The Hero Cult, Initiation and Totemism on Cape York," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* LXIII (1933), 460; Forrest River: Elkin, A. P., *op. cit.,* pp. 306, 315, n. 7; Koko-Bera: inferred, in default of explicit statement, from Sharp, L., "The Social Organization of the Yir-Yoront Tribe, Cape York Peninsula," *Oceania,* IV (1934), 406. These regions are indicated on Map A as "2Px2."

the women of BY by the term for cross-cousin, and these he may marry; others, proscribed in marriage, he addresses by the term applied to father's mother or daughter's daughter, who also belong to BY. Within the proper section a man marries only women who by the kinship terminology are graded as of his own generation level.[50] It was this discovery which first led Radcliffe-Brown to assert that consanguinity or kinship, not class, controls marriage. In Type II systems, by contrast, so universally does marriage occur between alternate generations, as well as on the same level, that Radcliffe-Brown[51] found no exceptions, suggesting the designation "Type IIa" to indicate the condition. Wherever Type I has since been closely scrutinized, however, it has shown a similar character, permitting marriage with women of the second or fourth descending generation.[52] Thus, except among the Kariera, Type I might be called Type Ia. The Kariera, however, share with other tribes a practice by which kinship terms are alterable if seniority in years disagrees with genealogical seniority; if a "sister's son" be older than ego, he becomes "mother's brother."[53] Apparently, then, "mother's brother's daughter" may include "sister's son's daughter" as one "standing in an equivalent relation."

From facts like these, the distinction between control of marriage by kinship and control by section or subsection appears secondary if not trifling, and the view that marriage laws restrain marriage to a single generation in accordance with kinship terms, rather than to alternate generations within a section or subsection, seems unwarranted. It is notable, moreover, that the kinship terms

50. Radcliffe-Brown, "Three Tribes of Western Australia," p. 155.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

52. So-called Kariera kinship systems permitting marriage with alternating generations, e.g., cross-cousin and sister's son's daughter, are found among the tribes with bisected patri-moieties mentioned above in note 49; among the classless Daly River tribes of North Australia (Stanner, W. E. H., "The Daly River Tribes," *Oceania,* III [1933], 391); among tribes of South Australia with matri-moieties of the Wailpi type (Elkin, A. P., "The Social Organization of South Australian Tribes," *Oceania,* II [1932], 56); among the four-class Karadjeri (Piddington, M., and R., "Report on Field Work in North Western Australia," *Oceania,* II [1932], 348); and among the four-class Pitta Pitta of Queensland, who class daughter's daughter with mother's brother's daughter (Roth, *Ethnological Studies,* p. 63).

53. Radcliffe-Brown, "Three Tribes of Western Australia," p. 154. "Sister's son's daughter" is a relationship omitted by the author.

usually indicate that a man marries within his own or a younger generation, a woman within her own or an older one. Many inadequate observations suggest that all the pother about the control of marriage by kinship rather than by class is resoluble to this conclusion: that a man may marry a woman of the appropriate class (section or subsection) if not too near of kin or locality, subject to the further qualification—oft noted of old—that the older men monopolize the young women; and that these inner restraints within the class system are reflected in a kinship terminology which is alterable to suit conditions. There is no report, however, of a man altering his class.

Another category of difficulties, distinct from the foregoing, pertains to tribes lacking sections and subsections. In a four-class tribe like the Kariera the patri-clans are aggregated in two patrilineal moieties. All the women in ego's patri-clan are termed father's father's sister, father's sister, sister, or daughter. These terms are also applied to the women of the other patri-clans of ego's patrilineal moiety, none being eligible in marriage. Another set of terms applies in the remaining patri-clans. But kinship terms equally susceptible of tabulation in two lines of descent are also recorded in classless and matri-moiety tribes, in which the patri-clans are not aggregated in named classes. If the Type I kinship system among such tribes were identical with the Type I system among the Kariera and other four-class tribes, not alone in the list of terms but also in their application, as seems to be assumed by Radcliffe-Brown, then it should operate in default of class names to proscribe marriage in half of the patri-clans of the tribe. Similarly, a Type II system, if it resembled the Aranda not merely in catalogue but in application, should prevent marriage in three-fourths of the patri-clans.

Although information on this point is extremely unsatisfactory, owing to the early disorganization of native culture in some regions and inadequate reporting in others, it seems probable that in the classless and two-class areas of South Australia kinship terms were thus extended to linked patri-clans, so that actual, though unnamed, subsections existed.[54] Elsewhere, however, there is evidence

54. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, pp. 12–13. Where alternating generations are systematized either by two division names or by two

that such extension has not taken place and that marriage is consequently not precluded in half or three-fourths of the patri-clans. The Yaralde have eighteen patri-clans of which marriage within six is forbidden and within twelve ordinarily permitted;[55] the Chaapwurung, ten, three forbidden;[56] the Bangerang, ten, one forbidden.[57] At Melbourne, of five clan clusters, one is reported as forbidden.[58] The Kurnai interhorde marriages tabulated by Howitt[59] show no dichotomy. Though much is doubtful, it seems clear that kinship terms did not operate to link patri-clans into exogamous aggregates; at least there is no warrant for assuming such an effect. Thus matri-moiety and classless tribes differ from section and subsection tribes not alone as to class system, but also as to articulation of kinship terms with patri-clans. However, there must be developmental continuity since the systems concerned are "Australian." It is common to pass over discrepancies of this nature with the expressions "modified Kariera" or "modified Aranda." In so far as these terms imply modification from a prior condition, the question of sequence in development is begged.

Light is shed on this situation by the fact that, among the classless Yaralde and the "unilateral" Ungarinyin, kinship terms are applied clan-wise only, instead of moiety-wise.[60] These two instances suffice to show that, if a social organization lacks a patrilineal dichotomy as among the Kariera or tetrachotomy as among the Aranda, there is no justification for lightly taking it for granted in the kinship system. Moreover, since matri-moiety tribes lack a patrilineal dichotomy, there seems no warrant for accepting, as the foundation from which other forms of social organization have developed, that of the Kariera who possess a patrilineal as well as a matrilineal dichotomy.

It should be noted that kinship systems and marriage laws of

generation-level kinship terms (*cf.* "1x2" and "1Px2" on Map A), unnamed classes would result if there were any dichotomy of clans effected by exogamous laws.

55. Radcliffe-Brown, "Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes," p. 238.

56. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

57. Curr, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–4, 248.

58. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

60. Radcliffe-Brown, "Notes on the Social Organization of Australian Tribes," pp. 235–6; Elkin, "Social Organization in the Kimberley District," p. 315.

both Type I and Type II are consistent with a system of matri-clans. In the southern part of Western Australia, for example, a two-line kinship system resembling that of the Kariera is applied to two matri-clans, not patri-clans.[61] Apparently the Kamilaroi kinship terms are also articulated with matri-clans,[62] and there is weak support for this in the Nganguruku[63] and Bangerang[64] in the southeast, both, however, of uncertain class system. Totemic matri-clans, moreover, occur invariably in matrilineal two-class tribes. This does not mean that under matri-moieties all kinship terms are articulated to matri-clans rather than patri-clans, for two-class matrilineal tribes possess both, but it does mean that the marriage law is adapted to intermarriage between two totemic matri-clans. The Type II marriage law, prescribing marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, provides a particularly interesting case in point, for if ego belongs to the Kangaroo matrilineal totem, so also does his mother's mother's brother, and if the latter marries an Emu woman, his daughter's daughter (ego's wife) is likewise an Emu. It is remarkable that the marriage law should be expressed in the same terms among the Aranda, who have no matri-clans but have articulated their kinship terms to aggregates of patri-clans. As reference to Fig. 7 or Fig. 10[65] will show, the Aranda marriage law, if expressed in terms of patri-clans, would prescribe marriage with the daughter, or son's son's daughter, of the mother's mother's mother's brother (AS to AR to AQ to AP to BP; BP to BQ to BR to BS to AS). The fact that it is actually expressed in terms adapted to non-existent matri-

61. Bates, "Marriage Laws," p. 48.

62. Mathews, "Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes," p. 167.

63. Radcliffe-Brown, "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," pp. 245–6.

64. Curr, *op. cit.*, p. 268. In view of a name taboo, a man was denominated with reference to his mother.

65. In Fig. 10 a consolidation of Figs. 7 and 9 is effected. Circles denote patri-clan aggregates in four patri-cycles; parallels, exchange marriages with women migrating; minuscules, relatives included in a subsection, with abbreviations for wife, father, mother, brother, sister, and son. Conventional Type II kinship tabulations (*cf.* Radcliffe-Brown, "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," pp. 50–8) are founded on relationship to the kinsmen underscored. Note that they might with equal propriety show relationship to the relatives starred. Note especially that father's mother is in a class (BP) with mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter, and that, since mother's mother's brother's daughter marries into the class AP, her daughter is found in BP also.

clans, prescribing marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter, seems inconsistent except according to the hypothesis that the Aranda system is ultimately derived from either a matri-clan or a matri-moiety organization as found in immediately adjacent territory to the south.

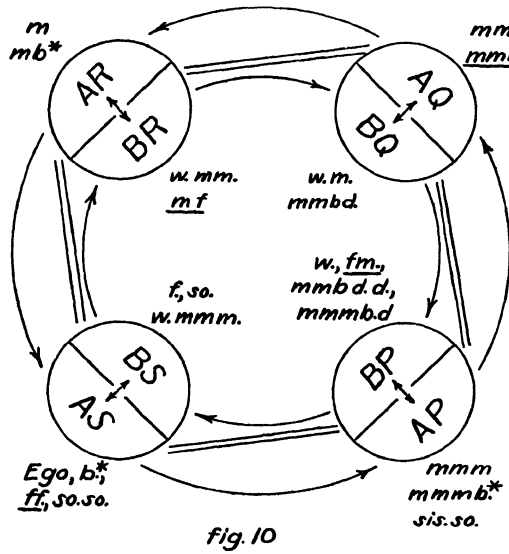


fig. 10

There is another matter pertinent to the issue as to "who stands in an equivalent relation." Among the four-class Kariera, the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter belongs to the same section, and is addressed by the same kinship term, as the mother's brother's daughter,[66] but the latter, though marriageable, is seldom married.[67] Hence it would be proper to say that, among the Kariera, a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or women classed with her, including those classed with the cross-cousin who are excluded in an eight-class system like the Aranda.

66. Radcliffe-Brown, "Three Tribes of Western Australia," Table I, p. 152.
67. Radcliffe-Brown, "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," p. 448.

It is now possible to state the marriage law for the whole class area as follows. Those who may wed are the matrilineal grandchildren of two women who, being of opposed matrilineal moieties, married or lawfully might have married one another's brothers. Such grandchildren include under Type I, but exclude under Type II, those who according to the varied mores of different tribes are classed as first cousins. The proportion of matrons whose matrilineal grandchildren may wed is successively reduced, however, by an increase in the number of proscribed patri-clans as sections are formed from matri-moieties, and subsections from sections.

Radcliffe-Brown's developmental hypothesis fails to take note of this progressive reduction in eligibility and the accompanying change in the roster of persons "standing in an equivalent relation." If his factually attested conclusions are accepted, and his unsupported dogmas rejected, his hypothesis of the derivation of kinship systems resembling Type II from those resembling Type I need not stand in antagonism to the older view of sequence in the development of classes. A reconciliation may be effected by assuming as the kinship foundation a system resembling that of the Kariera in permitting first-cousin unions but lacking the dual aggregation of patri-clans as developed in a four-class tribe.

Discrimination as to the degree of extension among patri-clans of kinship terms which seem similar in catalogue appears to warrant the inference that the factors—herein presumed to be developing patrilineal exogamous restrictions—which have elaborated class divisions, named or nameless, have simultaneously promoted intricate adjustments in the kinship terminology.[68] An adjustment interpretation of Australian kinship agrees with the functional view in that the operation, and indeed the growth also, of a kinship system is conceived to be promoted by coeval, strictly sociological factors. It departs from the functional view in deeming the application of the terminology to categories of persons to be resultant rather than causative—adaptively modifiable as cumulative exigencies influence the categories. It thus permits a return to the developmental hypothesis of the older students that the Australian

68. Such is apparently the view of Deacon (*op. cit.*, p. 326), who considers the kinship system "the accompaniment, or rather the function" of the class system.

marital classes are derived from a matrilineal two-class foundation—a view supported by an abundance of evidence which has not been critically disproved but merely shelved as inconvenient to the functional hypothesis.

A developmental treatment of class and kinship systems within the class area may not ignore the existence of peripheral regions lacking classes and of areas with "unilateral" marriage. The latter are of recent discovery, and are as yet ill understood. In each case the report is inadequate, yielding no proper explanation of how marriages complete a cycle through the hordes nor any acceptable articulation of kinship terms either to patri-clans or to divisions resembling classes. These scattered areas in each instance reveal class-like divisions resembling those of neighbors who practice marriage by sister exchange. This seems to indicate some measure of antiquity with local modification by borrowing. Further comment appears premature pending accurate description.

With reference to the classless areas, Davidson[69] cites their peripheral distribution as an indication of their priority. He advances a sequence from patri-clans without classes, to matri-moieties, to sections, to subsections. A similar view, formulated on other grounds, seems to have been held, perhaps uncertainly, by Mathews.[70] Radcliffe-Brown[71] criticizes Davidson on the ground that the classless areas are not homogeneous; it is apparently his opinion that these areas are relatively late, modified from a Kariera foundation. Howitt[72] also deemed late the classless area known to him. Though he sought to derive all class systems from an "undivided commune" anterior to matrilineal dualism, he was so wedded to notions of group marriage that he rejected the potential priority of a classless system having individual marriage.

These conflicting views might find some reconciliation in the suggestion that certain classless regions possessing totemic matri-clans[73] appear to offer a basis from which matri-moieties, which

69. Davidson, D. S., *The Chronological Aspects of Certain Australian Social Institutions as inferred from Geographical Distribution* (Philadelphia, 1928), pp. 92–3, 111–18.

70. "Ethnological Notes," p. 51. *Cf.* also his "Marriage and Descent among the Australian Aborigines," p. 120.

71. *Oceania,* I (1931), 368.

72. *Op. cit.,* pp. 134, 143, 173–4.

73. These are indicated by the symbol "1M" on Map A. They may include, or

also have matri-clans, might have been derived. Other classless regions, which lack matri-clans and in which patri-clans operate strongly in the control of marriage, have, in some cases at least, been subject to modification by diffusion. According to this view, the sequence would seem to have run from matri-clans without matri-moieties, to matri-moieties (having matri-clans also), to sections (sometimes with matri-clans), to subsections (in one instance with matri-clans). The matter is difficult, however, and logic, though seductive, is untrustworthy. It is possible that classless systems are due to other factors.

There is some evidence in support of this reconstruction, nevertheless, from ill-recorded practices of irregular marriages. Mathews, in numerous publications, insists that, though of exceptional occurrence, these are widespread and systematic. Basedow[74] observes that they require the special sanction of the medicine men—perhaps more properly a dispensation from the tribal elders. Though the topic has been shamefully ignored in the literature, there is much incidental comment in support.[75] The evidence indicates, in part, that in rare circumstances eight-class tribes revert to four-class rules, and four-class tribes to matri-moiety rules, while some matri-moiety tribes tolerate occasional marriages between matri-clans of the same matri-moiety. Irregular marriages thus occur in an order which, when reversed, is precisely the order suggested for the development of regular marriages.

Additional support of the suggested developmental sequence of classes, and perhaps of the priority of a classless matri-clan system, is to be found in the correlation of social organization with material culture. This lends itself to no simple resolution, but to a cumulative treatment. If note be taken of the local absence of material traits common to the continental culture, there tends to be an accumulation of such trait absences in regions undeveloped in social organization.

The correlation of sequence in the development of social organization with sequence in the diffusion of initiatory rites is most in-

closely resemble, the areas marked "[2]M," in which matri-moieties are irregular or controversial.

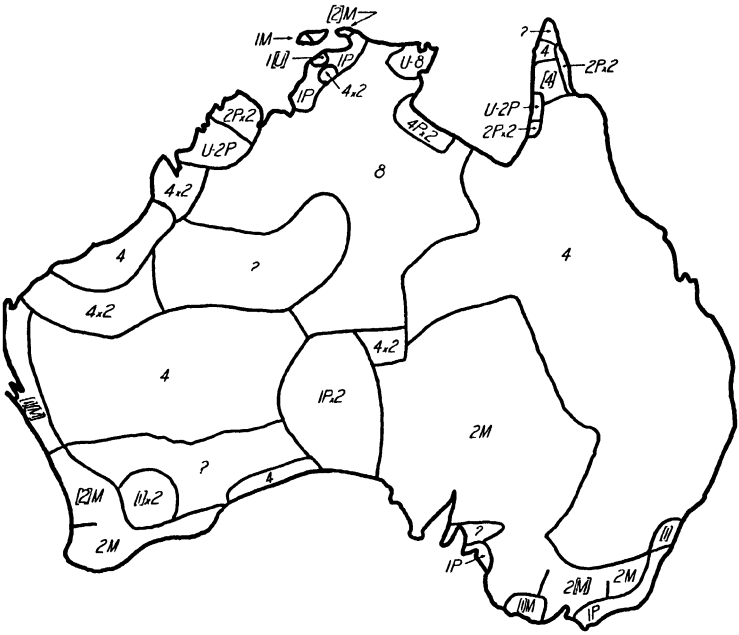
74. Basedow, H., *The Australian Aboriginal* (Adelaide, 1925), p. 224.

75. *Cf.* Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

secure. Nevertheless the undoubted association of intertribal marriage with community of initiation raises a suspicion that faulty observation is partly responsible for the apparent non-correlation. An uncritical acceptance of unreliable accounts of initiatory rites has caused an underappreciation of depilation as a form possibly antecedent to tooth avulsion or circumcision, and perhaps of its ancient association with classless matri-clans. Furthermore, the unsatisfactory articulation of kinship terminology with horde structure obscures the possible discovery of anonyms, whereby unnamed classes might extend the boundaries of a class system to points more nearly coterminous with the distribution of an initiatory rite. In Australia the use of the genealogical method in relation to horde structure corresponds in significance to its use elsewhere in application to individuals or families. It is amazing that students of Radcliffe-Brown, whose emphasis upon horde structure entitles him to renown, should be heedless of its fundamental importance.

Inadequacies in the Australian literature have emanated largely from the addiction of a given recorder to a favored developmental hypothesis. Despite "unhistorical" professions, this is still true. Unless the field worker gathers data with an unprejudiced eye toward alternative tenable hypotheses, valuable material is lost. Moreover, an engendered antagonism between the functional and the developmental impairs the usefulness of the ethnographer. It is proper to insist, as does Radcliffe-Brown,[76] that knowledge of development is less certain than information on structure and function, but it is equally appropriate to note that much of the uncertainty about development proceeds from the incompleteness of functional studies. From the standpoint of the adjustment concept, it is possible to perceive that development has undeniably occurred, though its precise course be in part controversial. Hence the ultimate goal of the study of structure and function is to comprehend what hidden forces have caused change and how accommodation of forms to these forces has occurred. Toward the accomplishment of a fuller understanding arise the dual necessities of a closer scrutiny of structure and function and a cumulative corroboration of indicated sequence.

76. *Oceania*, I (1931), 367.


[2]M
1M
1[L]
1P
1P
4,x2
U-8
?
4
[4]
2P,x2
U-2P
2P,x2
4,x2
2P,x2
U-2P
8
4,x2
4
?
4
4,x2
4
4,x2
1P,2
2M
[2]M
[1],x2
?
4
2M
?
1P
[1]
2M
2M
[1]M
1P

Мар А

APPENDIX

DISTRIBUTION OF AUSTRALIAN CLASS SYSTEMS

CREDIT for delineation of the distribution of class systems belongs to Thomas,[77] whose exhaustive research in the literature extant in 1906 was embodied in a map of moieties and another of sections and subsections. Subsequent literature completes areas then unknown, and requires rectification of Thomas's findings. Modifications ascertained in the present study and incorporated in Map A are based on authorities briefly

Table Explanatory of Map A

The Class Area

Eight-Class Systems

8	Eight named subsections
4x2	Four named sections, bisected into eight unnamed classes
4Px2	Four patrilineal semi-moieties, bisected into eight unnamed classes

Four-Class Systems

4	Four named sections
2Px2	Two named patri-moieties, bisected into four unnamed classes

Two-Class Systems

2M	Two matrilineal moieties

Extra-Class Areas

U	Unilateral marriage, lacking horde-sister exchange
1	Classless regions, lacking matrilineal dichotomy
1M	With matri-clans
1P	Without matri-clans
1x2	With systematic alternating generations

Doubtful Areas

?	Social organization unknown
[ ]	Doubtful elements (enclosed in brackets)
⊢ |	Regions controversially unlike (separated by uncompleted boundaries)

77. *Op. cit.*, Maps III and II, facing p. 40.

noted hereinunder[78] with particular heed to those providing regional surveys. The results agree largely, but not entirely with the résumé by Radcliffe-Brown.[79]

Cape York Peninsula. Roth,[80] Sharp,[81] Mathews,[82] Thomson.[83]

Arnhem Land. Spencer,[84] Hart,[85] Stanner,[86] Warner,[87] Webb.[88]

Kimberley. Map and kinship table of Elkin,[89] modified as follows. Forrest River have Type I kinship with patri-moieties—Kabery.[90] Barda, having four sections according to Bates,[91] are apparently not classless. Southern Karadjeri, pending further investigation, are not clearly "Murngin-like," since Elkin's[92] own data show marriage by sister exchange.

Western Australia. Four-section area—Mathews,[93] Bates.[94] Type II kinship with four sections—Radcliffe-Brown.[95] Easterly extension of four sections is delimited apparently by Fry[96] and Elkin.[97]

At Southern Cross. An unnamed classless tribe having alternating generations systematized in two named divisions—Bates.[98]

78. Limitations of space have necessitated wholesale reduction of the author's discussion and documentation, except with reference to the southwestern area, retained as a sample—*Editor.*

79. "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," Map I, facing p. 42.

80. "Social and Individual Nomenclature," pp. 100, 104.

81. *Op. cit.*, pp. 406–7, 412.

82. "Marriage and Descent," pp. 131–5.

83. *Op. cit.*, pp. 459–60.

84. *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, pp. 53, 200–1, 203, 6–7 (map).

85. Hart, C. W. M., "The Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands," *Oceania*, I (1930), 177–8.

86. *Op. cit.*, pp. 384, 389, 398.

87. *Op. cit.*, pp. 173, 187; Warner, W. L., "Kinship Morphology of Forty-one North Australian Tribes," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XXXV (1933), 76, 81, 83.

88. Webb, T. T., "Tribal Organization in Eastern Arnhem Land," *Oceania*, III (1933), 407.

89. "Social Organization in the Kimberley Division," pp. 297, 300–1, 312–15.

90. Kabery, P. M., "The Forrest River and Lyne River Tribes of North-West Australia," *Oceania*, V (1935), 431.

91. "Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes," p. 388.

92. "Social Organization in the Kimberley Division," pp. 300–1.

93. "Ethnological Notes," pp. 52–3.

94. "Social Organization of Some Western Australian Tribes," pp. 387–400.

95. "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," pp. 211–12.

96. Fry, H. K., "Kinship in Western Central Australia," *Oceania*, IV (1934), 472–3.

97. "Social Organization of South Australian Tribes," p. 68.

98. Bates, D. M., "Organisation sociale des Biroungoumat et Djouamat," *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires*, VI (1925), 27–40.

Coast of Australian Bight. Four sections. The Meening from east of Eucla to west of Eyre, 350 miles of barren coast, are a single people—Curr.[99] Four sections at Eucla—Basedow;[100] at Eyre—Bates.[101] Subsequently Bates[102] described "Baaduk" as classless; accepted by Radcliffe-Brown.[103] This seems unreliable as "Bardook" or "know nothing" is a nickname for the Wonunda Meening at Eyre.[104]

South Australia. Classless area, having alternating generations systematized by two kinship terms—Elkin,[105] who also gives western delimitation of matri-moieties. Contact of subsection and classless areas—Strehlow.[106]

Central Victoria. The usual acceptance of Bunjil and Waang as patri-moieties, following Howitt,[107] appears unwarranted. Mathews[108] cites his own observations and personal conversation with Cameron, indicating their equivalence in intertribal relations as matri-moieties. Ignoring Mathews, Howitt[109] cites similar data, including Cameron's, continuing a patrilineal asseveration in the face of unexplained matrilineal evidence. Independent testimony is inconclusive

South and West Coast of Western Australia. This region, well observed by the earliest writers, has been subsequently neglected. Two articles by Mrs. Bates, in 1905 and 1923, grossly self-contradictory without explanatory comment, partly substantiate the older statements.

In 1832, Nind,[110] a competent observer who correctly noted the fundamentals of Australian kinship, reported strictly exogamous matri-moieties, named "Erniung and Tem, or Taaman" for four tribes: the Meananger at King George's Sound and the neighboring Will or Weil, Warrangle, and Corine. The moiety names are of unknown meaning.

99. Curr, E. M., *The Australian Race* (4 vols., Melbourne, 1886–87), I, 394, 400.

100. *Op. cit.*, pp. 200–1. 101. "Marriage Laws," p. 46.

102. "Organisation sociale des Biroungoumat et Djouamat," pp. 34–5.

103. "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," p. 221.

104. Curr, *Australian Race*, I, 394.

105. "Social Organization of South Australian Tribes," pp. 64–5, 45 (map).

106. Strehlow, C., *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien* (5 parts, Frankfurt a.M., 1907–20), ii, 4–5; iii, map facing p. 140.

107. Howitt, A. W., "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XVIII (1889), 64–6.

108. Mathews, R. H., "The Victorian Aborigines," *American Anthropologist*, XI (1898), 327.

109. *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 126–9, 138, 141–2, 248–9.

110. Nind, S., "Description of the Natives of King George's Sound (Swan River Colony) and Adjoining Country," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, I (1832), 37, 46.

Curr[111] locates the Meenung at King George's Sound, the Weel inland, the Warrango and Ngokgurring on the coast eastward to Israelite Bay. Mrs. Bates[112] locates the Wil and Kourin correspondingly, the Minoung having apparently moved inland and the Warrangle disappeared. Nind denominates the coastal tribes from King George's Sound north to Northwest Cape as "Murram"—a usage partly substantiated by the fact that all the tribes for 300 miles northwest from King George's Sound are called "Murray" by Browne.[113] According to Nind, they lack Erniung and Tem, and "frequently infringe the rule" of moiety exogamy.

On the west coast, seven matri-clans with totem-like names are recorded by Grey[114] around Perth; six by Salvado[115] at New Norcia; four by Moore[116] on the upper Swan River; four by Bates,[117] three agreeing with Moore's; "several" by Forrest.[118] Moore, Grey, and Bates mention numerous lesser matri-clans, apparently subdivisions but possibly independent and affiliated. The matri-clans intermarried according to a dual grouping, but Grey[119] and Salvado,[120] confirming Nind's statement, record marriages violating dual exogamy. None of the older authorities records matri-moiety names, but Moore and Forrest refer to the system by the dominant matri-clans, Tondarup and Ballaroke, which appear in all the lists.

Between this region and Nind's tribes, two systems were described to Moore[121] by a native—Niemungo and Yungaree, two species of kangaroos, at the Vasse River, and Watamat and Manytimat, at King George's Sound. It is the apparent sense of the passage that these were also matrilineal. Grey[122] includes the former as lesser matri-clans; Curr[123] mentions the latter, descent not stated, as moieties at King George's Sound. Mrs. Bates[124] notes a divergence in corroboree rites from the Vasse River southward.

111. *Australian Race,* I, 339, 306, 390, 392; IV, map.
112. "Organisation sociale des Biroungoumat et Djouamat," p. 27.
113. Browne, J., "The Aboriginals of Australia," *Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art,* n.s., I (1856), 255.
114. Grey, G., *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* (2 vols., London, 1841), II, 255.
115. Curr, *Australian Race,* I, 321. 116. *Op. cit.,* p. 425 n.
117. "Marriage Laws," pp. 42–3.
118. Forrest, J., "On the Natives of Central and Western Australia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* V (1876), 317.
119. *Op. cit.,* II, 391–4. The Ballaroke-Nogonyuk marriage is irregular.
120. *Cf.* Fison, L., "The New Norcia Marriage Laws," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XVIII (1889), 69.
121. *Op. cit.,* p. 425. 122. *Op. cit.,* II, 225.
123. *Australian Race.* I. 386. 124. "Marriage Laws," p. 56.

The matri-moieties Manitchmat and Wordungmat, Cockatoo and Crow, with four principal matri-clans, three of which are found among Moore's four, together with lesser matri-clans, are cited by Mrs. Bates,[125] in 1905, as extending from Esperance to Jurien Bay, i.e., nearly as far east as Israelite Bay and much to the north of New Norcia. She called all these tribes "Wadarndees" or "sea people," their inland boundary coinciding with the outer limits of circumcision. In 1923, Mrs. Bates[126] called all these peoples "Biboulmoun," and stated that matri-moieties Manitchmat and Wordungmat with matri-clans extended from Jurien Bay to Cape Leeuwin only, thus confining them to the west coast. She denied the existence of totem-like clans along the southern coast to Esperance, and declared that here the moieties Manitchmat and Wordungmat were patrilineal. Discrepancies with her own 1905 account were not reconciled. Grey[127] and Nind[128] mention Tondarups at King George's Sound, and in 1905 Mrs. Bates[129] expressly stated that she had met a Ballaroke and a Didaruk from Esperance Bay. "Biboulmoun" is apparently the "Peopleman" of Curr,[130] a tribe on the south coast near Cape Leeuwin. Moore[131] was told by his native informant: "At King George's Sound the Watamat and Manytimat are a little people."

Apart from the discrepancies of Mrs. Bates, consistent data indicate the following conclusion: that totem-like matri-clans existed from Israelite Bay to Jurien Bay and inland to the circumcision area, with descent perhaps doubtful at King George's Sound; that matri-moieties Erniung and Tem, Manitchmat and Wordungmat, and Niumungo and Yungaree extended in succession from east to west nearly to the Murray River; and that thence northward, in company with a change in corroboree rites, matri-moieties were lacking and the matri-clans Tondarup and Balleroke denominated a dual grouping of matri-clans. Irregular marriages violating dual exogamy, but not matri-clan exogamy, occurred except under Erniung and Tem. The prior account by Mrs. Bates accords with and enriches the earlier literature, except for the asserted universality of Manitchmat and Wordungmat, which is recorded by no one else and is denied by Moore's informant. Her ensuing publication, accepted by Radcliffe-Brown,[132] is here deemed unreliable.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–3, 56.
126. "Tribus du sud-ouest de l'Australie," pp. 228–9.
127. *Op. cit.*, II, 362.
128. *Op. cit.*, p. 42.
129. "Marriage Laws," p. 43.
130. *Australian Race*, IV, No. 26 on map.
131 *Op. cit.*, p. 425.
132. "Social Organization of Australian Tribes," pp. 216–19.

The coastal strip from Jurien Bay to Northwest Cape, also non-circumcising, seems to be unknown, and is so indicated on Map A. Mathews,[133] in an uncertain passage, indicated that it was classless. The reference by Oldfield[134] to the native cat as "Pussey-brother" suggests some form of totemism. Nind[135] included this area with his "Murram." Moore[136] quotes his Swan River native informant as saying: "we, from below the Murray River, all by York and all to the Northward, as far as you can go—ay, as far away as England (was his literal expression) —there are Tondarups and Ballarokes—what a great people we are!" Mrs. Bates[137] notes that Tondarups and Ballarokes intermarried with coastal non-circumcising four-section tribes north of Northwest Cape. These inconclusive remarks unite to support a view that the Perth system of totem-like matri-clans, lacking named matri-moieties or other classes, may have extended into the unknown coastal area to the north.

133. "Ethnological Notes," p. 51; *cf.* also his "Marriage and Descent," pp. 120, 131.

134. Oldfield, A., "On the Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London,* III (1865), 260.

135. *Op. cit.,* p. 37.

136. *Op. cit.,* p. 425.

137. "Marriage Laws," pp. 46–7.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS: SERVICES OF A CATCH PHRASE

ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

"To debate about freedom of the press," asserts Malcolm W. Bingay,[1] editorial director of the *Detroit Free Press*, "is to debate as to whether sunshine is of value to mankind, as to whether sound health is better than sickness, as to whether sound truth shall reign or error persist." Thus a leading editor, as quoted in the official organ of the principal professional body of American editors, suggests the extent to which certain newspapermen make their pet catch phrase, and the protean doctrine it labels, an object of "pathos."[2] This sentimental glamor that envelops the cherished notions of peoples, classes, and groups, and that shields such theories from criticism, represents at once the most useful and the most discouraging aspect of Freedom of the Press. Pathos serves well those with a vested interest protected by such a principle of faith; it discourages many from studying objectively and comprehensively the societal rôles of such a dogma.

Pathos gathered for more than three centuries about the doctrine of Freedom of the Press, clung for a century or so, and then began to crack.

When, about 1440–50, one or more inventors found a way to substitute individual types cast in metal for such primitive printing surfaces as hand-engraved wood blocks,[3] they injected a new and disturbing factor into western society. This invention of typography, frequently called "the invention of printing," furnished an easy means of disseminating novel ideas, but those in authority soon took steps to cope with this threat to doctrines that sanctioned their special privileges. The matter issuing from the new presses must not be immoral. Pope Alexander VI, in a bull of 1501, condemned unlicensed printing. Censorship by governmental offi-

1. *Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors,* No. CXIX (March 30, 1936), p. 3.
2. Sumner, W. G., *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), pp. 180–1.
3. McMurtrie, D. C., *The Golden Book* (New York, 1927), pp. 73–106.

cials appeared in Germany in 1529 and shortly thereafter in France and England.[4] The struggle of the rising business leaders and of the popular political spokesmen to obtain a measure of governmental power, however, soon focused around the control of this and other means of influencing popular opinions. These leaders capitalized upon changes in the mores and crystallized sentiment that eventually supplanted religious and monarchical control of the press with democratic and financial control.

Before new leaders could get very far, new catchwords had to root themselves in the minds of the masses, to ingrain themselves in the mores. These labels could then function as premises with which to justify modifications in social policy. In place of The Faith, Divine Right, etc., there gradually appeared such expressions as Natural Rights, Progress, Freedom of Conscience, Liberty, Equality, and Freedom of the Press. Meaning many things, but nothing specifically, these phrases spread as symbols of solutions for any and all maladjustments. Mechanical and economic changes spawned catchwords, and these became battle cries in the "strain of consistency"[5]—the strain toward adaptation to changed life conditions—in the mores during succeeding centuries. Religious and political heretics, while no more liberal than their established opponents, stood to gain from the development of sentiments favorable to some freedom of choice among ideas for the masses, of some tolerance for novelty. Granted some chance to present their own "thobbings,"[6] these reformers believed that Reason would give their own side the final victory. They did not observe that automatically acting forces dominated them and their adherents. They dealt, as have their successors, in short-range rationalizations.

In the present consideration of the services of Freedom of the Press in the field of daily newspaper publication in the United States, no effort is made to estimate whether or not a free press might have or—to the extent that it has existed—has had any societal utility. Such conclusions would have to be based on data

4. Bury, J. B., *A History of Freedom of Thought* (New York, [1913]), pp. 90–1.

5. Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–7, 5–6.

6. Confident reasonings of persons incurious about verifying their theories. See Ward, H., *Builders of Delusion* (Indianapolis, 1931), pp. 126–40.

too limited and too unrepresentative. What press freedom any civilized country has or has had may be regarded as a temporary by-product of the continuous struggle by economic, political, and religious interests for control of the press. Then, too, as Alexander Hamilton[7] asked in 1788, "What is the liberty of the press? Who can give it any definition which would not leave the utmost latitude for evasion?" He contended "that its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the government." Press freedom, in other words, to the extent that it corresponds to actual conditions, is defined by the mores of a time and place. Too frequently students of Freedom of the Press start with the assumption that some ideal version of the doctrine is the yardstick against which press freedom in practice can or should be graded. Sometimes they even go so far as to claim that Freedom of the Press, as described, is the ideal "towards which we *must* strive." Such premises, *a priori* as they are, have no place in a scientific treatment.

Pareto[8] makes another admonition that deserves to be repeated here: "I ask the reader to bear in mind . . . that when I call a doctrine absurd, in no sense whatever do I mean to imply that it is detrimental to society: on the contrary, it may be very beneficial. Conversely, when I assert that a theory is beneficial to society, in no wise do I mean to imply that it is experimentally true."

Questions of interest here with regard to Freedom of the Press are such as these: In the course of the history of the daily newspaper in this country,[9] who have used this catch phrase? For what purposes have they employed it? What meanings have they given it? What is the probable significance of the conflict between interpretations placed upon it? Space does not permit a full presentation of pertinent data upon which to base tentative answers to these questions. For the sake of brevity, therefore, reference will be

7. "The Federalist, No. LXXXIV," *The Federalist,* ed. E. G. Bourne (New York, 1901), II, 156–7.

8. Pareto, V., *The Mind and Society,* tr. A. Bongiorno and A. Livingston (4 vols., New York, 1935), I, 38.

9. Dating from *The Pennsylvania Evening Post, and Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia, 1783–84).

made from time to time to available collections of facts,[10] and to only such additional materials as will form a basis for tentative answers to the above questions. From a survey of the general status of the catch phrase during the last decades of the eighteenth century, of the major changes that have swept the industry during the succeeding century and a half, and of the present services of the slogan, some estimate may be made of the relation of Freedom of the Press to the industry's adaptations and of the vicissitudes of the pathos shielding it and the industry.

In the struggle of American colonial leaders against British domination, the insurgent printing presses had a key function in the widespread dissemination of propaganda. Samuel Adams, an outstanding agitator of the Revolution, established the eighteenth century equivalent of George Creel's World War Committee on Public Information in order to combat British domination of opinion-forming agencies. Adams, with such associates as John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, and Joseph Warren, had encouraged Benjamin Edes and John Gill to take over, in 1755, *The Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, a weekly. They then became "editors of its literary department, and the purveyors of its political information."[11] With this organ as a nucleus, Adams had, by 1772, "organized the Committee of Correspondence in more than eighty towns, and no town was without its copy of the *Gazette*."[12] To distribute this journal and special handwritten bulletins, Adams and rebel leaders in other towns undermined the loyalty of British post riders and eventually set up a competing system. In the case of the Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773, for example, "couriers galloped with all the four winds to spread the news, Paul Revere reaching Philadelphia shortly before Christmas."[13] William Goddard, publisher of the Baltimore *Maryland Journal*, arranged a

10. Especially to Lee, A. M., *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York, 1937).

11. Thomas, I., *The History of Printing in America* (2d ed., Albany, 1874), II, 54.

12. Payne, G. H., *History of Journalism in the United States* (New York, 1920), p. 107.

13. Hosmer, J. K., *Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1885), p. 256. For a comprehensive account of Adams's propaganda activities, see Miller, J. C., *Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda* (Boston, 1936), esp. chap. X: "The Committees of Correspondence," pp. 256–75.

special post to Philadelphia in 1773 in connection with his paper, and in 1774 extended this service to Maine and Georgia as "an American post-office on constitutional principles," as he called it in his issue of July 2nd.[14]

This struggle for a "free" or pro-Whig press represented the culmination of an agitation along similar lines which had been growing for more than forty years and in which the famous Freedom-of-the-Press trial of John Peter Zenger in 1735[15] and the Stamp Act of 1765[16] had played significant parts. The emphasis upon and reiteration of these two incidents by colonial printers during succeeding years aided materially in associating the catch phrase of the printers with the aims of the revolutionists. As David Ramsay,[17] an early patriot historian, asserted: "It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that News-papers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on the side of liberty, nor are they less remarkable for attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a great diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous opposition." The early association of the counting room with the enthusiasm of the publishers for Freedom of the Press, here touched upon by Ramsay, excites no amazement in the candid observer. The rationalizations of newspapermen, however, necessitate the assertion of its existence. Ramsay's generalizations respecting the affiliations of newspapers "when uninfluenced by government" were based, of course, on eighteenth century experience, which differed considerably from that of the twentieth century.

The newspapers used by the pre-Revolutionary propagandists in their contest for popular support were, and remained until well after the Revolution, financially weak sidelines of printing establishments, frequently made possible through the funds and written contributions of groups of patrons and through governmental

14. Scharf, J. T., *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), pp 80 (quoted), 81.

15. Faust, A. B., *The German Element in the United States* (Boston, 1909), I, 105–10.

16. Schlesinger, A. M., "The Colonial Newspapers and the Stamp Act," *New England Quarterly*, VIII (1935), 63–83.

17. Ramsay, D., *History of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1789), I, 61–2.

subsidies. Their limited staffs, usually the printer and one or two helpers, assembled items clipped from exchanges, volunteer communications, and information available at local taverns and coffee houses. Their advertisements frequently stood unchanged for many issues, sometimes for years. Printers set this material in type by hand and struck off their few hundred copies on handmade paper with homemade ink on rudimentary handpresses. The products contrast startlingly with the mass-circulation dailies and even the smaller weeklies of today. The technological and other changes responsible for this amazing transformation did not get well under way until the late 1820's and the 1830's.[18]

The decade within which the federal organic law was drafted, the 1780's, witnessed a marked expansion in the number of newspapers and the beginnings of daily newspaper publication. While the number of papers increased from thirty in 1770 to forty-eight in 1775, the Revolution reduced the total in 1780 to thirty-nine—three semiweeklies, two triweeklies, and thirty-four weeklies. By 1790, however, the country had ninety-two news publications, including eight dailies.[19] Nevertheless, according to a very generous estimate based upon statements of printers,[20] the total weekly product in 1789 was only 76,438 copies, an average of about 600 copies an issue. A tabulation of the longevity of 1,793 newspapers started between 1690 and 1820—a sample, based on existing newspaper files, which probably omits many hundreds of short-lived publications—reveals that 30.3 per cent did not survive their first year and that only 19.0 per cent lasted ten years or longer.[21]

At the time, then, that the party of Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson was successfully agitating the inclusion of a bill of rights in our organic law, the connotations of the catch phrase, Freedom of the Press, largely reflected the character of the struggle and the sort of newspaper described above. The papers were relatively small, easy to start, and sufficiently numerous to represent conflicting points of view. They had not, as yet, developed such devices for

18. Lee, *op. cit.*, chaps. II, IV, V.

19. Tabulated from Brigham, C. S., "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., XXIII–XXX, XXXII, XXXIV–XXXV, XXXVII (1913–20, 1922, 1924–25, 1927).

20. Munsell, J., *The Typographical Miscellany* (Albany, 1850), p. 96.

21. Computed from Winship, G. P., "Report of the Council," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., XXXVI (1926), 12.

minimizing competition as monopolistic newsgathering and feature franchises. Fearing that American Tories in control of the government would prove as autocratic as their British predecessors, Jefferson placed his faith in Freedom of Discussion and Freedom of the Press, assured by The Law. As late as 1799 he wrote: "Our citizens may be deceived for a while & have been deceived; but as long as the presses can be protected, we may trust to them for light."[22] Jefferson had, by 1787, few illusions about the ability of The People to maintain, without the benefit of a relatively unchangeable law, the Rights for which the Revolution had ostensibly been fought. "What a cruel reflection," he wrote that year in his *Travels in France*,[23] "that a rich country cannot long be a free one." His illusions regarding Freedom of the Press did not weaken until he had experienced as President the manner in which newspapermen treated a political leader. He wrote in 1807: "It is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more compleatly deprive the nation of it's benefits, than is done by it's abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle."[24]

Popular clamor, aroused by such arch-democrats, made the ratification of the federal constitution difficult. The Virginia constitution of 1776 and others[25] contained bills of rights, and the "left-wingers" did not want the new instrument to represent any loss of ground. This forced the addition to the federal constitution in 1791 of the first ten amendments, our national bill of rights. The first of these stipulated, in part, that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."[26] As the

22. Letter to A. Stuart, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. P. L. Ford, VII (New York, 1896), 378.

23. Washington, H. A., ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* IX (Washington, 1854), 319.

24. Letter to J. Norvell, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. P. L. Ford, IX (New York, 1898), 73.

25. See North, S. N. D., *The Newspaper and Periodical Press* (Washington, 1884), pp. 24–6. For present provisions in state constitutions, see Cooley, T. M., *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations* (8th ed., Boston, 1927), II, 876–80.

26. The Fourteenth Amendment has been interpreted as making this provision binding upon the states. According to the decision in "Near *v.* Minnesota *ex rel.* Olson, County Attorney" (*United States Reports,* CCLXXXIII [1931], 707), delivered by Chief Justice Hughes, "It is no longer open to doubt that

"product of a people of whom the framers were merely the mouthpiece," this statement "was formed out of past resentment against the royal control of the press under the Tudors, against the Star Chamber and the pillory, against the Parliamentary censorship which Milton condemned in his *Areopagitica,* by recollections of heavy newspaper taxation, by hatred of the suppression of thought which went on vigorously on the Continent during the eighteenth century."[27] This amendment thus "marks for America the legal recognition of the freedom of the press," but "the practical problems of defining the limits of that phrase were far from solved."[28] And the things the phrase covered, like all matters societal, persisted in changing, a phenomenon only vaguely understood by lawyers.

Various writers on law, among them Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes,[29] have concluded that the "provisions of the Constitution are not mathematical formulas having their essence in their form; they are organic living institutions transplanted from English soil." By the latter statement, Holmes evidently meant that the interpretation of such provisions ought to take account of changes in life conditions and culture. On another occasion, in a decision dealing with the constitutionality of a tax statute, he asserted:[30] "Upon this point a page of history is worth a volume of logic." Such judges as Holmes focus their attention on facts; they take "no stock in grand principles, 'natural law,' or other figments, and would never assert, in the style of Moses, that: 'This is The Law.' "[31] Law books rarely take this attitude. Incurious of the nature of their subject, they usually assume that Law is a gradually perfecting instrument. In this, they reflect professional and popular mores more accurately than do the statements of Holmes.

The point of view expressed by Holmes leaves out of considera-

the liberty of the press, and of speech, is within the liberty safeguarded by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from invasion by state action."

27. Chafee, Z., *Freedom of Speech* (New York, 1920), pp 31–2.

28. Dawson, S. A., *Freedom of the Press* (New York, 1924), p. 64.

29. "Gompers *v.* United States," *United States Reports,* CCXXXIII (1914), 610.

30. "New York Trust Company *et al.,* as Executors of Purdy, *v.* Eisner," *United States Reports,* CCLVI (1921), 349.

31. Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution* (2d ed., New York, 1931), pp. 168–9.

tion several weighty factors. As Sumner and Keller[32] point out: "If all the interests, locally felt and locally defended, have their chance within the arena marked out by the limits set in the national code, the composite product of the consequent selection, neither foreseen nor planned by anyone, will represent a more expedient adjustment for the whole society." The "If" is the catch. Within the short period of time covered by the history of the United States, such special interests as those of the daily newspaper industry have been more effectively brought to the attention of legislators, the judiciary, and the populace than interests unsupported by the pressure of an organized industrial group with powerful connections. In the interpretation and reinterpretation of constitutional law, therefore, "all the interests, locally felt and locally defended," have not to date had "their chance within the arena." They may not have that chance "until the conflict issues in a revolutionary modification of the broader outlines of the society's code or even in the violent disruption of the peace-group itself."[33] The newspaper has special privileges which it barters for special privileges, consciously or unconsciously, and it has monopolistic "rights" in the opinion-forming mechanism of society.

By his conclusion that constitutional provisions "are not mathematical formulas having their essence in their form," Holmes means that the things for which the symbols in the formulas stand are not fixed once and for all. But the authors of the federal constitution, like the people they represented, wanted fixed formulas. In absolute phrases they sought insurance against the selfish expedients adopted by untrammeled rulers. They did not want to leave their words open to distortion. "The true key for the construction of everything doubtful in a law," wrote Jefferson,[34] "is the intention of the law givers." In the bolstering of this satisfying feeling of certainty in a changing world, the glorification of the Revolutionary Fathers has proceeded apace. "What is said by the hero . . . is inspired and is not open to discussion. It becomes a doctrine, dogma, or 'eternal principle.' We go counter to it when we have

32. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), I, 731.

33. *Op. cit.*, I, 731.

34. Letter to A. Gallatin, 1808, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. H. A. Washington, V (Washington, 1853), 291.

to, in order to adjust to changed life-conditions, but we re-interpret it as we go and refuse to admit that it is changed."[35]

Such legally sanctioned catch phrases as Freedom of the Press, then, inevitably produce a conflict in interpretation between those who would cling to the "real meaning" of the fetish words of the constitutional heroes and those whose interests are better served by a "practical definition" in terms of present needs. In periods of rapid change in life conditions, when popular acceptance of new rationalizations lags perceptibly, the gulf between these two viewpoints widens and tends to call forth efforts at sharper definition, at a reassessment of both the ideal and the practical in terms of realities. Popular doctrines, however, "are always vague; it would ruin a doctrine to define it, because then it could be analyzed, tested, criticized, and verified."[36] Some of the contemporary dangers besetting the catch phrase in question, and its accompanying bodies of doctrine, in efforts at analysis and verification appear below.

The alarming literalness with which printers took Freedom of the Press disconcerted politicians during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. The "real meaning" of the doctrine had to be explained. Freedom, of course, did not mean license. In interpreting constitutional press provisions, "the courts are unanimous in only one particular—that the constitutional provisions do not permit the free and unlimited publication of anything at any time." While "nowhere is an attempt made to set forth an infallible test for determining the dividing line," judges consistently point to "a distinction between liberty of the Press and licentiousness."[37] Freedom of the Press is freedom within the vague bounds set by generally accepted mores and by law; "license" is a label attached to all else.

The general attitude toward license, at least until the World War, is summed up in the aphorism: "No one has yet invented a gun which will kill a wolf in sheep's clothing and will not hit a

35. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, II, 1009.

36. Sumner, W. G., *War and Other Essays*, ed. A. G. Keller (New Haven, 1911), p. 86.

37. Siebert, F. S., *The Rights and Privileges of the Press* (New York, 1934), p. 7.

sheep."[38] This position is well expressed by James Madison:[39] "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of every thing; and in no instance is this more true, than in that of the press. It has accordingly been decided by the practice of the States, that it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than by pruning them away, to injure the vigor of those yielding the proper fruits." With the progressive tendency toward a standardization of viewpoint in daily newspapers, and the gradual broadening of the powers of the dailies of wide circulation, restrictive legislation came to weigh more and more heavily on minority publications.[40] In 1911, Congress widened the definition of what the Postmaster General might exclude from the mails by amending postal legislation to include "matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination" within the meaning of "indecent."[41] During the World War, under the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1918, authorities "often shut their eyes to slips or deliberate violations on the part of powerful newspapers with orthodox political opinions and exerted their powers over the unorthodox."[42]

After the War, "while still under the influence of 'war psychology,' a large number of states sought to curb the activities of radical political groups such as the I. W. W. and communists by enacting the so-called peace-time criminal syndicalism or sedition acts." These penalized "publications which tend to incite insurrection or sedition or which advocate the subversion and destruction by force of the government of the state or of the United States or which 'encourage, incite, abet or promote' hostility to either government." One had to stick to the dispassionate advocacy of change by "lawful means."[43] These laws render illegal, of course, certain

38. Chafee, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

39. "Report on the Virginia Resolutions," *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, ed. J. Elliot (2d ed., Washington, 1836), IV, 598.

40. See Lee, *op. cit.*, chaps. IX, XII, XVII.

41. *United States Compiled Statutes* (St. Paul, 1918), Sec. 10381: Criminal Code, Sec. 211, as amended March 4, 1911. This provision has been used to sanction the withdrawal of postal privileges from a half-dozen publications, including the *New York Call*, a Socialist daily, especially during the World War.

42. Irwin, W., *Propaganda and the News* (New York, 1936), p. 184.

43. Siebert, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–1. On p. 271, this author cites thirty-four such state and territorial laws, mostly enacted in 1919.

passages in the Declaration of Independence and such statements as the following by Abraham Lincoln[44] in his first inaugural address: "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." Against such repressive legislation an exponent of liberalism[45] cried, little heeded: "There should be no legislation against sedition and anarchy. We must legislate and enforce the laws against the use of force, but protect ourselves against bad thinking and speaking by the strength of argument and a confidence in American common sense and American institutions, including that most characteristic of all, which stands at the head of the Bill of Rights, freedom of thought." These laws, the constitutionality of which has been upheld,[46] do not, after all, affect the members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the leading trade association of the daily newspaper industry, or those of the state and sectional publishers' bodies. The time of violent clashes over fundamental politico-economic issues between papers of general circulation has, at least temporarily, passed.

While legislators and judges, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were working out a definition of Freedom from a political standpoint, publishers were utilizing changing life conditions, mechanical and economic developments, and cultural tendencies to evolve, from an economic standpoint, a more "respectable" connotation for the Press. In a recent pamphlet, Colonel Robert R. McCormick,[47] publisher of *The Chicago Tribune* and chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, sums up the political rights of "decent" daily newspapers as he believes they are implied by the doctrine of Freedom of the Press: "The right of freedom of the press is 'a right which shall not be abridged by any law of congress.' The freedom of the press would be abridged by any law

44. Richardson, J. D., ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* VI (Washington, 1897), 10.

45 Chafee, *op. cit.,* p. 228.

46. Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 271.

47. McCormick, R. R., *The Freedom of the Press Still Furnishes That Check upon Government Which No Constitution Has Ever Been Able To Provide* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 33–4.

passed by congress which, by the exercise of a code or otherwise, would do any of the following things: First, unreasonably raise the cost of production . . . second, unreasonably decrease the return from publishing . . . third, interfere with the transmission of news by telegraph or otherwise. . . . And, finally, anything that would unreasonably interfere with the freedom of the press in any way which may ever be invented." While McCormick's committee took up the "Minnesota Gag Law" case, involving *The Saturday Press* of Minneapolis, a puny scandal sheet,[48] it did not concern itself with the wrecking of the offices and suppression of the Communist San Francisco *Western Worker*.[49] In the former case, a law was tested and held unconstitutional that might have proved annoying to a general circulation daily. In the latter, the police had merely stamped out an "indecent" paper—"indecent" in the sense of the 1911 postal legislation, equally applicable to *The Boston Gazette* of Edes and Gill in 1755.

As the economic implications of Freedom of the Press, expressed by McCormick, gained increasing support, supplanting the earlier political ones, practical developments within the newspaper industry were introducing economic restrictions which operated to hedge in press freedom. The publishers continued to use the old political doctrine, however, to clothe the new restrictions with respectability.

Technological changes, paralleling economic and social adjustments, rapidly raised the cost of chips in the newspaper "game." By 1830, machines similar in principle to those still in use had replaced handcraft methods in paper-making, and the use of an impression cylinder or two instead of a flat surface had speeded press output to at least 1,000 impressions an hour, the equivalent of 500 four-page newspapers. During the succeeding century, the cheapening of newsprint and the development of more efficient printing equipment both stimulated and reflected ever-mounting circulations. The aggregate daily circulation in the country climbed from some 75,000 copies in 1830 to more than 42,000,000 in 1930. The number of dailies increased from 65 to 2,065, and

48. "Near *v.* Minnesota *ex rel.* Olson, County Attorney," *United States Reports*, CCLXXXIII (1931), 697–738.

49. *Editor & Publisher*, LXVII, xv (Aug. 25, 1934), 10.

their average circulation from 1,200 to nearly 19,000. The aggregate value of the products of the industry exceeded $1,000,000,000 in 1929, although it sank to only two-thirds of that figure in 1933.[50] The relatively monopolistic nature of daily newspaper properties is indicated by the fact that, in 1936, the 1,560 evening papers of general circulation were located in about 1,430 cities; the 1,950 morning and evening dailies of this sort, in 1,457 cities.[51] While only 9.3 per cent of all dailies, in 1929, were located in cities with 500,000 or more inhabitants, these papers controlled 45.4 per cent of the total daily circulation.[52] The goodwill of an average daily in 1830 was worth about $5,000, and several dailies were successfully launched in New York City in the early 1830's with a capital of several thousand dollars, mostly in credit. In 1930, the goodwill of an average daily was worth between $150,000 and $200,000; mechanical equipment, franchises, trained personnel, and other tangibles and intangibles brought the average investment to a somewhat higher figure. To serve such establishments, the more efficient presses of 1936 maintain an average output of 52,000 32-page newspapers an hour for the printing of black alone—color introduces further complications—and the larger dailies operate many such presses simultaneously to satisfy demands for as many as 1,600,000 copies on weekdays and 3,000,000 on Sundays.[53]

The story of the manner in which daily newspaper properties have been stabilized is long and complicated. It includes the development of monopolistic coöperative and other newsgathering memberships and franchises,[54] of monopolistic feature rights,[55] of efficient newspaper distributing organizations with which a newcomer can compete only with the greatest difficulty,[56] of advertising rates which yield no profit to new and even established small papers, of advertising contracts that effectively exclude or at least hamper "outsiders" and new papers,[57] and of buying arrangements

50. Lee, *op. cit.*, chaps. V–VII; Appendix, Tables VIII, XIII, XV, XXIX.

51. Adapted from *Editor & Publisher*, LXIX, iv, Part II (Jan. 25, 1936), 124; LXIX, xlviii, Part II (Nov. 28, 1936), 5 *et passim*.

52. Computed from United States Bureau of the Census, *Printing and Publishing and Allied Industries* (Washington, 1932), p. 16.

53. Lee, *op. cit.*, chap. VII; *Editor & Publisher*, LXIX, xlix (Dec. 5, 1936), 15.

54. Lee, *op. cit.*, chaps. XIII, XIV.

55. *Ibid.*, chap. XV.

56. *Ibid.*, chap. IX.

57. *Ibid.*, chap. X.

available only to those able to purchase huge quantities of supplies.[58] Despite these and other changes, however, it should not be forgotten that it is still *possible* to start a daily in New York City with approximately the same capital as was employed a century or more ago—a daily of the same sort as those successful then. But it would not satisfy the current expectations of potential subscribers. Our folkways relating to newspaper reading, including the price we are willing to pay for a paper and our willingness to pay indirectly by purchasing advertised goods, contribute strongly to the stability of the relatively few dailies by which we are now served. We demand that our papers purchase costly features and run columns and columns of expensive cabled stories about the love affairs of royalty.

Such a brief summary of the factors restricting or prohibiting the entrance of new units into any field monopolized by established dailies inevitably oversimplifies an extremely complicated situation. A more extensive survey of the facts than is here possible, however, merely modifies and refines the impression, and does not fundamentally alter the conclusions, which may be stated in a fashion paraphrasing the generalizations of McCormick. The industry has raised the cost of production to a point prohibiting most newcomers. It has decreased the return from publishing for the unestablished to an extent not accomplished politically in this country since long before the Revolution. And it has interfered with the transmission of news by telegraph and otherwise, through promoting the necessity of huge outlays for wire news as well as through monopolistic arrangements.

As the legal and practical definitions of Freedom and the practical meaning of the Press became thus modified, the battered old catch phrase continued to perform services for which the publishers sought to preserve it. They could still demonstrate that the Principle is sound; the critics, however, looked askance at the Practice. A few incidents, selected from a multitude, will illustrate both the services of the doctrine and the extent to which it is cracking in consequence of being stretched too far from the path of popular experience and belief. President Roosevelt,[59] in 1934, alluded to

58. *Ibid.*, chaps. VII, VIII.

59. Quoted by Manning, G. H., in *Editor & Publisher*, LXVI, xli (Feb. 24, 1934), 8.

some of its more striking uses in his executive order making effective the N. R. A. Daily Newspaper Code: "The freedom guaranteed by the Constitution is freedom of expression and that will be scrupulously respected—but it is not freedom to work children, or to do business in a fire trap or violate the laws against obscenity, libel and lewdness." The *New York Herald-Tribune*[60] called this "government by insult." But the *Milwaukee Journal*—with an eye on the facts and on the changing terms of political and economic expediency—had another way of looking at the "memorable battle and glorious victory" of the publishers in their struggle over the N. R. A. code. On the occasion of the passage of a "victory" resolution by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the *Journal*[61] warned editorially: "The Society has not placed the press of America in an enviable light by trying to bolster the farcical behavior of a few Tory-minded publishers. In fact, the whole shameful affair may have done the press incalculable harm." When the press has an actual "issue of freedom of the press to carry to the people," it asked, "would the people, deceived, as they have been, by the cry of 'Wolf! Wolf!' respond?" The *St. Louis Star-Times*[62] claimed that the "newspapers of the United States have done more, by their organized activities through the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the NRA Code Authority, to destroy their influence with the American people than all their enemies combined."

The position of the publishers in the Presidential campaign of 1936, their rationalizations of their stand, and the consequent popular reactions to their defeat parallel these aspects of the N. R. A. controversy. Before the election, a leading spokesman[63] for the daily newspaper industry estimated that "fewer than 700" dailies were supporting Roosevelt and "more than 1,200" were backing Landon. In terms of the circulation of the 1,950 general-interest dailies, he believed "that press support of the Republican ticket is more than 3 to 1." Even a post-election estimate by an

60. "Smear America," editorial, *New York Herald-Tribune* (Feb. 20, 1934).
61. Quoted in *Editor & Publisher,* LXVI, li (May 5, 1934), 22.
62. Editorial, reprinted in *Editor & Publisher,* LXVII, ii (May 25, 1935), 26.
63. Pew, M. E., "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor & Publisher,* LXIX, xxxix, Part I (Sept. 26, 1936), 48.

equally competent spokesman[64] placed Roosevelt aid at "not less than one-third of the country's daily circulation" and "possibly 40 per cent"—but two-thirds of the voters supported Roosevelt.

Following the election, the pro-Roosevelt press led in a denunciation of the rôle played by the majority of the daily newspapers in the campaign. Captain J. M. Patterson's *New York Daily News* reminded the publishers on November 4th that "the newspapers are not the only medium any more for mass circulation of ideas," and it accused 85 per cent of the publishers of fighting Roosevelt because his reëlection "would be a bad thing for their pockets" and because they consequently thought it "would be a bad thing for everybody." William Allen White[65] (Republican), editor-publisher of the *Emporia Gazette,* attributed the landslide to "a firm desire on the part of the American people to use government as an agency for human welfare." J. David Stern[66] (Democrat), editor-publisher of the *New York Post* and other papers, asserted: "If publishers would listen more to reporters than to bankers they would publish better newspapers."

To still such cries, the defeated publishers turned to a trusty explanation. Freedom of the Press, explained the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot,*[67] does not imply that "the press is true to its constitutional mission when its opinions coincide with the election returns, but false to it when they don't." To accept such a doctrine, it maintained, would call for "an abdication of editorial independence and acceptance in its place of an obligation (1) to ascertain, by some occult means, what candidates and policies have captured the imagination and allegiance of the voting majority of a nation of 130,000,000 people of diversified interests, and (2) to ally itself with the divined popular judgment whether its own judgment corresponds with it or not." A press reflecting such popular fancies, it continued, cannot be called " 'free' in any rational definition of the term, but enslaved and indentured—dangerous to the public inter-

64. Robb, A. T., "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor & Publisher,* LXIX, xlv (Nov. 7, 1936), 48.

65. Quoted by Clemow, B., in *Editor & Publisher,* LXIX, xlv (Nov. 7, 1936), 5.

66. *Editor & Publisher,* LXIX, xlv (Nov. 7, 1936), 7.

67. Nov. 22, 1936; quoted by Robb, A. T., in *Editor & Publisher,* LXIX, xlviii, Part I (Nov. 28, 1936), 44.

est as often as beneficial." Shades of Thomas Jefferson!—considering that, originally, the populace had adopted Freedom of the Press as a catch phrase to assure itself of the kind of newspapers it wanted.

The *Virginian-Pilot's* explanation, and similar ones published by many other papers, convinced chiefly those who wanted a prop for their self-righteousness. To others, its strong resemblance to the justification of licensing and censorship by kings and bishops in the eighteenth century rendered it suspect. This theory, in conjunction with the nature of the contemporary daily newspaper industry, recalls a statement by McCormick:[68] "Men who are given dictatorial powers invariably become tyrants, with the tyrannical conviction that they are heaven-sent, that what they do is divinely inspired, and that dissent is treason." If newspaper editors and publishers exhibited a willingness to view facts objectively, to take the pains of a social scientist in determining probabilities and possibilities, a press free to do what the *Virginian-Pilot* and others demand as their "right" would become an amazingly useful instrument for societal adaptation.

Less ballyhooed examples of the services of Freedom of the Press crop up continually. The doctrine has frequently been invoked by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the Associated Press, and individual publishers to protect a vast array of other special privileges. When the industry was confronted, in 1936, with an increasing number of employee-relations cases in the editorial field, Elisha Hanson,[69] general counsel for the Publishers' Association, officially advised: "Publishers from now on should flatly refuse to have anything to do with the National Labor Relations Board, other than to notify it it is without power under the Constitution to interfere with their business. . . . Specifically the issue is whether Congress, in the light of the prohibition against the abridgment of the freedom of the press . . . has power to circumvent that Amendment by vesting a legislative agency with authority to control the operations of the press, when Congress itself cannot exercise that power." In reply, *The Guild Reporter*[70] as the official

68. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.
69. *Editor & Publisher*, LXIX, xli, Part I (Oct. 10, 1936), 7.
70. *Guild Reporter*, III, xxi (Oct. 15, 1936), 8.

organ of the American Newspaper Guild, an international newswriters' union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in an editorial headed "Hanson, Anarchist," asserted: "All concern for the general welfare, all respect for the right of Congress to establish public policies which it deems to be essential for the country, have been abandoned in this document."

As for the Guild itself, the board of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association[71] officially advised its members in 1936 that "the ultimate and final responsibility for the publication of a newspaper rests on those who own or manage the publication," and that therefore "publishers should carefully weigh any steps which they take that in any manner might restrict them in the proper exercise of their function of gathering and disseminating information, either in the form of news or editorial comment." In other words, it warned against any contract with the Guild. The report continued: "While it is impossible for the government to destroy or even restrict the freedom of the press, it is not impossible for an individual publisher by agreement or otherwise to do so in so far as his own newspaper is concerned and he may do so either by a course of conduct or by contractual arrangement." Apparently, the Association could overlook the abrogating of Freedom of the Press "by a course of conduct" on the part of publishers, but it could not countenance their doing so "by contractual arrangement" with a "class-conscious trade union."

This aroused militant J. David Stern, who had signed several preferential shop contracts with the Guild, to resign the membership of his *Philadelphia Record* in the Association, with the announcement:[72] "We are resigning because your association, founded to benefit and strengthen the daily newspapers of this country, has in the last few years so conducted itself as to lower American newspapers in popular esteem, to endanger freedom of the press, and has even gone so far as to urge its members to breach the law." Stern regarded the advice of the board relative to the Guild as the last straw. This organization, lusty successor to many abortive attempts to ameliorate the financial and professional status of newswriters by collective action, was formed in 1933 and, by 1936,

71. *Editor & Publisher,* LXIX, l, Part I (Dec. 12, 1936), 12.
72. *Time,* XXVIII, xxv (Dec. 21, 1936), 21.

had 5,877 members and chapters in 274 American newspaper and press service offices.[73] The Guild's successes, including victories in hard-fought strikes against W. R. Hearst's Milwaukee *Wisconsin News* and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, caused publishers to worry about the stability of their control of the press.

These applications of the doctrine of Freedom of the Press, representing, in the main, efforts on the part of publishers to protect their status as arbiters of editorial policy, recall the conclusions of Sumner and Keller[74] with regard to the societal expediency of permitting "all the interests, locally felt and locally defended," to "have their chance within the arena." Persons and movements advocating variations in established economic and political practices must assault doctrines rendered inflexible by the sanction of the mores, by absolutistic legal interpretations, and by the force exerted by those with vested interests in maintaining them. This situation usually results, as Chafee[75] has pointed out in discussing the broader subject of freedom of speech from a political standpoint, in the assumption of the initiative by persons "of a heedless and aggressive character." "Too often we assume," continues Chafee, "that such persistent trouble-makers are the only persons injured by a censorship or a sedition law, and conclude from the indiscreet and unreasonable qualities of their speech and writing that after all the loss to the world of thought has been very slight. Too often we forget the multitude of cautious and sensitive men, men with wives and children dependent upon them, men who abhor publicity, who prefer to keep silent in the hope of better days. . . . The effort of the agitator is made for their sake as well as his own, and if he wins the gain to truth comes, not perhaps from his ideas, but from theirs." A similar generalization may be made from the economic point of view. The American Newspaper Guild, which substitutes "class action" for competitive individual bargaining, such radical sheets as the Communist *New York Daily Worker*, and such individual advocates of economic changes in the newspaper industry as Upton Sinclair[76] and George Seldes[77] perhaps too often lead us to "assume that such persistent trouble-makers

73. Lee, *op. cit.*, chap. XVII. 74. *Op. cit.*, I, 731.
75. *Op. cit.*, p. 294.
76. Sinclair, U., *The Brass Check* (Pasadena, 1920).
77. Seldes, G., *Freedom of the Press* (Indianapolis, 1935).

are the only persons injured" by the restrictive measures adopted by the publishers of general-circulation dailies.

It has been pointed out by Keller[78] that, "In examining certain practices and institutions which, at first sight, seem useless or even harmful, it is often revealed that they discharge a real service to society, as it were unwittingly. They are 'retrospectively rational.' This unnoticed serviceableness is what gives them their survival-value." Perhaps, despite the rapid technological, economic, and social adjustments in modern civilization, the kind of press freedom now covered in practice by Freedom of the Press as a doctrine will endure and prove "retrospectively rational." The facts cited and others referred to, however, suggest that the pathos surrounding this doctrine is cracking, and that its new adjustment, now formulating, will not meet with the full approval of the interests who have come to control most daily newspapers.

78. *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

THE MAKING OF A BLACK NATION

JAMES G. LEYBURN

THIRTEEN hundred miles due south of New York, and seven airplane hours southeast of Miami, lies the Republic of Haiti, the one Negro state in the Western Hemisphere. Although only as large as Maryland, with about ten thousand square miles, Haiti has had an economic, political, and social history as complex as that of many countries ten times its size. As a laboratory for the social scientist it is valuable because of the magnitude of the movements and the problems which were worked out within a restricted area, because of the significance of the results, and because of the abundance of documentary evidence available. Science can learn much about large bodies from observation of small ones.

Historically, Haiti was the first place in the modern world where colonization took place by the settlement of people with a high (complex) civilization in the territory of people of a simple culture. It is the only region where Negroes have conquered one of the major powers of Europe—and at the apogee of that power's dominance—expelled all the Europeans, and established a state of their own. It is the only true Negro republic in the world, Liberia excepted—and Liberia is largely controlled by an American business corporation. Politically, aside from the phenomenon of a Negro state in the comity of nations, Haiti offers an opportunity to examine the common assertions (which have been treated almost as axioms) that the French are realists in politics, and that they know how to deal amicably with people of another color and a lower culture. Socially, Haiti is especially significant. Here slavery of the American Indian was first attempted, with fell consequences to native culture; here the first Negro slaves were brought into the New World; here whites, blacks, and Indians mixed their blood. The Negroes and hybrids alone surviving, Haiti presents the spectacle of a nation whose dominant culture traits are those of an alien and expelled group of Europeans, the French.

It is not possible here to study the process of cultural assimilation of the Negroes in detail, although such an investigation would

throw light upon the general process of acculturation: which mores change most quickly under a new set of conditions, and which most stringently resist change? Nor is an essay the place for the treatment of the influence of the tropics upon the evolution of social institutions. The present article endeavors to concentrate attention upon the diverse elements which went into the making of Haitians, and the magnitude of the problem of assimilating them into one people. The melting pot in Haiti as well as in the United States had a difficult task to perform. In the welding, social institutions were first reduced to simple terms, whence one may observe them changing gradually as they work toward complexity. In order to understand what occurred in Haiti, a glance at the history of the country is necessary.

Columbus discovered the island on his first voyage in 1492, and later made it the seat of the Spanish empire in the New World. The avidity of the conquistadors for gold wrought havoc to the half-million or more peace-loving Indians in the island.[1] Within twenty years not 14,000 of them were left, and by 1570 they had all disappeared. As early as 1502 Negroes had been imported to do the manual labor of mine and plantation.[2]

Haiti (Española, as the Spanish called it) declined in importance after Cortés and Pizarro had revealed the immense wealth of Mexico and Peru. The paltry mines of Española could not compete with the rich veins on the mainland, and agriculture never had seduced the Spaniard. The island remained the colonial capital, but

1. How many Indians there were in Haiti in 1492 is a matter of conjecture. Columbus said that the island was "most populous"; Las Casas thought that there were at least 1,250,000 inhabitants. (See Helps, A., *The Spanish Conquest in America* [London and New York, 1902], I, 162.) The population was put at a million by J. Bassett (*Haiti* [Washington, 1893], p. 14), the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed., London and New York, 1929, XI, 82), H. P. Davis (*Black Democracy* [2d ed., New York, 1929], p. 3), and J. N. Léger (*Haiti: Her History and Her Detractors* [New York and Washington, 1907], p. 19). The lowest figures given are those of Keller, A. G. (*Colonization* [Boston, 1908], p. 266), who concludes that there were between 200,000 and 300,000 natives in 1492, and Newton, A. P. (*The European Nations in the West Indies* [London, 1933], p. 18), who arrives at the same estimate. One guess, therefore, is as good as another. One reason for choosing a higher figure than 200,000 is that the Indians living in Haiti were well organized and entirely peaceful; the soil is fertile, and the natives had a knowledge of agriculture. (See Joyce, T. A., *Central American and West Indian Archæology* [London, 1916], *passim.*)

2. Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Helps, *op. cit.*, I, 127.

its hinterland for two centuries lay almost idle. Cattle and pigs, which the Spanish had introduced, now roamed wild; escaped slaves lived a tribal life in the mountains. In the seventeenth century a group of French buccaneers,[3] having established a stronghold in an adjacent island,[4] so harried the Spanish in Española that, in 1697, by the treaty of Ryswick, Spain ceded the western third of the island to France.

In less than a century (1697–1791) France made her new colony, which she called Saint-Domingue,[5] one of the wealthiest dependencies in the world. She imported hundreds of thousands of slaves, instituted irrigation, used as much science as was available in agriculture at the time, and established flourishing plantations. Coffee, sugar, indigo, and cocoa flowed in a steady stream to Europe, and money in a similar stream into the pockets of the French colonials. To be "wealthy as a creole" became a proverb in Paris.

But the slaves had been driven too hard. Led at first by mulattoes who had absorbed the teachings of the French Revolution, captained later by blacks whose passion for freedom seemed to be exceeded only by their splendid military genius, the Haitian Negroes rose in rebellion. Between 1791 and 1804 they had expelled or killed all the French planters, had defeated an army of Napoleon's veterans under his brother-in-law Leclerc and under Rochambeau, and had won freedom. Haitian independence was proclaimed on January 1, 1804.

For a century and a third Haiti has been free. She has had two emperors, a king, and twenty-six presidents. She has known revolution, and has endured an American occupation. (In these latter respects she differs little from most Latin-American states.) The Haitians are, by any definition, a people. Their patriotism demands "Haiti for the Haitians"; they have even gone to the length of prohibiting non-Haitians from owning land in the country. Two facts emerge with significance for our study: Haiti is a republic of Negroes, governed by Negroes; and the Haitian looks upon his

3. The etymology of "buccaneer" is interesting. It is derived from the native word "boucan," a designation for a method of drying meat. It reveals one of the predominant culture traits of these half-pirates, who captured cattle on Haiti, killed them, took the flesh to their island, and there cured it.

4. Tortuga, off the northwestern tip of the mainland of Haiti.

5. This is the western third of the *island* of Haiti, which is the modern *Republic* of Haiti.

country as his fatherland. Not one looks longingly to his ancestral land, as do many of our American people.

The modern Haitian is the product of a mingling of diverse peoples of Africa. Some of the thousands of Negro immigrants into the country were brought as slaves from dry regions, others from sections where more than a hundred of inches of rain fall each year. Jungle, deserts, steppes, and plains have far-reaching effects upon economic ways; and in Africa distance and climatic differences have a tendency to isolate people, thus bringing about and preserving their peculiarities.[6]

It is regrettable that no accurate figures on the importation of slaves into Haiti have been unearthed.[7] According to Clarkson,[8] more than 800,000 Negroes were introduced into the French part of the island between 1678 and 1774, but only 290,000 remained in the latter year. Of these, only 140,000 had been born in Saint-Domingue itself. It is obvious, therefore, that the death rate among the slaves was extraordinarily high.[9]

These figures tell us neither the tribal origin of the slaves imported, nor the relative morality of African peoples in Haiti. There

6. Ratzel, F., *Anthropogeographie* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1882–91), I, 365, 369, 381.

7. Even if the legitimate importers of slaves had kept authentic records, we should still lack figures from the numerous smugglers. Death rates on the Middle Passage were so high as to invalidate any captain's initial bill of lading.

8. Clarkson, T., *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (2d ed., London, 1788), p. 156 n.

9. The constant decrease of the Negroes was not due to disease nor to unwillingness to marry and beget children (both of which causes had operated to decrease the aboriginal Indian population). Many of the Negroes were literally worked to death by unremitting labor, while the masters discouraged women from child-bearing because they could not be spared from field labor during the last month or two of their pregnancy and while they were suckling the child. Masters frequently forced slave women with child to abort, and even then grudged the day or two's absence from work while they recovered from such an operation. There is abundant testimony to the inhuman cruelty practised upon the slaves by their French masters. See, for example, Léger, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.; Vastey, Baron de, *Le système colonial dévoilé* (Cape Henry [now Cap Haïtien], 1814), *passim;* Peytraud, L., *L'esclavage aux Antilles françaises avant 1789* (2 vols., Paris, 1897), II, chap. I; Weatherford, W. D., *The Negro from Africa to America* (New York, 1924), pp. 97 ff. Such accounts throw serious doubts upon the realism of the French and their ability to live amicably with inferior peoples (*vide supra*). Haiti offers the only case in modern history of a subject group of slaves fighting successfully to free themselves of the institution of slavery.

are, indeed, such general statements as that "many Negroes were brought from the Gold Coast," that "Benin furnished few slaves to Haiti," and that "the coasts of the Congo and of Angola provided the largest group of slaves."[10] It is only by comparing the testimony of writers on colonial Saint-Domingue as to the predominance of one group or another that we can gather a general idea of the numerical rank and importance of tribal representatives.[11] Tentatively, therefore, one may draw up the following list of tribes, giving where possible the name by which the tribe is known at present, and adding whatever general remarks throw light upon cultural dissimilarities.

COMMONEST GROUPS

[Listed, by Roman numerals, in order of numerical preponderance in Haiti.]

I. From the *Congo* region. This part of Africa falls into one of the definite culture areas described by Herskovits,[12] who points out the absence of domesticated cattle in the region, due to the presence of the tsetse fly. Here, then, agriculture predominates. Significant also are the flowering of political organization, the holding of markets at stated intervals, the importance of craft guilds, and the belief in fetishes. The tribes from which the slaves came lived in a district extending for three hundred leagues (about eight hundred miles) from Cape Lopez (in Gabun, or French Equatorial Africa) southward to Cape Morro (in Angola), and inward at least as far as Stanley Pool on the Congo. All of these people were Bantus, a term which is about as little indicative of culture as "Aryan" is in another part of the world. The Congo tribes drawn from were:

1. *Mayombé.* This group, known by the same name now, is found in the hinterland of Loango, just north of the mouth of the Congo. The people are described as being of medium height, and their chief characteristic seemed to their French masters to be pride.

10. Moreau de Saint-Méry, L. E., *Description de la partie française de l'isle Saint-Domingue* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1797), I, 28, 31, 32.

11. See, for example, Redpath, J., *A Guide to Haiti* (Boston, 1861), p. 130; Woodson, C. G., *The African Background Outlined* (Washington, 1936), chaps. 3–13; Cabon, A., *Histoire d'Haiti* (2 vols., Port-au-Prince, n.d.), I, 90 ff.; Dorsainvil, J. C., *Vodou et névrose* (Port-au-Prince, 1931), pp. 29–33; and especially Moreau de Saint-Méry, *op. cit.*, I, 27 ff.

12. Herskovits, M. J., "The Culture Areas of Africa," *Africa,* III (1930), pp. 67, 72.

2. *Congos* proper, or *Franc-Congos.* The name was applied generically to all the Bantu slaves who came from up the Congo. Having long been accustomed to peace, they were noted for their gaiety and sweetness of disposition, which made them very desirable as house servants. They were inordinately fond of song and the dance, intelligent and quick to learn. Having cultivated the soil in Africa, they were excellent plantation workers in Saint-Domingue.

3. *Mousombés* and *Mondongues.* No tribe by either of these names is now listed. They were drawn from northwestern Angola. They stood in sharp contrast to the Congos proper, being cannibals of a cruel disposition. Their filed teeth seemed gruesome to the French.

II. From the *Guinea* region. Herskovits,[13] although he calls this district only a sub-area of the Congo region, says, "While, of course, the subdivision of a culture area is a matter of consensus of opinion, I am not at all certain but that the distinctive character of all these [tribes] justify us in regarding this region as something essentially different in culture from the Congo." Political and social organization are more complex than in the Congo; large domesticated animals are present as an element in the economic life. The Guinea tribes which sent slaves were:

1. *Ardras,* or *Aradas.* This name is taken from a native kingdom, and is used somewhat loosely, therefore, to describe representatives of various tribes of the Guinea Coast. The Kingdom of Ardra had been founded before the French took Saint-Domingue; its ruler sent an ambassador to Louis XIV; in 1724 the kingdom was shattered by the ruler of Dahomey.[14] It would actually be justifiable to call these people Dahomeans as well as Ardras. Great numbers of Guinea Negroes were brought to Saint-Domingue. They made their influence felt in the culture which was eventually formed when slaves were freed. The Voodoo religion takes its tone largely from Dahomean forms and beliefs. In praise of the Ardras, it was said that they were well shaped and intelligent; in disparagement, that they were inclined to deceit, to drunkenness, and to gormandizing.

2. *Mines.* These slaves were so-called because they came from the region of the Gold Coast where the metal was obtained from mines. They lived near Saint-Georges de la Mine, the modern Elmina.

3. *Agouas.* Known by the same name, this tribe now lives in the southern Gold Coast region.

13. *Op. cit.,* p. 73.

14. Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New York, 1934), p. 555; Cabon, *op. cit.,* I, 94.

4. *Fantis,* a Tshi-speaking people. These four groups of slaves were regarded as proud and capricious. Because in Africa they had been accustomed to tribal warfare, the domestication of the first generation in Saint-Domingue was not a simple matter.

5. *Cotocolis,* natives from the kingdom or confederacy of Coto in the northern part of the Guinea Coast.

6. *Popos,* from near the village of Popo, on the coast of Dahomey.

7. *Fidas,* or *Foëdas.* There is now no tribe by this name. The descriptions of the group lead to the conclusion that they are the modern Whydahs.

8 *Fons,* or *Fonds.* The same name is employed nowadays to apply generally to groups of Dahomean tribes.

9. *Mahi,* or *Maïs,* known by the same name now.

10. *Ibos.* This tribe, known by the same name, lives near the mouth of the Niger. The intense loyalty of the people to one another made them desirable slaves, for group solidarity was not common among most of the blacks in Haiti.

11. *Nagos.* This is a generic name now used to describe all Yoruba-speaking tribes in the region. What most impressed the French planters about the Nagos was their firm belief in transmigration—the idea, inspired by their love of home, that at death their souls would return to Africa to resume life in the former haunts.

All of these groups preserved upon the plantations the social caste system which they knew in Africa; there were princes and native slaves among them. Some of the people had been traders, and showed themselves, even in the colony, keen-witted, avid for the smallest gain. The pride of the men was matched by the quarrelsomeness of the women, who were called "ceaseless chatterers."

III. From the *Western Sudan* region, which Herskovits[15] calls a "marginal area." Here was the great battleground of Mohammedanism and the native faiths, with all the cultural adhesions accompanying the two systems in conflict as well. Here were founded the great Negro kingdoms (Kano, Haussa, Fulbe, Bornu, and Bagirmi, for example); indeed, the development of political organization is one of the characteristic aspects of the area. Among these people economic life included agriculture, herding, and trade, all of which were well developed, although herds did not hold the same place in the life and affections of the people as they did in East Africa. The French writers named the following tribes from this region as providing slaves for the colony:

15. *Op. cit.,* p. 75.

1. *Senegalese.* This, however, is merely a generic name for blacks imported from the French colony of Senegal, the first of the African districts from which French slave-dealers drew their human wares. Masters in Saint-Domingue seem to have been impressed by the height and the erectness of the Senegalese, and by the fact that, although they were ebony black, their hair was almost straight and their noses long. Their contact with the Mohammedan groups to the north and east had left its impression upon their customs—and, more than likely, Tuareg and Arab blood flowed in their veins. They were intelligent, faithful, and discreet, making excellent house servants. In contrast to the Slave Coast people, they were taciturn. The first generation showed itself to be bellicose.

2. *Yolofs,* or *Wolofs.* Known by the same name now, these people have as much right as the preceding group to the name of Senegalese; but the French writers said that they were neighbors of the latter.

3. *Calvaires.* This appellation is a corruption of Cap Verde, the islands off the coast of Senegal from which the slaves were captured.

4. *Foules.* A collection of small tribes, this people has a variety of designations: Fulah, Fulbe, Fulani, Poulah, Poules, and variations even on these. They extended into the interior toward the Sahara Desert.[16]

5. *Bambaras.* Still known by this name, the Bambaras live on the upper Senegal and Niger rivers. They were described as "the tallest people in Africa" at the time, and possessed a strong native kingdom in the seventeenth century. Their faces were tattooed with long scars. But what most impressed the French about these people was their inclination to laziness.

6. *Mandingos.* The "courtiers of West Africa." As masters in Africa they were severe and cruel; as slaves in Saint-Domingue, they were efficient and relatively docile. They have the same name now as formerly.

7. *Socos,* or *Sokkos,* a subdivision of the widespread Mandingo people.

8. *Quiambas.* There is no tribe of this name at present.

9. *Bissagos.* This was a name given to slaves taken from the Bissagos Islands, off the coast of Portuguese Guinea.

10. *Sosos,* or *Susus.* A Mande-Mandingo group living on the headwaters of the Upper Niger, these people were excellent warriors. Their French masters frequently employed them as hunters.

16. This is the group which, because of certain superficial facial characteristics, was reputed by some writers to have been descended from Semites who migrated to West Africa during the European Middle Ages.

11. *Haussas,* or *Aoussas.* Living in west central Nigeria, they had founded a strong native kingdom.

SPORADICALLY REPRESENTED GROUPS

I. From *Eastern Nigeria* and *Cameroon*—parts of the general Congo culture area. Although excellent slaves came from the countryside surrounding this district, the territory at the time happened to belong to Great Britain. Trade with the English was interdicted; what slaves came from these lands, therefore, had to be smuggled into Saint-Domingue. They were distinguished as:

1. *Benins.* But this is a mere geographical name, given to the blacks who lived near the mouth of the Niger River.

2. *Waris,* or *Warrees,* or *Ouaires.* There are people of the same name in the region at present.

3. *Mokos.* This tribe, with the same name, now dwells near the Cross River, east of the Niger.

These three tribes, like many others, had had contact with the Mohammedans. Their culture traits showed the effect of the contact.

II. From *Liberia* and the *Ivory Coast,* parts of the Guinea sub-area mentioned above. Like the preceding, this area belonged to the British during the slave trading days. The Negroes were called:

1. *Bouriquis,* or *Misérables.*

2. *Mesurades,* or *Cangas,* a group of cannibals.

3. *Caplaou,* obviously a geographical name derived from Cape Lahou, on the Ivory Coast.

No tribes by any of these three names now exist. But slaves thus designated were said to be hardy, yet prompt to revolt; famous as excellent hunters, fishermen, swimmers, and divers.

III. From *Morocco* came *Moors,* or *Marabouts.* These were, of course, not Negroes. When they appeared in Saint-Domingue, it was because some native chieftain in Africa, having captured them in raiding parties, had disposed of them to slave traders.

IV. From *East Africa*—or, specifically, from Tanganyika, Mozambique, and Madagascar. East Africa constitutes a culture area in which cattle play a significant part; the region is, therefore, quite different from any of the sections of the continent discussed above. This East African area was tapped for slaves after 1645, when the Dutch West

India Company had momentarily despoiled the Portuguese of Angola.[17] French writers call the Negro slaves drawn from this region by the following names:

1. *Mozambiques,* from the colony of Mozambique.
2. *Quiloi,* or *Kilwas.* This is a geographical, not a tribal, name. Kilwa is a port in southeastern Tanganyika.
3. *Montfiats*—likewise a geographical name. There are islands off the coast of Tanganyika, formerly called Montfiat, transformed then into Monfeea, and now appearing on some maps as Mafia.
4. *Monomatapas.* This is the name of a former native state south of the Zambezi River in Portuguese East Africa.
5. *Madagascars.* No records indicate which part of the large island of Madagascar was drawn upon. It is likely that the slaves called by this general name were Negroes (or, to be specific, Bantus) rather than Hovas or other Malayized groups.

Although this classification shows thirty-eight different peoples, it must be remembered that many of the names given are not tribal designations, but generic ones, including no one knows how many individual groups. Often the name given was that of the tribe which had captured the people. On the other hand, several of the separate names might more accurately be combined into one general tribal name.

The assimilation of these disparate tribesmen into one folk was a work not to be performed overnight. Moreover, it was a welding which took place quite unconsciously, automatically, without direction. Hundreds of thousands of variegated Negroes were poured into the hopper of plantation slavery, and, after a century, the Haitian people emerged—and this in spite of all the deterrents to assimilation. What were these deterrents?

Closely related to the ethnic differences indicated by the classification were divergences in governmental forms. The State is one of those intangibles which, in the mind of the citizen, give him prestige and position; but no matter how potent the slave's state had been in Africa, it availed him nothing in Saint-Domingue. More than this, the natives who came from the Guinea Coast region felt little political kinship with each other; on the contrary, the African hostility of tribe to tribe was carried over to the New World.

17. Johnston, H. H., *The Colonisation of Africa* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 104 Weatherford, *op. cit.,* p. 34.

Many a slave was sold to a plantation on which none of his fellow tribesmen worked. The transported African had, therefore, nothing external to himself to fall back upon in his hour of need—no common fatherland, no protecting power, no unifying group memory.[18]

Next to nationality in linking a people is language; here again the Negro was at a disadvantage. The linguistic map of Africa (in its settled regions) is quite as complex as that of Europe.[19] Of the most widespread linguistic families of Africa, such as the Bantu, there were, indeed, many representatives in Saint-Domingue; but the Bantu dialects were as different from one another as are German, Dutch, and Swedish. It is said of the Guinea Coast area, for example, that there are "striking differences in the languages"; and of the Western Sudan area that the "linguistic situation is chaotic."[20] To take many a West African twenty-five miles away from his home was to set him down among people who could not understand him when he spoke. It was only by taking over the alien French tongue that the slaves developed a common language.

Religion may be a cohesive force. But in Africa there is no basis of unity even to the extent of that offered in Europe by the common backgrounds of Christianity. Only Mohammedanism was a missionary faith in the Dark Continent. People who live in simple societies are rarely bigoted. Just as their languages differed, so did their gods. Anthropologists have, of course, found similarities of general religious notions among many peoples;[21] but for all these likenesses, the gods of Dahomey were not at all the gods of the Congo; fetish objects in Guinea were not important in Angola. Some of the tribes had highly developed religious ideas, while others knew little of abstract principles. In Haiti, therefore, the blacks lacked this strongly unifying influence; the Roman Catholicism of their masters was not an effective substitute.

If their geographical background was diverse, and political,

18. Keane, A. H., ed., *The Earth and Its Inhabitants* (18 vols., New York, 1882–95), III, 313–14, 440; Weatherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4.

19. Schmidt, W., *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde* (Heidelberg, 1926), Atlas, maps I and II.

20. Herskovits, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 75.

21. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), vol. II.

linguistic, and religious unity were lacking, the economic traditions of the people counted for almost nothing in the New World. All of them practised agriculture, of course, even though the crops raised varied from region to region; some of them were cattle-raisers; still others lived primarily by trade. But economic organization, being largely objective in its nature, is not tied up with the emotions as are religion and language. Even if all the slave immigrants had had a common economic tradition it would not, under conditions of plantation labor, have exerted a lasting unifying effect.

The social classes from which the Africans were drawn were diverse. There were princes of the blood who, even in slavery, were recognized as royalty by their former vassals;[22] there were petits bourgeois; there were African convicts, slaves, debtors, prisoners of war; there were soldiers, farmers, priests and priestesses, ne'er-do-wells, cannibals. The very condition of slavery added to the social distinctions in Saint-Domingue, for some of the Negroes had, by the time of independence, been freed long enough to acquire education and prestige, while others had white blood in their veins. The common lot of slavery under the French did not at all destroy the sense certain of the Negroes had of their social differences from each other.

Out of jungles, plains, deserts, and steppes, then, had come people from independent warlike kingdoms, theocracies, limited monarchies with elected kings, small groups whose patriarch's word was law; some were monogamous, others polygamous; dietary habits ranged from cannibalism to vegetarianism; some knew human sacrifice; many practised various forms of magic and fetishism.

Granted such disparate backgrounds of the Haitians, there might still have been a unifying principle at work in the island. Were the conditions into which the immigrants were thrown favorable to assimilation? Here the evidence can be only *a priori*, for the men who wrote about colonial slavery were not concerned with assimilation. As with all deductions, the conclusions drawn must be heavily discounted.

The usual procedure upon the arrival of a slave-ship and the sale of the cargo was for the purchaser of the Negro to take him to his own plantation. A group from one tribe would thus be split

22. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *op. cit.*, I, 29.

up and sent all over Haiti. Isolated upon the plantation which they might not leave upon penalty of death, the Negroes within the limited group would naturally achieve a close kind of inbreeding. Each little congeries would become thoroughly assimilated; but because it was out of touch with any other, there was no opportunity for the larger merging. The slavery system tended thus to produce many small endogamous "clans," whose intermarriage outside was interdicted by a rigid, if externally laid, taboo.[23]

When independence was declared, not even then was the taboo broken down. The black rulers who set themselves up as governors saw that work must be carried on, and that the only means of bringing any order out of the revolutionary chaos was to require that every Haitian remain upon his former *habitation* (that is, the plantation hitherto owned by his French master). Later laws, which endured for a whole century—until the American Occupation, to be specific—forbade a Haitian to go in his travels outside the province in which he had been born.[24] All of these restrictions worked against assimilation. The Haitian, from his arrival in the eighteenth century to the appearance of the American Marines in the country of the descendants of the slaves, was a stay-at-home. He had had no experience with varying environments, or of cooperation, of merged antagonisms, with his countrymen.

The numerical problem involved was great. There is no means of discovering how many blacks were already present, roaming wild over the countryside, when the French took over the colony in 1697–98. Set the figure liberally at 25,000, add to it the 800,000 imported by the French during the eighteenth century, and the total is 825,000. (The additions since 1789 by immigration have been almost non-existent.) The population of Haiti today is more than 2,500,000, which makes the proportion of immigrants to that figure 33 per cent. The one advantage Haiti had in its welding process was the stoppage of immigration after independence.

Just as in the United States unification of all the people has not been completely achieved, so in Haiti there is sectionalism accompanying the nationalism. The immobility enforced upon the Hai-

23. Peytraud, *op. cit.*, I, 158 ff.

24. Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America* (Boston, 1930), pp. 358–60; Niles, B., *Black Haiti* (New York, 1926), pp. 178–9.

tian; the insecurity of his life since 1804, due to weak government, lack of science, bad finances, and a subsistence economy which might easily be upset by any untoward event; and, finally, the divergence of heritage which offered practically nothing upon which unification could be built—all of these would abundantly explain the parochialism of the Haitians which has been partly responsible for many of the country's revolutions.[25] I have heard Haitians of the North boast proudly that they were a finer and a more spirited people than their fellows of the South.

On the other hand, the sectionalism is readily subordinated to national pride based upon the history of the republic. Haitians unaided shook off the shackles of a foreign power in a war for independence—a fact of which the people are quite as proud as Americans are of their own achievement in 1776. Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines are folk heroes, of the same caliber to their admirers as are Washington and Lincoln in this country.[26] The magnificent citadel of La Ferrière, constructed by Henri Christophe high upon a mountaintop, is a human feat to which people of any color or culture might point with pride. Haiti's record in mental achievements is also laudable. The people give high honor to their men of letters;[27] Haitian poets win French prizes and their scholars lecture at the Sorbonne.[28] And the black republic claims the parentage of Alexandre Dumas. If the historical record were not in itself enough to stimulate the people to patriotism, the occupation of the American Marines (1915–34) would have done it. This insult to national honor aroused an intense spirit of patriotism.[29]

The Haitians are just as much a nation as are the Americans at present. As we are socially diverse, so are they. The tendency of white people to lump all Negroes into a single group when speaking of them is an error which blinds even their benefactors. Americans have not even yet learned that our own Negro population is as heterogeneous as our white. The intellectuals of our colored uni-

25. Niles, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

26. See Wendell Phillips's fulsome eulogy of Toussaint L'Ouverture, quoted in Léger, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–4 n.

27. Seabrook, W. B., *The Magic Island* (New York, 1929), pp. 150–61.

28. Price-Mars, *Une étape de l'évolution haitienne* (Port-au-Prince, n.d.), pp. 47–114.

29. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–271.

versities, the denizens of Harlem cabarets, the farm-hands in the South are as far apart as are white scholars, torch singers, and share-croppers. "The American Negro is an amalgam, and the application of the term 'Negro' to him is purely sociological."[30] Neither our 112,000,000 white nor our 12,000,000 Negroes are units; no more are the 2,500,000 Haitians a unit.

The differences which separate group from group are cultural both in origin and in result. It is a commonplace of anthropology nowadays that culture is not due to race.[31] What makes the Jew differ from the German is his mores. The cultural differences result in social stratification—in a system of classes.[32] In the United States these classes, though never officially recognized, are based on color (our élite are never black), on religion (nor are they Holy Rollers), on occupation (nor bootblacks), on wealth (nor paupers), on education (nor illiterates), on family (nor Kallikaks), on prowess (nor inmates of homes for mentally deficient). In Haiti the lines seem to be even more strictly drawn between class and class, the same criteria being employed, though sometimes with different emphasis.

If the history of Haiti's first century and a quarter of independence has proved anything, it has shown that although a people may borrow the social structures, the externalities, of an alien group (the French, in this case), they cannot give to them the same contours and efficiency which they had with their creators. Haiti became a republic whose framework was democratic in outline; the country was ruled, however, from 1804 to 1915 by either dictators or oligarchs. Democracy was not in the cultural heritage of the people; they seemed not even to feel the desire for it.[33] French religious and marital forms are followed by the Francophiles in the country, but not by the masses of the people.

In the process of merging into a Haitian people, the largest numerical class became "peasant" agriculturalists. There are roughly two and a half million of these in the country. (The élite, depending upon what definition of the term is used, number from five to

30. Herskovits, M. J., *The American Negro* (New York, 1928), p. 17.

31. *Bulletin of the Associates in the Science of Society at Yale University,* IV, No. 4 (May, 1935); V, No. 8 (March, 1936).

32. This process is treated in Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.,* I, 561–87.

33. Davis, *op. cit.,* pp. 273–6.

fifty thousand. "The élite wear shoes," remarked General Butler scornfully to the United States Senate investigating committee in 1922.[34]) A dual operation of giving up (divergent) African mores and acquiring new (and consistent) Haitian mores went on steadily from 1700 until slavery and the importation of slaves were discontinued.

It would be safe to say that only in one respect—religion—and then merely in partial detail, has the Haitian peasant kept mores which his ancestors knew in Africa. Roman Catholicism, though the dominant church in the republic, exhibits European characteristics only among the Haitians who have European education. The peasant has taken what he can absorb of the Church's creed and ritual, and has grafted these upon his "primitive" ideas. Voodooism has been so generally discussed by American journalists that the public is familiar with the name if not with the religion.[35] Careful students of the subject agree that in origin the faith goes back to Dahomean cults, and that, like primitive Christianity in contact with Greek mysteries and Mediterranean faiths, Voodooism borrowed from its neighboring sect, in this case the Roman Catholic. The god, Papa Legba, is clearly African;[36] but Maîtresse Ézilée is first cousin, if not a closer relative, to the Virgin Mary.

The Haitian peasant, like his African forebears, is a tiller of the soil. But the climate, crops, implements, and methods (the last three determined by the conditions of slavery under French masters) perforce transformed economic folkways from what was cus

34. Jenks, L. H., "The Haitian Problem," *The Caribbean Area,* ed. A. C Wilgus (Washington, 1934), pp. 122–3. Jenks, commenting upon General Butler's remark, continues: "The jibe may pass, if it is regarded as a symbol o culture, of urbanization, of inequality of property. The latter is perhaps basic it is the culture which is an object of almost religious devotion."

35. The most egregious journalistic description of Voodoo is that of W. B Seabrook in *The Magic Island,* although a close second is the one given b Loederer, R. A. (*Voodoo Fire in Haiti* [Garden City, 1935]). An excoriatin analysis of Seabrook's fiction is contained in Price-Mars, *op. cit.,* pp. 153–88 and Mrs. Blair Niles has competently ridiculed Loederer's travesty in the *New York Herald-Tribune,* August 4, 1935, *Books,* p. 6. The most illuminating treatises on the subject of Voodoo which have come to my attention are Dorsainvil *op. cit.,* Price-Mars, *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (Port-au Prince, 1928), and Herskovits M. J., *Life in a Haitian Valley* (New York, 1937). Voodoo is clearly a living religion, with a creed, a ritual, a priesthood, and a body of worshipers; it demands as much respect in its treatment as do Catholicism or Mohammedanism

36. *Cf.* Murdock, *op. cit.,* pp. 593–4.

tomary in Africa. Haitian adjustment was compelled. After a hundred years of servitude, the freed blacks knew nothing else than agriculture; this they continued more or less after the French manner. Because the folkways of maintenance underlie and condition all other folkways and mores,[37] this enforced adaptation lies at the base of modern Haitian cultural phenomena.

All species of self-government disappeared from the Negroes during the days of the French régime. Following the revolution, dictators replaced white masters in controlling the political destiny of the people, and during the course of the nineteenth century the élite ruled. The peasant endured whatever political arrangement the upper class imposed upon him, now and then participating, for hire or for pastime, in a revolution. It has been said that the typical Haitians "are, on the whole, uninterested in politics except as they are inveigled, stampeded, or dragooned into the support of this or that aspirant for political honors."[38]

Marriage forms follow the French mode when families can afford the luxury; there are hundreds of thousands of country Negroes, however, who have no banns read, who are married by no priest, who are blessed by no church. Marriage has reverted to the primitive economic partnership in which the rearing of children occurs. When, in his young manhood, the Haitian falls in love, he goes with the woman he has chosen to an easily constructed wattle-and-daub or thatched house, and starts farming on a small scale. His children may or may not be baptized; certainly there is no stigma in many parts of the country because of the omission of the rite. In marriage as much as in any other institution the divergence from French custom can be observed. Haitian courtship is at poles removed from the French. There is no dowry, no arranged *mariage de convenance*. Neither, when the union has proved a failure, is there the formality of divorce.

The countryfolk live in scattered groups of huts throughout the plains and up the mountainsides, gathering rather than cultivating indigenous fruits, brewing coffee, and raising sugar cane. There are hundreds of little one-ox mills squeezing cane juice, which is distilled into tafia for neighborhood consumption. It is a subsist-

37. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, part I.
38. Jones, C. L., *The Caribbean since 1900* (New York, 1936), p. 136.

ence and a local market economy with many local variations. The scale of living is low, but subsistence is at least adequate. One observer of peasant life detects hints of what he calls "something like a matriarchy,"[39] pointing out not only that women are the principal economic agents, doing most of the field work and carrying goods to market, but also that they are physically far more vigorous than the men.

Haiti's *ethnic* melting pot would be more significant for the geneticists and physical anthropologists if the eighteenth century slave traders had kept more accurate records—if they had written in specific rather than in general terms about the characteristics of the slaves and the regions from which they were drawn. The time for this is now past. Haiti's *cultural* melting pot, however, can still be studied. The contrast with mores and institutions of any part of present-day Africa from which slaves might have come shows how far the Haitians have traveled in a social way from their ancestors; the contrast with the mores of their former masters is likewise significant; the Haitian Creole language is a fascinating example of cultural selection.[40] Now that the Americans have been to the island, "opening it up" by the introduction of automobiles, radios, and the other appurtenances of civilization and communication with the outside world, Haitian culture is soon bound to change. Before the century-old mores of the nation are completely transformed, the ethnographer should see to it that they are recorded with care.

39. Jenks, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

40. See, for a brief treatment of Creole and its differences from French, Redpath, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–5; Moreau de Saint-Méry, *op. cit.*, I, 36 ff.; Seabrook, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–8 [Seabrook's volume, when it treats of a subject which is not calculated to astound the public, is likely to be quite accurate, for the author is an astute observer]; and Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, pp. 185 ff.

FRONTIER ADJUSTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

JOHN LOBB

THE colonization of South Africa,[1] begun by the Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century, was an accident. The intent was to establish a refreshment station,[2] the Gibraltar of the Indian Ocean, and finally a remunerative agricultural center for the Dutch East India Company.[3] In greater or lesser degree the colony answered all these purposes. It rapidly outgrew the first function; the second was never really put to the test but that it gave way; in the third lay the germ of the future societal development of the country.

The Cape of Good Hope settlement was visible to the Directors of the Company only in the reflected light of their favored possessions, the Dutch East Indies. The policies which controlled the development of the small society in South Africa were dictated at Batavia or with Batavia in mind. What was best for the Cape settlement was of small importance so long as the economic interests of the Dutch East India Company were served, or appeared to be.

It must always be borne in mind that this large commercial corporation in the Netherlands was carrying on a growing trade in tropical products with the East Indies. The route was over the long, circuitous water-highway around the southern tip of Africa. The voyage took months to complete, and there was considerable sickness and death from scurvy, a disease which fresh food would greatly alleviate. A chance wreck brought the Cape to the Directors' attention as a way-station which could refresh the crews on their trips to and from the Indies.[4]

With a victualing station in mind, the Company hired a group

1. South Africa, as used here, is chiefly the territory included in the present Union of South Africa.

2. Botha, C. G., *Social Life in Cape Colony in the XVIII Century* (Cape Town, 1926), p. 7; Theal, G. M., *Chronicles of Cape Commanders* (Cape Town, 1882), p. 24.

3. Chartered in 1602. Hereafter frequently referred to as "the Company." Walker, E. A., *A History of South Africa* (London, 1928), pp. 24–9.

4. Corey, G. E., *The Rise of South Africa* (5 vols., London, 1910–30), I, 4 ff.

of men, put a manager with the title of Commander in charge, and sent them to Table Bay to build a fort, grow vegetables, and obtain meat for the fleets as they came. A few of the men brought their families, and all of them were under contract for a given number of years. It was a purely commercial enterprise; probably none of the first group of sailors and soldiers, of "vagabonds, simpletons, and riffraff from the quays of Amsterdam,"[5] Company servants all, once thought of making a home in South Africa when he set out.

The physical environment of South Africa was not friendly to settlers and challenged their courage and perseverance. The entire coast is unhospitable to ocean-going ships, providing few safe, natural harbors and no rivers which afford a navigable entrance into the interior.[6] Proceeding northward from the southern tip, the land rises rapidly in a series of plateau-like steps to an interior plain making of the whole an elevated region. Over forty per cent of the area of South Africa is more than four thousand feet above sea level.[7] Because of the geographical disposition of the region the climate is not uniform. The rainfall varies greatly, and "a knowledge of its times and seasons is the key to white conquest."[8] The temperature with a few exceptions is cooler than the latitude warrants, chiefly because of altitude. In an area not twice the size of Texas, there are desert wastes, extensive, sandy, grass covered plains, a few fertile valleys and regions of rich soil available for agriculture, and small areas of dense, semi-tropical and tropical vegetation in the coastal lowlands of the northeast. It was not until its mineral wealth was discovered and developed that South Africa took on a world-wide economic importance. Most of the land is best suited to stock raising.

In this physical environment three distinct groups of people had long been settled when the white intrusion began. The *Bushmen*,

5. Leyburn, J. G., *Frontier Folkways* (New Haven, 1935), pp. 104–5; Colquhoun, A. R., *The Renascence of South Africa* (London, 1900), p. 68.

6. Kolbe, F. F., and Muir, T., "Cape of Good Hope," *International Geography* (New York, 1909), pp. 985–93; Greswell, W. H. P., *Geography of Africa South of the Zambesi* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 46–7.

7. Sayce, R. U, "Union of South Africa, Climate," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XXI (1929), 45; Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* (London, 1930), pp. 5–8.

8. Bowman, I., *The Pioneer Fringe* (New York, 1931), p. 204.

doubtless the most ancient inhabitants, were an extremely primitive, nomadic people living under a collecting and hunting economy with a correspondingly crude societal structure. They had been crowded back into the least desirable desert regions by their more powerful neighbors, the *Hottentots* and the *Southern Bantu.* The Hottentots were pastoralists herding their cattle and sheep over the grasslands of South Africa as the seasons demanded. Their wealth in flocks and herds and their loose societal organization made them an attractive and easy prey for the Company servants. Not so the Bantu whom the settlers met as they trekked eastward in later years. These people were more warlike, better organized, and on a higher cultural level than the other natives, and furthermore they were, at least in part, agriculturists with a definite claim upon farming land. It was only after a bitter struggle that they were reduced to the servile status in which they are found today. No one of these groups was ever truly enslaved.[9]

The first manager of this branch of the Company, Jan van Riebeeck, immediately ran into various problems, important among which were labor difficulties. There were not enough European servants, native labor was unobtainable and useless, and slaves at first were unsatisfactory and scarce. Though the group readily adapted itself to conditions, it could not, without additional assistance, meet the purposes for which it was sent to Table Bay. To meet this demand the Directors took the step which started the colonization of South Africa: they settled free families on farms, put tools and seeds in their hands, and urged them to plant and harvest. The men and women who accepted this offer and challenge came to the Cape to stay. They were real settlers for whom the first group had paved the way.[10]

With the establishment of free burghers the character of the station changed, although the Directors never really became cognizant of the transition. The Company saw in this offspring another

9. Stow, G. W., *The Native Races of South Africa,* ed. G. M. Theal (New York, 1905); Dunn, E. J., *The Bushman* (London, 1931); Schapera, *op. cit.;* Spencer, H., *Descriptive Sociology: African Races,* compiled by E. Torday (London, 1931); Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New York, 1934); Seligman, C. G., *Races of Africa* (London, 1930); Molema, S. M., *The Bantu, Past and Present* (Edinburgh, 1920).

10. Leibbrandt, H. C. V., *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1896–1906).

exploitative enterprise which it determined to rear as it had its others in the East. In no sense was this child society[11] to be given a chance to develop freely to adulthood by dint of its own adaptations to existing conditions. No recognition was given to the fact that it lived in a temperate climate and that regulations for its development should, for the sake of healthy growth, have been different from those for its cousin in the tropics.

The initial colony at the Cape, therefore, was unwisely brought up. The government made regulations for its every move. It was eventually made dependent upon slaves instead of being taught to be industrious and independent. Its attempts at adjustment in its economic life were blocked until its growth along this line was thwarted. It was given no voice in its own management even when it had reached the age of discretion. Its religious and intellectual life was closely guarded and circumscribed, with the result that it became narrow and intolerant. And in its domestic aspects it was kept as nearly a replica of the homeland as the frontier conditions permitted.

As this first social group increased, the settlers went scurrying away into the interior in an attempt to be free from the restrictive Company parent.[12] It is with their development that we are chiefly concerned. These new groups, frequently single families, although free from the monopolistic Company, were also cut off from contact with civilization. As a result, the customs they developed were direct adaptations to their environment. Much of their cultural heritage was lost in their dispersion into the wilderness. "History repeats itself, but with many variations. In the history of all countries there recurs the story of races in occupation conquered or held in check by intrusive invaders. Then the habits and character of these latter are considerably modified by circumstances, by climate, by their relations with the other races with whom they come in contact. This happened in South Africa as elsewhere."[13] Numbers were few, land of the sort useful mainly for grazing was plentiful, and cattle and sheep were at hand; so the people turned away from an agricultural and adapted themselves to a pastoral mode of life.

11. Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution* (rev. ed., New York, 1931), chap. X.
12. This was before the beginning of the eighteenth century.
13. Little, W. J. K., *Sketches and Studies in South Africa* (London, 1899), p. 113.

Nothing in their environment fostered deviation from this economic adjustment. There were no available markets to tempt this younger society to turn to agriculture; there was no pressure of numbers or scarcity of land to force variations, consequent adjustments, and societal growth. In fact, there was relatively so much land and so few people that, when any pressure or discomfort was felt, individuals simply trekked away to more isolated regions. This isolation, involving also a scarcity of numbers in contact and competition, coupled with a satisfactory adjustment to conditions in pastoral life, made for an apathy and indolence inimical to further societal evolution. So this young society, though left to its own devices as temperate frontier societies are, did not mature as did the United States, Australia, or New Zealand, after its initial frontier adaptations. It remained stationary in its societal development, and still largely resembled the seventeenth century prototype in structure when, in the nineteenth century, it came into definite conflict with the vigorous culture of English settlers.

The institutions of government, religion, and the family were as static as the economic adjustments. For the isolated groups there was little or no government beyond that of family regulation with authority in the leading male member. Religion harmonized with the pastoral mode of life and took a form similar to that of the Old Testament patriarchs. Marriage was essentially an economic arrangement. The status of woman, however, was high, in keeping with her equal contribution to both the economic and the intellectual life. Miscegenation was frequent, and morals were often lax. Education was rudimentary.

Those settlers who remained near Cape Town, where contact was maintained with the outside world, did develop, though along restricted lines prescribed by the Company. They serve as a contrast to the Boers,[14] and emphasize the effect of isolation leading to stagnation, as the following summary outline reveals:

14. The word *boer* means simply "farmer," and was used in reference to the planters and graziers at the Cape. During the earliest years this term was used to denote practically all whites in South Africa except town-dwellers. Later, different varieties of Boers were sometimes distinguished: *Boer*, without a prefix, meant a grain or wine farmer; the *Veeboer* was a cattle farmer; and the *Trekboer* was a farmer on the move into the interior, away from governmental restrictions. Leyburn, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

	Early Settlers Around Cape Town	Boers
Economic Aspects	*First:* Company servants working in interests of Company. *Second:* Free burghers on small freehold farms. Company, however, dominant in economic life. *Third:* Free burghers on larger freehold and loan farms. Pressure felt for individual enterprise and expansion; but still dependent on Company for success. *Fourth:* Town-dwellers; easier and more profitable livelihood as merchants, traders, innkeepers, craftsmen, and other middlemen pursuits.	*First:* Grain and wine farmers; large freehold and loan estates; slave and cheap native labor; single crop plantations. Still dependent on Company for market, but a more nearly independent economic existence. *Second:* Trekking; migrant herders; cattle and sheep farmers; large loan farms. Most independent settlers. Cheap native labor.
Governmental Aspects	Governed by absent Company. Governor; local executive; council of Company officials. Very slight representation of people, largely in judicial aspects.	*First:* Governed by officials of Company in residence in rural districts. People had slightly more voice in government. *Second:* Many settlers out of reach of official governance. Very little regulation existed or was needed. Authority rested in patriarchal head of family.
Religious Aspects	Calvinism: Dutch Reformed Church. Intolerance of other sects. Rigid adherence to creed. No change.	Modified Calvinism, especially among isolated uneducated settlers. Took form of a primitive Old Testament faith. A fierce tyrannical God; predestined lives; much superstition, intensified by struggle for existence with nature and natives. Fear the keynote.
Domestic Aspects	Typical rough frontier life in crude dwellings; living rapidly became more sophisticated and refined owing to more constant contact with Europe. Customs closely followed those of the Fatherland.	Life primitive; continued so. Some native customs adopted. Mores mostly forms of those at Cape. Marriage one of convenience; courting customs (upsitting) represent adjustments to isolation. Domestic aspects strongly governed by pastoral economic life.

The greatest adjustments took place, as might be expected, in the basic maintenance mores of these erstwhile Netherlanders. From

sailors, soldiers, artisans, and garden-farmers in the Fatherland, they became extensive agriculturists on the first South African frontier. Some, to be sure, were "selected out"—i.e., could not, or would not, make the necessary adjustments, and so went back to their former occupations—in the process of adaptation, but many survived to make further changes. They, but chiefly their children as they trekked inland, became a pastoral people, with a mode of life that was certainly a far cry from that of their forefathers. This adjustment came about primarily in response to the nature of the country, which offered wide ranges of land more readily usable as cattle and sheep farms than as grain or wine plantations. The pastoral life was the more easily adopted, too, because the natives, with their large herds and flocks, pointed the way. It provided, finally, the easiest means of meeting the policies of a monopolistic Company which did not provide available markets for the inland settlers.

The secondary societal mores fell into line, and the whole structure presented most of the aspects of a typical pastoral society.[15] "The type of family organization regularly accompanying the pastoral type of self-maintenance is strongly patriarchal."[16] This was evident among the Boers, with the one marked exception that woman's status was almost equal to man's. Among the most striking adjustments was that made in government. Since the trek inland was made primarily to avoid regulations and restrictions, it is not surprising that there was in the new life as little living under the law as possible. Each family took care of its own needs, and wished to be free to do as it pleased. The revulsion against too much government resulted in a virtual absence of regulation and in the ignoring of all powers which sought to impose restraint.

A workable primary classification for the frontiers of the world is proposed by Keller:[17]

> Of these conditions [affecting a frontier] climate is . . . the vital and determining one. It is usually so, carrying with it, as it does, so many other factors whose variations are correlated with its own; for instance, flora and fauna, including among the latter the microscopic fauna

15. See Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), I, chap. IX.

16. *Op. cit.*, I, 215.

17. Keller, A. G., *Colonization* (New York, 1908), p. 4.

of disease. Climate, though itself varying in accordance with several factors, and though it evades classification except by type, may still, for the purpose in hand, be broadly divided into *tropical* and *temperate*. But this distinction would be of no utility in classifying colonies, because too general, if these distinct types of climate did not condition the human struggle for existence in a manner so vital as to determine two distinct types of industrial organization, upon which in turn . . . there would regularly be developed two distinctly variant types of human society. Thus the classification based upon climate and attendant influences may be shifted over into a classification based upon the type of the industrial organization. . . . We should then distinguish the tropical and the temperate colony upon the ground of their common and basic occupation, agriculture, and might name them respectively the *plantation colony* and the *farm colony*.

Into neither one of these categories, however, does South Africa fit exclusively. Keller,[18] in further developing his classification, lists in tabular form the distinctive features which one may expect in each of the major types of frontier. His table, with the characteristics that apply to South Africa shown in italics, is reproduced herewith:

Temperate Colony	Tropical Colony
Climate change favorable	Climate change unfavorable
Conflict with natives short	*Menace of natives*
Immigration of men and women	Immigration of men
Health and activity	*Lethargy*
Population	
Immigration numerous	*Immigration slight*
Natural increase large	Natural increase slight
Biological homogeneity	*Biological heterogeneity (mongrels)*
Labor wholesome	Labor impossible
Industrial Organization	
Farm unit	*Plantation unit*
Production of necessities, various and cheap	Production of luxuries, few and costly
Production on the small scale	*Production on the large scale*
Free labor, no native labor	*Compulsory native labor*
Thrifty utilization of soil	*Improvident utilization of soil*
Security against crop-failure, by variety	*Danger of failure of staple*
Economic independence	Economic dependence

18. *Societal Evolution*, p. 869.

General Societal Organization

Temperate Colony	Tropical Colony
Small freehold	*Manor, chartered company, absenteeism*
Women valuable; high status	Women of low value (natives); low status
Children valuable as assets; numerous	Children liabilities; few of pure breed
Family life basis of societal life	Family life undeveloped
Ephemeral missions	*Developed missions*
Middle class	*Castes; rich and poor*
No slaves	*Slaves*
Wages high	*Wages low (zero for slaves)*
Equality; democracy	*Inequality; discrimination*
Destiny: statehood	Destiny: dependency

South Africa thus partakes almost equally of the nature of both kinds of frontier. Although the climate may be considered temperate, many of the characteristics that developed were those of a tropical colony. To be sure, the chart was not intended as a hard and fast categorical device by which all frontiers could be infallibly labeled. Nevertheless, the failure of South Africa to keep in line illustrates the difficulties with which the student of society is faced when he attempts to classify societal phenomena. Folkways, mores, and institutions vary as greatly as do the physical and mental characteristics of the individuals whose behavior they represent. "One matter at least about which the evolutionist should be immune from illusion is that of classification of forms. It is the essence of evolution that there shall always be blurred outlines and zones of transition. Form passes into derived or related form by gradations that are almost imperceptible."[19]

In other ways, too, South Africa proves an exception to general frontier phenomena. "Frontier-conditions call for adjustments of a peculiar order, which represent a return, in some measure, to the primitive. Then there ensues, under favoring circumstances, a rapid rehearsal or recapitulation of stages of societal evolution culminating in the attainment, by the former frontier, of a status on a parity with that of the older and parent societies."[20] The first part of this quotation applies to South Africa. Here occurred a partial return to less advanced forms of maintenance, followed by a brief period of recapitulation. This, however, gave way to the establish-

19. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, III, 2201.
20. *Ibid.*, III, 2199.

ment of the Boers as a pastoral people, with a relatively satisfactory adjustment to conditions from which further cultural advance did not take place. "They [the Boers] are, or were till recent developments, several centuries younger in point of evolution than ourselves. . . ."[21] By 1750 the Boers had become settled in this form of life, and it was not until the early twentieth century that they began to take on the customs of the more advanced civilizations with which they finally came in contact.

The reasons for this arrested development challenge attention. The initial responsibility rests with the Dutch East India Company and its policy, which viewed this settlement as but another exploitative colony, like the tropical East Indies, and fostered only such characteristics as accorded with its scheme of things. In other words, the Company deliberately planned the life of the settlers on this frontier, and consequently hindered individual enterprise and variations when they ran counter to Company monopoly. It introduced slaves when white men would have been more advantageous. It governed the colony, with little representation, down to the most minute details. In short, it treated it as a tropical, exploitative venture, and this policy is reflected in the resulting social structure. In this sense the Company may be considered part of the social environment, in adaptation to which, as to natural conditions, certain unusual adjustments were made.

Though the initial responsibility may rest with the Company, there are more basic reasons for the situation. Civilization is the sum of men's adjustments to their life-conditions. Adjustment in turn, operating through societal variation, selection, and transmission, depends in considerable measure on numbers in contact. "There must be numerous and frequently recurring variations for selection to operate upon, if the process is to work out into a high degree of civilization; and this cannot be, unless there are many individuals present who are striking out on various tentatives in the realization of interests. . . . Civilization is therefore a function of numbers in contact."[22] Early in the eighteenth century immigration to South Africa practically ceased, and did not begin again for over a hundred years. "Theal states that the church reg-

21. Colquhoun, A. R., *Africander Land* (London, 1906), p. 204.
22. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 47.

isters show that 1,526 men and 449 women arrived between 1652 and 1795 and left descendants."[23] The natural increase, though great, was not enough, in the absence of immigration, to bring the population up to the supporting power of the land under the prevailing stage of the arts and standard of living.[24] There was, in short, a relative sparseness of numbers. The population, moreover, was not in close social contact. The pastoral life, with its demand for extensive grass lands to accommodate increasing flocks and herds, promoted isolation. As rapidly as the population increased, there was ample room for the excess in more remote regions. In the United States, where a similar phenomenon occurred, the pressure of continuous immigration prevented the isolation of groups for really prolonged periods; but in South Africa protracted isolation was possible not only in the eighteenth century but in the nineteenth as well, and it was to preserve this accustomed way of living that the Boers fought again and again. As a result, their early pastoral adjustment was not forced to give way to agriculture and industrialism.

Not only was South Africa composed of isolated units—patriarchal families and small communities; it was itself remote from those regions of the world where civilization was advancing to more complex societal levels. There was not the same stimulating infusion of new stock to the Cape, or the same diffusion of invigorating customs and inventions from Europe, that there was to North America, Australia, or even South America. The customs which satisfied the maintenance, self-perpetuation, regulative, and spiritual needs in early adjustments consequently became crystallized and fixed by long usage and public sanction, resulting in a static society. "Narrow, strong, tyrannical, pious—such were the Boers two hundred years ago, and such in all essentials are they today. For they are an instance of what is known as an 'arrested development,' similar to the civilizations of China or of Mexico. Up to a certain date, in this case the seventeenth century, they formed part and parcel of the world's onward and evolving stream of history and expansion. But, at a given moment, from causes and conditions of which they were themselves unconscious, they ceased, not to live,

23. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 3.
24. *Cf.* Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 46, 56–60.

but to grow. . . ."[25] Finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, the isolation was broken, and the mores, rendered malleable again in the crucible of economic conflict and war, resumed their development. "The world of today [1894] goes round too rapidly to allow the Boer to stand still. He will have 'to mend or end.' "[26]

The frontier in South Africa offers as fine a case of controlled experiment as a student of society can hope for at present. The extraordinary circumstances of its development, most of the causes for which can be determined, make the case the more valuable as a study in societal evolution. What is more important, it may be examined today. The children of the Old Boers are having to bridge the gap created by isolation from their "seventeenth century" parents to their own twentieth century children, and in this process Boer customs are undergoing rapid change.

What, now, of the reaction of the settlers to their social environment—the natives who preceded them? Every effort was made, at first, to preserve the Hottentots. Necessity furnished the motive, since these natives possessed the meat supply. When in the course of time, however, this supply was met by the Europeans, these natives ceased to be considered, and in the ensuing adjustments the lower culture gave way before the higher and the race practically disappeared. In spite of the efforts of the government to maintain peace between the settlers and the Bushmen and Bantu, the Europeans took matters into their own hands as they thought best for their safety and profit, and these peoples, too, were subjugated after long conflict.[27]

It is impossible to determine precisely to what extent there was an exchange of customs between the settlers and the natives. Of the primitive peoples with whom the Dutch came in contact, the Hottentots were in a position most vitally to influence the developing institutions, since contact with them came during the time when the basic adjustments were being made and the typical Boer was

25. Cust, H., "The Dutch in South Africa," *The North American Review*, CLXX (1900), 198–211; Trollope, A., *South Africa* (4th ed., 2 vols., London, 1878), II, 7–19; Botha, P. M., *From Boer to Boer and Englishman* (London, 1901), pp. 8–11; Hofmeyr, J. H., *South Africa* (London, 1931), p. 89; Gillmore, P., *A Ride Through Hostile Africa* (London, 1891), p. 104.

26. Blouèt, P., *John Bull and Company* (New York, 1894), p. 296; Dawborn, C., *My South African Year* (London, 1921), pp. 244–5.

27. Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 47–9, 121–2.

in the process of becoming. The Hottentot and Boer cultures reveal many resemblances, and between the two peoples there has been considerable miscegenation.[28] Our evidence is insufficient, however, to enable us to determine to what extent the cultural similarities are attributable to borrowing from the Hottentots, and to what extent to independent adjustment by the Boers to the same physical environment.

It is in the maintenance field that one sees the closest similarities. Both the Hottentots and the Boers were almost exclusively pastoral, with only the slightest attention given to agriculture. The Hottentots had cattle and sheep when the Dutch arrived. Conflict prevented successful trade, and the settler raised his own live stock, using what Hottentots he could as herdsmen and domestic servants. The native carried on his own herding customs under his master, and in this way the Boer doubtless learned many peculiarly Hottentot methods of animal husbandry. At any rate, he adopted a similar nomadic economy.

In the governmental, religious, and domestic aspects of his life, however, the Boer did not resemble the neighboring race so closely. It is true that for clothes he used skins, but they were cut along European lines. Into the making of the present Boer language, Afrikaans,[29] there have gone native words. In certain more superficial characteristics, e.g., in lack of cleanliness, there are marked resemblances. Two particular aspects of Boer culture, however, have more certainly been borrowed, namely, fighting from ambush (guerrilla warfare) and the treatment of disease. The form of fighting finally adopted on this frontier, which so dismayed the British in the Boer War, was a successful adjustment to environmental conditions and to native methods of warfare.[30] The primitives could best be conquered by adopting their own military tactics. The knowledge and use of many herbal remedies, and of massaging and baths, in the cure of disease likewise came without doubt from the native domestic servants.

Borrowing was not, of course, a one-sided matter. The natives

28. Fischer, E, *Die Rehobother Bastards* (Jena, 1913).

29. "The High Dutch language was shorn of all its refinements until it was nearer to some Germanic dialect of the ninth century than to modern Dutch." Leyburn, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

30. Compare the American frontiersmen in the American Revolution.

were more affected by the contact than were the Dutch, as becomes obvious when we realize that the Bushmen and Hottentots have become almost extinct and that the Bantu are servants. Even before this happened, however, the natives had taken on European ways. They modified their maintenance customs, their government, their family life, their language, and even their religion. They aped the dress, the amusements, and the vices of their overlords. True, there was great pressure and European governmental force, which promoted acculturation, but it must be remembered that, in the contact of peoples and the conflict of cultures, the victory seems to be decided ultimately by superior adjustments.

Much has been written about the determining influence of the American frontier on the development of democracy in the United States. While we do not mean, of course, to contest the demonstrable truth of this contention as far as the American people are concerned, we do wish to point out that South Africa presents an exception to any generalization which might be made therefrom. Conditions similar to those in the United States were present. Social pressure from numbers was slight. More land was available than could be used, and there was opportunity for all who wished to become independent proprietors. Yet South Africa produced, in response to these conditions, no Declaration of Independence, no proclamation of the equality and freedom of all men. Men were not equal, as the existence of social stratification and the insistence on right of precedence on even minor public occasions bear witness.[31] Freedom, to the Boer, meant merely escape from all restrictions and had little to do with societal "rights." Furthermore, the Boer would have been as restless under a democratic government as he was under Company rule. The unit of society which he visualized was the family.[32]

To assign causes is difficult. Probably the most important single factor again is isolation; along with the rest of culture, the concept of government ceased to develop in the absence of numbers in contact. In this way, too, the seventeenth century idea was preserved that that government is best which interferes least and keeps

31. Botha, *Social Life in Cape Colony*, pp. 37–8; Barrow, J., *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798* (2 vols., London, 1801–04), II, 67–9.

32. Schreiner, O., *Thoughts on South Africa* (New York, 1923), pp. 96 ff.

taxes at a minimum. The Company, of course, was also a factor. There may be, moreover, some applicability in the statement of Adams[33] that the nature of the people has had something to do with democracy in the United States. "The French farmers who tilled their fields around Detroit and remained almost unchanged Norman peasants generation after generation, did not react to the frontier as did the English.[34] The frontier was, perhaps, the most important moulding influence in American life. But that was because the people who came under its influence were for some reason peculiarly receptive to it."

From the isolated Boer frontier it is possible to draw a number of general conclusions. Omitting many for which the evidence is not sufficiently suggested in the present paper, we may advance the following:

1. that to this frontier does not apply the generalization of *rapid* recapitulation;
2. that numbers in contact are essential to societal evolution;
3. that the tendency toward societal complexity ceases in isolation when a satisfactory adaptation has been made and population pressure is lacking;
4. that deliberate selection by a restrictive government on a temperate frontier is inimical to ready adaptation and progressive development;
5. that automatic selection tends to supersede rational planning in the development of a frontier society.

Finally, we may conclude that frontier societal phenomena offer certain advantages to the student of society which neither modern nor primitive societies can present. In the first place, there is a sequential development within a relatively very short period of time. Furthermore, this development takes place in a limited area wherein the natural environment and its influence upon the inhabitants can be known throughout the period analyzed. Again, the racial and cultural backgrounds of the people are readily ascertainable. In short, more of the circumstances surrounding a frontier society are definitely knowable. Moreover, as contrasted with

33. Adams, J. T., *The Epic of America* (Boston, 1931), pp. 121–2; Turner, F. J., *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), chap. XIII.
34. Compare also the French in the more remote regions of Canada today.

primitive societies, we have to deal with dynamic rather than static conditions, and, as contrasted with modern societies, we are able to achieve greater objectivity and a more adequate perspective. Frontier society lies between the two extremes of the primitive and the modern, and, in a sense, bridges the gap between them. In its changes, impressive in their range, the actual process of development can be observed, not merely the end results. And it is the mastery of the evolutionary process that will enable the student of society eventually to become a social scientist, equipped with definite laws as a basis for prediction.

INDO-ARYAN SOCIETY

FREDERICK E. LUMLEY

THE Aryan-speaking peoples, who migrated into northern India forty centuries and more ago, have challenged innumerable scholars and have been the subject of many notable investigations. Despite all the light that has been shed upon these ancient migrants, much remains yet to be learned, especially about their social life. How were these intrepid travelers organized? To what level of civilization had they attained? Were they predominantly nomadic or agricultural in economic life? Did they have slaves? Did they possess a caste system? What was the position of woman? These and thousands of additional questions have been asked, and something has been done by way of answer.

Archeology is an investigational method of peering into the remote past by the study of material culture remains. Archeologists collect stone implements, fragments of pottery, remnants of buildings, ornaments and instruments of metal, and other artifacts, subject them to critical and exhaustive scrutiny, comparison, and classification, and from them gain an immense amount of knowledge. They collect these material remains not so much for their own sake—although they often have great intrinsic value—as for the testimony they yield relative to the nature and forms of the social life and the cultural status prevailing when they were fabricated and used. Such collecting is grounded on the reasonable assumption that the non-living, and therefore more slowly perishing, things and materials made and used by man retain and contain something of the living, and therefore more perishable, characteristics of man—on the assumption that the dead yet speak.

But the material culture is not the only clue to the prehistoric past. As a rule, ancient peoples have left behind remains of another sort as well—remains that are often even more revealing, especially with respect to the social and the cultural. There is usually a surviving non-material culture, which constitutes a window through which we moderns may peer into the past. Language, for example, is a revealer of the highest order; words and grammati-

cal forms have roots, and roots are near the beginnings of things. Then there are legends, folklore, myths, and fables, made possible by language and given a vehicle of survival by language. When we examine these minutely and painstakingly, we penetrate to the very heart and vitals of the social and the cultural. What the mythologist discloses about an ancient people is at least as significant as what the archeologist reveals, and when the results of the two lines of investigation are compared and fused, the story is rounded out and the picture approaches completeness.

The subject of the present chapter carries us reluctantly past the material culture into the non-material. Unwillingly, too, we omit consideration of a great body of revealing legends and folktales surviving from earliest times among the peoples under discussion. We deliberately confine ourselves to one series of ancient Indo-Aryan legends, the *Mahabharata*—"one of the two well-known national epics of India," a series of episodes composed, collected, or worked over by one Vyasa, "who lived at the junction of the Dvapara and Kali ages, upwards of thirty centuries before the Christian era."[1]

We shall follow what we have chosen to name "the method of collecting allusions." The present writer was introduced to this method by Professor Albert G. Keller. While a student at Yale he was given *Homeric Society*[2] to examine as an example of its use. This work made so deep an impression that its plan of investigation was adopted and used in the preparation of a doctoral dissertation,[3] as was also done at about the same time by E. F. McGregor and C. W. Coulter. This method of collecting allusions consists, essentially, in examining a body of legends, traditions, myths, or other literature and noting, not so much the main thread of the story, its content, organization, ideas, or literary quality, as the incidental and casual references and allusions of social or cultural import brought in along the way—noting, in short, what we have come to call "local color."

1. Telang, K. T., transl., "Anugîta," *The Sacred Books of the East,* ed. F. M. Müller, VIII (Oxford, 1882), 207.

2. Keller, A. G., *Homeric Society* (New York, 1902).

3. Lumley, F. E., *The Beginnings of Hebrew Industry* (MS deposited in the Yale University Library, 1912).

As an example we may choose the story of Mandavya from the *Mahabharata*, using the poetical translation of Hopkins.[4]

Hear ye this ancient story
Of one who did not die;
A story which is told us
By them that scan the sky.

The last line contains an allusion, quite incidental, to the existence of soothsayers. It reveals a custom. Indeed, by following carefully this one clue, it would be possible to throw a flood of light on the civilization of these ancient people. But let us continue with the poem.

There was a saint Mandavya
Lived ages long ago,
Whose thoughts were high and holy,
No evil did he know.

These lines yield another clue—the existence of saints, possibly priests. The story goes on to relate how two thieves came to the abode of this saint to spend the night.

Two thieves came, bringing booty,
And passed the night with him.
He knew not they were evil,
But knew the guest-law well.
"Who scorns the guest and stranger,
Himself is scorned in hell."

Here is a reference to a widespread folkway, the guest-law, brought in incidently merely to establish the saint's goodness. Of the thousand and one allusions that might have made the same point, this particular one was chosen spontaneously. But "watchmen"—another casual allusion—were hunting for the thieves and found them and their loot at the home of the saint. Not knowing the latter, they suspected him of being an accomplice and hustled all three before the king for judgment. The king shouted angrily:

4. Hopkins, E. W., *Legends of India* (New Haven, 1928), pp. 14 ff.

"What men are these ye bring?"
"Two thieves and him that hides them;
Behold the spoils," they said.
"Impale the three together;
And watch till they be dead."

Here is a casual reference to impalement as a method of punishing malefactors. The whole tenor of the story is to point a moral, namely, that saintliness (and honesty) is the best policy, for the saint, though impaled, refused to die, and when this happened the punishment order was countermanded and justice was done. The form of punishment is mentioned quite incidentally. But that, of a thousand possible penalties, impalement was probably the customary one for the time and place and under the circumstances, is shown by the fact that it was the first that occurred to the king. The term "impale" thus becomes, as it were, a window through which we gain a glimpse of the life of this ancient people. We do not see the number, size, and arrangement of the stakes and many other details. But we see a little; we have a clue. If we saw everything, there would be no problem.

In the use of this method great caution is necessary at three points at least. First, if the investigator is unable to obtain or use the originals and must depend upon translations, he is confronted with the problem of the adequacy and accuracy of the translations. At best it is sometimes impossible, for example, to find an exactly equivalent expression in another language. Does the English word "impale," used by Hopkins, convey exactly the meaning of the original? The investigator must ever be aware of this difficulty.

There is, in the second place, the problem of interpolation at some later time, with the result that allusions may refer to different physical and social environments. The *Mahabharata* itself, according to Talboys Wheeler, provides illustrations. "But there remains one other anomalous characteristic of the history of the great war, as it is recorded in the Mahabharata, which cannot be passed over in silence; and that is the extraordinary abruptness and infelicity with which Brahmanical discourses, such as essays on law, on morals, sermons on divine things, and even instruction in the so-called sciences are recklessly grafted upon the main narrative. . . . Krishna and Arguna on the morning of the first day

of the war, when both armies are drawn up in battle-array, and hostilities are about to begin, enter into a long and philosophical dialogue respecting the various forms of devotion which lead to the emancipation of the soul. . . . Indeed no effort has been spared by the Brahmanical compilers to convert the history of the great war into a vehicle of Brahmanical teaching; and so skillfully are many of these interpolations interwoven with the story, that it is frequently impossible to narrate the one, without referring to the other, however irrelevant the matter may be to the main subject in hand."[5] Others do not agree with Wheeler on this particular point, among them Telang, the scholarly translator, yet even the latter admits[6] that "we may be almost certain that the work has been tampered with from time to time." At any rate, there is often the problem of interpolation against which the investigator must be on his guard.

In the third place, there is the difficulty of insufficiency—the insufficiency of the materials for a complete picture. In the present case, for example, the materials are unquestionably inadequate for a well-rounded picture of the social life and culture. Primarily, of course, the reason is that they were not intended to present anything of the kind. But this, probably, makes them all the more reliable as far as they go. The *Mahabharata* is the wandering story of a great war between two branches of the royal family of Hastinapura, the Kuravas and the Pandavas. The main interest of the writer or writers was to describe this war, to indicate something of its origin, causes, progress, and ending—not to picture the family life, the industrial organization, the religious structure, the political arrangements, or the educational system. Inevitably, nevertheless, this interest provided innumerable opportunities for alluding incidentally to the various phases of the social life and culture. While modern investigators, therefore, need not expect to find sufficient information for a complete and detailed picture of Indo-Aryan society, there are enough materials for a bold and revealing outline.

When the Aryan-speaking peoples entered northwestern India,

5. Telang, K. T., transl., "Bhagavadgîtâ," *The Sacred Books of the East,* ed. F. M. Muller, VIII (Oxford, 1882), 3–4. *Cf.,* for example, pp. 37 ff. in this volume.

6. *Ibid.,* p. 5.

they were characterized by a nomadic-pastoral type of industrial organization. Some of the tribes, finding suitable environmental conditions, gradually settled down, intermarried with the aboriginal population, and adopted an agricultural economy. Others continued to wander southeastward as far as the Indus River and later to the fertile plains of the Ganges.[7] The *Mahabharata* deals with these peoples after, not before, their arrival in India; it gives an account of a war between two branches after they had spread to various parts of the land, and it is evident that many years elapsed between the composition of the first and the last parts of the story.[8]

The immigrants possessed not only domesticated cattle, sheep, and goats, but also horses and probably other animals. The purely pastoral tribes, and also some of the agriculturalists, measured their wealth in terms of the number of animals they possessed. Some idea of the extent of the wealth of certain princes and petty kings is suggested by the information that one of them united with another and drove off sixty thousand head of cattle from the territory of a third.[9] Here we stumble upon a revealing folkway—cattle-lifting.

That there was considerable knowledge of breeding, and that care was exercised therein, is evidenced by such expressions as "Matsya's finest breed," "bulls of various breeds and colors," "steeds of every hue," "grey and pigeon colored coursers," "horses bred in famed Kamaja," "dark and grey of deepest hue," "piebald horses trained to battle," "steeds of metal true and tried," and "coursers were ivory white."[10]

There is testimony that elephants were in common use, and it appears that they were kept in herds much as cattle and horses.[11] Like other animals, they were given away as presents, and they were used in making long journeys and in warfare. Whether the dog was known does not appear, yet this can scarcely be doubted in view of the almost universal use of this creature.[12]

7. Frazer, R. W., *A Literary History of India* (London, 1915), p. 13.

8. Dutt, R. C., transl., *Mahabharata, the Epic of Ancient India* (London, 1898), p. 197.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 270, c. 4.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 271, c. 8; p. 318, cs. 8–11; p. 364, c. 20.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 325, c. 6; p. 281, c. 19.

12. See the numerous references in Sumner, W. G., Keller, A. G., and Davie, M. R., *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1927), IV, 1284.

While some of these early peoples lived a roving life and supported themselves by herding and intermittent hunting, others had advanced to a rude agriculture. Our materials refer to barley, wheat, rice, and sugar cane.[13] The women, apparently, did most of the agricultural labor, while the men spent at least part of their time in hunting (there is evidence that the country was rather heavily wooded and that game was plentiful[14]).

The people possessed rude agricultural implements, for plows, yokes, reaping hooks, and millstones are mentioned.[15] Steeds were yoked to war chariots, and hence were probably so used with the plow as well. That cattle, too, were yoked to the plow seems a legitimate inference from the phrase, "bullocks for the laboring swain."[16] Threshing, though not mentioned, must have been undertaken, since there is evidence that the women ground the grain with millstones. It is not improbable that the threshing process was similar to that found in India today, namely, a rough and slow treading of the garnered grain upon a hard earthen floor.

From the foregoing we are prepared to understand something of the dietary. The women ground the grain and probably prepared cakes and bread,[17] although no information is given as to particular methods and ingredients. The lotus is frequently mentioned, but with this exception there is no mention in the text of vegetables and fruits used as foods.

The people were by no means exclusively vegetarian. There is a reference to the slaying and eating of the red forest deer.[18] The flesh of domesticated goats and sheep was likewise used for food. The milk of the mare was used, and horseflesh was eaten. Curds and butter were made and consumed.[19]

The juice of the soma plant, a highly intoxicating drink, was employed in sacrifices,[20] and it would be strange if it were not used in other connections. The precise manner in which it was obtained or fermented is not yet understood.[21] Palm juice was also highly

13. Dutt, *op cit.*, p. 360, c. 20.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 361, c. 9.
15. Muller, F. M., *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas* (London, 1888), p. 134; Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 217, c. 17.
16. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 281, c. 23.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 361, c. 20.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 281, c. 5.
19. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 360, c. 20.
20. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 363, c. 9.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 281, c. 11.

prized,[22] and it is made clear that cool and sparkling water was also used as a beverage.[23]

We have here a good case of the insufficiency of materials. Innumerable details are lacking for a complete picture. We have, however, the bold outline that the people possessed both plant and animal foods and that they enjoyed a fairly advanced standard of living.

Among the arts and crafts, spinning and weaving were known, for we find references to "silken robes of costly splendour," "flags and cloth of gold," "fabrics by an artist wove," and "scarfs belaced with gold."[24] The wool of sheep was manufactured into clothing, and the skins of goats were sometimes fashioned into scabbards for swords,[25] but we are not informed as to the details of fabrication and use.

Mention of a water jar[26] suggests acquaintance with the art of pottery. Jars and vessels richly inlaid with gold are noted, and also golden cups and vases.[27] It appears, also, that jeweled girdles, bangles, and necklaces were worn.[28]

The aboriginal inhabitants were acquainted with masonry, for, as other sources show, they possessed forts and castles. The invading conquerors, however, seem not to have adopted the native architectural styles but to have built dome-shaped huts and dwellings of basketwork construction daubed with mud.[29] The *Mahabharata* relates how the Panduas, at Indra Prastha a few miles from modern Delhi, hewed their city out of the thick forest and built palaces roundabout.[30] The buildings of the capital city of the Panchalas kingdom are described as "towering domes," "stately palaces," and "swan white mansions," and are said to have contained chambers lighted with "sparkling gems" and spacious stairways wide and high.[31]

Although the *Mahabharata* tells the story of a great war and describes conditions of almost constant warfare, it gives very few details about the mode of warfare and the military arts. We are

22. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 261, c. 4.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 281, c. 22.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 353, c. 6; p. 199, c. 15; p. 214, c. 14.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 276, c. 38.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 319, c. 14.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 361, c. 4.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 35, c. 16.
29. *Cf.* Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
30. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 348, c. 17.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 214, cs. 10, 14.

told that Duryodhan's army included foot soldiers, horses, cars, and elephants, and numbered more than a hundred thousand men; Yudhisthir's force was smaller.[32] A fairly advanced military organization is indicated by the fact that each army was divided into two sections, each with an ensign of war, a standard, and a leader. The following reference occurs in the *Bhagavadgita,* a part of the *Mahabharata:* "Then seeing (the people of) Dhritarashtra's party regularly marshalled, the son of Pandu, whose standard is the ape, raised his bow. . . ."[33] Army leaders went on the field in chariots, and one prince rode an elephant.[34] The weapons of warfare mentioned include pikes, axes, maces, swords, spears, darts, lances, sabers, bows, and arrows, and there is some evidence that certain soldiers wore coats of mail and carried shields.[35]

As far as our evidence shows, political organization was thoroughly patriarchal. Families were united in long-standing clans and ruled by a chief or headman.[36] When danger threatened from without, these families and clans combined to form larger organizations for mutual protection. Within the clan each member retained the name of some paternal ancestor who exercised patriarchal authority.[37] At times a king or rajah was elected from among the chieftains as the chosen representative of the people, and this position tended to become hereditary.[38] In the choice of a king, warlike valor seems to have been the most important criterion.[39]

Subjects rendered obedience to their chiefs and kings, and—wonder of wonders—made voluntary offerings to their superiors in lieu of taxes. There are indications, nevertheless, that this felicitous arrangement did not always yield adequate funds and that, in consequence, the rulers oppressed the people.[40] A city was chosen[41] as the seat of government. Certain priests and officials of lesser rank constituted the advisors of the king, and met with him in the

32. *Ibid.,* p. 296.
33. Telang, "Bhagavadgîtâ," p. 39; Dutt, *op. cit.,* p. 300, c. 3.
34. Dutt, *op. cit.,* p. 299, c. 24; p. 310, c. 17.
35. *Ibid.,* p. 319, c. 25; p. 303, c. 17; p. 300, c. 9; p. 274, c. 13.
36. Zimmer, H., *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 172.
37. Schrader, O., *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples,* transl. F. B. Jevons (London and Edinburgh, 1890), p. 311.
38. *Cf.* Dutt, *op. cit.,* p. 358.
39. *Ibid.,* p. 207, c. 6.
40. *Cf. Rig-Veda,* I, lxv, 4.
41. Dutt, *op. cit.,* p. 198, c. 3.

royal council hall. A sort of coronation ceremony was held when a chieftain was proclaimed king.[42] Among the features of this ceremony that are mentioned[43] was a great feast, to which the people brought grain, treasures, and possibly gold coins. It has been suggested[44] that the king was obliged to lay aside all signs of his warriorhood, take up the symbol of sacerdotal power, and become a Brahman during the period of inauguration, but part of this description gives the appearance of a later interpolation. Six classes of felons are mentioned.[45]

The text gives no evidence of matriarchal or metronymic survivals. From meager hints in the narrative a well-established patriarchal system is indicated. Marriage, as a rule, was monogamous, and some evidences are found of bride purchase and capture. Upon her marriage a woman came under the absolute sway of her husband.[46] She belonged to him just as his other property did. He had the right to dispose of her offspring as he pleased, to permit them to live or to have them exposed.

There are slight indications that in later Vedic times, and hence nearer the period of the *Mahabharata*, the position of woman had improved somewhat, but this was probably true of the upper classes alone. Women composed some of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, and they were considered worthy to take part with their husbands in performing the domestic sacrificial rites.[47] They were permitted to sing hymns and to tend the sacred fire kept burning on the hearth.

The purdah system, requiring all women of the higher classes to be kept in seclusion, seems not yet to have been inaugurated. On festival occasions, for example, the queens, ladies, and maidens, gorgeously attired, were usually present, like the men, to witness the games and ceremonies. A place was reserved for them, and they were treated with consideration. At the close of the great war, King Dharita Rastha, having been left without sons by the carnage, went to his wife for comfort. A priest arranged to have chariots ready for the women that they might go to the battlefields

42. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 207, c. 4.
43. *Ibid*, p. 207, cs. 8–11.
44. Haight, Ora F., *Social Conditions of the Mahabharata* (MS, 1913), p. 25.
45. Telang, "Bhagavadgîtâ," p. 41 n.
46. *Cf.* Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
47. *Cf.* Telang, "Bhagavadgîtâ," p. 41.

and claim their own dead.[48] One passage[49] speaks of the queen a follows:

> Stainless queen and stainless woman, ever righteous, ever good;
> Stately in her mighty sorrow, on the field Gandhari stood.

The desire for children seems to have been as strong in ancien times as today. The childless king of Madra sacrificed daily to th gods and besought them for offspring. Finally he was told that hi prayer would be answered, and in time a daughter, Savitri, "th gift of heaven," came to enliven his house.[50] "And the king per formed its birthrites with a glad and grateful mind."[51] This case with other supporting ones, attests a considerable measure of pa rental attachment.[52]

For centuries, in India, celibacy has been a disgrace, except fo those with pious motives, and for women especially an unheard-o thing. In view of this the following passage acquires significance

> For our sacred sastras sanction, holy Brahamans oft relate
> That the duty-loving father sees his girl in wedded state.
> Therefore choose a loving husband, daughter of my house and love,
> So thy father earn no censure, or from men or gods above.

Here a new fact is suggested—bride's choice. Suitors were encouraged, at least among the high-born, and when no suitors came, the girl was expected to make some advances.[53] In connection with what appears to be a case of fraternal polyandry the matter of bride's choice is further elaborated. Draupadi, the daughter of Draupada, became the wife of the five sons of Camdu. Her marriage, which was arranged by her father, involved a public Sayamwara or bride's choice,[54] which was apparently a well-established institution. A day was set. A crowd assembled on an open field where, in the center of an inclosed space, a high pole was erected with a target at the top. The competitors for the girl's hand had to hurl a discus at this target.[55] In another section it is detailed that the suitors competed with the bow and arrow.[56]

48. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 347, cs. 2–6.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 349, c. 1.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 254, cs. 1–19.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 255, c. 20.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 323, c. 46.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 255, c. 24.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 214, c. 10.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 215, cs. 7–8.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 218–19, cs. 1–15.

It would be possible, of course, to assemble from our sources an abundance of evidence on the religious aspects of social and cultural life. Sufficient has been shown, however, to demonstrate the possibilities inherent in our materials and method. The outline of the social life and culture of the people, thus acquired, can naturally be greatly expanded and enriched by comparative and intensive studies, but we must leave this task to younger and more energetic investigators.

PRIMITIVE ECONOMICS IN THE LIGHT OF CONSISTENCY IN THE MORES

NATHAN MILLER

RECENT attempts in anthropological and sociological literature to delimit or to define the strictly "economic" have become more important with a greater abundance of critical data. Time was when an implicit assumption of the nature of this category of social activities sufficed. The "material interests" of a people seemed a sufficiently simple and ample designation of an orthodox field of study, and such phrases as "the struggle for existence" and "self-maintenance" likewise seemed to involve no particular equivocation or ambiguity. Yet it now appears that a stubborn and almost aprioristic bias inheres in this employment of a terminology and a vocabulary worn exceedingly thin by a traditionally facile usage. One may, therefore, profitably raise skeptical inquiries as to the demarcation of such economic concepts, particularly in view of recent advances in the study of psychological motivations and of the antecedents of modern economic institutions. For our present purposes, however, we are more concerned with the application of such dogmatism to the life of peoples more remote from the investigators in time or spirit, particularly the so-called "primitive" peoples. This unconscious adherence to presumptive terms extends to the theory of an "economic determinism" as the controlling and molding force in the elaboration of religious, artistic, and domestic institutions and other forms of societal life. As such, it amounts practically to a species of "economic fundamentalism," so-called because, as one of the keenest students[1] has remarked, it "regards the institutions and habits of thought of its own age and civilization as in some peculiar sense natural to man, dignifies with the majestic name of economic laws the generalizations which describe the conduct of those who conform to its prejudices, and dismisses as contrary to human nature the suggestion that such conduct might be other than it is."

1. Tawney, R. H., in Firth, R., *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (New York, 1929), pp. xiv, xv.

It is the purpose of this essay to make a brief analysis of the folkways of certain peoples in order to indicate a more realistic interpretation of the category of the "economic." This problem can be approached only in a spirit of respect for the vital coherence and functional relatedness of all phases of collective behavior, that is, of the folkways, and with an appreciation of what has been succinctly referred to by Sumner[2] as "the strain toward consistency" in the mores. This apt expression draws attention to the organic pattern of integrity in the mores or at least the tendency in that direction. Like most scientific expressions, however, it is only a tentative device or tool for exploration which must be sharpened, amended, or elaborated with further usage. As older sociological problems are stated with greater nicety and precision with this device, so also a new penumbra of thought and description now arises and begs for consideration. Thus, like so many expedients in scientific vocabulary, the expression, "consistency in the mores," raises almost as many questions as it seeks to clarify or illuminate. There are many implications in the term. For example, "consistency in the mores" leads to the expectation that each culture-complex is unique or novel, i.e., faithful to its own structure, responsive to its own needs, and seeking its own fulfillment. This means that the "consistency" of the mores of any people exists essentially in terms of itself, that is, in terms of the inner peculiar nature of the particular society in question. The exploration of "consistency" thus must lead eventually to a search for the true functional meaning of the mores in each case. Otherwise, one is likely to make the criterion of consistency a subjective judgment-value introduced inadvertently by the investigator himself. It is this sort of obtuse thinking that has led to the acceptance of the premises inherent in economic fundamentalism.

It may be more than barely possible in many instances to discover elements of inconsistency, as well as of consistency, in the mores. For there is much in the life of other peoples that is—to say the least—incomprehensible and refractory to the thought of our own times and temper. Even a superficial comparison of primitive folkways reveals as much of what might be termed (with the usual allowance for the subjective aura usually surrounding such

2. Sumner, W. G., *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), pp. 5–6.

linguistic expressions) distortion or exaggeration, or over-specialization, or hypertrophy, as of innate coherence or consistency. In fact, to the mind of the observer, coherence in the mores of an alien folk is the last thing that is discoverable, because it presumes a most intimate delving into the inner mental life of the members of the group under study. Before we can confidently speak of consistency or inconsistency in the mores, therefore, we shall apparently have to develop techniques of measurement and just criteria of the designation, for one may almost speak of a rate or of the degrees of consistency in the mores. Conceivably, there may also be "bad" or cancerous mores, excrescences that sap the modal or normal aspects of the life of society. On the other hand, and even from our own point of view, it may be easy occasionally to discover a logical or consistent pattern in the life of other peoples.

Were it not that the term "culture" has already become enshrouded in a mist of obfuscation,[3] one might well add another interpretation to the customary list in this connection. Apart from the favorite omnibus use of the term as denoting the full complex of societal phenomena, "spiritual" as well as "material," one may also think of culture simply as the mode or the attempts by which a people actually seeks for its own satisfaction to secure an inner adjustment or integration of its folkways. Of course, in this connection, it may be essential often to distinguish pretension, pride, or pure rationalization from the more genuine success achieved in this direction by a people in developing a well-rounded integration of its folkways. This, perhaps, is the most legitimate interpretation of the *strain* toward consistency in the mores, in view of the fact that the effort applied is hardly ever wholly successful or altogether complete. As a result of the difficulty of achieving a true consistency, there originate at times the various types of popular manias and delusions, extravagances of conduct, anti-utilitarian motivations, and the like.[4] Morals, so-called, ethics, social values—all these encased in the supernatural trappings of the cult or in the philosophical, mystical envelope of organized religions—have been the chief external vehicles representing the strain toward consist-

3. See Blumenthal, A., *The Place of the Term "Culture" in the Social Sciences* (Hanover, 1935).

4. See Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff.

ency. More often than not, depending upon innumerable historical factors, known and unknown, the energy devoted toward producing a true cultural integration has in itself led to a hypertrophy or "inconsistency," in that the established institutions of religion and morality have preyed upon the other more mundane or, perhaps, "materialistic" aspects of life. From these considerations alone it is apparent that the notion of consistency in the mores is always inextricable from certain value-judgments, either of our own making which we extrapolate into the situation under study, or else of those born within the mores themselves.[5]

This strain toward consistency, or need for inner adjustments in the mores, is usually regarded today as being instigated by the development of inventions and tools or by displacements and changes in the natural environment, that is, generally by technological variations. Thus the welter of the gigantic stresses at work in our own contemporary world has often been traced to the ineptitude of our attempts at assimilating the recent precipitate, revolutionary changes in the techniques of industry, communication, and production to the more fundamental personal (ethical) issues of life. Hence, the "cultural lag" between economic and sociological change, as it is familiarly referred to in modern sociological literature.[6] But this distortion or disequilibrium may originate as well from entirely different quarters, as witness, for example, the cases collected by Sumner and Keller[7] in which the demands of the cult and "superstition" become parasitic upon more practical affairs. Taboos of all sorts, ideas of luck, prohibitions on the use of food and utensils, and the like present vast, ineluctable interferences with work—interferences that run off into a type of inconsistency to our way of thinking, but which nevertheless force the native to be "consistent" in his own way and with his own mode of life.

It is often a nice task indeed to distinguish the "rational" from the "irrational" in the mores. For instance, among the Igorrotes of the Philippines, if a man sneezes during the building of a house,

5. The mores, by definition, include value-judgments. See Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 521 ff.

6. Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change* (New York, 1922), p 200.

7. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), II, chap. XXXI.

work is held up for two hours until the "uncleanliness" is removed.[8] In Borneo, days and weeks of ploughing may be held up by such an occurrence as finding the carcass of an animal in a field. Nor may boards which are made wet in transit, and which are intended for use in building a new house, be used again. They must be replaced by new ones, and this takes weeks to accomplish since the materials come from afar.[9] As many as sixteen out of twenty-eight days in the month are considered unlucky among some Madagascar tribes, while certain Dravidian tribes in India sacrifice in a ten-day feast no fewer than 200 buffaloes, 2,500 goats, and 2,500 pigs.[10] Mourning ceremonies through their cost may result in the impoverishment of a people, as when they involve the abandonment of house and home and fields, the desertion of hunting and fishing places, and the annihilation of capital goods laboriously gathered. In Buin, a death may cause all work to be halted for three months, and food may actually become scarce in a region if a few men with a wide circle of kinsfolk and high social standing have died recently.[11]

Yet despite the parasitic burden and inexpediency of this type of cult practice, glimpses of a spirit more utilitarian in character can often be found. The Yukaghir, for instance, claim that the hunter offends the guardian spirit of a wild animal species if he kills too much of the game. On the island of Nias, in the East Indies, one is forbidden, likewise, to kill more game than one can eat, else the spirit of the forest to whom all game belongs will be offended.[12] There is a certain purposefulness redolent of the utilitarian in this which falls more closely into line with our usual notions of "economy."[13] Malinowski, in his brilliant studies in Melanesian life, has sought to discriminate these otherwise overlapping areas of

8. Berkusky, H., "Der Einfluss aberglaubischer Vorstellungen auf das wirtschaftliche und soziale Leben der Naturvolker," *Zeitschrift fur Sozialwissenschaft,* n.s., IV (1913), 491.

9 Nieuwenhuis, A. W., *Quer durch Borneo* (Leiden, 1907), p. 165.

10. Berkusky, *op. cit.,* p. 569.

11. Thurnwald, R. C., "Pigs and Currency in Buin," *Oceania,* V (1934), 120; Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.,* II, 860 ff.; Weeks, J. H., "Notes on Some Customs of the Lower Congo Peoples," *Folk-Lore,* XIX (1908), 430.

12. Berkusky, *op. cit.,* p. 498.

13. *Cf.* cases in Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.,* II, 1110 ff.

the magical and the utilitarian. It is his contention[14] that all important "economic" activities are "fringed with magic, such as imply pronounced elements of change, venture, danger . . . or risk." Thus canoe-building among the Trobriand Islanders "has a long list of spells . . . but this magic is used only in the case of the larger sea-going canoes. The small canoes, used in the calm lagoon near the shore, where there is no danger, are quite ignored by the magician."[15] Garden work is ordered by a garden magician, who regulates the work of the community; the "way of magic" and "way of work" are kept distinct by the native, as "an over-dose of magic will not make good deficiencies of work." The necessity of careful tilling is understood, but certain evils, like pests, blights, and drought, can be handled only by magic. Any unaccountable good luck or mishap is attributable to magic.[16] The ritual of hunting among the Hopi Indians has also been interpreted as an attempt to prevent caprice and misfortune, for during the hunt those left behind may not have "bad thoughts," while after the hunt, propitiatory rites are performed to insure fertility of the animals and preservation of the fauna. Still, animals may not be wantonly destroyed just for the excitement of the chase. Thus it seems that the nature of the chase is "economic," while the ritual is used to preserve the fauna.[17]

This avowed demarcation between the "magical" and the "economical," the accountable and the unaccountable, is, however, not usually quite so evident; it is more likely to betoken the interjection of a classificatory interpretation on the part of the student. Workaday pursuits in the life of primitive folk are apt, on the contrary, to be inextricably intermingled with the ceremonial, the ritualistic, or the decorative, i.e., with what might well be called as a whole the non-utilitarian. To such an extent is this true that it is sometimes impossible to extricate the fundamental core or the

14. Malinowski, B., "The Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XLVI (1916), 386–7. This point of view closely approximates the concept of the aleatory or luck element, as developed by Sumner (*op. cit.,* p. 6 *et passim*).

15. Malinowski, *loc. cit.*

16. Malinowski, B., *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (2 vols., New York, 1935), II, 10.

17. Beaglehole, E., "Hopi Hunting and Hunting Ritual," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology,* IV (1936).

prior basis of an enterprise, or to search out the ultimate incentive and preponderant interest of activities, even in those ordinarily concerned with self-maintenance. An illustration is provided by the Ifugao in the Philippines. Here the uncertainty of the climate, we are told, has far-reaching effects, at least to the extent of "building up one of the richest religions in the world, for in order to obtain the favor of good weather and consequent good crops," the Ifugao perform a great number of religious feasts every year. In fact, the obtaining of animals for these feasts (pigs, chickens, ducks, carabaos) is said to be "the principle economic (*sic*) motive in the male Ifugao's life." Nevertheless, the author, referring presumably to the same folkways, maintains that borrowing plays a tremendous rôle in their lives—"but not for economic principles—rather for religious ones." So it appears that, in this instance at least, the usual lines of distinction between the "economic" and the "non-economic" melt, and the categories become apparently reversible. Of course, this may indicate nothing more than the tenuous and arbitrary nature of our own sociological vocabulary, for we are further informed that the high "interest rates" caused by this borrowing make it sometimes difficult for the more or less professional collectors to collect. Whereupon they call upon religion again; thirty-five or forty different deities can be invoked to twinge or coerce the debtor.[18]

These cultural adhesions may often hide altogether the materialistic calculation. Thus Firth, who has made a notable study of the economic life of the New Zealand Maori, constantly refers to the complex set of polite observances, ceremonies, and rites surrounding the acquisition, apportionment, and consumption of food. The glamor and excitement made to pervade the otherwise drab, monotonous routine of life seems to give an exceptional emotional tone or incentive to the hunter, a fillip to his efforts, and a public recognition to his success. In bird fowling, for example, placatory rites, elaborate ceremonials, and prolonged feasts invest every particular phase of the technique. In this way the body of empirical knowledge, which is considerable in itself, becomes profoundly en-

18. Barton, R. F., "Ifugao Economics," *University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology,* XV (1919), 389, 425.

crusted with layers of ceremonial.[19] Thus it would seem obviously impossible definitely to disengage at any time the purely technological or empirical spheres of activity because of the fastidious, unrelenting emphasis upon various emotional accompaniments of work.

The satisfactions and motivations surrounding work and labor are not allowed to rise of themselves, nor to subside; they are, rather, magnified and diversified so that they penetrate deeply into the consciousness and memory of the individual. Rarely can one discern bald, utilitarian calculation as the sole or as the most important appeal to strenuous effort on the part of the individual. On the contrary, the gamut of incentives is exhausted by the variety of ingeniously contrived forms of adulation, renown, and praise. Thus, among the Papuans of the Trans-Fly region, the successful hunter receives public approbation and feels a corresponding pride, for "to kill a pig or cassowary is an achievement which is commemorated by the proud hunter. He breaks off a branch and stands it upright in the ground, or he will stick a cassowary quill into a tree nearby. And their memory long outlasts these frail monuments which recall these deeds." Pig skulls and the breast bones of cassowaries, strung together on a rattan cane, are preserved for the same purpose, and in the ceremonies preceding hunts it is the privilege of the man who has killed a pig to smear his face and thighs with mud, and of him who has killed a cassowary to bedaub his chest and shoulders in the same way. These records of achievement, in which all take pride, are very painstakingly and accurately kept. In the case of agriculture, count is kept down to the last tuber raised. These marks serve to cast contempt on the capacity of others, and often lead to bitter quarrels.[20] The net effect of such folkways is, of course, to inculcate a vast pride in the value of food-production, as well as an emphasis upon the everlasting benefits of contributing to the common stock. And the feasts which commemorate such deeds of prowess stamp an indelible impression upon the consciousness of the participants.

Among tribes of the Ashanti hinterland in West Africa, great celebrations are held to honor the man who has made an important

19. Firth, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.; *cf.* also Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society* (London, 1930), p. 316.

20. Williams, F. E., *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 222 ff.

kill. Face-markings and amulets serve to draw attention to him, for "on that day this man is more than anything that lives; all eyes look only at him; all ears are listening to the 'words' of the whistle-blowers and the praise is beyond compare. This is the reason that those who enter the bush (as hunters) are many. Men will stand on trees night and day for the sake of getting such praise. . . ." The *kara* (pieces of skin of the animal killed, filled with powdered medicine) are later put on the hunter's quiver, "and when people see it, they say, 'This one is a man.' "[21]

Work is thus carried on and food accumulated by the individual in response to a variety of ramified social appeals to his vanity, pride of craftsmanship, ghost-fear, kinship sentiment, and the like. These appeals presumably outstrip in force the narrow and utterly self-regarding "material interests," which in turn is at best a stereotyped disembodied designation. Malinowski has spoken of the "palliative concomitants" of work as the subtle bonds that interpenetrate work with pleasure and that alleviate the banality of the bare struggle for mere existence. It is his seasoned observation that nothing holds greater sway over the Melanesians of the Trobriand Islands, for instance, than the ambition and vanity associated with a display of food. "The Trobriander is above all a gardener, who digs with pleasure, collects with pride, and to whom the rich foliage of yam-vines or taro leaves is a direct expression of beauty."[22] With due allowances for a certain amount of irrepressible enthusiasm on the part of our reporter, born, perhaps, of sympathetic acquaintance with the people, one must nevertheless be impressed by the repercussions and extensions of these non-utilitarian interests into the widest spheres of existence. This illustrates again the inherent strain toward consistency in the folkways, a tendency which has the ultimate effect of establishing a certain congruity between the interests of the individual and the way of life of the group to which he belongs. To the extent to which this occurs, the folkways are also rendered of greater value to the individual.

At times the accolade of honor conferred upon the successful

21. Rattray, R. S., *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 178–4.

22. Malinowski, B., *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), p. 29; idem, *Coral Gardens*, II, 10.

worker is so overpowering as to force him to dispense in large part with his individual reward or to be content with a minor share of the proceeds of his diligent efforts. Among certain Australian tribes, for example, it is not unusual for the hunter to receive the most meager portion of his catch, e.g., the liver, stomach, or entrails, while the better portions are given to his relatives, the older persons receiving the choicest morsels of all.[23] The obligation to supply the relatives is especially rigid; the father-in-law divides the catch, but gives nothing to the hunter unless he has carried the animal in whole, for otherwise he is expected to have eaten of the entrails. In any event, the hunter must content himself with the poorest parts.[24] Among the Hopi Indians, the killer receives the horns, hide, head, and body, but only after the first three individuals arriving at the scene have received their portions.[25] It is inadvisable to call these acts "altruistic" in the true sense of the word, yet there is abundant evidence to support the contention that self-regard is not usually arrant or preponderant. Selfishness is, rather, considerably emasculated or sublimated or converted into mellower expressions. Great merit often attaches to the fullest distribution of valuable goods of all sorts. Thus, among the Omaha Indians, Mead[26] speaks of the high distinction accorded those individuals who present property to the notoriously poor, and of the elaborate records kept in bundles of sticks or notches on a stick of the distributions thus made publicly. The prestige attached to these acts is so considerable as to form the chief basis of social attainment, such as membership in a secret society, rank, the right to have a female member in the household, minor chieftainship, and the like.

In fact, sharing, giving, bestowing, or dispensing goods of utility to others is a most common characteristic of the "economy" of primitive peoples. It would seem as though the prestige-value and renown of open-handed generosity endowed goods with a typical social or exchange value out of all proportion to the basic utilities

23. Knabenhans, A., "Arbeitsteilung und Kommunismus im australischen Nahrungserwerb," *Festschrift Eduard Hahn* (Stuttgart, 1917), p. 100.

24. Howitt, A. W., *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 756.

25. Beaglehole, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

26. Mead, M., "The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe," *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, XV (1932), 40–1.

that these goods would be otherwise expected to convey, even to the so-called primitive man. Of the Yakuts we are told, for example, that nothing can do justice to the self-satisfaction of an individual when he at last can serve up game he has captured. All slaughtered food is parceled out, together with tobacco, vodka, and cakes, and to pass over any one in such distributions is equivalent to making an enemy. Although the explanation offered of this communal participation is that the people are unable to preserve or transport food, it nevertheless affords striking evidence of an attitude toward the economic in human behavior which is strikingly different from the commonly assumed utilitarianism.[27] Among the Navaho, once in a very long time, an individual may be found who is stingy with land or water, but public opinion is sufficient to demand more altruistic behavior. He is put down as a miser, despised, and his life made very unpleasant.[28] The community weir among certain Indians in Canada, we are told, is a powerful factor in welding the different families together, and the master of the buffalo pound divides the meat equally. Every one contributes his labor, but no one may hoard while others starve. The ill and the unlucky are provided for as well as the able.[29] Out of this there may arise a conscious desire to maintain all on a footing of equality. As the Papuans put it: "no want one man he go ahead, one man he come behind; better all man he go together."[30]

This lack of what might be called "acquisitive desires" and of an appreciation of individually hoarded wealth is striking. Selfish sentiments seem to be stillborn or soon overweighed by the pressure of collectivistic demands through the basic appeal to the personal vanity of the individual. "Wealth" is thus thought to consist not so much in possession as in the give-and-take, in the constant distribution or circulation of values from person to person. Since the stress toward active distribution is motivated by social sentiments of personal appreciation and prestige, it follows that the "eco-

27. See Sumner, W. G., "The Yakuts," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* XXXI (1901), 68–70.

28. Reichard, G., "Social Life of the Navajo Indians," *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology,* VI (1928), 91–2.

29. Jenness, D., "Indians of Canada," *National Museum of Canada, Department of Mines, Bulletin,* LXV (1932), 65–6.

30. Landtmann, G., *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* (London, 1927), p. 167.

nomic" life is not dominated by a simply calculated, quantitative advantage. This type of exchange is replete, rather, with etiquette and formalism. Such economic rationalism as lies at the basis of modern commerce and trade is practically absent. In fact, as among the Melanesians, the language may even have no separate expression for "buying" as against "selling," nor for price.[31] This attitude may be exemplified by the Teton Dakotas, among whom the cardinal virtue is the release of wealth rather than its acquisition or retention. Property is given away on all public occasions, e.g., in the presence of a stranger, at the daughter's first menstruation, at the son's first kill on a hunt, and at all feasts. The "give-away" on certain occasions approaches the point of self-destitution. The "rich" must distribute their goods and are despised if they do not, for the storage of economic goods is thought to have a negative social, hence a negative individual, value.[32] In East Africa, wealth is always referred to as "eating wealth," because there are never large reserves of food; all have sufficient or all go without at the same time. There is a constant give-and-take, a system of mutual help which gives confidence and security to each in the absence of individual reserves. The hall-mark of a great or a "rich" man is his lavish generosity; much passes through his hands but little stays with him. The "grasping man" tries to obtain the wherewithal to distribute largess and keep open house, that is, to indulge his social vanity.[33] Deacon[34] epitomizes this point of view, in another connection, in his observation that "to make no return gift for a present or act of service is to fail signally in one's social obligations; to make a return equal to the initial gift is sufficient to avoid disgrace; but if a man desires to be well spoken of he must give as repayment something of greater value than that which he received in the first place."

The maintenance of a standard of prestige also makes possessions "liquid" and transitory among the Yir-Yoront in Australia;

31. Mauss, M., "Essai sur le don," *L'Année Sociologique,* n.s., I (1923–24), 86.

32. Mekeel, H. S., "The Economy of a Modern Teton Dakota Community," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology,* VI (1936).

33. Culwick, A. T., and G. M., *Ubena of the Rivers* (London, 1935), p. 297.

34. Deacon, A. B., *Malekula* (London, 1934), p. 200.

everything is sharing, giving, borrowing, or appropriating.[35] We are told that the only general object in accumulating wealth among the Iroquois was to give it away and thus gain prestige. Much was also accumulated to honor the dead, even though the living might be left naked and starving. Redistribution occurred at feasts. This universal hospitality and generosity, incidentally, made theft "unnecessary" and somewhat "ridiculous."[36] The Eskimos also compel those who have accumulated property to be open-handed at festivals. On occasions, the rich, should they resist, are even killed and their property forcibly distributed. Since considerable prestige attaches to liberality, it is not surprising that it is considered a serious crime to rob a cache of food. On the first catch made by a youngster, the communalistic spirit is developed. "The idea of restricting the pursuit of game is repugnant to the Eskimo who holds that food belongs to everyone." Any one is welcome to the benefits of a family fishing station, and the deserving but poor young hunter is often invited to share a camping ground.[37]

The Melanesians, according to Rivers,[38] go to great lengths to prevent abnormal acquisitiveness. Tendencies in this direction, to be sure, constantly crop out, and the rich try to protect their property through fraternities. Nevertheless, property is periodically destroyed, gardens robbed, and fruit trees stripped, as "a useful check on laying up of riches." Furthermore, a man high in the *sukwe* society can "only retain his influence and glory by distributing his money, by paying people to work in his garden, and by giving feasts." Speaking of the Andaman Islanders, Radcliffe-Brown[39] tells of the imperative obligation of those who have food to share it with family members, friends, and older persons who have none. However, the man who regularly shirks his obligation of procuring his own food begins to occupy an inferior position in the camp. As a result, our informant deduces, the native feels con-

35. Sharp, L., "Ritual Life and Economics of the Yir-Yoront of Cape York Peninsula," *Oceania,* V (1934), 38.

36. Stites, S. H., *Economics of the Iroquois* (Lancaster, 1905), pp. 75, 144.

37. Weyer, E. M., *The Eskimos* (New Haven, 1932), pp. 173–5, 183–4, 196–7.

38. Rivers, W. H. R., *The History of Melanesian Society* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1914), I, 141.

39. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 42–3, 50, 270–1, 275.

scious of the "social value" of food, and a certain sense of moral obligation and dependence becomes associated with the "communion" of food. Whether or not one attributes such abstract, philosophical concepts to the unsuspecting natives, it is quite apparent that the repercussions set up in the mores by the food-quest, food-preparation, and food-consumption are far-reaching and elaborate. Passing mention may be made of the significant rôle in group life of first-fruits and rain-making ceremonies, and of the general pleasure and excitement attendant upon feasts and drinking bouts. Impoverishment of a serious nature and duration may often result from these celebrations, but as often as not they seem to enhance social cohesion and, incidentally, to act as a chronicle of important events in the tribal life.

The labor of primitive peoples is not to be conceived of as altogether erratic nor as completely self-directed. On the contrary, strenuous efforts are made toward a mitigation of the irksomeness and arduousness of individual labor. Malinowski[40] has pointed out the elaborate variety of these palliatives among the Melanesians, such as the use of music, rhythm, and drugs and the general stimulating effects of emulative, cooperative endeavor. This common effort is well organized in building canoes and dwellings, hunting, cultivation of gardens, and the like. In gardening, for example, there exist as many as five different methods of organizing labor. Firth[41] repeatedly refers to the pleasure elicited by working in company and attributes it to the rhythmical assuagement of toil effected by the Maori work songs, which serve to raise the "social temperature" of cheerfulness, to economize energy expenditure, and to divert attention from physical strain. Proverbs repeated after the evening meal in praise of industry and rebuking the laggards or the gluttonous are also said to be effective.[42] Among the Papuans, custom requires a person to assist a fellow villager for a day or two, especially in arduous work, although no payment is made for the service. The participants are, however, "entertained with food and sometimes with tobacco, and everyone knows that he

40. Malinowski, B., "Labour and Primitive Economics," *Nature*, CXVI (1925), 926–30.

41. *Op. cit.*, pp. 229–32.

42. Firth, R., "Proverbs in Native Life with Special Reference to Those of the Maori," *Folk-Lore*, XXXVII (1926), 138 ff.

and the whole village will profit in the future from the common work."[43] Likewise, "after the agricultural season in East Africa, there is relaxation from the previous unremitting work; a season of good cheer and festivities, of giving and receiving hospitality."[44] The feasts, moreover, provide a "good show," bring groups together, promote sociability and reciprocity, and help to disseminate culture; they even have political aspects.[45] The gossip, singing, and general merriment associated with rice harvesting among the Ifugao are remarkably effective in this connection.[46] Labor is thus standardized in behavior but always influenced in motivation by recreational, religious, or kinship interests, spreading out into all recesses of the mores from the originally materialistic urge for self-maintenance.

The decorative elaboration of artifacts further illustrates the departure from the stereotyped notion of the "economic." Thus the Northern D'Entrecasteaux natives ornament their canoe-heads, pottery, mats, amulets, grass skirts, combs, lime-gourds, and the like, "not to sell, for there is no one to buy them, but merely to satisfy their artistic cravings."[47] Much effort is expended, among some Australian natives, upon the production of articles intended chiefly as gifts for others or for ceremonial exchange. Although these articles are thought of as belonging to the recipient from the beginning, as much skill and time are devoted to their manufacture as to goods intended for personal use. Moreover, the basis of evaluation tends to be out of all proportion to the actual time consumed in their production, because the maintenance of a standard of prestige in the exchange of gifts is the more vital consideration.[48] Malinowski continually refers to the fondness of the Trobriand Islanders for a pleasant-looking garden, the artistic delight taken in the appearance of a rich, abundant crop. The economic and the artistic—the exfoliation of sentiments of joy in work, pride in achievement, and the yearning for individual attention through creative artistry—seem to be closely intertwined in these people,

43. Landtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 167. 44. Culwick, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
45. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly*, p. 235.
46. Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 404–5.
47. Jenness, D., and Ballantyne, A., *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 196–7.
48. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–8.

for the necessary leisure for decorative carving and canoe-building, at least, depends so closely upon abundant food.[49]

Interesting observations may be drawn from the elaborate carving work of the Maoris, a spare-time employment which is undertaken purely from a pleasurable motive. "The *mere*, or short weapon used by men of rank in hand-to-hand fighting often bore a very high polish, the result of months or even years of work, for the stone is one of the hardest known to lapidaries. And this was often a labour of love, for the polish of one's weapon was in no way an advantage in coping with one's opponent—unless perchance it dazzled his eyes! Heaphy records in the early days in New Zealand that a native would often get up at night to have a polish at a favorite *mere*, or take one down to the beach and work away by the surf." Firth[50] maintains that the exaggeration or over-elaboration of implements beyond their primary technical purposes—the extension, thus, of the utilitarian into the purely decorative—springs from an appreciation of the social value of industry. It reinforces the attitude toward work, and gives it a mellow savor. Art and work are thus inextricable. In this sense, one is not prior to the other, for "economic production enlists decorative art in the service of promoting industry, and in return provides it with a rich field for experiment and display." There is no maintenance of the fetish of work for its own sake, but an interplay of many-hued incentives, inspired by collective appreciation. One may be inclined to doubt the existence of the degree of purposefulness implied in such descriptions, yet still remain impressed by the interrelated nature and subtlety of the mutual responses between what we are accustomed to differentiate as the practical "arts of life" and the more fanciful "arts of pleasure."

In view of the above facts, reported by some of our most skilled field anthropologists, one is inevitably led to question the notion that work is carried on under the principle of the "least effort for the greatest return."[51] In this way the sphere of the utilitarian be-

49. Malinowski, *Coral Gardens*, II, 80–1.

50. *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, pp. 156–9, 358.

51. The discrepancy between "utility" and "value" in goods is much remarked upon in modern economic theory. See Jevons, W. S., *Theory of Political Economy* (3d ed., London, 1888), chap. III; Taussig, F. W., *Principles of Economics* (3d ed., 2 vols., New York, 1925), I, chap. IX.

comes almost imperceptibly obscured. Working under the impulse of fancy or talent, reinforced by magical sanctions and community plaudits, primitive artisans may lavish so much interest and inexhaustible patience upon articles of wood, stone, or shell that these may even become "too good to be used"—a species of "economic monstrosity, too good, too big, too frail, or too overcharged with ornament to be used, yet just because of that, highly valued."[52] The system of values may be so constructed that the ornamental and decorative objects exceed in popular interest the more fundamentally utilitarian. Among the Mailu people, it is said that armbands, shell-discs, boars' tusks, dogs' teeth, and bird of paradise feathers are most desired, then follow pigs, dogs, coconut palms, and similar food values. It is, of course, the lavishing of time and skill due to the refractory nature of the materials that often endows ornamental objects with greater measures of value than the more clearly useful articles.[53] Thurnwald[54] concludes, after prolonged study of the materials of primitive economics, that "among primitive peoples, the values representing wealth may, according to the life of the particular tribe, be either arm-rings or necklaces, sago or yams, bear-skins, mats with fine red birds' feathers, iron lance-heads, or cocoa beans; they are thus purely qualitative and are 'values in kind.' " This differentiation of goods leading to the overvaluation of one, and ultimately to its use as a medium of exchange or money, may be due to a variety of causes. These seem to be, as often as not, of a non-economic origin, deriving, for example, from fashion or from some close association of the object with the aleatory element.[55]

In this way there may arise an elaborate, formalized system of gift-exchange in which ceremonial objects, overgrown perhaps with historical sentiment, continually pass from hand to hand through a kind of intermittent, transitory ownership. Barely a trace of the idea of gain or utility is involved. The *kula* in western Melanesia

52. Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (New York, 1922), p. 173.

53. Beaglehole, E., *Property, a Study in Social Psychology* (London, 1931), pp. 177–8.

54. Thurnwald, R. C., *Economics in Primitive Communities* (London, 1932), p. 179.

55. *Cf.* Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 146 ff.; Thilenius, G., "Primitives Geld," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, XVIII (1920), 30 ff.

furnishes one of the clearest examples.[56] The formal punctilio surrounding the *kula* system of gift-exchanges does, to be sure, demand reciprocity, repayments upon the basis of equivalence, but there is no haggling or bargaining, in our sense of these terms. The *merbok* system of exchange in North Australia resembles the *kula*, in that only articles of high value pass hands. The basis is not typical utilitarianism. The friendship set up by these gift-exchanges (between kin only) is "overlaid with sentimental ties, traditional influences, and cultural associations." The *merbok* creates a debt. Possession for perpetuity is unheard of; accumulation by the individual becomes a serious offense, punishable even by death, as when gum, beeswax, or cosmetics are retained. We are told that the native who has violated any of the rules of etiquette surrounding the gift-exchanges is "poor indeed," even though he may already have acquired considerable wealth, for he has fallen gravely in the estimation of his fellows.[57]

There is a certain indissolubility inherent in the relationships created by ceremonial gift-exchanges which transcends the anonymous and temporary character of ordinary commerce or barter.[58] This type of exchange involves the principle of an equivalence of compensation, measured in terms of good will, of mutual appreciation, or social prestige—formalized, to be sure, but still different in kind from the depersonalized commerce of today. A rigid historical sentimentalism is also present in the principles of gift-exchange, as exemplified by the unchanging stock of tokens employed on Rossel Island as the media of exchange. These, we are told, have "come down from time immemorial."[59] It is often difficult, if not impossible, to trace the priority as between the economic and the ceremonial and social in this process of evaluation. An example is

56. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific, passim.*

57. Stanner, W. E. H., "Ceremonial Economics of the Mulluk Mulluk and Madugella Tribes of the Daly River, North Australia," *Oceania,* IV (1934), 163–73.

58. See Mauss, *op. cit.,* p. 174; Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori,* Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific;* Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities;* Leroy, O., *Essai d'introduction critique à l'étude de l'économie primitive* (Paris, 1925), pp. 91, 104.

59. Armstrong, W. E., "Rossel Island Money," *Economic Journal,* XXXIV (1924), 423.

given by Sarfert[60] from Micronesia. Neighbors are accustomed to assist in the building of a house. They come with gifts and with food for the feast. The host also provides gifts and redistributes the whole, so that each worker receives something more than he brought. Thus is accomplished the triple purpose of social festivity, exchange, and payment for the workers' labor. To unravel the intergrown adhesions in the folkways, that is, to differentiate the "economic" from the "non-utilitarian," is frequently rendered difficult, too, by the paucity or unreliability of the historical ethnological material.

An extraordinary and extreme instance, perhaps, of the ambiguous realm of the "economic" in primitive life is afforded in the case of the "potlatch," as practiced among tribes on the northwest coast of North America. Wealth, riches, property are accumulated among these people for the sole purpose of holding ultimately a series of ceremonials at which the goods are publicly distributed or destroyed in one fell swoop. Social prestige depends completely upon these distributions, for a man's name among his fellows acquires greater weight and renown to the degree that he is able to distribute or destroy more at each festival. "To procure a wife; to enter the ranks or obtain the influence of medicine-men; to become a great chief; to give social standing to one's children; to take on one's self the name of a paternal ancestor; to become a respected member of the community; to atone for a wrong done; to resent an insult—property in some form or other must be sacrificed either by destroying it to show one's rage, grief, or disregard of wealth, or by giving it away to obtain the good will of others."[61] According to Boas,[62] "the rivalry between chiefs finds its strongest expression in the destruction of property. A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper, thus indicating his disregard for the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is

60. Sarfert, E., *Kusae* (Hamburg, 1919), p. 217.

61. Niblack, A. P, "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia," *Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report of the Board of Regents for the Year Ending June 30, 1888* (1890), pp. 365–6.

62. Boas, F., "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum,* 1895, pp. 353–5.

not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is 'broken.' He is vanquished—his influence with his tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown." Enormous quantities of fish-oil are often burnt, and the guests must not move even though they are scorched. Even if the roof catches on fire, they must appear unconcerned, for only the host can send some one to put out the fire!

The highly ceremonious, compulsive nature of the potlatch is indicated by the fact that it is closely connected with the rank of an individual, which must be upheld and validated as well as conferred. The rules prescribe a strict etiquette followed on certain specific occasions. Among the Haida, parents who have not accumulated enough property for a housebuilding potlatch "are forced to take immediate action either to give their children enough status to marry well or else to counteract some derogatory remark made in public about the low status of one of their sons or daughters." Face-saving is strongly involved; thus, to wipe out the social disgrace caused by stumbling in public and being laughed at, one must institute a potlatch. An insulted person will in vengeance destroy much valuable property in the presence of his antagonist, who must then make a similar sacrifice or suffer an irreparable loss of prestige. The integration of the potlatch with the system of rank and status illustrates the extent to which this institution has invested the entire life-round of the people.[63]

It now appears evident that the terms currently used as descriptive of "economic" life must be considerably revised. The collective adjustments made by a people to secure survival and a greater degree of comfort in an inhospitable environment are ordinarily thought to be the economic means, or the underpinning upon which is erected the finer superstructure of culture, e.g., art, religion, morality. Economic incentives, values, and institutions, from this point of view, have appeared to be more or less uniform and direct. The economist traditionally has been thought of as dealing with the efforts of man to reduce material scarcity and to eliminate privation. According to this view, the sphere of interest of the economist is necessarily extremely limited, especially in view of the implica-

63. Murdock, G. P., "Rank and Potlatch among the Haida," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology,* XIII (1936), 12, 14–15, 18.

tion that the ends, aims, ideals, or purposes of a people are not to be questioned, merely assumed.

Facts do not accord with these assumptions. The folkways are usually impenetrably interwoven with considerations falling outside the range of the myopic vision of the ordinary economist. Ideas of utility are freighted or encrusted with a wide range of evaluations that spring from many different sources. "The pleasure of craftsmanship, the desire for public approval, the feeling of emulation, the sense of duty toward the community, and the wish to conform to custom and tradition, all these and more find outcome in economic action."[64] Even technology and craftsmanship cannot be separated from certain symbolical or magical accretions. Whether these elements, as with Veblen,[65] are to be deemed extraneous and extrinsic by-products, or regarded as an esoteric, protective aura surrounding handiwork, one cannot escape the inevitable "cultural" appreciation and transformation of tools, weapons, handicrafts, and the techniques of the practical arts. While intended, undoubtedly, to diminish scarcity and enhance plenty, these efforts constantly stray into the province of the mores which seek to make things "right" and "consistent," that is, to attach personal feelings of satisfaction, fealty, and pride. To such an extent does this proceed that transmutations of "ends" (cultural) and "means" (economic) are easily attained.

If the substance of economic endeavor is to be thought of as the reduction of scarcity and banishment of want, there is also an obverse side in the exchange and distribution of plenty. As a recent student[66] has well remarked, "Economic science is the study of man removing relative plethora and relative scarcity, and one cannot be mentioned without the other." But the principles of distribution and exchange in primitive life are generally contingent upon a degree of communal sharing and formal gift-making quite foreign to our commercial or industrial economics. One may almost speak of a perpetual mobility of income, wealth, and property, actuated by peculiar needs and social objectives. Success in these ends is rarely to be attained without propitiatory, placatory, or

64. Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, p. 162.

65. Veblen, T., *The Instinct of Workmanship* (2d ed., New York, 1918), p. 103.

66. Radford, A., *Patterns of Economic Activity* (London, 1936), p. 7.

therapeutic rites on every hand. Wherever one looks, in fine, for the peculiarly "economic," one observes always the subtle organic tenacity of cult and art and tradition. The strain toward consistency may produce, occasionally, exotic or exaggerated products which appear distorted to us, but our own preoccupation with the technical and the economic has also produced its own predatory tensions upon the "finer" expressions of life.

CORRELATIONS OF MATRILINEAL AND PATRILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

SINCE Bachofen's discovery of the existence of mother-right, a controversy has raged intermittently in anthropological circles over the interpretation of matrilineal institutions, particularly as regards their relation to patrilineal forms of social organization. The various explanations may be grouped roughly into three schools—the evolutionist, the historical, and the sociological. This paper will first review the positions of these several schools and then present the results of a statistical study of ethnographical data undertaken to test and assess them.

Underlying the evolutionist position is the assumption that the social history of man has everywhere followed a single line of evolution. Cultural differences are explained principally by geographical and other factors which have accelerated the evolutionary process in certain regions and retarded it in others. Consequently the various peoples of the world are to be arranged, as it were, on the rungs of an evolutionary ladder, each rung representing a stage of development. Any given culture has passed successively through each of the lower stages and is destined to advance to the higher ones. As applied to social organization, this doctrine involves the hypothesis of the universal priority of mother-right; all peoples are asserted to have passed through a matrilineal, matrilocal, matripotestal phase from which the majority have advanced to a stage of father-right. For more than a generation social scientists subscribed almost unanimously to this position.[1] First seriously

1. Bachofen, J. J., *Das Mutterrecht* (Stuttgart, 1861); Bastian, A., *Rechtsverhaltnisse der verschiedenen Volker der Erde* (Berlin, 1872); Bloch, I., *The Sexual Life of Our Time* (London, 1908); Briffault, R., *The Mothers* (3 vols., New York, 1927); Dargun, L., *Mutterrecht und Raubehe und ihre Reste im germanischen Recht und Leben* (Breslau, 1883); idem, *Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht* (Leipzig, 1892); Giraud-Teulon, A., *Les origines du mariage et de la famille* (Genève & Paris, 1884); Gumplowicz, L., *Grundriss der Sociologie* (Wien, 1885); Haberlandt, M., *Ethnology* (London, n.d.); Hartland, E. S., "Matrilineal Kinship and the Question of its Priority," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, IV (1917); idem, *Primitive Paternity* (2 vols.,

challenged by Westermarck,[2] the hypothesis of the universal priority of mother-right began to lose ground rapidly during the twentieth century, and is now seriously accepted by few reputable scholars. Increasing ethnographical knowledge has shown that many very backward tribes are not matrilineal and that the most striking examples of mother-right occur among peoples sufficiently advanced to practice agriculture. The evolutionist position is now recognized as an unwarranted analogy from biology. Even in organic evolution the sequence of forms is branching or tree-like rather than unilateral or ladder-like, and it would be surprising if social evolution were less complex, especially since in this realm development and adaptation are complicated by the factor of diffusion or cultural borrowing.

Although some of the early evolutionists, notably Morgan, believed the matrilineal clan to be the first form of human social organization, preceding even the individual family, this view is now recognized as erroneous by the leading representatives of every school of anthropological thought, who are in agreement that a loose form of organization, often superficially patriarchal in character, preceded the development of any unilateral system of kinship affiliation.[3] We shall consequently regard this point as settled,

London, 1909); Kohler, J., "Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe," *Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft,* XII (1897); Kovalewsky, M., *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété* (Stockholm, 1890); Lang, A., *Social Origins* (New York, 1903); Lippert, J., *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihrem organischen Aufbau* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1886–87); Lubbock, J., *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man* (New York, 1873); McLennan, J. F., *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1876); Morgan, L. H., *Ancient Society* (New York, 1877); Spencer, H., *The Principles of Sociology* (3d ed., New York, 1899); Sumner, W. G., *Folkways* (Boston, 1906); Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927); Thomas, W. I., *Sex and Society* (Chicago, 1907); Tylor, E. B., "The Matriarchal Family System," *Nineteenth Century,* XL (1896); Vinogradoff, P., *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence,* I (London, 1920); Ward, L. H., *Pure Sociology* (New York, 1903); Wilken, G. A., *De verspreide geschriften* (4 vols., Semarang, etc., 1886); Wilutzky, P., *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* (3 vols., Breslau, 1903).

2. Westermarck, E., *The History of Human Marriage* (London & New York, 1891); *cf.* 5th ed. (3 vols., New York, 1922), I, 275–97. See also Crawley, A. E., *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), pp. 460 ff.; Howard, G. E., *A History of Matrimonial Institutions* (3 vols., Chicago, 1904), I, 116.

3. See, for example, Hartland, E. S., *Primitive Society* (London, 1921), p. 25; Howard, *op. cit.,* I, 117; Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology* (New York, 1923),

and consider the views of other schools only insofar as they bear upon the relationship and sequence of matrilineal and patrilineal forms.

The historical school, reacting from the extreme position of the evolutionists, rejects *in toto* the simple scheme of the latter, and proceeds from a very different basic assumption, namely, that cultural change follows no general laws or principles, at least none that are yet discernible, but is the product of "historical accident." Fortuitous concatenations of individual incentive and creativeness, geographically given opportunity, and pure chance, in conjunction with a particular cultural heritage, give rise to inventions, and these are spread, by the accidents of propinquity and social intercourse, from one tribe to another. Since both invention and diffusion, though not causeless, are unpredictable, any given culture represents a purely fortuitous assemblage of native and borrowed elements or "traits" and can be explained only in terms of its own history and that of its neighbors. "If," says Boas,[4] applying the historical hypothesis to the problem of matrilineal priority, "we do not make the assumption that the same phenomena have everywhere developed in the same way, then we may just as well conclude that paternal families have in some cases arisen from maternal institutions, in other cases in other ways." In other words, matrilineal institutions cannot be regarded as earlier than patrilineal. Either may arise or spread at any level of civilization; both may exist side by side; either may spring from or develop into the other, or from or into a bilateral type of organization—all depending solely upon local circumstances.

The English historical anthropologists trace the matrilineate to

pp. 355–7; Lowie, R. H., "Family and Sib," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXI (1919), 28; idem, *Primitive Society* (New York, 1920), pp. 148–53, 177, 182; idem, "Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology,* XX (1914), 72–3; idem, "Social Organization," *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences,* XIV (New York, 1934), 145; Rivers, W. H. R, *Social Organization* (New York, 1924), pp. 98–9; Schmidt, W., "The Position of Women with Regard to Property in Primitive Society," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXXVII (1935), 250; Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.,* III, 1967; Swanton, J. R., "A Reconstruction of the Theory of Social Organization," *Boas Anniversary Volume* (New York, 1906), pp. 166–78; idem, "The Social Organization of American Tribes," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., VII (1905), 663–73; Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 84; Wissler, C., *The American Indian* (2d ed., New York, 1922), pp. 160–6.

4. Boas, F., *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1911), p. 185.

an origin in ancient Egypt, whence it spread, as part of a complex of traits borne by adventurers in search of gold and pearls, through Africa and via India and Indonesia to the Pacific Islands and America.[5] The German historical anthropologists associate unilateral forms of kinship affiliation with several great complexes or *Kulturkreise* of a nearly world-wide distribution, namely, the "patrilineal-household," the "exogamic-patrilineal," the "exogamic-matrilineal," the "free matrilineal," the "totemistic-matrilineal," and the "free patrilineal" complexes.[6] The American historical anthropologists, more cautious in their inferences regarding diffusion, have confined themselves largely to an examination of the facts of social organization on the North American continent. Their conclusions concerning the sequence of matrilineal and patrilineal institutions, however, are perhaps not always unexceptionable.

Swanton,[7] in two articles in which he disproved the contentions of Morgan by showing that most of the ruder North American tribes do not reckon descent unilaterally, makes the assertion incidentally that the patrilineal tribes occupy an intermediate position between the backward sibless peoples and the matrilineal tribes, whose culture is in general the most advanced. Certain of the steps by which he reaches this conclusion are illuminating: (1) he cites in his comparisons only the most advanced matrilineal tribes, e.g., the Pueblo Indians, the Natchez, and the Haida, instead of choosing, for example, the lowlier Apache, Karankawa, and Kutchin; (2) he disposes of the matrilineal Plains tribes by asserting, mistakenly, that the clans of the Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan "are nothing more than bands"; (3) he mentions but few of the northwestern Athapascan tribes, who are in the main matrilineal as well as very backward, and attributes their organization to diffusion from the higher cultures of the Northwest Coast;[8] (4) he com-

5. See Perry, W. J., *The Children of the Sun* (New York, 1923), pp. 252, 406, 428.

6. Schmidt, W., and Koppers, W., *Volker und Kulturen* (Regensburg, 1924), pp. 194–351; Schmidt, W., *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, transl. H. J. Rose (London, 1931), pp. 240–1; idem, "Primitive Man," *European Civilization*, ed. E. Eyre, I (Oxford, 1934), 29.

7. "The Social Organization of American Tribes"; "A Reconstruction of the Theory of Social Organization."

8. Information kindly furnished by Dr. Cornelius Osgood shows that the

pletely ignores Mexico, where the patrilineal Aztecs and their neighbors possessed the highest culture in native North America. By virtue of the exclusion of the patrilineal Mexicans at the top of the cultural scale, and of the matrilineal Athapascans at the bottom, the not wholly unpredictable conclusion is reached that cultural superiority in North America rests with the matrilineal tribes.

Swanton's bilateral-patrilineal-matrilineal sequence has attained the status of a dogma in American anthropology.[9] "I am not aware," says Lowie,[10] "of a single student in this field who has failed to accept his position." Among the more curious results of this uncritical acceptance is the following statement by Thompson[11] relative to the social organization of the Aztecs: "The twenty calpullis that formed the Aztec nation at the time of the Spanish conquest were probably derived from original exogamous clans in which descent was through the mother, but by the time of the Aztec collapse . . . the descent had reverted from matrilineal back to its first probable form of patrilineal." That the Aztec calpullis were in actuality exogamous, non-totemic, patrilineal clans was verified by the present writer[12] in making a study of the relevant source materials. He was nevertheless unable to discover a shred of evidence corroborative of the evolutionist theory that the Aztecs had at some previous time been matrilineally organized. Yet Thompson, belonging to a school that takes especial pride in its "cautiousness," not only accepts the dubious evolutionist hypothesis of a prior matrilineal stage but even posits a still earlier, super-hypothetical, patrilineal stage.

Kroeber,[13] after accepting Swanton's conclusions, avers that, with the exception of the Northwest Coast, matrilineal tribes tend

Ahtena, Carrier, Han, Kutchin, Nabesna, Tahltan, Tanaina, Tsetsaut, and Tutchone are definitely matrilineal, with some evidence for the Chilcotin, Kaska, Sekani, and Tanana as well. Conceivably the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Bellabella, instead of being the source of the matrilineate in the Northwest, merely elaborated an old Athapascan pattern.

9. *Cf.* Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 355–6; Lowie, "Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX, 81.

10. *Primitive Society*, p. 150.

11. Thompson, J. E., *Mexico before Cortez* (New York, 1933), p. 105.

12. *Cf.* Murdock, G. P., *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New York, 1934), p. 372.

13. *Op. cit.*, pp. 355–8.

to cluster geographically in the vicinity of Mexico and sibless tribes on the periphery of the continent, with the patrilineal tribes occupying an intermediate position. He therefore concludes: "The original Americans were non-exogamous, non-totemic, without sibs or unilateral reckoning of descent. The first institution of exogamic groups was on the basis of descent in the male line, occurred in or near Middle America, and flowed outwards, though not to the very peripheries and remotest tracts of the continents. Somewhat later, perhaps also in Middle America, possibly at the same center, the institution was altered: descent became matrilinear. This new type of organization diffused, but in its briefer history traveled less far and remained confined to the tribes that were in most active cultural connection with Middle America." Then, by an arbitrary definition of "clan," designed to exclude the Aztec calpulli, Kroeber is able to assert that "Middle America, which appears to have evolved patrilinear and then matrilinear clans, was itself clanless at the time of European discovery." He thus arrives at an hypothesis of a kaleidoscopic succession of organizational forms in Mexico—clanless, patrilineal, matrilineal, clanless—no single stage of which, curiously enough, is supported by our actual evidence of Mexican social organization at the time of the conquest.

The sociological school refuses to accept the dictum that cultures are mere congeries of traits assembled by the historical accidents of invention and diffusion,[14] and it regards the repudiation of general laws or principles in the social sphere as probably unjustified and certainly premature. It prefers to assume that there is operative in cultures a tendency toward integration, a strain toward consistency. The familiar psychological tendency, on the part of the individual, to integrate into a logically consistent whole his various attitudes, beliefs, ideas, etc., probably operates selectively to promote cultural integration, since cultures are carried by individuals and transmitted through them. An integrative process seems also to be at work on the social level. "The folkways are . . . subject to a strain of consistency with each other, because they all answer their several purposes with less friction and antagonism when they coöperate and support each other."[15] In-

14. Malinowski, B., "Culture," *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, IV (New York, 1931), 624.

15. Sumner, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.

vention is not purely random, but, as Ogburn[16] shows, proceeds from and is largely determined by the "cultural base." Neither is borrowing entirely accidental, for a people tends to adopt, out of the various new elements offered by its neighbors, those that fit best into its own culture, and to modify or transform them, if necessary, to adapt them to the native cultural framework.[17] Adaptation, indeed, is the keynote of the sociological school.

From this point of view a culture is a system in the process of achieving equilibrium by the integration of its elements. Any change disturbs the balance and initiates a process of readjustment throughout the system. On the whole, changes occur most readily and frequently, and with the most far-reaching consequences, in the realm of material culture, the food quest, and economic organization, and readjustments in the other parts of culture usually have their origin here.[18] "Unquestionably the secondary societal forms come to harmonize with each other, as well as with the primary, so that there are mutual adjustments between them which are independent of their common dependence upon the form taken by the maintenance-mores. Marriage mores and property mores march together; religion may have a direct effect on trade, as when it prohibits alcoholic stimulants; nevertheless, it is the mores arising out of direct reactions between the society and its physical environment that form the independent variable, of which such mutually influencing pairs are functions."[19]

The most extreme branch of the sociological school, the so-called "functionalists," assumes not merely a strain toward consistency in the mores but its actual achievement. To them, cultures represent truly integrated, self-consistent configurations.[20] Operating on this assumption, they believe that they can, by examining cultures directly and without reference to their history, read off the "meanings" or "functions" of their several parts and the so-

16. Ogburn, W. F., *Social Change* (New York, 1922), pp. 82–9.

17. Malinowski, B., "The Life of Culture," *Culture: the Diffusion Controversy* (New York, 1927), pp. 41–2, 46; Gillin, J., "The Configuration Problem in Culture," *American Sociological Review*, I (1936), 380.

18. Ogburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–3, 211, 268–78.

19. Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution* (2d ed., New York, 1931), p. 226.

20. *Cf.* Malinowski, "Culture," pp. 623–5; Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "On the Concept of Function in Social Science," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XXXVII (1935), 397.

ciological "laws" which they exemplify. According to Radcliffe-Brown,[21] who applies his reasoning to our own special problem, "an institution may be said to have its general *raison d'être* (sociological origin) and its particular *raison d'être* (historical origin). The first is for the sociologist or social anthropologist to discover by the comparative method. The second is for the historian to discover by examination of records or for the ethnologist, in the absence of records, to speculate about." "Thus the existence of unilateral (patrilineal or matrilineal) succession in the great majority of human societies can be traced to its sociological 'cause' or 'origin' in certain fundamental social necessities. . . . (1) The need for a formulation of rights over persons and things sufficiently precise in their general recognition as to avoid as far as possible unresolvable conflicts. (2) The need for continuity of the social structure as a system of relations between persons, such relations being definable in terms of rights and duties." This author finds himself unable, however, to state "what general factors determine the selection by some people of the matrilineal and by others of the patrilineal principle in determining status or succession," nor does he explain to the skeptic why his "universal conditions" or "laws" fail to operate in certain great bilateral or sibless areas of the world.

The functionalist assumption of actual cultural integration seems to lack adequate factual support. The readjustments initiated by economic and other changes often require years or even generations for their accomplishment—an interval for which Ogburn[22] has coined the apt term "cultural lag." Long before an equilibrium has been attained, other changes have occurred and set in motion new processes of readjustment. Not only cultural innovations but also other events may initiate adaptive changes, for example, a drought or flood, a food shortage, a war, even the death of an important man. Hence cultures appear forever in a state of flux, always approaching but never achieving integration because of the numerous incomplete processes of readjustment which they invariably exhibit. Sociological "laws," consequently, find concrete expression only as tendencies, and "functions" can be discovered

21. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession," *Iowa Law Review*, XX (1935), 297, 301, 302–3.

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

only with the aid of history, which alone can resolve the disparity that ever exists between theoretically perfect integration and the actual state of a culture at a given time. From a realistic sociological point of view, therefore, the dichotomy set up by Radcliffe-Brown[23] between social and historical anthropology, or between sociology and history, seems essentially arbitrary, and the depreciation of history so commonly expressed by the "functionalists" seems unwarranted.

Perhaps the earliest application of an essentially sociological point of view to the interpretation of matrilineal and patrilineal institutions is that of Lippert,[24] who presents a well-rounded case only slightly biased by the prevalent evolutionist misconceptions. He starts with the division of labor by sex, based on the physical differences between man and woman and the consequent differences in their economic aptitudes.[25] Woman, relatively handicapped by pregnancy and nursing, specialized in the more sedentary pursuits, notably those confined to the household, e.g., food preparation and the domestic arts, and those that could be followed in its immediate vicinity, e.g., food gathering and, in time, agriculture. Man, less handicapped, could roam farther afield; upon him, therefore, devolved such activities as hunting, fishing, warfare, and eventually herding.[26]

"With advances in the two economic spheres, each necessarily came to feel the need of a more systematic supervision. The associations of both sexes developed into organized groups under unified leadership." In the woman's sphere, organization centered about the mother. Authority—in the household—consequently tended to be matripotestal, residence matrilocal, and inheritance matrilineal. The latent germs of maternal affiliation, inherent in the obvious biological connection between mother and child and in their inevitable association during lactation, were elaborated into the

23. Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology," *South African Journal of Science*, XXI (1923), 124–47; idem, "The Present Position of Anthropological Studies," *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, XCIX (1931), 141–71.

24. Lippert, J., *The Evolution of Culture*, ed. G. P. Murdock (New York, 1931), pp. 201–344; idem, *Kulturgeschichte*, II, 1–139.

25. Lippert, *Evolution of Culture*, p. 255.

26. For a general summary of sex specialization in primitive cultures see Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, I, 136.

principle of matrilineal descent. Within the woman's sphere of activity, in short, organization tended to develop along matrilineal lines. In the man's sphere, on the other hand, in the organization developed for hunting and warfare, authority tended to be patripotestal, and conditions favored the development of incipient patrilineal traits. Two systems of organization thus existed side by side, each independent of the other.[27]

As long as woman's contribution to the food quest was relatively more important than man's, the matrilineal organization prevalent in the household tended to maintain itself and to predominate in the society at large. If, however, man's activities in the food quest became in some way more productive and dependable than woman's, e.g., through improvements in hunting techniques, through migration into a region exceptionally rich in game, or through the domestication of grazing animals, the masculine organization with its incipient patrilineal bias would tend to gain supremacy, to encroach upon the feminine organization of the household, and to undermine the matrilineal principle hitherto operative in the latter. Conditions of perpetual warfare might have a similar effect by making the domestic organization unduly dependent upon male protection. "All these and many more combinations are conceivable and have also occurred in fact, depending on local influences, without, however, constituting a continuous evolutionary series."[28]

Not only does Lippert here repudiate a simple evolutionist scheme for the development of social organization; he also advances an explanation for the fact that many advanced agricultural peoples are matrilineal whereas a considerable number of backward non-agricultural tribes are patrilineal. "We must bear in mind that it was not the absolute height of the man's economy but its relative superiority to that of the woman which brought about her subordination. But a relative superiority could have been attained even among a generally very backward people. The Australian in his completely isolated culture area had advanced no farther than the development of such skill with weapons that he could catch all the animals of his territory. Yet the economic

27. Lippert, *Evolution of Culture,* pp. 255 (quoted), 223, 236.
28. *Ibid.,* pp. 283, 230, 277, 234 (quoted).

sphere of the woman was even more backward. She had made no considerable progress in the acquisition of plant foods, much less made the discovery of agriculture. The result of this unequal advance was, therefore, the relative superiority of the man, even though on a low stage." "But where the woman advanced to agriculture, she remained mistress for a longer time. To this circumstance we owe the preservation of the mother-right organization among the advanced northeastern Indians. . . . With the domestication of animals, woman's economy, for all its high development, receded so far into the background that it even fell into contempt among most cattle raising peoples." "This advance reached its culmination in the harnessing of animals for work and in developed nomadism with its associated life of exploitation."[29]

Thurnwald[30] reaches conclusions not essentially different from Lippert's, as a condensed translation of one passage will show. "For the origin and elaboration of mother-right, the 'ambivalent' norms of hunting and collecting peoples like the Bergdama are highly instructive. Sons inherit the trapping and hunting gear of their father; daughters, the cooking utensils and food-gathering implements of their mother. Where the women have advanced from collecting to agriculture, their property is augmented, and matrilineal inheritance consequently becomes the more important. Having at their disposal, as a result of agriculture, a more stable and often more abundant food supply than the men, their importance was further enhanced, and their superiority in the matter of property, including that in their children, found widespread recognition in matrilineal descent and was systematically elaborated in institutions and systems of ideas. The elaboration of mother-right, indeed, seems to be a development especially characteristic of agricultural peoples. Despite the eclipse of father-right, however, patrilineal and even patriarchal traces are never entirely lacking in mother-right communities. The point of departure for mother-right is the division of labor by sex, the separation of the male and female spheres of life, especially in the nomadic families of collectors. Under favorable conditions, such as are rendered possible by the development of agriculture, the group residing together may

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 283, 284.

30. Thurnwald, R. C., *Die menschliche Gesellschaft in ihren ethnosoziologischen Grundlagen*, II (Berlin & Leipzig, 1932), 193–4.

expand into an extended family or clan, and relationships in the female line may be more strongly emphasized."

Sumner and Keller,[31] although they devote a section to "The Mother-Family as an Adjustment," display more interest in the sequence of unilinear forms than in their development as adaptations to economic and other factors. As a result, the sociological or adaptational point of view, which these authors display so consistently in most of their work, is somewhat obscured in their treatment of this particular subject.

Benedict[32] makes a distinct contribution to the problem of the origin of unilateral institutions by showing that the germs thereof are normally present in primitive bilateral societies. Accepting Radcliffe-Brown's conclusions as to the transmission of status, she confines her attention to the inheritance of property. Unlike modern bilateral societies such as our own, primitive bilateral societies usually recognize only the common right of the family to use its shared property, not the right to control it over time. In inheritance, the claims of consanguineal relatives override those of the family. The spouse almost universally, and very commonly also the children, are excluded from inheriting the property of a deceased person in favor of the latter's siblings or other consanguineal relatives. "The fact of the primary rights of the consanguineal kin to economic goods, to the exclusion of the spouse, makes clan institutions, either matrilineal or patrilineal, not a catastrophic change in social arrangements, but an ever-recurring possibility. Clans represent a formal naming and classification of kin groups which were everywhere present in the economic sphere even though unformalized."[33] Benedict thus rejects the "historical" conclusion that unilateral, especially matrilineal, institutions are so "anomalous and artificial"[34] that their origin must be sought in a unique aggregation of historical circumstances.

Among the American anthropologists who have interested themselves in the factors giving rise to unilateral organization, is

31. *Op. cit.*, III, 1937–97.

32. Benedict, R., "Marital Property Rights in Bilateral Society," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XXXVIII (1936), 368–73.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

34. Olson, R. L., "Clan and Moiety in Native America," *University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology*, XXX (1933), 409.

Spier.[35] Speaking of the bilaterally organized Havasupai, he points out how a slight modification or accentuation of certain factors already in existence might well give rise to patrilineal sibs, namely, "by (1) an emphasis on land inheritance furthering the tracing of the paternal lineage, (2) regularity of patrilocal residence on family lands fixing patrilineal group affiliation, and (3) the extension of kinship recognition in the father's line."

Lowie[36] believes that bifurcation and age-stratification, which occur not infrequently in the kinship terminology of bilateral tribes, together with the levirate and sororate, may prepare the way for a kinship system consistent with unilateral descent. "But in order that sibs develop from such terminology, it is inevitable that the children of brothers be differentiated from those of sisters." He attributes this development in part, following Tylor's suggestion, to the establishment of a definite rule of matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and in part to the fixation of inheritance on a unilateral basis.[37] "Here the auxiliary principle of the sexual division of labor helps to segregate the core of a lineage." Women claim food-gathering sites and transmit them to their daughters, and similarly "the male core of a paternal lineage is segregated by the phenomenon observed by Speck among the Northeastern Algonquin, the prerogative of hunting in a delimited tract."[38] Consequently, it seems to Lowie both possible and probable that matrilineal and patrilineal descent have evolved independently, in repeated instances, from a bilateral or sibless foundation.[39]

Statistical methods have been increasingly applied in recent years to the examination of ethnographical data with the object of revealing historical connections or of verifying historical reconstructions arrived at by other methods.[40] In only two important

35. Spier, L., "A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXIV (1922), 489.

36. "Family and Sib," p. 39.

37. *Ibid.,* p. 39; idem, *Primitive Society,* pp. 157, 161–2; idem, "Social Organization," *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences,* XIV, 144–5.

38. Lowie, "Social Organization," *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences,* XIV, 144.

39. *Ibid.,* pp. 144–5; idem, *Primitive Society,* pp. 162, 177.

40. See, for example, Clements, F. E., "Plains Indian Tribal Correlations with Sun Dance Data," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXXIII (1931), 216–27; Clements, F. E., Schenck, S. M., and Brown, T. K., "A New Objective Method for showing Special Relationships," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXVIII

instances, however, have they been applied with the object of discovering cultural correlations, and thus of establishing or verifying sociological generalizations. Since both works bear upon our particular problem of the relation of matrilineal and patrilineal institutions, it will be appropriate to summarize and criticize them.

Tylor,[41] examining a large number of cases of mother-in-law avoidance, couvade, levirate, teknonymy, etc., found that their correspondence respectively with features of mother-right, father-right, and mixed types of organization was such that they seemed "only compatible with a tendency of society to pass from the maternal to the paternal system, the maternal being placed as earliest from the absence of survivals from other stages extending into it, as they freely do into the paternal, which is therefore placed as latest." Tylor's work is subject to two important criticisms. In the first place, since he does not tell us how he selected his cases, there is no evidence that he took into account the factor of diffusion, which would make several adjacent tribes with similar customs count, for statistical purposes, as but a single unit.[42] In the second place, as Lowie[43] points out, "Tylor . . . substitutes for the simple, unmistakable, discrete difference between matrilineal and patrilineal descent the complex, admittedly vague and fluctuating difference between a matrilineal and a patrilineal complex. He assumes, that is to say, that inevitably or at least usually linked with the rule of descent there are certain correlated customs, all of which jointly form an organic whole; and where only some of the features occur, he postulates an intermediate condition." A number

(1926), 585–604; Driver, E. H., and Kroeber, A. L., "Quantitative Expressions of Cultural Relationships," *University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology*, XXXI (1932), 211–56; Furer-Haimendorff, C. von, "Volker- und Kulturgruppen im westlichen Hinterindien," *Anthropos*, XXIX (1934), 421–40; Klimek, S., "The Structure of California Indian Culture," *University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology*, XXXVII (1935), 1–70; Klimek, S., and Milke, W., "An Analysis of the Material Culture of the Tupi Peoples," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XXXVII (1935), 71–91.

41. Tylor, E. B., "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions; applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XVIII (1889), 245–69.

42. Clements, F. E., "Quantitative Method in Ethnography," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XXX (1928), 309.

43. *Primitive Society*, p. 170.

of authorities[44] have shown—and our own study amply corroborates them—that patrilocal residence often coexists with matrilineal descent, the avunculate with patrilineal descent, patrilineal inheritance with matrilineal descent, not to mention numerous other asymmetrical combinations. Although such cases are perhaps rather the exception than the rule, they are far too numerous to make the assumption of the normality of a matrilineal or a patrilineal complex a safe one.

Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, in an ambitious study,[45] classified several hundred tribes, on the basis of their material culture and economic status, into stages—lower, higher, and dependent hunters, lower and higher pastoral tribes, and lower, intermediate, and higher agriculturalists—and correlated therewith a variety of social traits. A simplified statement of such of their results as bear on our own problem will reveal their procedure.

	Matrilineal	*Patrilineal*	*Matrilocal*	*Patrilocal*
Hunting tribes	37	26	36½	22
Pastoral tribes	4	12	1	10
Agricultural tribes	46½	46	44½	55½

From these figures the authors conclude:[46] "Broadly, if we omit the intermixed cases, we see that the maternal principle predominates among the hunting peoples, the paternal in the pastoral stage, while among agricultural peoples the two are nearly balanced. The figures disprove the connection sometimes alleged between agriculture and the maternal system. They are not sufficiently marked to show that the maternal system is decidedly characteristic of the lowest cultures, but they suggest on the whole that it wears away in the higher before the level of civilisation is reached, rapidly in the pastoral world, less decidedly among tillers of the soil."

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 170–4; idem, "The Matrilineal Complex," *University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology*, XVI (1919), 29–45; Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 90; Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, III, 1955; Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, II, 193; Tozzer, A. M., *Social Origins and Social Continuities* (New York, 1925), p. 168; Westermarck, *op. cit.* (5th ed.), I, 276.

45. Hobhouse, L. T., Wheeler, G. C., and Ginsberg, M., *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (London, 1915).

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 153–4.

This study is likewise open to criticism. The cases are not equitably distributed geographically; among the "lower hunters," for example, Australian tribes so greatly outnumber all others combined that the correlations for this "stage" are really valid only for Australia. As in Tylor's study, no allowance is made for the factor of diffusion. Evidences of carelessness are numerous; thus in several instances the same tribe is counted twice under different names, e.g., Hopi and Moqui, Azande and Niam-Niam. Finally, the grouping of tribes into stages is necessarily arbitrary; qualitative judgments become inescapable, and the statistical results depend too heavily on the manner in which close decisions, a considerable proportion of the total, are made.

In our own study, carried out coöperatively by the author and a class of twelve graduate students in ethnology, an effort was made to avoid the pitfalls of previous studies. The sampling method was used. Approximately 230 cultures were selected by the author to represent as adequately as possible the whole range of known civilizations. Tribes were chosen in approximately equal numbers from all the great regions of the world, South America alone being somewhat underrepresented owing to the paucity of adequate ethnographic accounts from that continent. Within each great region, roughly the same number of tribes was selected from each smaller region or culture area, care being taken to have them scattered in different parts of the area. In order to make the study representative of all known cultures, and not merely of the primitive peoples who have come fortuitously to constitute the peculiar province of anthropology, a few samples were included from the higher civilizations of the Orient, of antiquity, and of the historical peoples of Europe.

This method of sampling, it is believed, meets the somewhat sweeping criticism by Boas[47] of the application of statistical methods to ethnographical data. "The fundamental difficulty of this method is our lack of knowledge of historical connection. In order to make a statistical method a success it is essential that the phenomena counted must be independent of one another. If a number

47. Boas, F., "Anthropology and Statistics," *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations*, ed. W. F. Ogburn and A. A. Goldenweiser (Boston, etc., 1927), p. 120.

of them go back to the same historical sources they cannot be considered as separate units." The geographical "staggering" of our statistical units, by preventing the selection of contiguous tribes, insures the inclusion in most cases of no more than a single representative from a group of tribes with a recent historical connection, and the equal weighting of different culture areas tends to equalize numerically the groups of tribes with more remote historical relations. It should be remembered, moreover, that Boas's criticism rests, in considerable measure, on the major premise of the historical school. It loses force to the extent that the sociological assumption of a stress toward integration in culture is valid, for in this case even two separated branches of an originally homogeneous tribe will in a few generations develop divergent configurations in adjusting to their differing geographical and social environments. If cultures are something more than fortuitous agglomerations of traits, if borrowing involves selection and readaptation, if cultural change is an adaptive process, then even historically connected cultures become in a very real sense independent units, at least to the extent that they have integrated their historically diverse components.

Our 230 tribes were classified, where the data permitted, as patrilineal or matrilineal with respect to each of the following categories:

1. *Descent*—the absolute or preferential assignment of children to the sib or other social group of either the father or the mother.
2. *Divorce*—the preferential allotment of children, in case of divorce or separation, to either the father or the mother.
3. *Exogamy*—the stricter or more extensive application of marriage prohibitions to either patrilineal or matrilineal relatives.
4. *Residence I*—the preferential location of the permanent residence of a married couple with either the husband's or the wife's kinsmen.
5. *Residence II*—the same, except that cases of temporary matrilocal before permanent patrilocal residence are here classed as matrilocal.
6. *Inheritance*—the preferential transmission of a man's property, after his death, to either his patrilineal or his matrilineal relatives. (Where inheritance by siblings prevails, the rule applied in default of siblings is followed.)

7. *Authority*—the recognition of the superior authority, within the household, of either the father (or his father) or the mother (or her mother).

8. *Avunculate*—the absence or presence of the avunculate. (Matripotestal tribes are classed with those possessing the avunculate.)

9. *Succession*—the preferential transmission of a man's office or authority to either a patrilineal or a matrilineal heir. (*Cf.* Inheritance.)

Cases revealing no preferential rule under a particular heading were omitted, along with cases of no information and those of serious doubt or conflict.

For purposes of correlation, certain other cultural traits were selected with respect to which it might be assumed, with some objective justification, that the presence of the trait, other things being equal, indicates a higher level of cultural attainment than its absence. With these traits, the presence or absence of which was determined for each tribe, the following categories were established:

A. *Agriculture*—the practice of agriculture as an adjunct, whether important or unimportant, to the food quest.

B. *Domestication I*—the possession of any domesticated animals, including fowls, other than the dog, which was excluded because of its nearly universal distribution.

C. *Domestication II*—the possession of large domesticated animals (cattle, buffaloes, horses, asses, camels, llamas, reindeer).

D. *Combination I*—the possession of either agriculture or large domesticated animals, or of both.

E. *Combination II*—the possession of both agriculture and large domesticated animals, as against the possession of either alone or of neither.

F. *Writing I*—the possession of a system of true writing.

G. *Writing II*—the possession either of writing or of a developed mnemonic system such as knot records or picture writing.

H. *Pottery*—the practice of the ceramic art.

I. *Weaving I*—the manufacture of textile fabrics with the aid of the true loom.

J. *Weaving II*—weaving either with or without a true loom, or the manufacture of other artificial fabrics, e.g., felt or barkcloth.

K. *Metals I*—metal-working, irrespective of how minor or crude.

L. *Metals II*—the extensive use of metals in technology, excluding, for example, the mere hammering of native copper.

M. *Specialization I*—the existence of fully or partially specialized occupations in the economic realm.

N. *Specialization II*—the existence of fully developed specialization by occupation, incipient specialization being excluded.

O. *Money I*—the possession of true money, excluding, that is, media of exchange which are primarily economic commodities.

P. *Money II*—the possession of money, including commodities generally recognized as a medium of exchange or standard of value.

Q. *Classes I*—the existence of social stratification, whether well-defined or incipient, but not including purely political differentiation.

R. *Classes II*—the existence of well-defined social classes, excluding cases of partial or incipient stratification.

S. *Government I*—organization into a confederation, territorial state, or other political unit larger than an ordinary tribe.

T. *Government II*—tribal or higher political organization, i.e., the existence of politically organized groups larger than bands, sibs, villages, or petty districts.

U. *Priesthood*—the existence of true priests, other than or in addition to shamans.

A tabulation (Table I) was made, trait by trait and tribe by tribe, showing the association between each of the patrilineal and matrilineal manifestations and the presence or absence of each trait in categories A to U. For example, the four figures in the uppermost group on the left in Table I show that, out of 166 tribes for which relevant and classifiable data were available, 88 were agricultural and patrilineal as to descent, 35 agricultural and matrilineal, 24 non-agricultural and patrilineal, and 19 non-agricultural and matrilineal. This method of making trait by trait comparisons avoids both Tylor's fallacy of assuming a matrilineal and a patrilineal complex and the fallacy of Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg in assuming "stages" of economic development.

A certain tendency for patrilineal institutions to be more frequently associated with the presence of traits A to U, and matrilineal institutions with their absence, is apparent from the tabulated figures themselves, but it may be brought into sharper focus by statistical means. Of the two most widely used statistical devices, the coefficient of association is better suited to our purposes

TABLE I

	Desc.		*Div.*		*Exog.*		*R.I.*		*R.II.*		*Inh.*		*Auth.*		*Avun.*		*Succ.*	
	P	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*	*P*	*M*
A. *Agriculture*																		
Present	88	35	35	26	39	27	110	27	80	57	109	16	118	17	79	63	90	24
Absent	24	19	12	11	10	13	50	10	32	28	32	6	43	8	37	19	26	7
B. *Domestication I*																		
Present	87	20	37	13	36	18	107	14	77	44	105	11	109	11	75	49	81	15
Absent	27	32	9	23	13	22	53	21	34	40	35	11	54	13	43	31	35	16
C. *Domestication II*																		
Present	63	10	26	7	26	9	72	8	52	27	71	6	68	8	53	25	55	7
Absent	56	43	20	29	23	30	87	28	58	57	69	16	93	17	60	56	60	24
D. *Combination I*																		
Present	99	35	40	26	44	27	134	26	96	64	120	16	127	19	89	65	97	24
Absent	13	19	6	11	6	13	36	9	26	19	21	6	33	6	28	17	19	7
E. *Combination II*																		
Present	51	10	20	7	22	9	59	7	48	18	61	6	59	6	43	24	48	7
Absent	62	44	27	30	28	31	110	29	74	60	95	16	102	19	74	59	67	24
F. *Writing I*																		
Present	18	2	4	1	10	1	18	2	14	6	16	1	18	1	18	3	16	1
Absent	84	42	32	27	33	30	110	27	73	68	98	16	117	21	83	64	79	26
G. *Writing II*																		
Present	37	13	10	8	17	9	37	10	27	20	37	3	39	9	34	17	29	6
Absent	65	31	26	21	26	23	91	19	60	50	78	14	96	13	67	49	66	21
H. *Pottery*																		
Present	77	34	27	21	35	23	93	22	69	45	86	12	99	15	73	47	68	20
Absent	31	19	14	14	10	14	46	12	39	29	37	9	52	7	37	26	36	8
I. *Weaving I*																		
Present	39	17	16	8	15	12	44	14	30	28	46	6	55	6	45	17	40	8
Absent	64	32	27	23	26	24	67	21	61	47	72	15	85	15	58	52	60	20
J. *Weaving II*																		
Present	73	34	29	19	28	25	85	28	59	54	83	15	97	14	72	45	70	23
Absent	31	15	15	12	13	12	46	7	32	21	35	6	43	7	31	24	30	5

K. *Metals I*																		
Present	67	22	31	12	30	15	82	15	57	39	81	12	88	13	66	39	65	18
Absent	37	29	11	20	14	21	54	18	38	35	42	10	56	12	38	36	43	11
L. *Metals II*																		
Present	55	17	27	9	29	10	69	9	51	26	65	9	76	9	57	32	59	15
Absent	49	34	15	24	16	26	67	24	44	48	54	13	68	15	46	43	49	14
M. *Specialization I*																		
Present	69	21	26	13	26	14	79	13	59	33	76	12	82	10	59	36	62	16
Absent	31	23	15	17	15	18	50	19	31	38	42	7	61	10	46	29	40	7
N. *Specialization II*																		
Present	52	11	19	6	21	7	56	6	43	19	55	6	60	6	45	23	50	10
Absent	48	33	23	23	20	25	73	26	47	51	63	13	83	13	61	43	52	13
O. *Money I*																		
Present	25	13	9	6	14	10	37	6	27	15	33	7	39	7	33	15	34	9
Absent	71	29	31	22	27	21	90	22	63	49	84	11	101	15	69	54	68	17
P. *Money II*																		
Present	67	26	29	17	29	19	80	16	62	34	81	12	91	12	64	44	68	18
Absent	29	17	11	11	12	11	47	11	28	30	37	6	49	9	38	25	34	8
Q. *Classes I*																		
Present	66	32	33	16	23	23	81	17	58	40	80	15	86	15	63	45	75	23
Absent	44	20	10	20	20	15	58	19	37	40	45	7	66	8	47	32	35	7
R. *Classes II*																		
Present	37	18	16	9	14	12	47	8	35	20	43	10	53	8	40	23	47	13
Absent	73	34	27	26	29	26	92	27	59	60	82	12	99	15	69	54	63	16
S. *Government I*																		
Present	26	12	9	6	11	8	27	6	22	12	34	6	36	6	31	12	29	9
Absent	86	41	34	31	36	31	117	29	78	67	96	16	120	16	83	64	85	20
T. *Government II*																		
Present	63	29	25	18	23	23	73	17	56	34	73	15	90	11	65	43	73	20
Absent	49	24	18	20	20	15	71	18	44	45	57	7	66	12	49	33	41	9
U. *Priesthood*																		
Present	37	17	12	10	19	15	42	14	34	22	41	9	52	11	37	28	41	10
Absent	73	35	28	26	34	24	102	22	65	59	82	13	96	13	70	48	65	18

than the coefficient of correlation. In Table II, therefore, the coefficients of association are presented for each box or quartet of figures. These coefficients are worked out by the formula $\frac{ad - bc}{ad + bc}$, where the letters represent figures in a typical box $\begin{vmatrix} ab \\ cd \end{vmatrix}$. In value, of course, their maximum range is from 1.00 for perfect association to —1.00 for perfect negative association. Positive coefficients indicate an association of patrilineal forms with the presence of the compared traits, and of matrilineal forms with their absence, greater than would be expected by mere chance; negative coefficients, on the other hand, indicate that patrilineal forms are correlated with the absence of the traits and matrilineal forms with their presence. For professional advice as to appropriate statistical methods, and for the actual computation of the coefficients in Table II, the author is deeply indebted to Dr. Bennet B. Murdock of the statistical department of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, Newark, New Jersey.

TABLE II

	Desc.	*Div.*	*Exog.*	*R.I.*	*R.II.*	*Inh.*	*Auth.*	*Avun.*	*Succ.*
A. Agriculture	.33	.10	.31	—.10	.11	.12	.13	—.22	.00
B. Domestication I	.68	.76	.54	.50	.35	.50	.41	.05	.42
C. Domestication II	.66	.69	.58	.49	.31	.47	.22	.33	.52
D. Combination I	.61	.48	.56	.13	.05	.36	.10	—.09	.20
E. Combination II	.57	.52	.46	.38	.37	.26	.29	.18	.42
F. Writing I	.64	.54	.80	.38	.37	.45	.53	.64	.68
G. Writing II	.15	.00	.25	—.13	.06	.38	—.26	.19	.21
H. Pottery	.16	.12	.36	.05	.07	.27	—.06	.04	—.14
I. Weaving I	.07	.26	.07	—.01	—.10	.23	.24	.41	.25
J. Weaving II	.02	.10	.02	—.37	—.16	—.03	.06	.11	—.33
K. Metals I	.41	.65	.50	.29	.15	.23	.18	.23	—.04
L. Metals II	.38	.66	.65	.47	.36	.27	.30	.25	.06
M. Specialization I	.42	.39	.38	.40	.37	.03	.15	.02	—.19
N. Specialization II	.53	.52	.58	.54	.42	.31	.22	.16	.11
O. Money I	—.12	.03	.04	.20	.17	—.24	—.09	.27	—.03
P. Money II	.20	.26	.17	.08	.32	.05	.16	—.02	—.06
Q. Classes I	—.03	.61	—.14	.22	.22	—.09	—.18	—.02	—.21
R. Classes II	—.02	.26	.02	.27	.28	—.23	.00	.15	—.04
S. Government I	.02	.16	.08	.05	.22	—.03	—.11	.33	—.14
T. Government II	.03	.21	—.14	.04	.25	—.25	.20	.01	—.11
U. Priesthood	.02	.05	—.06	—.21	.17	—.16	—.22	—.05	.06

Analysis of our statistical tables reveals, as our first conclusion, a definite tendency for patrilineal institutions to be associated with the presence of traits indicative of higher civilization, matrilineal institutions with their absence. Out of a total of 189 coefficients of association in Table II, 145 are positive while only 41 are negative. Omitting those between .20 and —.20, a range within which chance may be expected to exert a preponderant influence, we find 92 positive coefficients of .20 or higher as against only 10 equally significant negative coefficients. The highest coefficient of negative value is —.37, whereas there are 48 positive coefficients greater than .37, and 26 greater than .50, the highest being .80. The median coefficient for the entire list is .27. In view of the fact that there has been no selection—*all* tabulations made have been cited—the persistency of positive associations and their high average value seem clearly to exclude the factor of chance. The conclusion appears inescapable, therefore, that, by and large, simpler cultures tend to be matrilineal, more advanced ones patrilineal. The American anthropologists, who deny this and even assert the contrary,[48] are shown to be in error. The evolutionists have at least the satisfaction of having surveyed and analyzed the literature better. For if we make the assumption, with them, that either mother-right or father-right must have been antecedent to the other, the priority must go without question to mother-right.

A closer inspection of the tables, however, indicates, as our second conclusion, that this evolutionist assumption is highly dubious. In the first place, in Table I, the patrilineate coexists too frequently with the absence of traits A to U, and the matrilineate with their presence, to be consistent with the theory of universal matrilineal priority. In the second place, if this theory were correct, we should expect the coefficients in Table II to show a purely random scattering; any one set of correlations should reveal the primitive associations of the matrilineate as well as any other, with only minor fluctuations in value attributable to chance. But this does not occur. The high and low, the positive and negative, coefficients are not scattered at random but are clustered in particular columns and rows. Thus column 9 shows ten negative coefficients against

48. *Cf.* Lowie, *Primitive Society*, pp. 180–2.

none in column 2, while in rows J and U negative values actually preponderate.

If the distribution of values in Table II lends no support to the evolutionist theory, it nevertheless corresponds very closely to what would be expected from the sociological point of view, according to which forms of social organization should be correlated with other particular aspects of culture, especially the economic, to which they represent adjustments. We observe, for example, that patrilineal forms show an especially high correlation with animal domestication, metal-working, and general occupational specialization, all of which fall mainly within the masculine sphere of economic activity. On the other hand, agriculture, pottery, and weaving, which fall predominantly within the feminine sphere, reveal low or even negative coefficients of association. We are thus led to our third conclusion, namely, that the patrilineate and matrilineate represent adjustments to special elaborations respectively in the male and female realms of economic activity—a conclusion essentially in accord with the findings of Lippert and other sociologically oriented anthropologists. According to Linton,[49] for example, "there does seem to be a very rough and general correlation between the line of descent selected by a particular group and the sex which is of preponderant economic importance. Male-supported societies tend to be patrilineal, female-supported ones matrilineal."

A fourth conclusion flows from an examination of the differing values of the coefficients of association in the several columns of Table II. These average much higher in the columns to the left than in those to the right. In other words, matrilineal descent and exogamy, matrilocal residence, and the allotment of the children of divorced parents to the mother—the latter perhaps reflecting the intimacy of the primitive mother-child relationship—coexist with the absence of traits indicative of higher culture to a considerably greater extent, on the whole, than do matripotestal authority, the avunculate, and matrilineal inheritance and succession. This is consistent with the hypothesis that the matrilineal traits of the first group are the more archaic, while those of the second group represent adjustments to conditions of higher cultural advancement. If this is true, then we may perhaps assume that social or-

49. Linton, R., *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 169.

ganization under primitive conditions tends to be matrilineal only partially and in an incipient sense, and is elaborated into a full-fledged and consistent matrilineal system, with the extension of the principle to authority and succession, only after cultural advances favorable to the retention and expansion of the principle, e.g., the adoption of agriculture. Typical mother-right, or the full matrilineal complex, would then be, not primitive, but a special adjustment to a somewhat exceptional set of social and economic circumstances on a relatively advanced level of cultural development.

Finally, our study would seem to shed light, not only on the particular problem of the sequence and correlations of matrilineal and patrilineal institutions, but also on the relative validity of the fundamental positions held by the several schools of anthropological thought. The unilateral evolutionist theory emerges as unsatisfactory, to be sure, but by no means so devoid of a reasonable factual basis as is generally assumed. The strictly historical position seems no less inadequate. If it were valid, our coefficients in Table II should have revealed a purely random distribution, should have been as frequently negative as positive, and should have been consistently low in value, i.e., clustered mainly within the range where chance is primarily to be invoked. The inversion of the evolutionist theory by certain historical anthropologists, i.e., the assertion of the priority of the patrilineate, seems comprehensible only as a reaction, more emotional than scientific, away from the evolutionist point of view. The sociological position clearly accords best with the results of our study. It should be noted, however, that our coefficients of association, although they show definite trends, by no means reveal anything approaching perfect correlation. This would seem to contradict the extreme sociological, or "functional," assumption that cultures are truly integrated wholes, and to support, rather, the contention of Sumner that they merely reveal a strain toward consistency, a tendency toward integration, which never achieves completion because of the continued impact of new and disturbing historical influences. Our study, it should be further noted, deals essentially only with the interrelations of two of the most fundamental aspects of culture, namely, social organization and economy. That these are found to be markedly in adjustment to one another by no means implies that less fundamental

aspects of culture, e.g., styles of ornamentation, games, tales, or even burial customs, manifest the same integrative tendency to a comparable degree. Conceivably, indeed, they reflect such a tendency in so slight a measure as to make historical research our main reliance in interpreting them. It should be clear, therefore, that the sociological position in anthropology, far from being antagonistic to scientific investigation along historical lines, looks upon the latter as an indispensable ally.

*

NAMES OF AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVES

NEWBELL NILES PUCKETT

HUMAN society not only creates the necessity for personal names, but it establishes group patterns of nomenclature through which this necessity is met. Nominal folkways, like all others, are subject to societal variation, and the individual is thereby afforded at least some opportunity for personal distinction. In the last analysis, however, names are group products. Taking on a folk flavor in a fashion similar to language, they usually label the person as a member of a specific society and a participant in a particular culture.[1] Individual and group interests are not always in harmony,[2] but in cases of conflict group control is ordinarily dominant. The individual seeking social recognition through the use of an "outlandish" name is apt to encounter only ridicule, and the immigrant to this country rapidly warps his traditional name into an Americanized form less indicative of membership in an alien culture group.[3] Such names as André or Madeleine suggest membership in one social group; Giovanni or Vicenzina, in another; Lars or Sigrid, in still another. But what of such names as Bituminous, Snowrilla, Vanilla, Precious Pullins, Jeremiah Chronicles, or Magnolia Zenobia Pope? Some might be tempted to say immediately: "These are typical of the American Negro."

But one should not be too hasty in expressing such an opinion. Group patterns do not mushroom into being overnight. Are such names found among other American groups? How common are

1. Concerning the significance of the name in primitive society, see Miller, N., *The Child in Primitive Society* (New York, 1928), pp. 70–88; idem, "Some Aspects of the Name in Culture-History," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (1927), 585–600; Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927), II, 810–14; IV, index, *s v.* "names"; Ploss, H., *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Volker* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1911), chaps. XXIII–XXIV.

2. See Keller, A. G., *Societal Evolution* (2d ed., New York, 1931), pp. 73–6, 265 ff.

3. For examples of the Americanization of foreign names, see Mencken, H. L., *The American Language* (4th ed., New York, 1936), pp. 505 ff.; Reuter, E. B., and Hart, C. W., *An Introduction to Sociology* (New York, 1933), pp. 359–64.

they in colored nomenclature? When did they first come to be used by the Negro? What rôle do they play in the adjustment of the colored group to American culture? In view of the fact that the Negro, unlike the average foreigner, is labeled socially by color more prominently than by name or by speech, and that his system of nomenclature has had to adjust to such varying social situations as the movement from Africa to America, from slavery to freedom, and from illiteracy to relative literacy, the Negro would seem to afford excellent material for the study of a larger topic, the social rôle of names in general. The present article, dealing with names of American slaves, is a first step towards this broader subject.

Since no adequate list of slave names was available, our first problem was one of collection. The names of approximately 7,000 slaves were tabulated from Mississippi probate records, will books, and deed registers in Monroe, Lowndes, and Hinds counties, and from plantation records, old church minute books, the files of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, and the files of the Vicksburg *Republican* and *Eagle*. Of this list, covering the period from 1803 to 1865, approximately 5,600 names came from Lowndes County. A survey of available published sources[4] brought the total number of slave names to approximately 12,000, distributed geographically as follows: Alabama 350, Georgia 644, Kentucky 489, Louisiana 571, Massachusetts 120, Mississippi 7,258, North Carolina 806, South Carolina 507, Tennessee 272, Virginia 640, state unknown 61, and all others 229. The list, though admittedly inadequate and probably more typical of Mississippi than of the country at large, is still a considerable improvement over no list at all.

This collection includes only 65 names of slaves prior to 1700—36 from Virginia, 27 from New York, and 2 from Maryland. In the hands of the earlier slave traders slaves seem to have been sim-

4. Caterall, H. T., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (3 vols., Washington, 1926–32), the most important source; Donnan, E., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols., Washington, 1930–35); various articles on the subject in *Journal of Negro History;* Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 524; Phillips, U. B., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1909), Vols. I–II; Weld, T. S., *American Slavery as It Is* (New York, 1839).

ply merchandise *en masse*, not distinguished by individual names until they had entered into the occupational life of their subsequent owners. Thus a slave ship's journal (1675) might mention that "a neaggerman dep'ted this life whoe died suddenly,"[5] or a New England slave notice might announce "a very likely negro man" for sale. A name gives individuality and character even to animals.[6] The slave, until his purchase, had neither. A dog in a pet shop is just a dog, but when we have purchased him and taken him into our own home and named him, he is set apart so far as we are concerned from the rest of the canine world.

In the group of Negro slaves originally brought into Virginia in 1619 there seem to have been three Anthony's, two John's, and an Angelo, Isabella, William, Frances, Edward, and Margaret. Angelo is a very uncommon name in England, and the rest may represent Anglicizations of original Spanish names.[7] Slave women Couchaxello and Palassa are mentioned in a Virginia inventory of 1644, possibly indicating antecedent Spanish baptism, while two children born in Virginia received the English names Mary and Elizabeth. Bastiaen, Fernando, Figa, Francisco, Gasinte, Madelina, and Paulo also indicate non-English influence, but only Mookinga and Sambo (Maryland, 1692) seem to offer possibilities of an African origin. John 10[8] is the commonest name, with Maria 4 and Antonio 4 next in order. A few surnames appear among slaves even prior to 1700. Andrew Moore and Philip Gowen, who probably took their masters' surnames, show rather complete Anglicization. John Pedro (Virginia, 1623) may have received an earlier Spanish baptism; his name is only partially Anglicized. Edward Mozingo (Virginia, 1672) may well have had the English Edward added to an original African name.

For the eighteenth century the names of 703 slaves were available, including 100 from Louisiana of definitely non-English origin. The remaining 603 names indicate that the period was one of

5. Donnan, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

6. Schmidt, W., *Die Bedeutung des Namens im Kult und Aberglauben* (Darmstadt, 1912), p. 5.

7. Caterall, *op. cit.*, I, 55–6.

8. Throughout this article numerals following a name indicate the number of persons bearing that name in the list under discussion at the time. Thus, in the present instance, John appears ten times in the list of slave names prior to 1700.

continued transition, since they conform in most cases to the patterns of the dominant group. The names of possible African derivation are perhaps the most interesting because of their divergence from Negro naming usage today. The stereotype, Sambo, occurs four times, although it does not appear at all either in our list of slaves after 1800 or in an intensive study of modern Negro names. Its use in a ridiculous way by white men in minstrels and in connection with Negro jokes may well have operated as a deterrent.[9] Cuffy[10] (Cuffey, Cuffee) occurs five times in our small eighteenth century sample, but only four times in the much larger nineteenth century tabulation. The African practice of naming a child according to the day of the week on which he was born persisted in Jamaica, and a number of these traditional Jamaican names[11] are found in the United States, e.g., Quashe, Cudjo, Quaco, and Cuffee among male slaves and Juba, Beneba, Cooba (spelled Cubah or Cubbah), and Abba (spelled Abah) among female slaves. Coffee, Quashey, and Quashoo are mentioned among the slaves of the Royal African Company in Africa about 1680.[12] Phillips[13] attributes the continuation of some few African names to the persistence of the maritime slave trade, bringing new slaves of the same name from Africa. But Cobb,[14] in mentioning four native Africans, named Capity, Saminy, Quominy, and Quor, who were slaves in Georgia, states that they had facial tattooing and "were treated with marked respect by all the other Negroes for miles and miles around." This suggests that the cultural value of American names may not have been the same with the slave as with the modern immigrant. African captions may even have conferred a certain amount of distinc-

9. Rastus occurs in none of our Negro lists, although one case was found among white school children in Mississippi. It would seem that such stereotypes frequently do not follow actual Negro naming usage.

10. Possibly derived from the Dutch *koffie* (coffee). See Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

11. Beckwith, M. W., *Black Roadways* (Chapel Hill, 1929), p. 59; Pitman, F. W., "Slavery on British West India Plantations in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Negro History*, XI (1926), 641. See also Clodd, E., *Magic in Names and Other Things* (London, 1920), p. 66. For similar usages among the Saramacca Negroes of Suriname, see Herskovits, M. J., and F. S., *Rebel Destiny* (New York, 1934), pp. 222–3.

12. Woodson, C. G., "Extracts from the Records of the African Companies," *Journal of Negro History*, XIII (1928), 290 ff.

13. Phillips, U. B., *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1935), p. 195.

14. Cobb, J. B., *Mississippi Scenes* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 173.

tion among the slaves, and thus have continued where the master allowed it. In fact, freedom from the control of white owners, in addition to a slowly forming family tradition, may have been one reason why the free Negroes of 1830[15] seem to have possessed a larger assortment of African names than did the slaves of that period.

Other slave names of the eighteenth century which suggest a possible African origin include: Abanna, Abnabea, Abra, Ankque, Annika, Bamba, Bayna, Bilah, Binah, Boohum, Braboo, Bumbo, Bungoh, Comba, Cudah, Cumba, Curiarah, Demeca, Ducko, Fantee, Gumba, Lango, Monimea, Mowoorie, Ocra, Ocrague, Ocrasan, Ocreka, Oessah, Pattoe, Quack, Quaco, Quamana, Quamno, Quash, Quoney, Samba, Sena, Simbo, Simboh, Tanoe, Temba, Warrah, Yamboo, Yaumah, Ycaric, Yonaha, and Yono Cish. To these Mencken,[16] from a list compiled by Miss B. B. Armfield, adds Cavannah, Cotica, Cush, Dunke, Guela, Liceta, Limus, Maneta, Mood, Moosa, Mozingo, Paya, Sauny, Sebany, and Tremba, but he mentions the possibility that at least some of them may be of Indian origin.

Louisiana offers an interesting illustration of the alteration of slave names in response to changes in cultural surroundings. Of 115 slaves listed there prior to 1800,[17] 100, or 87 per cent, had names of French or Spanish provenance, whereas, of 339 Louisiana slaves listed after 1800, only 47, or 14 per cent, had such names.[18]

15. For a comprehensive list of free Negroes of this period, see Woodson, C. G., *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* (Washington, 1925).

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 524.

17. Tabulated from Caterall, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. Doubtful names such as Louis, Maria, and Marie, which might possibly be of English derivation as well as French or Spanish, are omitted altogether in this analysis.

18. For the sake of record, these non-English names may be listed here: Aimée 2, Alexandro, Alphonse, Anaise, Andres, Angelica, Angélique, Antonio 2, Arsène, Augustine, Bambara, Bernardine, Bernardo, Biron, Boucaud, Brunet, Calais, Carlos, Carmelite, Catalina, Catarina, Catin, Celesie, Celeste, Célestine, Cesard, Changereau, Charlot 2, Choucoura, Colas, Crusquet, Cupidon, Delphine 2, Doninic, Eugenie, Felicité, Florestine Cécile, Française Gabrielle Lorio, Franchon, Franchonet, Francisco 6, François 5, Frosina, Gil La Rose, Gonzalo, Guaissecamant, Guela, Hélène, Hibou, Honorato, Isabella 2, Jacques, Janot, Jasmin, Jean 5, Jeanneton, Jeannot, Juan Luis, Juana 2, Junon 2, Langulo, Leon 2, Lizeta, Louison, Lubin, Luis, Magdalena 2, Maillon, Manon 4, Maranthe, Marguerita, Mariana 2, Màrie Aram (Jeanne and Louise 2), Mari-

The free Negro seems again to have been more conservative than the slave in the matter of name changes.[19] In other localities, non-English influence appears to have declined during the eighteenth century, although Acavan, Agonna, Anthony 5, Antonio 2, Arneda, Bannia, Bongeos, Elecata, Emanuel, Habella, Kauchee, Lysett, Maison, Mamillus, Manuel, Marie, and Pamo occur in our list.

Most of the other names of slaves prior to 1800 persist after that date, and will be discussed in connection with the later group. Cherry (North Carolina, 1789) occurs eight times after 1800 and fourteen times in a list of modern Negro names.[20] Dinah 4, a Biblical name which became a great favorite in England during the Elizabethan age,[21] occurs 31 times after 1800 and 9 times among modern Negroes. Pero, though absent in the slave list after 1800, was very common among the free Negroes of 1830, and is found occasionally today. Lemon runs through all groups; in the modern list there are thirteen cases, including such absurdities as Lemon Brown (Mississippi), Lemon Freeze (Alabama), and Lemon Cus-

quina, Maturina, Maturine, Melite, Meme, Miguel La Rose, Modeste, Morieux, Mulet, Myrthée, Naneta 3, Narcisse, Paya, Pedro 3, Petit, Pierre 3, Pierrot, Pistolet, Raphael, Reynaldo, Robinette, Rosine, Rosette 2, Sans Quartier, Sebany, Songot, Thérèse. For slave names in French Canada during the same period, see Riddell, W. R., "Notes on the Slave in Nouvelle-France," *Journal of Negro History,* VIII (1923), 316–30; for those in Jamaica, see Pitman, *op. cit.,* pp. 584–668; for those in the Virgin Islands, see Westergaard, W., "Account of the Negro Rebellion on St. Croix, Danish West Indies," *Journal of Negro History,* XI (1926), 50–61.

19. Of some 2,360 Louisiana free Negroes listed by Woodson (*Free Negro Heads of Families*) in 1830, 1,647, or 70 per cent, possessed names of French or Spanish origin, suggesting that name changes were frequently forced upon slaves by their masters.

20. Unless qualified, all references herein to names of contemporary Negroes are based upon a collection of several hundred thousand Negro names assembled by the author through field work; from Polk's city directories of Columbus, Miss. (1926), and of Montgomery, Ala. (1920); from the Lowndes County, Miss., school enumeration of 1936; from the student lists of 31 Negro colleges, containing some 25,000 names; from more than 50 lists of unusual Negro names from Family Welfare agencies all over the country and from settlements and clinics in Cleveland, Ohio; from lists of Cleveland, Ohio, school children; from Boris, J. J., *Who's Who in Colored America, 1928–1929* (New York, 1929); and from published sources, the most detailed of which is Holmes, U. T., "A Study in Negro Onomastics," *American Speech,* V (1930), 463–7. This collection will serve as a basis for a continuation of the present study.

21. Bardsley, C. W., *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature* (London, 1880), p. 72.

ter (Alabama).[22] Punch, Guy (Gye), Ulysses, and Orange do not occur in the list of slaves after 1800, although found both prior to that date and today. The classical influence appears before 1800 in such names as Caesar 2, Cato 5, and Jupiter 3, and the Biblical influence in Balthazar, Meriah, Hager 3, Jeremiah, and many others. Names exhibit interesting differences in vitality. Sambo lives a brief moment and expires. Prince occurs 5 times before 1800, 19 times between 1800 and 1865, and 20 times in the contemporary list. The Johns, Marys, Marthas, and Williams are always with us.

The names of slaves appearing prior to 1800 but not thereafter include such diminutives as Addy, Deddie, Lando, and Tance, and many names probably derived from masters' surnames, e.g., Bass, Bromley, Claus, Combwood, Fuller, Marlborough, Tower, and Young. Certain unusual names likewise disappear in the list of slaves after 1800. Some are place names, e.g., Limehouse and Portsmouth. Bacches may be a clerk's attempt at Bacchus, and there is perhaps also a flavor of the classics in Pater, Primax, and Quod. Boatswain is probably occupational, whereas Jade, Sham, Tomboy, Yalluh, and possibly Young are descriptive. Battah, Boomy, Mink, Paddle, Shante, Such, and Ventured may refer to some personal trait or episode in the life of the slave. Anbe, Durah, Farih, Fassiah, Ishener, Jackes, Sherry, Silph, Sive, Sook, Taynay, Temperence, Theribah, and Tobias are the remaining names not found in the list of later slaves, although some persist today. The only definite case of a male slave given a feminine name is Carolina (South Carolina, 1799); this may have referred to the state whence he came, and was possibly followed by Tom or some other name not included in the listing. Taken as a whole, the group of slave names prior to 1800, although too small to be regarded as entirely typical of the period, indicates a gradual transition from a foreign to an English setting, with the African element still fairly strong.

Our list of 10,954 slaves[23] after 1800, containing 5,920 male

22. There was a Lemon Peel among the English Puritans of the seventeenth century. See Train, A., *Puritan's Progress* (New York, 1931), pp. 131 ff.

23. Hereinafter, "slaves" or "slave Negroes," when used without further qualification, will refer to this list of slaves, covering the period between 1800 and the close of the Civil War.

and 5,034 female names, represents a more adequate sample. For purposes of comparison, the 100 names of male slaves occurring most frequently in this list are presented in Table I along with the 100 commonest masculine names in a selected list of educated Negroes of today,[24] and a similar comparison of feminine names is made in Table II. In both tables, names are italicized unless they appear among the 100 most common names in both the slave and the modern lists. In other words, italicized names in the slave column, e.g., *Sam* and *Maria*, are those that seem to have been decreasing in use with the Negro since Emancipation, while those italicized in the modern column, e.g., *Walter* and *Annie*, are those that appear to be growing more common.[25]

A disproportionate number of the male slave names are shortened forms, such as Bob, Bill, Sam, and Tom, which seem designed primarily for efficient identification by the master. While they bestow a degree of personal individualization, they do not convey a sense of dignity or of equality; they are names that might well be used by an adult in addressing a child. Some of the names that are common in one group do not occur at all in the other. The slave name Ellick, for instance, does not appear in our total list[26] of contemporary Negroes, while Cato, Mingo, Nat, Ned, and Primus are exceedingly rare. The modern names Alonzo, Carl, Cecil, Chester, Claude, Clifford, Clifton, Donald, Edgar, Elmer, Harold, Herbert, Hubert, Kenneth, Leon, Leonard, Leroy, Leslie, Lloyd, Luther, Melvin, Otis, Reginald, Roscoe, Roy, Vernon, and Wilbur do not occur at all in our list of 5,920 male slaves, while Clarence, Curtis, Ernest, Nathaniel, and Raymond appear only once each. The main trend among Negro males seems to have been a shift from Biblical and classical names to the more current English ones. Of the former, only Isaac[27] and Solomon retain a place among the more common names, and both show a decline in relative position.

24. Compiled from student directories of fourteen Negro colleges, located in Ala., Ark., D. C., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N. C., Okla., S. C., Tenn., Tex., and Va. This list includes 6,014 male and 6,248 female names.

25. For a comparison with the most popular names among white males, see Simon Newton's table in the *World's Almanac and Encyclopedia for 1921* (New York, 1921), p. 150.

26. I.e., the complete list mentioned in footnote 20, not the selected list here under discussion.

27. A very common name in England about 1300. See Bardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

Table I: The 100 Most Common Given Names of Male Slaves and of Negro Male College Students

Slaves	*Modern*	*Slaves*	*Modern*
1. John 221	James 411	51. *Green 23*	Philip 18
2. Henry 191	William 357	52. *Reuben 23*	*Ralph 18*
3. George 164	John 277	53. *Dennis 22*	*Luther 17*
4. *Sam 121*	Robert 163	54. *Abraham 21*	*Clyde 16*
5. *Jim 119*	Charles 162	55 *Ephraim 21*	Daniel 16
6. Jack 118	George 150	56. *Jeff 21*	Lewis 16
7. *Tom 118*	Edward 115	57. *Jordan 20*	*Claude 15*
8. Charles 115	Joseph 106	58. *Nathan 20*	*Eddie 15*
9. *Peter 109*	Thomas 97	59. Solomon 20	*Lee 15*
10. Joe 93	Henry 90	60. *Jackson 19*	*Melvin 15*
11. *Bob 88*	Samuel 76	61. *Prince 19*	Solomon 15
12. William 88	*Walter 67*	62. Edward 17	*Ulysses 15*
13. Isaac 81	*Willie 66*	63. Thomas 17	*Vernon 15*
14. *Bill 80*	Arthur 63	64. *Amos 16*	*Alonzo 14*
15. *Moses 78*	*Clarence 60*	65. Charlie 15	*Chester 14*
16. *Dick 74*	Frank 58	66. *Edy 15*	*Clifton 14*
17. James 67	Albert 53	67. Joseph 15	*Curtis 14*
18. Lewis 65	Richard 43	68. *Sampson 15*	Jack 14
19. *Ben 64*	David 44	69. Wesley 15	*Milton 14*
20. Frank 60	*Ernest 41*	70. *Andy 14*	*Wilbur 14*
21. Harry 58	*Benjamin 40*	71. *Cato 14*	*Alvin 13*
22. *Jacob 58*	*Nathaniel 37*	72 *Elias 14*	Charlie 13
23. *Ned 51*	*Eugene 35*	73. *Elijah 14*	Joe 13
24. *Simon 48*	Jesse 35	74. *Isham 14*	*Kenneth 13*
25. *Abram 47*	*Leroy 35*	75. *Madison 14*	*Oscar 13*
26. Daniel 47	*Harold 34*	76. *Nat 14*	Wesley 13
27. *Jerry 47*	*Lawrence 33*	77. *Pleasant 14*	*Wallace 12*
28. *Washington 43*	*Theodore 32*	78. *Primus 14*	*Augustus 11*
29. *Billy 42*	*Howard 31*	79. Alexander 13	*Carl 11*
30. *Stephen 40*	*Raymond 31*	80. *Eli 13*	*Reginald 11*
31. *Anthony 39*	*Paul 30*	81. *Henderson 13*	*Roscoe 11*
32. David 39	*Earl 29*	82. Philip 13	Allen 10
33. Andrew 38	Harry 29	83. *Pompey 13*	*Clifford 10*
34. Alfred 36	*Louis 29*	84. *Wash 13*	*Donald 10*
35. Jesse 36	*Fred 27*	85. *Calvin 12*	*Edwin 10*
36. *Nelson 35*	*Frederick 27*	86. *Harrison 12*	*Elmer 10*
37. Willis 33	*Herbert 25*	87. *Jake 12*	*Floyd 10*
38. *Adam 30*	Andrew 23	88. *Jefferson 12*	*Harvey 10*
39. *Will 30*	*Johnnie 23*	89 *Miles 12*	*Jasper 10*
40. *Edmond 28*	*Booker 22*	90. *Mingo 12*	*Otis 10*
41. Allen 27	*Herman 22*	91. *Robin 12*	*Cecil 9*
42. *Ellick 27*	Isaac 22	92. *York 12*	*Hubert 9*
43. Robert 27	Alexander 21	93. Arthur 11	*Jerome 9*
44. *Dave 26*	*Leon 21*	94. *Berry 11*	*Leslie 9*
45. *Davy 24*	*Leonard 19*	95. *Caleb 11*	*Lloyd 8*
46. *Phil 24*	*Matthew 19*	96. *Gilbert 11*	Martin 8
47. *Aaron 23*	Alfred 18	97. Martin 11	*Irvin 8*
48. Albert 23	*Edgar 18*	98. Richard 11	*Roy 8*
49. *Anderson 23*	*Julius 18*	99. Samuel 11	*Wendell 8*
50. *Caesar 23*	*Oliver 18*	100. *Sidney 11*	Willis 8

Table II: The 100 Most Common Given Names of Negro Female Slaves and of Negro Female College Students

Slaves	*Modern*	*Slaves*	*Modern*
1. Mary 241	Mary 247	51. *Hester 19*	*Ida 31*
2. *Maria(h) 146*	*Annie 119*	52. *Venus 19*	*Juanita 31*
3. *Nancy 125*	*Ruth 109*	53. *Becky 18*	*Maggie 31*
4. Lucy 117	*Helen 87*	54. Emma 18	*Sadie 31*
5. Sarah 116	*Dorothy 80*	55. *Rebecca 18*	Clara 30
6. *Harriet 103*	*Thelma 75*	56. *Lydia 17*	*Eleanor 30*
7. *Hannah 99*	*Louise 67*	57. *Violet 16*	Esther 30
8. *Eliza 98*	Alice 66	58. C(K)aty 15	*Hattie 30*
9. Martha 86	K(C)atherine 66	59. *Isabella 15*	Josephine 30
10. *Jane 82*	Elizabeth 65	60. *Molly 15*	*Pauline 30*
11. *Amy 80*	*Lillian 64*	61. *Patience 15*	*Cora 29*
12. *Ann 80*	*Ethel 63*	62. *Dorcas 14*	Laura 29
13. *Rach(a)el 80*	*Gladys 62*	63. *Elvira 14*	*Lula 28*
14. *Caroline 76*	*Mildred 61*	64. *Emiline 14*	*Vivian 28*
15. *Betsy 71*	*Carrie 60*	65. Laura 14	*Addie 26*
16. *Milly 71*	*Ruby 57*	66. *Minerva 14*	*Essie 25*
17. Sally 66	Emma 56	67. Anna 13	*Viola 25*
18. C(S)harlott(e) 65	Grace 55	68. *Dolly 13*	*Alma 24*
19. Fanny 65	*Evelyn 54*	69. *Phebe 13*	*Eva 24*
20. *Louisa 60*	Margaret 54	70. *Priscilla 13*	Sallie 24
21. *Matilda 58*	*Mabel 53*	71. *Sukey 13*	Katie 23
22. *Rose 57*	*Marie 52*	72. *Aggy 12*	*Naomi 23*
23. Margaret 55	Sarah 49	73 *Jinn(e)y 12*	*Irene 22*
24. *Betty 52*	*Julia 48*	74. *Leah 12*	*Doris 21*
25. *Emily 46*	*Edna 46*	75. *Letty 12*	*Florence 21*
26. *Lucinda 46*	*Pearl 46*	76. *Nanny 12*	*Marguerite 21*
27. *Susan 46*	*Bernice 44*	77. *Sary 12*	*Myrtle 21*
28. *Judy 45*	Frances 44	78. *Chloe 11*	*Alberta 20*
29. *Peggy 43*	*Mattie 44*	79. *Delia 11*	*Geneva 20*
30. *Polly 39*	*Bessie 43*	80. Clara 11	*Susie 20*
31. Frances 38	Martha 42	81. *Lavinia 11*	*Willie Mae 20*
32. *Charity 37*	*Hazel 41*	82. Alice 10	*Blanche 19*
33. *Ellen 37*	*Beatrice 39*	83. *Aurelia 10*	*Lois 19*
34. Nelly 34	*Bertha 39*	84. *Bella(h) 10*	May(e) 19
35. *Phillis 34*	*Marion 38*	85. *Eveline 10*	Charlotte 18
36. *Adaline 32*	*Rosa 38*	86. Henrietta 10	*Eloise 18*
37. *Amanda 31*	*Jessie 37*	87. *Mima 10*	*Georgia 18*
38. *Dinah 31*	*Minnie 37*	88. *Agnes 9*	*Maude 18*
39. Elizabeth 31	*Willie 37**	89. *Biddy 9*	Nellie 18
40. *Clarissa 29*	Anna 34	90. *Clary 9*	*Ernestine 17*
41. Esther 28	Fannie 34	91. *Doll 9*	*Eunice 17*
42. *Kitty 28*	*Lucille 34*	92. *Eve 9*	*Effie 16*
43. *Malinda 26*	*Edith 33*	93. *Hetty 9*	*Gwendolyn 16*
44. Catharine 24	*Lillie 33*	94. *Phoebe 9*	*Elsie 15*
45. Grace 23	*Mamie 33*	95. *Ginny 8*	*Irma 15*
46. *Flora 21*	*Virginia 33*	96. Josephine 8	*Lena 15*
47. *Winn(e)y 21*	*Gertrude 32*	97. May 8	*Carolyn 13*
48. *Patsy 20*	Lucy 32	98. *Patty 8*	Henrietta 13
49. *Silvey 20*	*Daisy 31*	99. *Rhoda 8*	*Cleo 13*
50. *Celia 19*	*Ella 31*	100. *Sophia 8*	*Leola 13*

The modern Ulysses and Theodore do not appear in the total slave list, suggesting that Ulysses refers to President Grant rather than to the Homeric hero and that Theodore rode into popularity with the late President Roosevelt.

The slave women, like the men, show a tendency toward the use of familiar forms of address, such as Betsy, Judy, and Milly, instead of a more formal nomenclature. The slave names Becky, Ginny, Mima, and Sukey do not appear in our complete modern list, while Dinah, Dorcas, Patience, and Venus[28] are rare. Addie, Alberta, Alma, Beatrice, Bernice, Bertha, Blanche, Carolyn, Carrie, Cleo, Doris, Dorothy, Edna, Eloise, Ernestine, Essie, Ethel, Eunice, Eva, Geneva, Gladys, Gwendolyn, Hattie, Hazel, Irma, Juanita, Maggie, Mamie, Marion, Maude, Myrtle, Naomi, Pearl, Ruby, Thelma, Viola, Vivian, Willie, and Willie Mae, although common Negro names today, do not appear at all in our slave list, while Daisy, Effie, Florence, Irene, Lena, Marguerite, Mildred, Rosa, Sadie, and Susie occur only once each. Annie, second most common among modern Negro names for girls, occurs only three times in the slave list, and Ruth, the third in frequency today, appears only seven times. A marked falling off is apparent, not only in Biblical names, but also in Puritan names such as Charity and Patience. Only 23 of the 100 names most common among female slaves are still among the most common with Negro college girls, while 33 male names out of 100 survive from the earlier to the later list. This suggests that the masculine names are the more conservative, and the feminine more susceptible to change.

Of our 5,034 female slaves, 1,352, or 27 per cent, had names which would be considered unusual according to present-day white standards in the South; 1,018 of these, however, had names, like Abigail, Deborah, and Saphronia, which would today be regarded merely as old-fashioned. This leaves only 334 female slaves, or 6.7 per cent, with names unusual *per se* according to present standards. Of 18,870 contemporary Negro females,[29] 2,653, or 14.2 per cent, have unusual names; these are merely old-fashioned in 430

28. Although Venus occurred among English Puritans in 1756, and Dorcas was a great favorite (Bardsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 70).

29. Compiled, like the list of Negro males mentioned below, from the student lists of 30 Negro colleges, the 1926 city directory of Columbus, Miss., and the 1936 school enumeration of Lowndes County, Miss.

cases, leaving 2,223 persons, or 11.9 per cent, with names unusual in themselves. Thus, while it is difficult to project oneself backward into an earlier period and to determine just what would or would not have been considered normal then, there is some reason to believe that unusual names are more common among Negro women today than under slavery. The difference in the case of Negro men is less marked.[30] Of 5,920 male slaves, 1,174, or 19.8 per cent, had unusual names according to present southern white standards, 809 having old-fashioned names and 365, or 6.2 per cent, having names unusual in themselves. Of 15,879 male Negroes of today, 1,390, or 8.7 per cent, have unusual names—old-fashioned in 370 cases, unusual *per se* in 1,020, or 6.4 per cent. The rate of unusualness is higher among females than among males in all cases, though less markedly so in the slave than in the modern group.

The 5,034 female slaves had 901 distinct names, while the 5,920 male slaves had 1,112. Of these, 219 feminine and 259 masculine names—24.3 and 23.2 per cent, respectively—do not appear at all in our complete list of modern Negro names.[31] From this point on, to avoid needless cross-classification, all slave names that do not appear in our list of contemporary Negroes will be italicized.

Seventy-four individuals in our slave list, less than one per cent of the total, reveal names derived from either African or Indian sources. Among these names are *Affa, Agga, Anaka 4, Anecky, Anika, Ara, Cavannah, Chena, Claniho, Conder, Congo, Cotta 3,* Cudjo, Cuff, Cuffee 3, Cuffy, *Ganza, Kumba, Lappo, Maina, Manga 2,* Mingo 12, *Monda, Nong,* Quash 8, *Quay, Quico* (or *Quaccoo*), Quinny, *Quomana, Rattra, Saby, Sango, Toosh,* and *Websha.* Of the 116 last African slaves brought to this country on the voyage of the *Clotilde* in 1859, the sole survivor in 1927, living in Plateau, Alabama, bore the name Cudjo. Six others were named *Abache, Kanko, Monachee, Polute, Shamber,* and *Zoomm,* although in the course of time *Abache* became Clara Turner, and *Monachee,*

30. A preliminary study of name changes indicated in the alumni lists of Negro colleges seems to indicate a tendency for unusual names to increase more rapidly among women than among men.

31. This does not necessarily mean, of course, that these names are absolutely unknown among modern Negroes. Since, however, our list is the large one mentioned above in footnote 20, the presumption is that they are at least very uncommon.

Kitty Cooper.[32] Herskovits[33] derives "Jim Crow" from *nyonkro*, the name of a play given by women on the Gold Coast of West Africa in which "there are dancing and sexual extravaganza in word play, mimicry, and general ridicule." If this derivation is correct, the names Jimie Crow (Mississippi, 1836) and Jim Crack (Louisiana, 1852, and Mississippi, 1856) should perhaps be added to the above list of African names, although the minstrel influence was probably decisive in these particular instances. *Juba 3* and its relatives, *Jub*, *Jube 2*, *Juby*, and perhaps *Jubis*, continue with the slaves and appear in folk-rhymes formerly used in connection with the Juba dance in Mississippi:

> Juba dis an' Juba dat,
> Juba kilt a yalluh cat.[34]

As the proportion of African names declines after 1800, so also does the proportion of names derived from other non-English sources, indicating a more complete titular adjustment on the part of the slave to his new environment. The following names,[35] however, give indication of possible outside origin: Amand, *Amees*, *Albinus*, *Amoritt*, Antoney 3, Antonio, *Bartee*, Battiste, Danrille, *Francesco*, *Frelingheizsen*, *Freno*, Ganze, *Goservar*, Jeffoy, Jenz, *Macia*, Manuel 6, *Mensoza 2*, *Nicolis*, Roblein, Sancho, *Sanco*, *Trussvan; Andrienette*, Angelia, Angelina, Angeline 2, Angila, Antoinette 4, *Antona*, *Antonia*, *Bellesames*, Bridget 3, Cebille, Celesta, Celestia, Delphine, Dolphin, *Euphemie*, *Fernaster*, Frenoli, Georgiana 2, Gracieuse, Jeanett, Jeanette, Jeannet, Jenette, Jennett 2, Jennetta 2, Justine, *Kanzada*, *Luida 2*, Mahalz, *Marena*, Margarita, Marz, *Muttpuin*, Syvill.

In these slave lists it has seemed best to record the name as listed on the individual document, even though owners and overseers obviously twisted identical names into many curious forms. The orthographic situation with the slaves resembles that in early Eng-

32. Hurston, Z. N., "Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaves," *Journal of Negro History*, XII (1927), 648–63.

33. *Op. cit.*, pp. 354–5.

34. Informant Mr. John Sale, Columbus, Miss.

35. In this and following tabulations, male slave names will be listed first, followed by female. Occasional errors in sex classification seem unavoidable, owing in part to the character of the sources.

land, when spelling was roughly phonetic. Even up to the Elementary Education Act of 1870 a considerable proportion of the English people did not spell their own names but trusted to the parson and the clerk, who wrought strange and wonderful creations from unfamiliar names.[36] Similarly, among our slave names we find Liz 2, Liza 6, Lizar, Lize 2, Lizee, Lizy, Lizza, Lizzie 5, and Lizzy 9, making it sometimes difficult to say just where Eliza ends and Lizzie begins. Rachel 60 blossoms forth into Rachael 20, Raechel, Rachell, and Rachiel, while *Cina 2*, *Cind*, *Cinda 3*, *Cindy 3*, Sina 2, Sinah, Sinda, and *Sindy 5* leave one wondering whether to blame Cindarella or Lucinda for such cryptographic confusion. Lucy 117 appears also as Lussee and Luce; Sarah 116, as Sara, Saraugh, and Sary; Charlotte 47, as Chalath, Charlette, Charlott 12, Scharlotte, Sharlot, Sharlott, and Sharlotte 5; *Sukey 13*, as *Soockey*, *Sookey 4*, Suck 2, Sucky 8, and *Sucy;* and Violet 16, as Vilet 3, Vilett 4, and Violette. Lucretia 6 is not only the mother of Lucresha but also the stepmother of Creacy, Creasey, Creasy 2, Creecy 2, Cresa, Crese, Cresy 2, Cricy, *Crissy*, and perhaps even Cretia 2 and Critty. The names of male slaves seem to run into fewer vagaries of spelling, although we do find Peter 109 appearing as Peater, and Caesar 23 as Caezar, Cesar 4, and Seasar 2.

The slave himself may well have enjoyed playing around with the spoken word. Slave boy Malachi, for instance, "was baptized seven times, under different names, and with different sponsors, the good rector, to whom all young negroes looked alike, not recognizing him,"[37] although in this case the enticement may have been the ceremony rather than a delusion of nomenclatural grandeur expressing itself in terms of quantity rather than quality. Quite possibly many slave names were developed by the Negroes themselves and used to express social distinctions current in slave society. Just as younger slaves were required to show respect to older ones by addressing them as "Uncle,"[38] so other factors, such as differences in occupation, led to social distinctions. House servants, drivers (foremen), carpenters, carriage drivers, fiddlers, cart-

36. Weekley, E., *The Romance of Names* (London, 1922), pp. 27–8.
37. Clayton, F., "A Sketch in Black and White," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCVII (1906), 605.
38. Frazier, E. F., "The Negro Slave Family," *Journal of Negro History*, XV (1930), 213.

wrights, and shoemakers were high in the slave aristocracy, color entering in indirectly through the fact that mulattoes were more often chosen to be domestics and artisans. Moreover, slaves of "quality folk" held themselves above those owned by "trash."[39] Something of this element of social distinctions among slaves is expressed in a Mississippi Negro folk-rhyme formerly used in connection with cake walks. The latter, being "pay parties," required a doorkeeper possessing a sense of both financial and social discrimination. The rhyme runs as follows:

> "Is dat you, Sambo?" "No, dis am Cin."
> "You'se pooty good lookin', but you can't come in."[40]

In order to use the name as a mark of social distinction among his fellows, the slave had to have freedom of choice. When this was allowed, as happened in at least some cases, it resulted, sometimes, in the selection of a master's given name, perhaps in the hope of receiving a special gift;[41] sometimes, in such descriptive names as Monday ("He oughter been name' Sunday, de day o' rest! He been sittin' down all his life."); and sometimes in such combinations as Willis Silblumus Quintellius Cerlarius Thomas William, called "literally 'fo' short,' Willis."[42] Such slave names as April, August 3, *Friday 7*, *January 3*, July 5, June, March 7, Monday, *Morning*, *Winter 2*, and, for women, Easter 7, Easther, July, and *Morning*, may refer to events associated with birth, as was true in England at the eve of the Reformation, where Easter was the name longest to survive.[43]

Certain slave names on our list refer to localities: Aberdeen 3, Alabama, *Baltimore*, Boston 2, Dallas, *Dublin 2*, Erie, French 2, *Galilee*, *Glascow*, Holland 5, *Jersey*, *London 5*, *Newport*, Paris, Richmond 8, *Scotland 4*; Carolina 4, Dallas, Georgia 2, Holland, India 2, Indiana 2, Louisiana, Louisianna, Misouric, Missouria,

39. *Ibid.*, p. 209; *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, XVII (1858), 422; Mallard, R. Q., *Plantation Life before Emancipation* (Richmond, 1892), p. 46.

40. Informant Colonel W. A. Love, Columbus, Miss.

41. "Gift-names" are still found among Virginia Negroes. One colored woman named her daughter Annie Virginia Cordelia Idella Pigram, received a gift from each white person included in this list, and then called the child Tumps "for short" (Informant Miss S. F. Barrow, Cleveland, Ohio).

42. Armstrong, O. K., *Old Massa's People* (Indianapolis, 1931), p. 59.

43. Bardsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 96.

Savannah 2, Tennessee, *Venice 2*, Virginia 9, Virginie. Some may have been chosen by slave parents in reference to place of birth; some, by masters to indicate place of purchase. Others refer to localities known by name rather than through contact. In the rice plantation section there was much coming and going of ships from England, and slave mothers sometimes named their children York, London, or the like, according to the port of sail or destination of various vessels.[44] Holland was a fairly common name among whites in England[45] and in colonial Massachusetts, where London, Boston, America, and many similar names were also found.[46]

Nicknames might come either from a slave source or from the masters. They are, of course, common all over the world, being used frequently by uncivilized folk for the purpose of concealing their true names from the machinations of sorcerers. Ordinarily they were too informal to be entered in official records, although in the Esher Parish Register we do find "Bacchus *alias* Hogtub *alias* Fat Jack *alias* John from Ld. Clive at Claremont, buried 1772."[47] Relatively few traces survive of the nicknames used among plantation Negroes in addressing other slaves. Carmer,[48] however, cites the following from Thorn Hill Plantation in Alabama: Pie ya, Puddin'-tame, Frog, Tennie C., Monkey, Mush, Cooter, John de Baptist, Fat-man, Preacher, Jack Rabbit, Sixty, Pop Corn, Old Gold, Dootes, Tangle-eye, Bad-Luck, Fly-up-de-Creek, Cracker, Jabbo, Cat-fish, Bear, Tip, Odessa, Pig-lasses, Rattler, Pearly, Luck, Buffalo, Old Blue, Red Fox, Coon, Jewsharp. Several of these suggest personal traits or episodes in the life of the individual, and hence approach closely the character of certain types of primitive names. Some nicknames occurring in our own list are: *Bap*, *Bebb*, *Bingo*, *Binkey 2*, *Bipy*, Bus, *Fell*, *Fodder*, *Fute*, *Gallon*, *Jacko*, Luck, *Money*, *Moon*, *Nig*, *Pillow*, *Pool*, Quince 2, *Ratler*, *Rep*, *Roller*, Sandy 10, *Tabs*, *Tell*, *Tink*, *Tip*, *Top*, *Town*, Toy; *Bis*, Icy, *Mopsy*, *Munny*, Pussy 2, *Spice*, Spicy.

Such titular nicknames among men as Dock 6, Doctor 5, Esquire, General, Govenor, Judge 5, King 6, Major 8, Parson, and

44. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
45. Weekley, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
46. Bowditch, N. I., *Suffolk Surnames* (Boston, 1858), pp. 16–18.
47. Ewen, C. L., *A History of Surnames of the British Isles* (London, 1931), pp. 203, 330, 328.
48. Carmer, C., *Stars Fell on Alabama* (New York, 1934), p. 96.

Squire 8 seem to indicate a recognition of slave social distinctions, although both Squire and Major were common among ordinary folk in England before the death of Queen Elizabeth.[49] Possible slave derivation is also indicated in those names that seem to be based on personal peculiarities,[50] of which the following occur in our list: Baldy 2, *Bellow*, *Bold*, *Boney*, Brag, *Brave Boy*, Crip, *Grizzy*, Hardtimes, Junior, *Live*, *Lively*, *Mangy*, *Muss*, *Polite*, *Racket*, *Senior*, Short, Smart 6, Tartar; Babe, Bitsey 2, Bonny, *Grief*, *Happy 2*, *Mourning*, Peachy, Queen, and Sis.

There remain a considerable number of other names which seem unusual to us today. Some are old-fashioned forms probably perfectly normal for the period; others are apparently diminutives or nicknames; still others may be due to distortions in spelling. These names perhaps reflect about equally the influence of slave and master. The list follows: *Ager*, *Ails 2*, *Ailsey*, Aller, *Alphaid*, *Altamont*, *Baltissum*, *Bann*, *Batsey*, *Bazie*, *Benbow*, Blunt, *Bonum*, *Bosum*, Braters, *Brigut*, Buck 8, *Buny*, Butter, *Caro*, *Chain*, Chance, *Chang*, *Chanty*, *Clander*, *Coateen*, *Comas*, Coon, *Creed*, *Dago*, *Dedon*, *Die*, *Dilas*, *Dine*, *Eben*, *Edom*, *Eincline*, *Elizus*, *Ember* (a slave blacksmith), *Enox*, *Exom*, Feber, *Flander*, Fountain 3, *Fravas*, Freling, Gosh, Gosport, *Grundy*, *Gruss*, *Hamet*, *Hasty 2*, *Healen*, Horatio, *Hover*, *Huger*, *Ian*, *Isare*, Ishum, Isom, Isum 2, *Jacksoney*, *Jeffro*, *Jimboy*, Jubiter, *Juble*, Junius 2, Justine, *Keas*, *Kertus*, *Kinder*, *Kindy*, *Knap*, Leathy, *Lenias*, *Limerick*, *Lurse*, *Luturn*, *Mahaly*, *Mance*, *Marmaduke*, *Martesia*, Micajah, *Milus 2*, *Myal*, *Naise*, *Nicker 2*, Nonen, *Onash*, Oney, Orange 6, Organ, *Osmgon*, *Pagy*, Pall, Philander, Phylander, *Polydore*, Ransom 2, *Rastin*, *Rolla*, *Rosey*, Rucker 2, *Rue*, *Rusus*, *Saman*, *Sanney*, Sanny, *Sawney 4*, *Scearse*, *Seac*, *Seantry*, Seller, *Sharper*, *Shorum*, Sipio, *Surry*, *Teams*, *Teener 2*, Thamer, *Thamil*, *Tumer*, Valentine, *Vind*, *Visa*, *Wasset;* Abbergall 2, *Abiail*, Acie, Aggaby, *Airy*, Aleathea, Almyra 3, *Alzeria*, *Anada*, *Anonicat*, *Aphnah*, Arabella 6, Arena, Armmitta, *Arteta*, *Artimesia 2*, *Arzilla*, *Avarilla 2*, *Azilla*, *Barsilla*, *Barzella*, Bina 3, Binah 3, Biner 4, Calidonia 4, Candes 2, Canna, Cardine, Catrane, Cherry 8, Cherrylane,

49. Bardsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–7.

50. W. F. Allen (*Slave Songs of the United States* [New York, 1867], p. xxxiii) mentions a slave named After-dark, "so called because he was so black than 'you can't sh'um 'fo' day-clean.'"

Chima, Chitta, Clemensa, *Cleonder, Coteler 2, Dausey, Delitha, Delpha,* Delphia, *Docia 2, Dyche,* Elena, *Ellender 2, Elvia,* Elvina 2, *Elvine,* Eulalie 2, *Fender,* Fillis 3, Fiscal 2, *Flerah, Florinda, Hemutal, Inda 2, Jeine, Jelia,* Jemima, *Jincey,* Jinsey, Joaney 3, *Juda 3, Jude, Judea 3, Kanice, Kasina, Kinah,* Kissee, *Klima, Larnia, Latria, Lavinera, Lesa Ann,* Liggina, *Loticia, Luci,* Lytha, Mahala 4, Mahaly 2, *Mahola, Maisa, Malsa,* Manda 4, *Mandana, Manzy, Marteria 2, Martille, Matta,* Melvina 2, *Mema, Menia, Merilla, Meroh, Messeniah, Mima 3, Mimey,* Minda 3, Minty 2, Mira 2, Mirah 2, Mirnia, *Missoney, Monah, Mooning, Morina,* Nicey, Nicy 4, *Nilla, Nine,* Notice, *Oney 2,* Palsey, *Pamela,* Pamelia 3, Paralee, Parthenia 2, *Pauladore,* Pheby 6, *Pheraby, Pherady,* Phereby, *Phillissia, Plina, Preepey, Reanna, Reuta,* Rhina, *Rhinor,* Rihna, Rina 2, Riney, Rosalinda, *Saby, Safrona,* Salena 3, Samantha, Saphroney, Saphronia, Sarena, *Satira, Satirah 3, Savinia, Savory, Scamby,* Selina, Seloy, Serena 3, *Sinethas, Sobuty,* Sofa 2, *Spinar, Syphax,* Syrena, *Szela, Tandy,* Taner, Tena, Tenah 3, Tener, Tenor 2, Thena, Tina, Tumps, Tyrah 2, *Unis, Usly, Vennah,* Virgin, *Viza, Winnia,* Woody, *Writ,* Zera, Zilphy, *Zinny,* Ziphy, Zody. Although some of the unusual modern Negro names appear in our slave list, the slaves had fewer unusual names in proportion and did not exhibit the bizarre and fantastic extremes of modern Negro nomenclature.

Biblical names among the slaves are probably attributable more to the masters than to the slaves themselves. In addition to those mentioned above, the following occur in our list: Abel 7, Absolom 6, Aron 3, *Baal, Cain 5, Celim 2,* Cimon, Cornelius 3, Elisha 7, Enoch 5, Esau, Faro, Ezekiel 3, Gabriel 9, *Ham 2,* Hezekiah, Hosea, Isaiah 5, Ishmael 5, Ishmel 2, Isiah 2, Israel 2, Jeremiah, *Jerusha,* Jethro, Job 6, Jonas 8, Joshua 9, Josiah 6, *Judah 4,* Levi 6, *Lot,* Luke 3, Mark 9, Mathew 2, Mathias, Michael, Nazareth, Nehemiah 2, Nimrod 3, Noah 4, Obadiah, Paul 9, Pharo, Samson, Saul 2, Shadrach 3, Silas 5, Simeon 2, Solimon, Thaddeus, Theophilus, Timothy 4, Titus 3, Uriah, Zachariah; Abigail, Deborah 2, Delila 4, Dorcus 4, *Dosh,* Doshia, Dosia, Drucilla 2, Ester 5, Hagar 6, Hagur, Hanah 2, Hanna 4, *Judah,* Kesiah, Kessiah, Keziah 2, Kissiah, Kiziah, Kizziah, Lidia, *Moriah,* Selah, Tabitha, Tamar 2, Tamer 2. To this group should perhaps be added names

reflecting Puritan influence, e.g., Amis, Fortune 6, *Providence*, Candis 6, Comfort 2, *Piety*, Pleasant 2 (females), Prosper, Prudence 7, and its derivative Prudy 4. Biblical and Puritan names were at one time exceedingly common among the English,[51] and they appear frequently in colonial New England,[52] in the roll of the United States Congress, in *Who's Who in America*,[53] and among contemporary southern mountaineers.[54] Although they are less prominent in the South than in early New England,[55] most of those mentioned above for slaves were also found among the early whites of Columbus, Mississippi, as revealed by probate records.

The direct or indirect influence of the master in the naming of the slave child is reflected in three large classes of slave names: those, like Eugene, Nathaniel, and Ella, which were clearly identical with white nomenclature at the time; given names, such as Addison, Campbell, and Robinson, which were apparently derived from white surnames; and diminutives, such as Dan, Pete, Nell, and Tabby, which followed patterns current in the white population. Limitations of space prevent the listing of these names. They nevertheless constitute, together with the 100 commonest names already cited, the great bulk of slave nomenclature and indicate the growing affiliation of the Negro with American usage in this respect. Slave children, in fact, were often, if not usually, actually named by the master or mistress. In this way they received, not only names current in the master's family,[56] but also such appellatives as Fed[57] or Last Night, the master in the latter case having been roused from his morning sleep by the news that Clementine "had a little boy last night."[58] Classical names, although less numerous than certain writers on plantation life would have us think, also probably reveal the hand of the master class. Our slave list includes the following: *Achilles*, Augustus 5, Bachus, Brutus 2,

51. Bowman, W. D., *The Story of Surnames* (London, 1931), pp. 89–90, 250 ff.; Bardsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–116; Train, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.; Weekley, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–9.

52. Bowditch, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–20. 53 See Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

54 Campbell, J. C., *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (New York, 1921), p. 2.

55. Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 92. 56. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

57. Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

58. "Negro Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern," *Maga Social Papers* (New York, 1867), p. 286.

Calypso, Cassius, Cicero 2, Cupid 2, *Esop*, Felix 8, Hannibal 5, *Harculos*, Hector 10, Horace 7, Jupiter 4, Mars, Nero 8, *Ovid*, Plato, Pliny, Pompy, Scipio 8, *Sencca*, *Telmachus;* Augusta, Ceries, Cornelia 3, Daphna 2, Daphne 3, Daphney 2, Diana 4, Dianna 3, *Dido 2*, *Juno 6*, Lethe 3, Manerva, Mernervey, Minervi, Narcissa 3, Octavia 2, Penelope, Penny 8, Scylla, Silla 6, Siller 5, Sylla 2. More recent names of prominence include: Byron, Columbus 2, *Dumas*, Erasmus, Gen'l Washington, Hamlet, Lafayette 2, *Lear*, Napoleon 3, and Van Buren.

Fundamentally, however, the attitude of master toward slave was less that of a parent toward his child than that of an owner toward his property. Probate records reveal a tendency to personalize and identify accurately by name all live stock, human or otherwise; mules and cows are often listed by name, and are distinguished from slaves mainly in terms of appraised value. To furnish an interesting comparison, 235 names of mules were abstracted from the Lowndes County, Mississippi, Probate Record for 1858. Of this number, 197, or 84 per cent, occur also as slave names, including not only such common names as Bet, Eliza, Jinny, and Tobe, but also such classical names as Cato, Dianna, Hector, and Pompey. The ten most common mule names were, in order of frequency, Jack, Kitt, Beck, John, Mike, Ned, Tom, Bill, Jim, and Dolly—and most of these also occur among the most common slave names. Certain names, on the other hand, seem to have been distinctive to mules, e.g., Blaze, Dragon, Five Cents, Fly 3, Lightfoot, Pick, Rock, Shot, Telegraph, Value, and Yanky. In general, however, mule names resemble many of the slave diminutives in being short and terse, designed rather for property distinction than for personal distinction.

As long as a farmer had but five or six mules, Betty, Fanny, Matilda, or Henry would serve fairly well as titles, but on plantations with more abundant mule-power, we find appearing on the records such secondary descriptions as Young Beck, Old Dick, Little John, Big Kitt, Yellow Jim, Leader Kit, and even such regular surnames in muledom as Jane Henkel, Sam Nelson, and Pol Jones, which may or may not have been patterned after the surname of the owner. Precisely the same tendency, of course, appeared in the case of slave names.

A glance at the development of secondary distinctions in English history will shed light on this tendency. In the eleventh century the majority of people in England had but a single name, but with the rise of large towns and a growing country population it became increasingly difficult to identify an individual with only one name.[59] Hence, by the end of the twelfth century it had become exceptional for a person to lack an official description or surname.[60] These were at first of secondary importance, being placed after the font-name. They were derived mainly from the individual's personal appearance, from his place of residence, from his parentage, and from his occupation, and it was not uncommon for a person to have several such additions. Secondary appellatives, first noticed as hereditary in 1267, gradually became recognized as family names, and eventually became more important than the forename.[61]

A very similar situation existed among American Negro slaves. The development of names among slaves followed essentially the same pattern as that of surnames in early England if we include another category, the assumption by the freed slave of the surname of his former owner. In Johnson *v.* Field (Louisiana, 1827) it was ruled: "Slaves being men, are to be identified by their proper names . . . and when there are two or more of the same name, by some other, which distinguishes them in relation to physical, or, perhaps, moral qualities."[62] But again in 1831, in Louisiana, we find that "the slaves had so many *sobriquets*, and were known by so many names that . . . embarrassment remains, from the designation in the . . . deeds, not corresponding."[63] Into the property records crept a great many aliases in an effort to identify slaves more exactly. Some were simply diminutives, as Alexander or Aleck, Alice or Else, Appling or App, Charlotte or Lotty, Doritha or Doll, Francis or Franky, Simon or Si, Sucky or Susan. Others possibly represent differences due to transfer of ownership and change of name, as Clara or Hager, Henrietta or Mary, John or Jupiter, Juba or Jupiter. Still others represent nicknames, as Anthony or Nig, and Old Nat "commonly called Capt. Nat."

Secondary names became almost a necessity on the larger plan-

59. Bowman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
60. Ewen, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 90–2, 218–19.
62. Caterall, *op. cit.*, III, 482.
63. *Ibid.*, III, 493–4.

tations. In the will of Nathaniel H. Hooe (Louisiana, 1844) three slaves named Bill were distinguished as Blacksmith Bill, Billy Monroe, and Bill Beverly.[64] Age was often made a basis for such distinctions, and in the slave lists we find such descriptions as Old Isaac, Young Ned, Old Man Peter, Granny Sarah, James the Babe, Andrew (7 yrs.), Paul (born March, 1839), and Benty (purchased Feb'y, 1837). The terms "big" and "little," which were used very frequently, usually refer to age rather than to physical size, and sometimes lead to such curiosities as Big Patience and Little Patience (Mississippi, 1838). In England, even as late as 1545, the will of John de Gyton refers to his two sons as "Olde John" and "Young John," and "John the Bigg" is used in other instances.[65] In France, such names as Grandjacques and Petitjean were fairly common.[66] Personal traits other than age also served to distinguish between slaves, as in the cases of Jack (short), Jenny (blind), Miley (prime), Long Poll, and possibly Blush Billy. Reference is made to Mulatto Will or Will Brown, and to Yellow Jane, and color may even have given rise to an actual surname in the case of John Mulatto or Joe Creole. Location figures in such names as Guinea Jack, Kentucky Tom, Pararie Jim (possibly from the prairie section of Mississippi), Columbia Bitsey (from Columbia, Mississippi?), and, perhaps, John Kentuck. On the plantation of John Palfred in Louisiana, in 1807, American Hercules "was so styled to distinguish him from an African of the same name."[67] America, a name in use in England four centuries ago,[68] was a fairly common name among female slaves and also occurs with modern Negroes.

Occupation and working ability served as a basis for many secondary distinctions among slaves, as in the cases of Tinker Jack, Isaac the Potter, Preaching Dick, Captain (Chimney Sweep), George (carpenter), Fortune (Head Bird-Minder with Gun), Stephney (best ploughman), John (Driver), Clary (Plantation Cook), Dolly (in house), and Miller Joshua (at mill). Ben Shipman and Isaac Butcher may conceivably have derived their surnames from occupations as truly as did the early English

64. Caterall, *op. cit.*, III, 315
65. Bardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
66. Weekley, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
67. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 293.
68. Bardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Cooks, Fishers, or Smiths. Genealogical relationships were sometimes noted, e.g., Rose's Giney, Ann (Mingoe's mother), Pompey (Phillis's son), Katrina's York, Jenny's Dolly, and in some instances these maternal[69] descriptives may have laid the basis for a true surname, such as Julianna Eliza or Lindsey Walton (son of Lindsey). With an increase in numbers came a need for still further differentiation, and we find a few cases of double distinctions, e.g., Black Fat, Eliza's Rattra (child), Old Penny Boon and Old Penny at Mill, Old Cook Woman Jinny. The case of "Old Woman named Little Mary" shows that the childhood distinction "Little" was sometimes difficult to shake off in later life. These double distinctions, all from Mississippi after 1840, give some indication of the need for actual surnames.

"Even during slave days the surname of the master was used for identification purposes among servants. . . . 'Who dat?' you say. 'Dat William Dunbar.' 'An' you know he b'long to de Dunbars.' "[70] Thus Matilda Davis was the slave of Thomas Davis (Kentucky, 1855), William Isaac Rawlings (Tennessee, 1837) was the son of his master Isaac Rawlings by a slave mother, and Isaac of Cowling (Virginia, 1800) belonged to Thomas Cowling. In the cases of Jane Harper, owned by a Mr. Wallis, and of Mary Harry, owned by the McCants, the surname was probably that of a former owner. In some instances a double name may have been amalgamated into a single one by an owner or overseer. Thus Jimboon (Mississippi, 1840) might originally have been Jim Boone.

With freedom, these simple distinctions of slavery days were naturally expanded. Romeo Jones now signed his name Romey O. Jones, and Pericles Smith became Perry Clees Smith. A boy who had always been known as Polly's Jim, having learned to read the New Testament, became Mr. Apollos James.[71] Slave Sam of Mississippi became Sam Buck when his master acquired another Sam, but under the exhilaration of freedom he expanded into Sam Buck Jeemes Ribber Highoo, and indulged in other vagaries, such as feeding his dog gunpowder to make him brave.[72] Corinthia Mari-

69. The slave child in many cases had little or no contact with his father, who might be unknown to him or be living on some other plantation. For illustrations, see Frazier, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

70. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

71. Harrison, J. B., "Studies in the South," *Atlantic Monthly*, L (1882), 477.

72. Informant Colonel W. A. Love, Columbus, Miss.

gold Wilkinson Ball Wemyss Alexander Jones Mitchell owed her collection of names to the fact that she had been owned successively by half a dozen families and after Emancipation took the names of them all.[73] But this brings us down to a type of nomenclature developed under a situation where social contacts and group responsibilities were much wider in scope than those engendered in the simple plantation society of slavery days. It has been our purpose here to show the characteristics and trends of Negro nomenclature under slavery. The reactions of the freed slave and of the modern Negro must come later.

73. Macrae, D., *The Americans at Home* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1870), II, 332.

STATISTICAL CORRELATIONS IN THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

LEO W. SIMMONS

THE purpose of the present study is to check, by the application of a statistical technique, a representative sampling of the generalizations advanced by Sumner and Keller in their monumental work, *The Science of Society*,[1] and incidentally to test further the respective validity of the strictly historical and the sociological schools of cultural interpretation.[2]

Our data are derived, not from a random examination of available ethnographic materials, but from an intensive study of the literature on seventy-one specific tribes and peoples selected with due regard to climatic zones, geographical distribution, racial differences, and culture areas. Sixteen tribes are chosen from native North America, ten from Central and South America, fourteen from Africa, three from Europe, sixteen from Asia, and twelve from Oceania and Australia. The territories of thirty-one lie within the torrid zone, of thirty-five within the temperate, and of five within the frigid zone. The total culture of each tribe was studied, but a special effort was made to secure classifiable information on 109 subjects of inquiry pertaining to maintenance activities, political and social organization, and religious beliefs and practices. These subjects are listed in Table I.

The data obtained for each of the 109 categories, or traits, in each of the 71 tribes, are presented, by means of symbols, on a master chart (Table II). It seemed insufficient to indicate merely the presence or absence of a trait or complex, since this would give no indication of its importance in the culture. To give the same rating for hunting, for example, to two tribes, one of which

1. Sumner, W. G., and Keller, A. G., *The Science of Society* (4 vols., New Haven, 1927). This work, the first three volumes of which are consecutively paged, will be referred to hereinafter by page references inserted in parentheses in the text.

2. *Cf.* Murdock, G. P., "Correlations of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Institutions," in the present volume.

Table I

A. Habitat, Maintenance, and Economy

1. Permanency of residence
2. Group life in contrast to atomism
3. Durability of dwellings
4. Communal houses
5. Separate men's house
6. Collection
7. Hunting
8. Fishing
9. Herding
10. Agriculture
11. Use of grain for food
12. Constancy of food supply
13. Domesticated animals (other than herded)
14. Mining and smelting of metals
15. Metals secured from outside
16. Pottery
17. Basketry
18. Weaving
19. Manufacture of bark cloth
20. Use of bow and arrow
21. Use of spear-thrower
22. Use of blowgun
23. Slavery
24. Debt-relations
25. Trade
26. Money, or a standard medium of exchange
27. Communal ownership of land
28. Private property in objects other than land
29. Private property in land
30. Communal sharing of food

B. Political and Social Organization

31. Power vested in the chief
32. Government by general assembly
33. Government by restricted council
34. Influence of women in government
35. Secret societies
36. Prevalence of warfare
37. Practice of blood-revenge
38. Codified laws
39. Group responsibility for crimes
40. Authority of judges
41. Fines paid to judges
42. Matrilocal residence
43. Patrilocal residence
44. Matrilineal descent
45. Patrilineal descent
46. Matrilineal inheritance
47. Patrilineal inheritance
48. Matrilineal succession
49. Patrilineal succession
50. Matripotestal family authority
51. Patripotestal family authority
52. Avunculate
53. Ownership of dwelling by wife
54. Age-grades
55. Hereditary castes and classes
56. Plutocracy
57. Exogamy with reference to kin-group
58. Exogamy with reference to local group
59. Group-marriage
60. Polyandry
61. Polygyny
62. Monogamy
63. Betrothal of infants and children
64. Marriage by consent of parents, ruler, uncle (lack of freedom of choice in marriage for either sex)
65. Marriage by capture
66. Marriage by purchase or bride-price
67. Dowry (payment made by bride's people to groom or his family)
68. Wife-lending or wife-exchange
69. Remarriage of widow
70. Levirate
71. Funeral suttee
72. Difficulty of divorce for women
73. Difficulty of divorce for men
74. Subjection or inferiority of women
75. Uncleanness of women
76. Post-marital sex restriction on women
77. Mother-in-law avoidance
78. Primogeniture
79. Scalps and heads sought as trophies
80. Property rights in women

C. Religious and Miscellaneous Beliefs and Practices

81. Organized priesthood (true priests)
82. Prevalence of shamanism
83. Ancestor worship
84. Elaboration of ceremony and ritual
85. Legendary heroes
86. Legendary heroines
87. Human sacrifice (other than grave escort)
88. Totemism
89. Fetishism
90. Cannibalism
91. Reincarnation
92. Intensity of ghost-fear
93. Exposure of the dying
94. Abandonment of house of the dead
95. Grave escort other than widows
96. Mortuary sacrifice of property
97. Elaboration of mortuary ceremonies
98. Attractiveness of future life
99. Belief in natural death
100. Circumcision
101. Infanticide
102. Picture writing
103. Written language
104. Couvade
105. Transmigration
106. Phallicism
107. Preference for male children
108. Preference for female children
109. Preferred status of first wife

relies primarily thereupon for its food supply while the other depends principally upon herding or agriculture and hunts only incidentally or occasionally, would be to present a distorted representation and one of little value for correlative purposes. An attempt was therefore made, in combing the sources, to form a judgment as to the relative importance in the culture, or the degree of elaboration, of each trait; these judgments are expressed in the master chart by the following symbols:

\+ Dominance, marked elaboration, or strong social importance of the trait in the particular tribe under investigation
= presence without dominance, moderate elaboration, or intermediate importance of the trait
— incipient presence, slight elaboration, or cultural unimportance of the trait
o absence or non-appearance of the trait, when definitely indicated in the sources
□ lack of information on the subject in the sources (indicated by a blank space)

The extent to which scientific objectivity is jeopardized by imperfect information, conflicting reports, lack of preciseness in the sources, oversimplified and perhaps arbitrary classification, and inescapable subjective judgments is, at this point, woefully apparent. All that is claimed for the study, however, is that it repre-

sents a more reliable approximation to objective analysis than earlier and less well-controlled procedures. Moreover, the defects of subjectivity and partial information are, we believe, less serious and best allowed for, when they intrude in the initial stage of investigation and classification, before the facts are lifted from their cultural setting, than when they enter in at the end of a study in the summation of materials removed from their context.

The master chart (Table II) lists by name the tribes studied, and by number, across the top, the traits as enumerated in Table I. The symbols, when read from left to right, reveal the presence, absence, and cultural importance of the various traits in the particular tribe, and thus preserve in some measure the cultural context of each; when read from top to bottom, they show the tribes in which a particular trait does or does not occur. Limitations of space, unfortunately, prevent the inclusion of a bibliography, and, still more, of precise references.

The method of statistical correlation employed is the coefficient of association. By way of example, a correlation is here drawn between the prevalence of private property rights to land (trait 29) and agriculture as a means of maintenance (t. 10). The number of tribes representing a dominant or fairly regular tendency to private property in land (29+=), and who also show a tendency to dominance in agriculture (10+=), are placed in the upper left hand corner of a box. The number of tribes with little or no evidence of agriculture (10—o) but, nevertheless, possessing private property rights to land in a strong or fairly strong degree (29+=) are placed in the upper right hand corner. Those with a fair amount of agricultural activity and little or no private property in land are placed in the lower left hand corner; and those with little or no agriculture or private property in land, in the lower right hand corner.

		Agriculture (t. 10)	
		Dominance	*Absence*
Private property in land (t. 29)			
		+=	−o
Tendency to dominance	+=	19	3
Tendency to absence	−o	16	16

If the sections of the box are labeled $\begin{vmatrix} ab \\ cd \end{vmatrix}$, and the coefficient calculated by the formula $\frac{ad - bc}{ad + bc}$, the resultant figure will be .72, which indicates a strong positive correlation of the two traits. The highest possible positive coefficient by this formula, of course, is 1.00, absence of any association being indicated by zero, and maximum negative association by —1.00.

The above assemblage of sampled and tabulated facts, when subjected to a standard statistical method of analysis, establishes a basis for testing and checking of the generalizations of *The Science of Society*, in so far as the subject matter of the text corresponds to the materials of our survey.[3]

"Adjustment" is the key-word in the science of society, according to our authors. "In general, we seek the sense of societal customs and institutions. That means to us their expediency as adjustments in living. . . . Nor do we regard it as enough merely to exhibit them as adjustments, so proved because of their survival; we hope to show also how and to what adjustment has been made" (p. xxx).

"There are four orders of effort by which societies are found to be maintaining themselves directly off the land. These have been called the primary maintenance-activities and are extractive; they are collection, hunting, animal-raising, and plant-culture. . . . We have here a sequence of types, proceeding from the simpler to the more complex. Evidently hunting could not come before collection, nor animal-raising before hunting, nor agriculture on any intensive scale before the possession of domestic animals. . . . To these four direct types of maintenance there correspond four types of societal economy . . . abstractions in the sense that there are few peoples, and perhaps none at all, who belong exclusively to any one of them" (p. 50). The collection economy, "where society began in the depths," and to which "men revert when they lose all acquisitions of culture," is largely inferential (pp. 52–3). But there is concrete evidence of "advance all along the line" when

3. The survey was not originally conducted for this purpose. Therefore, all the generalizations of the text cannot be checked, nor is all the information in the master chart of use in this study.

hunting is reached (p. 55). Herding shows "a further development of foresight, of the arts, and of civilization in general" (pp. 56–7); and agriculture represents "a distinct advance over anything that went before" (p. 58). "Except on the base of agriculture no high civilization has ever developed" (p. 60).

In spite of "an appearance of caprice" (p. 2165), the primary maintenance-mores "tend to follow changing life conditions pretty closely." They are the "file leaders," they "set the pace," determine the "tone," and form a "sort of basic theme" to which the superstructure—the secondary mores which are farther removed from the force of natural conditions—"must conform," and to which there is a "strain toward consistency" (pp. 36–7). "The essence of this contention may be expressed . . . namely, that all other and more derived mores and institutions of society are determined by the type of the industrial organization . . ." (p. 186). They "form around the engrossing occupation as if crystallizing about a sort of core, and always reveal in their general conformation the outlines of this core or matrix around or out of which they grow" (p. 214). If the industrial type changes, "it follows that selection operates indirectly upon the forms of property, marriage, religion, and government. . . . An appreciation of this relation amounts to the possession of a key to not a few doors that one wants to open as he explores the structure of society" (pp. 36–7).

If this generalization as to the basic character of the maintenance mores be correct, one may expect sweeping coefficient fluctuations when correlations are drawn between important cultural traits and the ranging types of primitive economy. One may anticipate strong negative coefficients when traits commonly rated as "civilized" or "advanced" are correlated with collection, hunting, and perhaps fishing; and reversing positive coefficients in correlation with herding, and particularly with agriculture. Certain traits should show a very significant positive or negative correlation with a particular type of maintenance. Table III is a cursive examination of this contention. A sampling of traits identified by number is placed in the column to the left, the maintenance types with their respective coefficient ratings in the succeeding columns to the right. Reading from left to right, one finds the coefficients of association of a given trait with collection, hunting, fishing, herd-

Table III

	Coefficients of association of traits with maintenance types					*Agreement with Sumner and Keller in* The Science of Society	
Traits	*Col. 6*	*Hunt. 7*	*Fish. 8*	*Herd. 9*	*Agr. 10*	*Agreement*	*Page references*
1.	—.67	—.27	.23	—.47	.94	Yes	50–60, 179–80, 701
2.	—.66	—.44	.10	—.04	.40	Yes	11–12, 16, 356ff.
3.	—.84	—.45	—.33	.09	.77	Yes	53, 179–80
12.	—.28	—.59	.04	—.05	.95	Yes—no?	179–80
13.	—.72	—.72	—.17	.63	.80	Yes	56–8, implied
14.	—.69	—.57	—.58	.78	.63	Yes	55–8, implied
16.	—.53	—.29	—.53	.63	.89	Yes	55–8, implied
17.	.45	.05	.45	—.39	.68	Yes—no?	55–8, 179–80, implied
18.	—.02	—.36	.28	.17	.79	Yes	55–8, implied
23.	—.28	—.35	.03	.31	.72	Yes—no?	224–34, 57
25.	—.64	—.51	—.10	.28	.36	Yes	159, 179–80
26.	—.42	—.49	—.36	.36	.68	Yes	159
28.	—.25	—.31	—.12	.10	.72	Yes	57–60, implied; 109, 164, 170–80, 269, 306
29.	—.57	—.71	—.22	—.02	.72	Yes	57, 60, 181, 289, 294, 306
31.	—.51	—.53	—.18	.32	.81	Yes	467–88, 354
33.	—.10	—.52	.02	.14	.87	Yes	455–523, implied
34.	.06	—.16	.33	.07	.14	Yes?	503–6
36.	—.01	—.05	—.08	.34	.74	Yes—no?	59, 368–74, 402–6
38.	— 81	—.77	—.50	.50	.80	Yes	404
40.	—.70	—.77	—.11	.08	.74	Yes	402–6, implied
43.	—.04	—.66	—.32	.48	—.02	Yes—no?	1658, 1952–4, 1996
45.	—.61	— 38	— 33	.77	.02	Yes—no?	1954–63
47.	—.46	—.33	—.46	.61	.09	Yes—no?	1954–63
49.	—.71	—.32	—.52	.50	.40	Yes	1954–63
51.	21	—.31	—.22	.69	—.67	Yes	1955–6
55.	—.54	—.91	—.32	.62	.58	Yes	67, 175, 228ff.
56.	—.32	—.78	—.51	.84	.53	Yes	168, 172, 363, 497–501
61.	—.32	—.23	—.50	.36	.30	Yes	1864–74
66.	—.05	—.63	—.33	.88	—.29	Yes—no?	1639ff.
67.	—.11	—.41	.04	.35	—.41	Yes—no?	1639ff.
70.	— 33	.04	.09	.36	.34	Yes	1901ff.
72.	— 24	—.56	—.46	.36	.12	Yes	1514, 1534, 1831ff.
73.	—.43	.26	.46	—.10	.32	Yes	1531ff.
74.	—.17	—.19	—.18	.34	.26	Yes	132, 216, 1789, 1795ff.
81.	—.78	—.26	—.49	.44	.58	Yes	1343
103.	—.28	—.61	—.08	.82	.46	Yes	60, 304 implied
	Traits showing pronounced reversed trends						
27.	.73	.84	—.05	—.21	—.77	Yes	181, 269, 284–9, 327
30.	.49	.14	.45	—.49	—.43	Yes	269, 327–9
42.	.56	.75	.34	—.63	—.40	Yes	1952–5, 1996
44.	.92	.55	.45	—.75	—.08	Yes	1954ff.
46.	.21	—.07	.30	—.75	.10	Yes	1955–6
53.	.69	.60	—.11	—.56	—.06		
59.	.41	.12	—.06	.21	—.51	Yes	1563ff.
60.	.07	.04	—.36	.51	—.65	Yes—no?	1857ff.
65.	.46	.59	—.20	—.60	.15	Yes—no?	1624ff., 1705ff.

ing, and agriculture in the order named, followed by a statement as to the apparent extent of agreement or disagreement with our authors and sample page citations for specific generalizations.

A significant observation, with respect to the above assortment of 225 independent correlations, is the almost universal tendency for coefficients to change from negative to positive, or from positive to negative, with approximate regularity, as one moves from collection toward agriculture or back again. With few exceptions, it is possible with any three coefficients of a series to predict the general trend of the other two. In dealing with factors of pure chance one would expect a narrower range of negative and positive coefficients, and, more important, hardly any regularity at all. It is also of interest to compare the coefficient ratings with the generalizations suggested or implied in the text. Here close examination reveals an amazing conformity. With respect to maintenance types, fishing appears to hold an intermediate or transitional place in the shift of coefficients from negative to positive ratings, or *vice versa*. This suggests that the authors were hardly justified in their usual procedure of classing fishing with hunting instead of treating it as a type of maintenance with important characteristics peculiar to itself as a cultural determinant. At any rate, our data leave little room to doubt that maintenance activities play a large and determining part in cultural configurations.

But although regarded as "basic," they are never assumed to be the sole determinants in the development of culture at large or in the trait formations of any particular area. "In their adjustment the mores move forward in rank, not in file, though that rank may not be without its irregularities" (p. 502). "Property, law, rights, government, classes, marriage, religion—are all born together and linked together" (p. 260). They "all march together for the sake of expediency and under the strain of consistency . . ." (p. 1997). If such be the case, one should be able roughly to predict positive and negative coefficients in the correlation of many of these factors.

Property in land (t. 29) is a case at hand. Negative coefficients have already been pointed out in the correlation of this trait with collection, hunting, fishing, and herding in Table III, and a strongly positive association with agriculture was revealed. Further positive coefficients are suggested or implied by Sumner and Keller in

the correlation of private property in land with permanency of residence (t. 1, pp. 52, 259), constancy of the food supply (t. 12, p. 327), the institution of slavery (t. 23, p. 58), the development of trade (t. 25, pp. 247–68), and a standard medium of exchange (t. 26, pp. 247–68); and also in the development of political and regulative powers, possibly as evidenced in a strong chieftainship (t. 31), judicial authority (t. 40), and the codification of laws (t. 38, pp. 172, 260–338). A check of the resultant coefficients (Table IV) reveals complete agreement with these generalizations.

Table IV

Traits	*1*	*10*	*12*	*23*	*25*	*26*	*31*	*38*	*40*
29	.58	.72	.83	.26	.47	.68	.25	.40	.45

If "the advance of civilization and that of private property in land are correlative" (p. 314), positive coefficients may be expected to predominate in the further correlation of trait 29 with those factors recognized by the authors as representative of a "general advance in culture" (p. 310). A textual sampling of these factors may reasonably include such "advances in the arts of life" as the use of grain for food (t. 11), the domestication of animals other than herded (t. 13), mining and smelting of metals (t. 14), pottery (t. 16), basketry (t. 17), weaving (t. 18), private property in objects other than land (t. 28), the rise of social classes (t. 55), plutocracy (t. 56), priesthood (t. 81), and the development of writing (t. 103). Again, coefficient ratings very substantially agree (*cf.* Table V).

Table V

Traits	*11*	*13*	*14*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*28*	*55*	*56*	*81*	*103*
29	.33	.38	.31	.34	.49	.29	.72	.57	.83	—.14	.42

It will be observed that 19 out of the 20 coefficients pertaining to property rights in land have supported our authors' generalizations. A reverse checking may be executed by correlating communal ownership of land (t. 27) with the same set of factors, the extent of agreement being indicated by the number and degree of negative coefficients (*cf.* Table VI).

Table VI

Traits	*1*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*16*	*17*	*18*	*23*
27	—.65	—.77	—.31	—.41	—.65	—.29	—.20	—.26	.03	.30
Traits	*25*	*26*	*28*	*31*	*38*	*40*	*55*	*56*	*81*	*103*
27	—.34	—.52	—.07	.47	—.58	—.15	—.66	—.42	.25	—.23

In this set of correlations, sixteen coefficients out of twenty support the above thesis. With such cumulative and interlocking evidence it is difficult to assume that maintenance mores and their associated traits have no determinative influence upon property rights in land.

The institution of slavery lends itself to a similar correlation of traits. "It is the economic basis of slavery, as of other societal forms, which is primordial. Had it not been for the existence of economic conditions favoring or even demanding slavery, it could not have existed to any degree and when economic conditions have ceased to call for slavery, it has fallen" (p. 225). In the text, it is suggested that slavery (t. 23) will show negative correlations with such economic conditions as collection, hunting, possibly with fishing and herding (t. 6, 7, 8, 9, pp. 224–6), and presumably with the customs of communal ownership of land and sharing of food (t. 27, 30, pp. 328–9). It is further asserted that "the matriarchate could not make and consolidate conquest or support slavery"; and Lippert is cited with approval to the effect that "mother-descent knew no property in men" (pp. 227, 1995). This is to assume that negative coefficients should also tend to appear in the correlation of slavery with matrilocal residence (t. 42), matrilineal descent (t. 44), inheritance (t. 46), and succession (t. 48), matripotestal authority (t. 50), the avunculate (t. 52), and ownership of residence by wife (t. 53). Again significant agreement is revealed in the coefficients (*cf.* Table VII), although there appears to be more evidence of slavery with herding than the authors anticipate. This also affects Cor. 23: 27, since herders tend toward communal interests in land.

Table VII

Traits	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*27*	*30*	*42*	*44*	*46*	*48*	*50*	*52*	*53*
23	—.28	—.35	.03	.31	.30	—.46	—.76	—.31	.11	—.41	—.52	—.11	—.80

Positive coefficients are predicted in the correlation of slavery with permanency of residence (t. 1, p. 231), agriculture (t. 10, p. 228), constancy of the food supply (t. 12, p. 222), the development of property rights in objects and in land (t. 28, 29, pp. 222, 230), the increase of warfare (t. 36, pp. 221–3), rise of the regulative organization as represented, presumably, in strong chieftainship, restrictive council, judicial authority, and codified laws (t. 31, 33, 38, 40, pp. 221–2), with social inequality and plutocracy (t. 55, 56, pp. 222–3, 231), and with the chief characteristics of the patriarchal system of family organization, as represented by patrilocal residence (t. 43), patrilineal descent (t. 45), inheritance (t. 47), and succession (t. 49), patripotestal authority (t. 51), and the levirate (t. 70). Again, there is complete and impressive agreement with statistical coefficients (*cf.* Table VIII).[4]

Table VIII

Traits	*1*	*10*	*12*	*28*	*29*	*31*	*33*	*36*	*38*	*40*	*55*	*56*
23	.64	.72	.67	.39	.26	.90	.57	.82	.47	.61	.95	.80

Traits	*43*	*45*	*47*	*49*	*51*	*70*
23	.73	.22	.23	.15	.46	.39

Twenty-nine coefficients out of thirty-one, from as many different lines of approach, all separately and consistently support the major premise that slavery in its origin and development is the product of cultural forces which are subject, in some measure, to description and generalization. In other words, slavery may not be entirely the product of "historical accident."

Four categories of traits in the survey may be considered relative to the development of government and regulative powers: centralization of authority in the chief (t. 31), restriction of deliberative powers to a selected council (t. 33), the development of codified laws (t. 38), and the extension of judicial authority in the settle-

4. Lest the casual reader imagine that it is easy to draw forth consecutive series of positive or negative coefficients at will, as from a magician's hat, a random and wholly chance selection is made from Chart 1 for purposes of demonstration.

.09	—.11	—.46	.38	—.84	.21	—.10	.92	—.60	—.28	.46
.31	—.61	—.63	.73	.63	—.14	—.82	.45	.56	.40	—.32

ment of disputes (t. 40). "The broad fact about regulation is that power and responsibility have to be concentrated" (p. 469). "A real chieftainship is something to which mankind has had to work up gradually" (p. 468). "War is perhaps the greatest chief maker" (p. 474). "Without order and control, property is sure to suffer disintegration" (p. 338). "Forms of the family, of property, and of political organization all march together . . ." (p. 1997). "Under the strict mother-family there is no real organization" (p. 1995). "It has been asserted that the state evolved out of the patriarchate. No one would deny that in respect to the organization of power the patriarchate is nearer to the state than is the system whose center is the woman; for the patriarchate has a capacity for conquest and consolidation that the latter has not" (p. 703).

These and similar references scattered throughout the text strongly suggest that traits 31, 33, 38, and 40 will show positive coefficients of association with agriculture (t. 10, p. 403), slavery (t. 23, p. 222), trade (t. 25, p. 229), property (t. 28, 29, p. 338), the prevalence of warfare (t. 36, p. 477), and the patriarchal system of family organization (t. 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 70, p. 703). Remarkable coefficient agreements are apparent (*cf.* Table IX), with the exception of trait 51, authority of the man in the household. But this, the authors repeatedly insist, is not restricted to the patrilineal system; it is in considerable evidence in matrilineal systems as well (p. 1990).

Table IX

Traits	*10*	*23*	*25*	*28*	*29*	*36*	*43*	*45*	*47*	*49*	*51*	*70*
31	.81	.90	.66	.56	.25	.57	.16	.02	.12	.51	—.43	.65
33	.87	.57	.71	.83	.46	.22	.65	.32	.15	.38	—.08	.77
38	.80	.47	.38	.65	.40	.05	.28	.23	.26	.46	—.50	.54
40	.74	.61	.77	.81	.45	.37	—.11	—.36	.21	.36	—.11	.56

The results of a countercheck (Table X) show prevailing negative coefficients in the correlation of the same traits with what are presumed to be the chief characteristics of the mother-family (t. 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 53). In connection with strong avunculate prerogatives (t. 52), the coefficients run consistently positive, in

agreement with the authors' counter-generalization of male domination (pp. 130, 1789, 1942) regardless of lines of descent.

Table X

Traits	*42*	*44*	*46*	*48*	*50**	*52**	*53*
31	—.68	—.20	.19	—.52	—.09	.29	—.48
33	—.82	.18	—.03	—.11	.33	.53	.20
38	—.33	—.43	—.27	—.57	—.06	.34	—.37
40	—.66	.12	.42	.10	.46	.78	.14

* Information on less than 60 per cent of all tribes investigated, and therefore less reliable coefficients, are indicated in this and subsequent tables by asterisks.

The coefficients, on the whole, suggest definitely that government is not entirely free from conditioning factors which bring its forms into adjustment with both maintenance activities and forms of social organization.

Considerable contrast is drawn, throughout the text, between matrilineal and patrilineal institutions—contrasts which imply far-reaching cultural connotations (p. 1951). The "transition from mother-right to father-right in family-organization . . . is undoubtedly one of the most striking cases of right-about-face ever executed by mankind" (p. 1997). "The outstanding condition to which the mother-family formed an adjustment was the conception of blood-relationship as reckoned solely through the mother" (t. 44, p. 1989). "The purest types of the mother-family are those in which inheritance and succession, as well as descent, are matrilineal" (t. 46, 48, p. 1955). Under the mother-family "the man goes to the woman" for residence, usually (t. 42, pp. 1658, 1986), and whatever authority woman may possess tends to be correlated with the matrilineal system (t. 50, pp. 130, 503, 1955–6, 1985). The avunculate, and possibly the ownership of the dwelling by the wife, are concomitants of the above forces (t. 52, 53, pp. 1964, 1969, 1996). "All the features of each system (mother-family or father-family) could not but cleave together" (p. 1996). If the above generalizations be trustworthy, there should appear a high concentration of positive coefficients in an inter-correlation of these traits. That is exactly what happens (*cf.* Table XI).

Table XI

Traits	*44*	*46*	*48*	*50**	*52**	*53*
42	.88	.75	.83	.73	.50	.90
44		.88	.99	.93	.93	.84
46			.95	.89	.82	.87
48				.98	.98	.85
50					.98	.79
52						.78

Chief characteristics of the "father-family" are patrilocal residence (t. 43, p. 1658), patrilineal descent (t. 45, p. 1942), patripotestal authority or "rule of the man" (t. 51, p. 1975), patrilineal inheritance (t. 47) and succession (t. 49), the levirate (t. 70), and, so it is affirmed, the couvade (t. 104). "The couvade belongs to the father-family or to transitions thereto" (p. 1987). Inter-correlated coefficients again run strongly true to form (*cf.* Table XII), with the exception of the couvade.

Table XII

Traits	*45*	*47*	*49*	*51*	*70*	*104**
43	.89	.74	.60	.87	.39	—.55
45		.91	.97	.96	.18	—.64
47			.97	.96	.30	.28
49				.97	.45	—.29
51					—.12	.00
70						—.17

Although the features of each system "could not but cleave together," the features of each have little in common with those of the other, as evidenced by the negative coefficients in Table XIII. It is apparent that the couvade (t. 104) belongs to the mother-family or to transitions therefrom.

Table XIII

Traits	*43*	*45*	*47*	*49*	*51*	*70*	*104**
42	—.95	—.65	—.26	—.33	.44	—.46	.54
44	—.70	—.95	—.74	—.84	—.83	.33	.75
46	—.85	—.97	—.85	—.89	—.91	.36	.80
48*	—.74	—.98	—.83	—.94	—.91	—.04	.66
50*	—.83	—.97	—.89	—.84	—.92	.32	.50
53	—.88	—.83	—.37	—.63	—.65	—.54	—.09

Characteristic features of the matrilineal or patrilineal systems not only tend to "cleave together" but also reflect a "trend toward consistency" with major aspects of their respective cultural backgrounds. For example, in maintenance and government, positive coefficients are predicted in the correlation of traits of the patrilineal family organization with herding (t. 9, pp. 215–16, 1992), to some extent with agriculture (t. 10, pp. 1983, 1996), with slavery (t. 23, pp. 1976, 1984), property rights (t. 28, 29, p. 279), prevalence of warfare (t. 36, pp. 401, 1976, 1984), power of the chief (t. 41, pp. 703, 1976), development of codified laws (t. 38, pp. 703, 1976), judicial authority (t. 40, pp. 703, 1976), the rise of hereditary castes or social classes (t. 55, p. 1984), and the appearance of plutocracy (t. 56, p. 1984). A statistical correlation of these particular traits (Table XIV) reveals very considerable, though not entire, agreement between them and the authors' generalizations.

Table XIV

Traits	*9*	*10*	*23*	*28*	*29*	*31*	*33*	*36*	*38*	*40*	*55*	*56*
43	.48	—.02	.73	.73	.06	.16	.65	.05	.28	—.11	.84	.56
45	.77	.02	.22	—.20	—.07	.02	.32	— 69	.23	—.36	—.22	—.20
47	.61	.09	.23	.16	.42	.12	.15	—.64	.26	.21	.44	.76
49	.50	.40	.15	.39	.00	.51	.38	— 49	.46	.36	.06	.06
51	.69	—.67	.46	.07	—.31	—.43	—.08	—.31	—.50	—.11	—.02	—.12
70	.36	.34	.39	.83	.47	.65	.77	12	.54	.56	.85	.75

There are 52 positive coefficients out of a total of 72. Of those outside the .20 to —.20 range allowed for variations due primarily to chance, there are 36 positive to 10 negative coefficients. The weakest series of coefficients occurs in the correlation of features of the patrilineal system with agriculture (t. 10), private property in land (t. 29), the prevalence of warfare (t. 36), and judicial authority (t. 40). The most positive and consistent coefficients are found in the correlation of the patrilineal system with herding and with slavery. Among features of the family system, patripotestal authority (t. 51) runs most consistently negative.

In the field of social organization, further positive coefficients are suggested by the authors in the correlation of the patriarchal system with the tendency to exogamic marriage (t. 57, p. 1984), the practice of purchase and bride-price (t. 66, p. 1952), dowry

(t. 67, pp. 358–64), the tightening of post-marital sexual restrictions on women (t. 76, p. 1986), subjection of women (t. 74, p. 1986), difficulty of divorce for women (t. 72, p. 1986), and property rights in women (t. 80, p. 1986). The results appear in Table XV.

Table XV

Traits	*57*	*66*	*67*	*72*	*74*	*76*	*80**
43	—.39	.43	.28	.65	.58	—.16	.68
45	—.72	.48	—.24	.50	.73	—.68	.24
47	—.34	.28	—.11	.57	.90	—.45	.58
49	—.38	.48	—.21	.68	.87	—.38	.16
51	—.53	.49	.41	.73	.74	—.27	—.20
70	—.06	.17	.38	.34	.19	—.48	.45

The authors are contradicted by the coefficient trends with respect to exogamic marriage, dowry, and post-marital sex-restrictions upon women (t. 57, 67, 76). Agreement is uniform with respect to purchase and bride-price (t. 66), difficulty of divorce for women (t. 72), subjection of women (t. 74), and nearly so in regard to property rights in women (t. 80).

As contrasted with the expectation of positive correlations above, a correspondingly negative trend would be anticipated in correlating outstanding features of the matrilineal system with the same cultural traits. Table XVI indicates the extent to which this occurs with respect to maintenance and government, and Table XVII with respect to the social organization.

These tables reveal 67 negative coefficients as against 45 positive, and 49 higher than —.20 as against 25 higher than .20. Again the positive and negative coefficients run in series instead of being scattered at random. The matrilineal system shows strong

Table XVI

Traits	*9*	*10*	*23*	*28*	*29*	*31*	*33*	*38*	*40*	*55*	*56*
42	—.63	—.40	—.76	—.78	—.31	—.68	—.82	—.33	—.66	—.69	—.36
44	—.75	—.08	—.31	.46	—.10	—.20	.18	—.43	.12	.08	—.12
46	—.75	.10	.11	.31	.17	.19	—.03	—.27	.42	.51	.71
48*	—.81	—.03	—.41	.20	.40	—.52	—.11	—.57	.10	—.22	.26
50*	—.65	.50	—.52	.53	.30	—.09	.33	—.06	.46	—.14	—.09
53	—.56	—.06	—.80	.16	—.20	—.48	.20	—.37	.14	—.33	.16

Table XVII

Traits	*57*	*66*	*67*	*72*	*74*	*76*	*80**
42	—.09	—.46	—.29	—.24	—.12	—.09	—.50
44	.40	—.30	.11	—.70	—.65	.76	—.45
46	.25	—.56	.76	—.30	—.73	.63	—.19
48*	.66	—.63	.30	—.48	—.92	.62	.20
50*	.75	—.47	.08	—.28	—.93	.53	—.09
53	.58	—.68	.02	—.33	—.50	.46	—.60

and almost uniformly negative coefficients with herding (t. 9), slavery (t. 23), a strong chieftainship (t. 31), development of codified laws (t. 38), purchase and bride-price (t. 66), restrictions on divorce for women (t. 72), subjection of women (t. 74), and property rights in women (t. 80). Positive coefficients strongly predominate in the correlation of the matrilineal system with property rights in objects other than land (t. 28), judicial authority (t. 40), exogamy with reference to kin-group (t. 57), dowry (t. 67), and post-marital sex restrictions on women (t. 76). The coefficients do not support all the generalizations of the authors; they consistently support some, as consistently deny others, and leave the question of still others unsettled. There is, however, a significant degree of consistency among the coefficients themselves. A "trend towards consistency" is beyond question.

Tables XI to XVII strongly suggest that there are substantial differences in the general cultural configurations of societies with matrilineal and patrilineal institutions. In recognition of this difference, our authors give considerable space and emphasis to a discussion of the "priority of the mother-family" in the sense that it is generally an adjustment to simpler and more primitive conditions and that, in time sequence, it tends to precede and give way to patrilineal organizations in the societal process of selection and survival. They affirm that the former is "incompatible" with a pastoral economy, and that the latter is essential to advanced and well organized cultures (pp. 1988–96). If this is the actual tendency in culture at large, one may expect further positive coefficients in the correlation of patrilineal features with the remaining cultural traits in Table III which show high positive coefficients with both herding and agriculture and correspondingly low ratings with collection, hunting, and somewhat with fishing. A review of the chart

will indicate that these include the domestication of animals other than herded (t. 13), mining and smelting of metals (t. 14), pottery (t. 16), weaving (t. 18), trade (t. 25), standard medium of exchange (t. 26), prevalence of warfare (t. 36), polygyny (t. 61), restrictions on divorce for women (t. 72), subjection of women (t. 74), organized priesthood (t. 81), and the development of writing (t. 103). These, it may be assumed, tend to be characteristics of "advance" in culture in contrast to traits that show serious negative coefficients with herding and agriculture. The correlation of characteristic traits of the patriarchate with them should show a predominance of positive coefficients (*cf.* Table XVIII), and a correlation of the same traits with matrilineal institutional forms should show a preponderance of negative coefficients (*cf.* Table XIX).

Table XVIII

Traits	*13*	*14*	*16*	*18*	*25*	*26*	*36*	*61*	*72*	*74*	*81*	*103*
43	.41	.66	—.55	—.41	.54	.29	.05	.75	.65	.58	.69	.12
45	.29	.64	—.29	—.68	—.04	—.36	—.69	.23	.50	.73	.46	.22
47	.24	.68	—.15	—.37	.56	.38	—.64	.26	.57	.90	.28	.32
49	.16	.40	—.41	—.72	.54	.02	—.49	.37	.68	.87	.42	—.13
51	—.04	.27	—.72	—.71	.40	—.44	—.31	—.28	.73	.74	— 03	.09
70	.32	.54	.05	.14	.40	.21	.12	.75	.34	.19	.83	.14

Table XIX

Traits	*13*	*14*	*16*	*18*	*25*	*26*	*36*	*61*	*72*	*74*	*81*	*103*
42	—.69	—.73	.20	.05	—.74	—.23	—.44	—.61	—.24	—.12	—.77	—.56
44	—.27	—.76	.07	.50	—.51	.08	.00	—.13	—.70	—.65	—.63	—.60
46	—.04	—.46	.12	.59	—.10	.24	.45	—.62	—.30	—.73	—.23	—.09
48*	—.31	—.67	.02	.49	—.14	.28	.47	—.28	—.48	—.92	—.71	.00
50*	.20	—.26	.66	.50	—.12	—.06	.73	.14	—.28	—.93	—.20	—.28
53	—.75	—.64	.21	.22	—.25	—.07	—.25	—.70	—.33	—.50	—.19	.23

In fact, positive coefficients do predominate in the one table and negative coefficients in the other. But there are significant exceptions, chiefly in the case of the correlations with pottery (t. 16), weaving (t. 18), and the extent of warfare (t. 36). If these three traits be relegated to an archaic and primitive phase, and the remaining traits—domestication of animals other than herded (t. 13), mining and smelting of metals (t. 14), trade (t. 25), polygyny (t. 61), restriction of divorce for women (t. 72), subjection of

women (t. 74), organized priesthood (t. 81), and the use of writing (t. 103)—be considered as more characteristic of later and advanced cultures, then there is a strong case for the priority of the mother-family. On the other hand, it may be as reasonably assumed that the "drift away from the features of the mother-family" and to those of the father-family are not due solely or chiefly to time sequence or complexity in cultural development, but to the ascendency of masculine economic activities in the sex division of labor and of consequent male dominance in social organization. There is little doubt of the cultural "drift away from the features of the mother family" (p. 1996); the question is how and why? Time priority appears to the writer to be more aptly defined as a correlative than a cause.

To unravel the skein of cultural forces influencing the status of woman has challenged the ingenuity of the authors and led them into broad and sometimes paradoxical generalizations. "Sex-status is a matter of adjustment, over ages of variation and selection in the mores, to the major life conditions of maintenance-needs and bi-sexuality" (p. 1793). "Every wide fluctuation or convulsion in the mores has important consequences in the effects upon the relation of the sexes, the status of woman . . ." (p. 1532). "The key to the whole situation as respects woman's evolving status lies, in the end, in maintenance considerations" (p. 1825). While "there is a considerable degree of consideration and respect accorded to woman throughout the range of that section of the race which is generally regarded as the most backward in culture" (p. 1789), "women did not possess the visible and self-evident power shown by men; nor were their characteristic powers staged in the focus of attention" (p. 1802). "With herding and nomadism man rises in the scale and woman sinks. He becomes independent of her contribution" (p. 216). Men's secret societies also worked effectively "in suppressing possible female assertiveness" (p. 1745). "The appearance of woman as property by capture or purchase changed her status . . ." (pp. 1740, 1993). Where militancy prevailed strongly and unintermittently, she "seemed of inferior service and worth to society" (p. 1820). The "introduction of slavery had considerable effect upon the status of the conqueror's women . . ." (p. 144), and as society became industrial instead of militant,

"woman carried along into the new phase, made a gain in status" (p. 1826). "It has been suggested that her status is higher under an agricultural economy than among hunting or pastoral tribes; that tillage has always been her specialty and that her economic contributions to society and also her rights have been greater when she could pursue it relatively undisturbed by nomadic or militaristic tendencies on the part of men. . . . It seems to us that there is here no very decisive correlation . . ." (p. 1802).

"When descent is reckoned exclusively in the female line, since both inheritance and succession follow that line, woman is undoubtedly thrown more into the foreground in respect to property and social position" (p. 1789). "To the sex that carries descent and what goes with it a distinct importance is accorded" (p. 1951). Further, "it seemed that when a man went to live with a woman, he suffered in status and rights" (p. 1789). But "society abandoned the mother-family in favor of the patriarchate; it let the kin-group wane and adjusted through territoriality; and woman lost in both instances" (p. 1826). With every wide fluctuation in the mores there were important changes in the relation of the sexes; but "the evidence available does not seem to warrant the correlation between the existence of the matrilineal system and of exceptional sets of rights for women" (p. 1789). "We have not been able to see that woman's status, meaning her sum of rights as compared with man's, has been vitally affected by the system of family organization" (p. 1990).

Unfortunately, material at hand does not permit precise and complete checking of all these generalizations. It is possible, however, to correlate a limited number of factors bearing upon the status of woman with a wide range of cultural traits. For the sake of brevity, a table (Table XX) of sampled coefficients is presented.

Table XX

Maintenance								*Matrilineal*				*Patrilin*		
6	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*23*	*36*	*38*	*42*	*44*	*46*	*48**	*43*	*45*	*4*
.06	—.16	.33	.07	.14	.36	.56	—.09	.30	.53	.69	.47	—.44	—.47	—.5
—.24	—.56	—.46	.36	.12	.17	.16	.31	—.24	—.70	—.30	—.48	.65	.50	.5
—.17	—.19	—.18	.34	.26	.19	—.17	.32	—.12	—.65	—.73	—.92	.58	.73	.9
—.50	—.31	—.64	.58	.49	.79	.79	.74	—.50	—.45	—.19	.20	.68	.24	.5
.08	.62	.43	—.73	.41	—.14	—.13	.33	.27	.63	.52	.48	.06	—.42	—.1

This table could not be arranged in a manner suitable for checking all items on the basis of uniform positive or negative coefficients of association, but the following general observations are worthy of note. The influence of women in government (t. 34) appears to be relatively slight among collectors, hunters and herders, increases in agricultural groups, but is most pronounced among fisher-folk. It increases with slavery and warfare, but declines when correlated with the extension of codified laws. It is decidedly more pronounced in matrilineal than in patrilineal systems of social organization. There is little difficulty in divorce for women (t. 72) among collectors, hunters, and fishers, more where there is agriculture, slavery, and warfare, but most among herders and with an increase in codified laws. Again the shift is very definite between matrilineal and patrilineal groups, with decided restraints upon divorce in the latter. The suppression of women and their social inferiority (t. 74) is also decidedly greater in herding and agricultural groups, where there are slaves and codified laws, and among patrilineal institutions. Property in women (t. 80) shows positive coefficients with herding, agriculture, slavery, warfare, codified laws, and patrilineal institutions; there are negative coefficients with the simpler types of maintenance and matrilineal societies. Preference for female children shows negative coefficients of association with herding, warfare, and the patrilineal family organization. Space does not permit the checking of numerous specific generalizations throughout the text. Suffice it to say, that the status of woman appears decidedly influenced by maintenance mores and the family organization. In maintenance activities their position appears highest among collectors, hunters, and fishers, intermediate in agricultural societies, and lowest among herders. The institution of slavery is not an unmixed blessing to their status; warfare may work to their detriment, and the extension of codified laws is correlative with divorce restrictions, subjection, and property rights in their person. Matrilineal institutions consistently favor a high status for woman, when judged by these criteria, in contrast to patrilineal. Our authors appear unduly cautious in this connection (pp. 1802, 1990).

In conclusion, we may inquire whether *The Science of Society*, with its manifold principles, laws, and generalizations, stands the

test of a more objective and better controlled, though restricted, procedure of statistical analysis of cultural data. The reader needs no reminder, at this point, of the rather remarkable agreement revealed between the correlations of the present study and the generalizations advanced by Sumner and Keller on the basis of a far more extensive, though unselected, mass of ethnographic data. A rough count of our coefficients—about nine hundred in number—shows slightly more than 80 per cent of them to be in substantial agreement with the conclusions of the authors in question. Moreover, in accordance with a fundamental tenet of the authors, the closest agreement is found in those subjects impinging most closely upon maintenance activities. In view of these facts, the criticism most commonly leveled against users of the comparative ethnographic method, namely, that they tend to marshal facts only to support theories otherwise arrived at, would seem to require tempering in the present instance.

It should be noted, however, that our coefficients show even more consistency amongst themselves than agreement with the generalizations of the authors. This internal consistency is most marked, furthermore, in respect to those traits least subject to subjective judgments in their classification. In other words, consistency in the coefficients stands in direct ratio to the approximation to objectivity in the investigation. All in all, the scales appear to be tipped too far on the side of the assumption of some order, regularity, and mutual adjustment in culture traits, for the invocation of mere chance and historical accident to set them right again. The burden of proof, at least, would seem to rest with the proponents of unadulterated historical determinism. In short, it seems premature, in the present state of knowledge, to abandon the possibility of, and the quest for, trustworthy principles and generalizations in the field of cultural phenomena. This does not imply, of course, that it will ever be possible to predict with precision what may be found by way of cultural configuration in any particular society, any more than it is possible to predict with accuracy the behavior of a normal individual in a complex situation. But just as there are increasingly valid approximations to the general average of behavior for large numbers of persons in similar situations, so there

may conceivably be similar approximations of validity for societies and cultures.

To the writer, the statistical discipline has proved to be an effective instrument for the integration of masses of facts into mosaics of apparent order and sense. It has, moreover, been of inestimable use in calling attention to contrary facts, and thus in applying the brake to overzealous generalization. The actual results, of course, are in the highest degree only tentative. In addition to the defects already pointed out, e.g., the intrusion of subjective judgments and the use of a possibly arbitrary system of classification, the study suffers from insufficiency of data. Seventy-one tribes are too few to justify placing much reliance upon any single statistical coefficient. Much greater confidence may be placed in the general trend of large numbers of coefficients bearing upon major hypotheses. Even here, however, further confirmation is required. No question can be considered settled by a study as incomplete as our own. But records of pertinent and painstaking investigation serve their purpose when they tip the scales ever so slightly.

THE FUR TRADE FRONTIER OF SIBERIA

THEODORE C. WEILER

On the basis of their typical maintenance activities, the frontiers of the world have been classified into the "small farm," "settlement plantation," "exploitative plantation," and "camp" types.[1] While this scheme seems to be adequate and eminently useful in studying colonial societies of the temperate and torrid zones, it fails to provide a class into which would fit such frontiers as those of the Arctic regions where the typical economic activity is the exploitation of the fur resources. The purpose of this essay is to depict the chief characteristics of frontier society in one of the Arctic areas, northern Siberia, and thus perhaps to show that "fur trade frontiers" should be added to the above classification.

The earliest historical records indicate that Russians became interested in the fur resources of Siberia before—probably long before—the eleventh century.[2] This possible source of wealth, however, received little attention until, in 1580, a small band of freelance soldiers set out to subdue the natives of that country in the name of the Tsar. This band, composed chiefly of Cossacks, was followed by others who within the short span of seventy years won the greater part of Siberia's five million square miles for Russia. The conquest was but incidental to a greedy search for furs, for the Cossacks enriched both themselves and the Tsar with the plunder they took from the aborigines. The Russians displayed little interest in land for agricultural settlement until well after they had begun, in the early part of the eighteenth century, the subjection of the powerful tribes who held the fertile soil of southern Siberia. Exploitation of the fur resources of the North has continued

1. Leyburn, J. G., *Frontier Folkways* (New Haven, 1935), pp. 5–6, 229–33. In the writing of the present essay, I am heavily indebted to Professor Leyburn's work in the sociological study of frontiers.

2. Czaplicka, M. A., *My Siberian Year* (London, [1916]), p. 276; for brief résumés of Siberian history see Baikalov, A. V., "The Conquest and Colonisation of Siberia," *Slavonic Review*, X (1932), 557–71, and Wright, G. F., *Asiatic Russia* (2 vols., New York, 1902), I, 3–10, 123–32, 135–47, 183–4, 196–7.

almost to the present day and has induced a considerable number of Russians to migrate to these Arctic and sub-Arctic regions.

The Siberian North may be roughly defined as the part of Asia lying north of an irregular line approximating the sixtieth parallel of north latitude.[3] Its area, exclusive of the former Far Eastern Provinces, is more than three million square miles.[4] Most of this territory is low and relatively flat. Three great rivers, the Ob, the Yenisei, and the Lena, flow northward across it. The climate is characterized by long, Arctic winters, short and only moderately warm summers, and an annual precipitation of less than ten inches. The territory north of the seventieth parallel is a vast, treeless swamp or tundra, frozen throughout the year except for a few weeks in summer. South of this line, the climate favors the growth of forests but not of agricultural plants. When the Russians entered the country, both forest and tundra supported a teeming abundance of fur-bearing animals. Equally plentiful were the fish in the rivers.

Animal life, obviously, must constitute the chief resource for human subsistence in this region. Before the conquest, the aborigines—Samoyeds, Ostiaks, Yenisei Ostiaks, Tunguses, Yakuts, and the Palæasiatics of the Northeast—lived either partly or exclusively by hunting and fishing;[5] reindeer-breeding was the primary occupation among the Samoyeds and branches of some of the other tribes. After the conquest, most of the colonists and many of the natives busied themselves with one or more of the occupations connected with the fur trade: hunting, transportation, and the various trading operations from simple exchange with native or Russian hunters to commerce with the mother country.[6] For subsistence, the inhabitants of the North supplemented the direct products of hunting, fishing, and reindeer-herding, with many com-

3. For descriptions of the geography see Stamp, L. D., *Asia* (New York, 1929), pp. 575–85; Kendrew, W. G., *The Climates of the Continents* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 180–9; Great Britain, Admiralty, *A Handbook of Siberia and Arctic Russia,* I (London, [1920]), pp. 24–33.

4. Most of the material in this essay pertains to the territory between the European boundary and the eastern parts of the Lena Basin. The frontiersmen of the Northeast did not, however, differ greatly from those of the Northwest.

5. Jochelson, V. I., *Peoples of Asiatic Russia* (New York, 1928), *passim,* Czaplicka, M. A., *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914), *passim.*

6. For a full account of the Siberian fur trade in its economic and historical aspects see Klein, J., *Der sibirische Pelzhandel* (Bonn, 1906).

modities which they received from Russia and southern Siberia in exchange for furs and, to some extent, for fish. To obtain the basic necessities, such as food, clothing, and shelter, however, all the newcomers adopted the native arts of maintenance to a greater or lesser extent. Acculturation thus played a prominent part in their adjustment.

Depending so largely on hunting and fishing, the population remained sparse even after centuries of colonization; its density was about twelve per one hundred square miles in 1870.[7] Because the rivers were practically the only highways of travel and because they yielded an abundant supply of fish for food, population was concentrated along their banks, and the people of each river system were relatively isolated from the others. The natives have always far outnumbered the Russians; in 1879 the proportion was about four to one in the northern part of the Tobolsk Government, and in 1884 about thirteen to one in the Yakutsk Government.[8]

The typical colonists until early in the nineteenth century were called *promyshlenniki*,[9] a term which defies accurate translation. Its primary meaning is "enterprisers," and it was therefore justly applied to those who engaged in any or all of the gainful occupations of the North. Like the *coureurs-de-bois* and *voyageurs* of French Canada, the *promyshlenniki* led a semi-nomadic existence, camping along the rivers in the fishing season, wandering through the forests and tundra for hunting and trading, and retiring to their homes in sheltered places only for the worst part of the Arctic winter. It was a rude, half-savage life, similar in many respects both to that of the natives and to that of the early Cossacks and pioneers who took possession of the country.

The aboriginal hunting techniques, being well adapted to the

7. Calculated from the statistics of population and area by districts given in Reclus, E., *The Earth and Its Inhabitants: Asia*, Vol. I: *Asiatic Russia* (New York, 1884), pp. 495–6; Yadrintsev, N., *Sibirien* (Jena, 1886), p. 545; *Guide to the Great Siberian Railway*, compiled by the Russian Ministry of Communications (St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 40–1, 134–5, 153, 171, 232, 250, 259, 352.

8. Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, pp. 543–7.

9. On the *promyshlenniki* and their life see Erman, A., *Travels in Siberia* (2 vols, London, 1848), I, 332–3, 447; Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, pp. 283–4; Courant, M., *La Sibérie* (Paris, 1920), pp. 4–5; Krasheninnikov, S. P., *The History of Kamtschatka* (Glocester, 1764), pp. 267–8.

needs of the fur trade, were generally adopted by the *promyshlenniki*.[10] Firearms were seldom used for fear of damaging the pelts, and if a hunter did carry a gun, he loaded it with but one ball and only a small quantity of powder. Bows and blunt-tipped arrows were more frequently employed. Trapping, however, far exceeded in importance all other methods of securing pelts.

Hunting expeditions were usually organized on a coöperative basis. Since the typical family included three or more generations maintaining a common household under the management of a patriarch, it might be large enough to constitute an expedition in itself.[11] Often men from several families would unite themselves into an association or artel for the purpose of making a hunting foray together.[12] Such an expedition required no capital beyond the equipment which each man normally possessed. The rules of the artel were traditional: an experienced leader was elected and given absolute power to enforce the rules, to give orders, to reprimand, and to punish with rods or fines. Under his direction the company would roam through the wilderness during the favorable season, hunting, trapping, fishing, collecting the valuable products of the forest, drying meat, and preparing booty for transportation. The men sustained themselves on the products of the rivers and forests and built their own temporary shelters. Special taboos were observed in order that game and the supernatural beings might not be offended. During the expedition all the booty was thrown into a common fund; on returning home, the artel would give part of it to the church and divide the rest equally among its members. Other expeditions were composed of entire families.[13] Although a leader was elected to settle any differences that might arise among them, each family hunted independently and did not share its booty with the others.

When the *promyshlenniki* returned from an expedition, they became traders, selling their furs to the exporting merchants and making journeys through the country to deal with the natives.[14] On these trips, they took such Russian and south Siberian products as

10. Klein, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–7, 32–6, 44–7; Brehm, A. E., *From North Pole to Equator* (London, 1896), pp. 120–68.
11. Erman, *op. cit.*, I, 447.
12. Courant, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.
13. Cottrell, C. H., *Recollections of Siberia* (London, 1842), pp. 107–9.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 107–9; Courant, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5; Erman, *op. cit.*, I, 483.

the natives liked, especially brandy, and exchanged them at great profit for furs. They were keen bargainers; through artful palaver and cunning use of brandy they were enabled to reap large profits at the expense of the unwary aborigines.

Fairs were held at stated intervals in various places throughout the country.[15] At some of these, exchange took place principally between the natives and the *promyshlenniki;* at others, between these and the large-scale traders; at still others, between the latter and the merchants who handled the commerce with the mother country.

The poorer members of each of these groups were frequently—in many cases, perpetually—in debt to those to whom they sold furs. Since high rates of interest prevailed, creditors reaped inflated profits while debtors led a miserable existence. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the volume of debt and the number of debtors increased at so rapid a rate as to bring about a change in the entire economic organization of the North.[16] Debt became a mechanism whereby free competition was replaced by monopoly and the bulk of the population, including nearly all of the natives, was reduced to virtual slavery. The *promyshlenniki* as a class disappeared, the poorer individuals sinking to the level of the natives while the richer ones became traders on a large scale.

These social and economic changes had their roots in the harsh conditions under which credit was customarily extended.[17] Ordinary interest rates varied from 60 to 200 per cent per annum, because money ventured in trading operations brought similar returns. Shrewd lenders knew how to make loans yield returns in addition to interest. Since the creditor usually kept the only record of the debt and its payment, it was possible for him to alter the

15. Gmelin, J. G., *Reise durch Sibirien* (4 vols., Gottingen, 1751–52), III, 214, 252; IV, 284; Seebohm, H., *Siberia in Asia* (London, 1882), p. 2; Brehm, *op. cit.,* pp. 440–1; Felinska, E., *Revelations of Siberia* (2 vols., London, 1852), II, 117–21, 165 ff.; Stadling, J., *Through Siberia* (New York, 1901), pp. 224–5.

16. Courant, *op. cit.,* pp. 4–5.

17. For descriptions of the debt system see Castren, M. A., *Reisen im Norden* (Leipzig, 1853), p. 323; Colquhoun, A. R., *Overland to China* (New York, 1900), pp. 71–2; Cottrell, *op. cit.,* p. 110; Finsch, O., *Reise nach West-Sibirien* (Berlin, 1879), p. 76; Gmelin, *op. cit.,* I, 464–5; Klein, *op. cit.,* pp. 72–86; Nansen, F., *Through Siberia* (New York, 1914), p. 111; Stadling, *op. cit.,* p. 290; Yadrintsev, *op. cit.,* pp. 94–5, 312–42.

account to his advantage and, by not giving a receipt, to collect the principal a second time. Still greater gains resulted from his power to force payment at a time inconvenient to the debtor. By calculating use of this power he could bind his victim ever more tightly, inducing him to borrow more money on harder terms until his ruin and subjection were complete. While it seems strange that any one should have wanted to borrow money under such conditions, indolence, wastefulness, drinking, gambling, and bad luck led many into debt. Some, moreover, inherited the status, for debts descended like property from father to son.

Many of these exactions were illegal. As early as 1840 the law prohibited the lending of more than a small sum to a member of the lower classes and set a limit to the rate of interest. Nevertheless, a creditor seldom found it difficult to evade the law. Many of his dishonest practices were impossible of detection, especially since the debtor was usually ignorant of the law and in any case dared not protest for fear of reprisals. As a last resort, the rich lender could bribe the enforcement officers, who were invariably corrupt.

The debt relation became a characteristic feature of the fur trade during the nineteenth century.[18] The traders met the natives and poor colonists either individually on journeys, or at fairs, and obtained furs, clothing made of reindeer skins, reindeer meat, frozen fish, mammoth bones, etc., in exchange for flour, bread, butter, tobacco, pots, pans, glass, knives, needles, brass buttons and rings, glass beads, and many other trifles. Each trader had a number of clients, i.e., natives or colonists who were in debt to him, whose trade he monopolized. He used his powers to fix the prices of all commodities. The only way the client could get a fair exchange was to patronize some trader other than his creditor, but in this case he had to act with great secrecy to avoid the revenge of the monopolist.

To facilitate their exploitation, the traders took advantage of the fondness of the natives for brandy. The aborigines willingly

18. For material on the fur trade of the later period see Castren, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 325–9; Colquhoun, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–2; Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–40; Erman, *op. cit.*, II, 375; Finsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 570–1; Golovachev, P. N., *Sibir': Priroda, Liudi, Zhizn'* [in Russian] (Moskva, 1902), pp. 132–3; Klein, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–87; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 142–3, 214, 216–17; Seebohm, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 231; Stadling, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–4, 212, 223, 243–4.

paid exorbitant prices for liquor and mortgaged everything they had for the sake of it. When drunk, they were more than ever at the mercy of the traders. The Government at times tried to prohibit the sale of liquor in the northern regions, with the result that bootlegging flourished. So great was the passion of the natives for liquor, that any trader who tried to obey the law promptly lost his customers to the bootleggers.

A single trader was often able to get all the inhabitants of a district in debt to him, whereupon he could exclude all competitors from the district and make his monopoly complete. With such economic power went virtually absolute social and political power. In his district, the monopolist was implicitly obeyed; he could claim ownership of anything in sight; he could even commit murder with impunity. If necessary, he could usually bribe the government officials not to molest him; only in rare and flagrant cases were these trader-kings brought to justice.

Fishing, always an important source of food to the *promyshlenniki* and most of the natives, attained the status of an industry during the nineteenth century.[19] Fish from the northern rivers began to find a ready sale in southern Siberia and in Russia, and many of the northern colonists turned to fishing as a chief source of livelihood. Many of the colonists and most of the natives who fished independently fell in debt to the traders who bought the fish for export, and their status thus approximated that of the fur hunters. Others worked as laborers in fishing enterprises organized by industrialists. Some of the Russian fishermen organized artels, or worked in small groups one member of which furnished the capital and took a larger share of the fish.

Hunting and fishing constituted the principal forms of exploitation of the resources of the North. There was a little mining, especially of gold, but since the mining settlements had little connection with the other inhabitants, and were of the camp frontier type, there is no need to consider them here. Russian traders, hunters, and fishers occasionally owned herds of reindeer, but they never

19. Castren, M. A., *Reiseberichte und Briefe aus den Jahren 1845–1849* (St. Petersburg, 1856), pp. 128–30; Erman, *op. cit.*, II, 94; Finsch, *op. cit.*, p. 628; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–12; Studnicki, L., *Die Wahrheit iber Sibirien* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 17–18.

became reindeer-nomads like some of the natives.[20] Nevertheless, like the government officials and exiles stationed in these regions, they were, at least indirectly, almost as dependent as the natives on this animal for food, clothing, and transportation. Many of the colonists used dogs in hunting and for transportation. No useful product that could be found in the forests was neglected.[21] Wood for building purposes and for fuel was, of course, the most important, while pine seeds, wild berries, and fruits were welcome additions to the food supply.

The Russian governmental organization of these northern regions began with the conquest.[22] The Cossack chieftains ruled the conquered natives in the name of the Tsar, assuming, however, a large measure of independent authority. After a time, they were made subordinate to administrative officials from Russia, who stationed themselves in the chief towns and who were made responsible for the collection of the taxes, the quelling of native uprisings, and the preservation of order in general. The Cossack troops served as militia, police, and minor functionaries in the government. This form of administrative organization persisted without radical change during the following centuries.

The Cossacks[23] brought to the region in large numbers by the conquest were not withdrawn after the country was pacified, since their maintenance involved little expense to the Government. They enjoyed a peculiar status as an hereditary warrior class with special rights and duties. Each male among them received a small stipend from the Government, was exempted from taxes, and was subject to the jurisdiction, not of ordinary civil officials, but only of Cossack officials, who were directly responsible to the Tsar. In return, the Cossack was expected to get his own living, supply his own equipment, and hold himself in readiness at all times for service. Even during the fighting of the conquest, the Cossacks seized every opportunity for private gain. Afterwards, as they were re-

20. Castren, *Reisen*, p. 324; Erman, *op. cit.*, I, 475; Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 81.

21. Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 221; Finsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 587–8; Studnicki, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

22. For information on the administrative system before the nineteenth century see Courant, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–7; Gmelin, *op. cit.*, I, 161.

23. For material relating to the Cossacks see Courant, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–3; Felinska, *op. cit.*, I, 150, 174–80; Krasheninnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–70.

leased from official duties, they became *promyshlenniki* and, as such, constituted a large proportion of the Russian population of northern Siberia.

The chief duty of the Imperial officials was the collection of the tribute or tax from the natives.[24] During the conquest, a tribute, to be paid in furs, was levied on each conquered male, and this was afterwards continued as an annual tax. Officials attended all fairs, where the collection of taxes took place before trading was allowed to proceed. In other instances, the natives brought their taxes directly to the towns. The Russian Government allowed the aborigines to retain their own regulative organizations under the suzerainty of the Tsar, but in some cases it appointed "princes," and consolidated clans, in order that each group might have a person responsible for the payment of its taxes. Disputes between colonists and natives were settled by Russian and native judges sitting together.

From the first, the officials of Siberia were corrupt, dishonest, arrogant, and despotic.[25] They were never chosen from among the inhabitants of the country, and seldom served more than a few years before returning to Russia. As representatives of an autocratic regime, they had almost unlimited authority over the populace. They easily evaded control from the central government because of their great distance from the capital and because, most of the time, the central authorities asked no questions concerning Siberia if the revenue came in regularly. Such officials as thirsted for power assumed it. Others were lazy and inefficient. Most of them betrayed the Tsar's trust and used their power to enrich themselves out of the revenue, defrauding both the Government and the Siberian inhabitants. For example, although the native tax could legally be paid either in furs or in money, at a fixed rate of exchange which undervalued the former, the officials usually forced payment in furs and themselves realized the profit from the undervaluation. They let the natives believe that the pelts would be received by the Tsar in person, so that loyal subjects vied with each

24. Fischer, J. E., *Sibirische Geschichte* (St. Petersburg, 1768), pp. 268, 272–3, 328–9; Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 129–37; Courant, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Haviland, M. D., *A Summer on the Yenesei (1914)* (London, 1915), p. 107.

25. Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–4, 95, 344–87.

other to present only the finest; only the furs of poorest quality, however, actually reached the treasury.[26] Judges openly demanded bribes of all litigants, and superior officials forced contributions from their inferiors. On the whole, the Siberian inhabitants paid exorbitantly for a government which did little to serve them.

The Imperial forces, too meager to police the entire territory, concentrated themselves in the towns.[27] The backwoods apparently had no government. The natives, however, governed themselves through their clans, and the colonists had various regulative agencies. Chief among the latter was the patriarchal organization of the joint household,[28] which usually sufficed since most of these families lived in isolation. The mores, enforced by each family with regard to its own members, also regulated inter-family relationships to a great extent; generous hospitality toward strangers[29] and taboos on murder, theft, etc., were part of the moral code. As illustrated by the temporary union of families on hunting expeditions under a chosen leader, regulation occurred by mutual agreement. Sometimes, especially during the first century of colonization, disputes between families were settled by armed conflict.[30] Usually, however, fear of interference by the Imperial authorities led families to compose their differences, for these officials investigated, judged, and punished crimes, even when committed in the wilderness, in so far as they received intelligence of them and were able to apprehend the criminals.[31] Finally, large-scale creditors could, if they desired, exercise a considerable measure of regulative power over their debtors.

The traditional Russian system of class distinctions could have no practical significance in northern Siberia,[32] where nobles were not landlords but government officials, where peasants were not

26. Atkinson, L., *Recollections of Tartar Steppes* (London, 1863), p. 83.

27. Ungern-Sternberg, N. von, *Sibirien als Siedlungsland* (Giessen, 1930), p. 32.

28. Felinska, *op. cit.*, I, 141; Bates, L., *The Russian Road to China* (Boston, 1910), pp. 136–9; Kohn, A., *Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 290–1.

29. Cottrell, *op. cit.*, p. vi; Hansteen, C., *Reise-Erinnerungen aus Sibirien* (Leipzig, 1854), pp. 38–9; Kohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 304–7.

30. Stadling, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–3.

31. Niemojowski, L., *Siberian Pictures* (2 vols., London, 1883), II, 110–11; Nansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–3; Haviland, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

32. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 247–9, 288–9; Erman, *op. cit.*, I, 473.

agricultural serfs but free hunters and traders, where the merchant class included but a small fraction of the actual merchants, where there were no burghers and few clergy, and where the bulk of the population was made up of natives, Cossacks, and exiles who belonged to none of the five feudal classes. The real class distinctions were those growing out of the political and the economic organization, namely, government officials, Cossacks, colonists, and natives. The wealthy merchants and traders, moreover, formed a class socially superior to the poorer traders and hunters. These distinctions, as well as the traditional ones, were more prominent in the towns than in the open country.

The natives constituted an inferior social class less by reason of their race than because of their inferior economic status.[33] Cases of mistreatment of the natives by Russians, though reported from all parts of Siberia, can be matched by similar instances of mistreatment of poor Russians by wealthy members of their own race. Except in the towns of the Ob basin, intermarriage between colonists and natives occurred without social disapproval and natives were apparently not despised. Even in the Ob basin, moreover, the natives were treated as equals, although the two races remained apart.[34]

The marriage institution on this fur trade frontier differed widely from that of the homeland.[35] During the conquest and for some time afterwards, the determining conditions were the great preponderance of males among the Russians, the small proportion of the latter in the population, and their domination over the natives. In default of women of their own race, the Russians took unto themselves native wives, in general following aboriginal customs but not hesitating to make their own arbitrary rules when convenient and to enforce them against the helpless native women. Wives were in every respect the slaves of their husbands, and were

33. On the status of the natives see Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Castren, *Reiseberichte,* pp. 202–3; Colquhoun, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Courant, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–2; Erman, *op. cit.*, II, 356; Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–5; Gilder, *Ice-pack and Tundra* (New York, 1883), p. 197; Haviland, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Krasheninnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–9.

34. Erman, *op. cit.*, I, 447–8.

35. For material on marriage among the early settlers see Müller, G. F., *Sammlung russischer Geschichte,* VIII: *Sibirische Geschichte* (St. Petersburg, 1763), pp. 212–15, 262–3; Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

bought, sold, exchanged, lent, and mortgaged like any chattel. Polygyny was common and, as among the natives, commanded prestige. Even incest was not tabooed. Under the competition of standards, the traditional Russian type of wedlock was discarded; no distinction was made between the native women and the few Russian women in the country.

Reports of these conditions after a time induced the authorities in Russia to send an archbishop to enforce decent standards. In 1630, moreover, they ordered the recruiting of one hundred and fifty maidens in Russia, who were sent to Siberia to marry as many Cossacks. These couples were wedded according to the rites of the Church, and were expected, under the supervision of the archbishop, to live as did husbands and wives in European Russia. Although family life in the Russian manner was thus started in Siberia, irregularities continued among the semi-nomadic hunters and traders.[36]

Women, being both scarce and necessary to the household economy, were exceedingly valuable. Even the most regular of marriages involved the payment of a bride-price,[37] a custom seemingly borrowed from the natives. Parents, unwilling to lose the services of their daughters, frequently refused to let them marry until forced by the authorities to do so. Disputes over women were frequent and often led to bloody conflicts. Native women were obtained by capture if other means were not available.

The scarcity of women and the enslavement of natives abated in time, but the colonists still retained the custom of the bride-price and intermarried freely with the aborigines.[38] Sometimes the native partner in a mixed union would adopt Russian ways, but more often the Russian partner would be absorbed into the native group. Many a colonist lived alternately, so to speak, in both worlds—with a Russian wife in the Russian settlement and with one or more

36. Stadling, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–3.

37. Burr, M., "On Some Siberianisms," *Slavonic Review*, V (1926–27), 659–60; Kohn, *op. cit.*, p. 291; Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, p. 442; Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 100. Some at least of the settlers of the Ob basin were exceptions to this rule; *cf.* Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 50–1.

38. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Haviland, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Ischboldin, B., "Die wichtigsten Siedlungsgebilde Sibiriens," *Kolner Vierteljahrshefte fur Soziologie*, VIII (1929–30), 373–4.

native wives while on his trading expeditions. Such unions were both permanent and sanctioned by custom.

Traders from Russia or from the south of Siberia, on the other hand, took advantage of the native customs to form loose and temporary unions with the native women.[39] For what was to him a small outlay in bride-prices, a trader could purchase several consorts to accompany him on his journey, abandoning them at the end of the season. It was also usual for a polygynous Tungus to resign one of his wives to a Russian adventurer in return for a share of the proceeds of the latter's hunting and trading expedition.[40]

The elaborate wedding festivities in the towns were similar to those of Russia and of southern Siberia.[41] Most of these formalities were not possible, however, in the isolation of the far North, where very often it was even impossible to find a priest to perform the rites of the Church.[42]

The most significant feature of religion among the colonists was the wide acceptance of native shamanism.[43] Not even the upper classes in the towns, who remained staunch adherents of Russian Orthodox Christianity, were unaffected. Occasionally a shaman accomplished some feat that shook the scepticism of the most intelligent.[44] In the wilderness, the colonists were Christians only in name and by profession; in actuality they believed implicitly in the native religion. One reason (perhaps unimportant) for this situation was the scarcity of Russian clergy and churches outside of the towns. The sparse population could not support priests, even if some could have been found who were willing to endure the hardships of sub-Arctic life. Neither could the many objects necessary to the full observance of Orthodox rites be transported over the tundra and through the forests with the wandering hunters and traders.

Acceptance of shamanism by the colonists most often took the form of applying to the native shamans for aid in times of dis-

39. Stadling, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Nansen, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
40. Erman, *op. cit.*, II, 138.
41. Felinska, *op. cit.*, I, 202–3, 237–8; II, 155–6.
42. Haviland, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–6.
43. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 26–7.
44. Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 29–30; Cottrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–41.

tress, or of using some kind of native fetish.[45] Living in the wilderness without physicians or priests, these ignorant people sought some kind of practitioner when illness or misfortune overtook them, and the native shaman was the only one at hand. In not a few localities the Russians took a more active part in the aboriginal religion, making offerings to the native deities and thereby acknowledging their faith in them.[46] Occasionally a Russian even became a shaman, and was patronized by natives and colonists alike.[47]

Nevertheless, shamanism rarely if ever completely supplanted Christianity in the minds of the colonists. Pagan deities and Christian saints were worshiped at the same time or, if at different times, with no distinction. Native idols and Russian ikons stood side by side in the household shrines,[48] and suspended on the breast of a Russian shamanist would be both a cross and a little bone as an amulet.[49] The Christian crosses which marked the boundaries between districts received the characteristic native offerings of horsehair, bits of cloth, tobacco, and copper coins from aborigines and colonists alike.[50] To most of them, no incongruity was apparent between Christianity and shamanism.[51] They called themselves "Christians" even though their religion included all of shamanism with but a slight admixture of Christianity, but they were careful not to extend the designation to the pure shamanists.

Of those who drew a distinction between their Christian and shamanistic beliefs, some, while insisting on the effectiveness of shamanism, placed it on an inferior level, and regarded the pagan deities as subordinate to the Christian God.[52] Others explained the effectiveness of shamanism by a recourse to dualism, defining Christianity as the religion of God, shamanism as that of the Devil.[53] Still others, whatever they thought of shamanism, followed a chameleon-like policy.[54] When among the natives, such colonists were good shamanists; at home they were good Christians. They were

45. Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 26–7; Cottrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–1.
46. Ratzel, F., *History of Mankind* (3 vols., London, 1898), III, 567; Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–1; Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
47. Gmelin, *op. cit.*, I, 351; Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19.
48. Courant, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Yadrintsev, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
49. Ratzel, *op. cit.*, III, 567.
50. Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 190–1.
51. Czaplicka, *op. cit.*, pp. 191–3.
52. Felinska, *op. cit.*, I, 284.
53. Studnicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.
54. Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

not necessarily insincere in this, although some traders certainly made the practice of shamanism a business policy.

Away from the towns, the pleasures of the colonists were few and rude.[55] Among the officials and wealthy merchants of the towns, however, numerous parties, balls, and other social events served to pass the time.[56] Story-telling had some vogue in the Ob basin.[57] On the whole, however, drinking and gambling were the chief pleasures in all classes of the population.[58]

By way of summary and conclusion, a table, adapted from one in which Leyburn[59] compares the chief characteristics of the various types of frontiers, is presented below. The first column retains Leyburn's classification; the fourth, his description of white society on an exploitative tropical frontier, included here for purposes of comparison. In the second column are listed the distinctive features of the Siberian fur trade frontier as a whole; in the third, those of upper class society in northern Siberia, i.e., those exclusively of the wealthy traders and government officials of the towns.

Characteristic	*Northern Siberia*	*Upper Classes*	*Exploitative Plantation*
Nature of the physical environment.	Arctic and sub-Arctic; tundra and forest; possible for Europeans to become acclimatized; agriculture impossible because of the climate.		
The maintenance organization.	Based on hunting, fishing, and the trade in furs.	Exploitative.	
Other mores, institutions, or social phenomena.			
1. Foresight.	Subordinated to immediate gain.	Generally lacking; immediate gain the only end.	Generally lacking; mediate gain the o end.

55. Courant, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

56. Melville, G. W., *In the Lena Delta* (Boston, 1885), p. 279; Stadling, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–6; Seebohm, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 ff.

57. Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 90–2.

58. Stadling, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–6; Krasheninnikov, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–9; Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–5; Felinska, *op. cit.*, II, 178–9.

59. *Op. cit.*, pp. 231–3.

Characteristic	*Northern Siberia*	*Upper Classes*	*Exploitative Plantation*
2. Division of labor.	Hunters and fishers (mostly native) held in subjection to European traders through debt relation.	Labor partly forced through debt relation and levy of taxes.	Forced labor.
3. Property in land.	Almost none.	Almost none.	Estates, held in fief to the crown or other government.
4. Government.	Imperial officials in towns and for collection of taxes; elsewhere, joint-family organization for colonists, and relations between groups informally regulated by force, mutual agreement, and custom.	Aristocratic.	Aristocratic.
5. Social classes.	Based primarily on wealth, secondarily on race.	Fairly rigid; based on blood, rank in government service, and wealth in the order named.	Rigid, based primarily on blood, secondarily on wealth.
6. Punishment of crime.	By governmental authorities (see no. 4), by lynch law, and by blood revenge.	By Imperial courts.	By royal courts.
7. Marriage.	Early in life; unmarried adults rare; much race mixture and polygyny.	Common; seldom any scarcity of women except in early period.	Rare, since women are scarce; much concubinage.
8. Divorce.	Infrequent because of economic importance of marriage; impossible under Church rules but allowed by native usage which prevailed in many Russian and most interracial marriages.	Absent because of the strength of tradition.	Absent, both because of scarcity of women and because of the strength of tradition.
9. Sexual immorality.	Common according to European standards; premarital unchastity, wife- and daughter-lending, and even occasional adultery largely condoned by local standards under the influence of native usage.	Concubinage and miscegenation common.	Concubinage and miscegenation common.

Characteristic	*Northern Siberia*	*Upper Classes*	*Exploitative Plantation*
10. Children.	High infant mortality because of the climate and lack of proper food.	Birth rate and infant mortality high.	Children few.
11. Women's rights.	Among hunters, fishers, and small traders, about the same as among natives; among wealthier traders fewer than in mother country.	Fewer than in mother country.	Fewer than in mother country.
12. Religion.	Combination of the native religion with that of the homeland, the former dominant.	Traditional in outward form, but of secondary importance. Some proselytizing by priests.	Traditional in outward form, but of secondary importance. Often proselytizing by priests.
13. Manners.	Primitive.	Formal; somewhat less cultured than those of similar class in homeland.	Cultured and formal.
14. Amusements.	Few and rude.	Tending toward vice.	Tending toward vice.
15. Population.	Heterogeneous; large proportion of natives; sparse, with little or no increase; residence permanent except among wealthiest traders.	Heterogeneous; slow increase.	Heterogeneous; slow increase.
16. Standard of living.	Primitive; few comforts.	Little decline; luxuries important.	Little decline; luxuries important.
17. Relations with natives.	Friendly in the main; exploitation great, but not confined to natives; extensive cultural borrowing from natives.	Conquest and economic subjection.	Conquest and enslavement, with eventual protective legislation to preserve labor force.
18. Temper of political life.	Reactionary.	Reactionary.	Reactionary as soon as white prestige has been established.

Comparison of the above table with Leyburn's classification yields the following conclusions: (1) Few of his generalizations for any frontier correspond exactly to those for northern Siberia. (2) The north Siberian frontier resembles most closely the "exploitative plantation" type, but the degree of similarity is much less than

that between the "settlement" and the "exploitative plantation" types. (3) Social phenomena among the upper classes in northern Siberia show an especially high degree of correlation with those of the tropical "exploitative plantation" frontier, in spite of the extreme differences in climate and resources. In characterizing a society, however, we are not justified in ignoring such large and important elements as the *promyshlenniki* and other lower classes. In general, therefore, the present study leads to the tentative conclusion that the north Siberian frontier, despite certain striking resemblances to the "exploitative plantation" type, may represent a distinctive and hitherto undifferentiated type, the "fur trade frontier."

THE PRE-IROQUOIAN CULTURES OF NEW YORK STATE

CARTER A. WOODS

THE final withdrawal of the great ice sheet from northern and central New York at the close of the Pleistocene Period left this region with a favorable climate and a variety of soils scarcely to be excelled elsewhere,[1] conditions most conducive to human habitation. Nature supplied an abundance of food. In the spring the ground was covered by a luxuriant vegetation tempting to herds of deer and bison. Numerous plants and edible barks were available to human collectors, and the great valleys and alluvial plains were covered by heavy deposits of fertile soil, easily cultivated and capable of sustaining broad fields of vegetables and grain.[2] Summer brought forth many kinds of berries and small fruits; autumn, a variety of food plants, nuts, and seeds. The bark of the elm furnished a raw material for the construction of dwellings, canoes, and household utensils, and, with the bark of the basswood, a source of fibers for ropes and cordage.

Passenger pigeons, ruffed grouse, wild turkeys, and a score of species of wild ducks and geese filled the forests and marshes. The rivers and lakes teemed with fish, and the coastal waters were likewise well stocked with shellfish. But most valuable of all, to an aboriginal population, were the herds of elk, deer, moose, and bison that inhabited the open lands and the timbered areas, a source of meat food and of materials for clothing and bedding.

The native substances useful in the manufacture of tools and weapons included chert, quartz, gypsum, serpentine, marble, granite, and slate, while deposits of argillite, rhyolite, and jasper were to be found not far over the Pennsylvania border. In fact, nearly

1. Hartnagel, C. A., "Before the Coming of Man," *History of the State of New York*, ed. A. C. Flick (New York, 1933), I, 31–8.

2. Parker, A. C., "The Archeological History of New York," *New York State Museum Bulletin*, No. 235 (1920), pp. 30–3; idem, "The First Appearance of Man," *History of the State of New York*, ed. A. C. Flick (New York, 1933), I, 43–52.

every form of stone suitable for use by aboriginal man is to be found in New York State or its environs.

The natural waterways—the Great Lakes to the north, the smaller interior lakes, and the numerous river systems fed by a vast number of secondary streams—made water transportation easy. Movement from one drainage system to another was possible by means of short portages. Of almost equal importance in facilitating later culture contacts and diffusion were the natural overland trails following the ancient shore lines of the larger lakes. The temperate climate, with its variability of seasons, was stimulating to both physical and mental activity.

Whereas many investigators have written on the early Algonkian occupation of New York, notably Skinner, Harrington, Pepper, Bolton, and Finch, the only comprehensive and synthetic treatment of this subject has been by Parker,[3] whose threefold classification of prehistoric Algonkian cultures has been widely accepted. While the subsequent excavation of several large aboriginal sites by the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences has necessitated some modification of Parker's original hypotheses, his threefold division still holds.[4]

There are no remains to indicate that glacial man ever inhabited this region. The first considerable group of human occupants were the so-called Archaic Algonkians, who, some thousands of years ago, pushed into the state from the west, the apex of a fanlike population movement. Parker[5] estimates the antiquity of man in the Middle Atlantic area as possibly five or six thousand years. These people must have come in successive waves to hunt over this territory or establish settlements. Their winter camps were often located in the level fields at the junction of a small tributary with a larger waterway. The absence of pits and ash accumulation, in spite of the rather extensive distribution of artifacts characteristic of this culture, suggests a numerous population with a short sojourn. The culture of these Archaic Algonkian wanderers was

3. "Archeological History," pp. 46–98; "First Appearance of Man," pp. 52–66.

4. Ritchie, W. A., "The Algonkin Sequence in New York," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXXIV (1932), 406–14.

5. Parker, A. C., "The Iroquois," *History of the State of New York,* ed. A. C. Flick (New York, 1933), I, 73.

relatively crude, the most characteristic artifacts being the beveled adz, never found on sites of later cultures, and a lozenge-shaped projectile point probably used as a javelin head. Associated with these were celts, scrapers, hammerstones, notched net-sinkers, straight-stemmed and notched arrowpoints, knife blades and perforators, while the bone and antler industry included various kinds of awls, fishhooks, knives or scrapers, and bird calls or whistles. There is evidence of the use of the dog, but pottery, steatite, polished slate, and carbonized agricultural products are totally lacking, as are the grooved ax, gouge, and bone harpoon. The few known skeletons of the Archaic Period reveal a dolichocephalic population. The presence of the beveled adz in lower Ontario, northern Ohio, lower New England, eastern Pennsylvania, and throughout the course of the Susquehanna, suggests the distribution of Archaic Algonkian.

Some four thousand years ago[6] this Archaic culture was superseded by a Second or Intermediate Algonkian culture,[7] which was distinctly higher in type. The presence of both cultural types at different levels on a common village site at Lamoka Lake makes for easy comparison.[8] From the distribution of the artifacts characteristic of the Second Period and the intrusion of a new brachycephalic population, it seems tenable to postulate a southern source for this culture in New York State. Among the more important artifacts, whose use became general during this period, were pol ished stone implements such as the celt and the grooved ax, gorgets, bannerstones, sinew stones, choppers, marine shell beads of several varieties, notched and barbed projectile points, crude pottery pipes, roller pestles, and mortars. The ceramic art was still in the experimental stage; the pots, with their parabolic shape, pointed bottoms, and impressed twig, fabric, and punctate ornamentation, were often of poor temper and crude decoration. Pits are found, filled with crumbling and almost completely disintegrated refuse, and drills, notched arrowheads, and spears of chert and other stone are abundant. This culture also predominates in the coastal shellheaps about New York City and on Long Island

6. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
7. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," p. 55.
8. Ritchie, *op. cit.*, pp. 408–11.

examined by Harrington,[9] Skinner,[10] and others. Some of these sites reveal charred corn and beans.

The Intermediate Algonkian culture was of considerable duration, covering possibly a few thousand years. The hostile character of the initial contact of the Archaic and Intermediate Algonkians, as evidenced at Lamoka Lake, was gradually resolved into a more friendly relationship. Skeletal remains from certain sites in central New York show some amalgamation of the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic head forms, and the artifacts indicate a blending of the two culture types. The culture of the Second Period was also subjected to a number of intrusive influences, among which were an Eskimo-like culture, the Red Paint culture, and possibly others from the tidewater basin along the Chesapeake.[11] The first of these seems especially noteworthy. Implements similar to those of known Eskimo manufacture have been found in certain isolated spots in New York State, occasionally on Algonkian sites. Specifically, these implements are articles of rubbed slate, such as knives and semilunar choppers, associated with broad arrowpoints or javelin heads of chipped chert and hard slate, occasional pieces of soapstone, celts, adzes, thin stone scrapers of schist, and some copper. The distribution of these artifacts appears to have been widespread, for their occurrence is reported in New England[12] and even as far south as eastern Virginia and North Carolina.[13] There is no proof that they were introduced by people of Eskimo blood; indeed, their occurrence over unglaciated country would seem to rule out this possibility. Skinner[14] has suggested a local phase of Archaic Algonkian culture as an explanation. Whatever the exact

9. Harrington, M. R., "Ancient Shell Heaps near New York City," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* III (1909), 169–79.

10. Skinner, A., "Archeology of the New York Coastal Algonkin," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* III (1909), 213–35.

11. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," pp. 51, 65–6; idem, "Archeological History," pp. 79–83.

12. Holmes, W. H., "Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 60* (1919), p. 100.

13. Speck, F. G., "The Ethnic Position of the Southeastern Algonkian," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXVI (1924), 195.

14. Skinner, A., book review, *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXV (1923), 96.

chronological sequence and the source, however, the similarity to Eskimo artifacts remains.

The Third Period Algonkian culture gradually evolved from the Intermediate culture type as the result both of independent invention and of diffusion from contiguous areas. The transformation was a gradual process, and it is impossible to establish definitely when the Second Period ceased and the Third Period began. The sites of the Third Period reveal no European artifacts, and indicate a pre-Iroquoian occupation prior to about 1250 A.D., although the culture must have endured for several centuries before this date.[15] Evidences of this occupation are abundant, and widely scattered throughout the state; they cover nearly every variety of terrain, and range from small camp sites to village habitations and burial places of considerable extent. The key stations are those at the outlet of Owasco Lake,[16] Cayuga County, and on the Sherman farm near Levanna and Lake Cayuga.[17] This stage is not easy to define, since all the surrounding cultures had undergone considerable change, and environmental influences were constantly at work producing local variations. The generally accepted criteria of the period, however, are the grooved ax (absent on some sites), the roller pestle, the gorget, the notched arrowpoint (triangular only on certain sites), the elbow pipe, and cord-marked pottery, especially when the decorations are carried over the lip and down the inner edge of the pot.[18] Besides these artifacts, there were ornaments and utensils of shell and a list of stone and bone implements closely paralleling that characteristic of the Second Period. It is noteworthy that the bone harpoon, both unilaterally and bilaterally barbed, recorded only once from a Second Period site, now becomes an important implement.

Late Algonkian pottery represents a great improvement over that of the earlier period. It is of good quality, and some of the vessels, though fragmentary, excite real admiration for neatness

15. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," pp. 56–7.

16. Parker, "Archeological History," pp. 340–3.

17. Ritchie, W. A., "An Algonkian Village Site near Levanna, N. Y.," *Research Records of the Rochester Municipal Museum,* No. I (1928); Woods, C. A., and Follett, H. C., *A Prehistoric Algonkian Village Site near Levanna, N. Y.* (unpublished MS, 1933).

18. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," pp. 57–9; idem, "Archeological History," pp. 48–50; Ritchie, "Algonkin Sequence," pp. 413–14.

and symmetry. The elbow-type pottery pipe, which appears in a crude form during the Second Period, reaches its height of artistic perfection in the Third.

The coastal sites of this period show minor variations attributable to the influence of the local environment. The pottery, for instance, is frequently marked with the edge of a scallop shell instead of with cords. Grooved axes seem to be more abundant, and in certain regions, as along the Long Island and Westchester coasts, the projectile points are more frequently of quartz, or occasionally of jasper and argillite, than of chert, the characteristic material on inland sites.

The Third Period Algonkians were relatively numerous, spreading out thinly over a large portion of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New England, and southern Ontario, and perhaps even reaching into Ohio and Virginia. They were more sedentary than their predecessors, and their settlements were presumably larger, to judge from the refuse pits and deposits and the large areas of ground filled with carbonized matter, fire-burned stone, and calcined bone. Although they were probably organized primarily in hunting bands, each with a fairly definite territory, certain groups practiced agriculture to a considerable extent. Corn and beans have been preserved in refuse heaps, and pestles, mortars, mullers, and metates—implements adapted for grinding cereals—appear in relative abundance. The presence of strange varieties of stone on many sites suggests peaceful barter with neighboring tribes.

Cultural diffusion through trade, intermarriage, and occasional warfare seems to have played an important part in the cultural advances made by the Third Period Algonkians over their predecessors. Certain groups were influenced by their kinsmen who lived along and to the north of the St. Lawrence. Others seem to have been affected by a highly specialized culture which prevailed in southern Ohio, and still others to have been in touch with the inhabitants of the Chesapeake and Virginia regions. Of these contacts, those with the south seem to have been the most important. Speck[19] holds that much of the cultural impetus received by the northern Algonkian groups came by way of the southeastern Al-

19. *Op. cit.*, pp. 196–8.

gonkians, who conveyed to their northern kinsmen an adaptation of certain southern traits, notably those concerned with agriculture and its allied arts, derived from contacts with peoples of the Gulf area. It is not possible, however, to specify whether the indirect source of this culture diffusion was Muskhogean, eastern Siouan, or Iroquoian.

A direct Iroquoian influence seems also to have made itself felt. Certain sites, e.g., Owasco and Levanna, show an attenuated Iroquoian cultural stimulus which must have preceded the actual migration of the Iroquois into New York State by several generations.[20] Others, like the Willow Point (Susquehanna Valley) and Castle Creek (Chenango Valley) sites, show actual contact in the transitional forms taken by the ceramic art, stone industry, and skeletal remains.[21] The Algonkian style of pottery ornamentation appears on the typically round-bottomed, constricted necked, collared Iroquois jars, and frequent crude attempts to copy the unfamiliar Iroquois incised decorations are apparent. Triangular projectile points, the principal type of the Third Period, were introduced by the Iroquois, who came to use them exclusively. The skeletal material obtained at Willow Point, moreover, has been resolved as a blend resulting from the intermixture of the well-known early Iroquoian type with the physical type which characterized the Second Period Algonkian at Lamoka Lake.

The Third Period Algonkian culture was also greatly influenced by small bodies of mound-building Indians of one stock or another who came into New York, established villages and camps, and left in the soil a record of their presence.[22] They entered by way of the southwestern counties during the latter part of the Third Period, about a thousand years ago, and their occupation lasted some two hundred and fifty years. In the western part of the state they built true mounds, inferior in size, however, to those of Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Some of the mound sites seem actually to have been occupied by mound people, while others appear to have been colonized by Algonkians strongly influenced by mound culture. The

20. Ritchie, "Algonkin Sequence," p. 414.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

22. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," pp. 64–5; idem, "Iroquois," p. 71; idem, "Archeological History," pp. 83–98; Ritchie, "Algonkin Sequence," pp. 412–13.

mound-building immigrants brought materials from Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana with them into the region, and used them in the manufacture of their implements. Numerous sites in western and central New York have yielded artifacts of flint and polished slate similar in manufacture and material to those of the mound country. The mound influence has been credited with the presence in New York of the platform pipe, stone tubes, the bar amulet, boatstones, native pearl beads, and copper in the form of axes, spears, and beads. The mound builders may have established trading stations here and bartered with the cruder Algonkian tribes for dried meats, furs, and salt-water fish. Some may even have been of Algonkian stock, with a culture derived from more progressive peoples living in the mid-Mississippi region. The mound-building people seem to have disappeared from New York at or before the time of the coming of the Iroquois. It is quite probable that the Iroquoian hordes pushing up the Ohio came into conflict with the mound people, finally overcame them, and became their immediate successors in the region.

The last great wave of Algonkian peoples was that of the historic Algonkians, the Lenape or Delaware, a group apparently not unknown to some of the others. Their culture has been described by Brinton,[23] Harrington,[24] Skinner,[25] and others. While their tribal holdings included most of New Jersey and Delaware and portions of southern New York, their principal seat seems to have been in eastern Pennsylvania, with their central council fire located in what is now Philadelphia. The Lenape divisions in New York were the Unamis and Minsis. Related linguistically to the Lenape were the Indians of the Hudson River region, Long Island, lower Westchester, and Manhattan, who were grouped into a number of distinct tribal confederations.[26] The political organization of these tribes was relatively flexible; while each group enjoyed a measure

23. Brinton, D. G., *The Lênapé and Their Legends* (Philadelphia, 1885).

24. Harrington, M. R., "A Preliminary Sketch of Lenapé Culture," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XV (1913), 208–35; idem, "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenapé," *Indian Notes and Monographs,* ser. 2, Vol. XIX (1921).

25. Skinner, A., "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* III (1909), 3–62.

26. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," pp. 60–4.

of independence and self-government, it was possible for them, by council and agreement, occasionally to act in unison under a chief or sachem recognized as a traditional leader. The food area, as among most eastern Algonkian tribes, was the basis of social organization. Each group had a prescribed region within which its hunting, fishing, and root-gathering activities were largely confined.

The last wave of aboriginal immigration into New York was that of the Iroquois, who entered the state through its southwestern corner and probably also up the Susquehanna from northern Pennsylvania.[27] A careful study of Iroquoian archeology and tradition makes it appear that they arrived at a period not far from the year 1300, although it is probable that for at least a full generation before this date advance groups were surveying the terrain in anticipation of dispossessing the Algonkian occupants. In the early phases of this movement the Iroquois seem to have abjured the manufacture and use of many of the Algonkian artifacts with which they must have been familiar, thus preserving the integrity of their own material culture.[28] The Algonkians, indeed, had little to give to adjacent cultures, and, as a consequence, they are found adapting themselves to the cultural influences of their superior neighbors.[29] In but one recorded case, that of the Iroquois Oka, does Algonkian culture seem to have had any positive influence upon the Iroquois form of social organization.[30] Once the migration of the culturally superior Iroquois became general, the eastern Algonkian tribes were either absorbed or pushed into a narrow strip of territory along the Atlantic seaboard, where, separated from their western kinsmen, the Iroquois came to exercise a dominant influence on their material culture and to some extent on their social organization.[31] Thenceforth the history of aboriginal New York becomes inextricably associated with that of the Iroquois.

27. Parker, A. C., "The Origin of the Iroquois as Suggested by Their Archæology," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XVIII (1916), 479–507.

28. Parker, "Archeological History," pp. 132, 160.

29. Speck, F. G., "Algonkian Influence upon Iroquois Social Organization," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXV (1923), 226.

30. *Ibid.,* p. 226.

31. Parker, "Archeological History," p. 156.

There remains for the anthropologist the interesting task of attempting to reconstruct the culture of the people, the Third Period Algonkians, who occupied New York State immediately before the Iroquois. In this task he must rely for his conclusions on a critical study of the archeological and ethnographical evidence. The artifacts of stone, bone, and horn preserved for him in ash deposits, the refuse dumps, the house fire-pits and post-holes, and the burial grounds all collaborate to furnish him with a sketchy outline of the material culture of these prehistoric villagers. A critical study of the folkways of their surviving contiguous kinsmen, as observed and recorded by missionaries, travelers, and ethnographers, then helps him to reconstruct their daily life. If archeology may be said to furnish the skeletal material for cultural reconstruction, then comparative ethnography furnishes the flesh and blood. Variations existed, to be sure, in Algonkian culture from time to time and from place to place, as noted above, owing to local environmental differences and to the varying forms and differential rates of invention and cultural diffusion. Despite these differences, however, a culture that is characteristically Algonkian may be distinguished.

The pre-Iroquoian occupants of New York were members of the eastern branch of the far-flung Algonquian linguistic stock, and then as now, in all probability, dialectic differences existed between the various local groups.[32] Their physical type[33] cannot be inferred with certainty from that of the surviving eastern Algonkian tribes because of the extensive intermixture that has taken place during the past thousand years. The rather scanty evidence from ancient burials indicates a tall population, varying in head form from the dolichocephalic type with high skull, narrow nose, and high narrow face, characteristic of the Archaic Period, to the brachycephalic type with relatively broad face and broad nose, prevalent during the Second Period. Several sites in central New York show some degree of amalgamation between these two populations.[34] In brav-

32. *Cf.* Michelson, T., "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* XXVIII (1907), 221–90.

33. *Cf.* Hrdlicka, A., "Physical Anthropology of the Lenape or Delawares, and of the Eastern Indians in General," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 69* (1916).

34. Ritchie, "Algonkin Sequence," pp. 408–9, 411.

ery, intelligence, and physical powers the Algonkians probably equaled the Iroquois;[35] the differences between them are to be explained in terms of culture.

A stone age people, the early occupants of New York possessed utensils, tools, and weapons of stone, bone, and antler. The occasional copper implements and ornaments found among them probably represent the result of the mound-builder intrusion. Among the more important of the polished stone implements were the grooved ax, celt, and plano-convex adz, some of which were hafted. All were valuable in woodworking, especially after the directed use of fire. Stone choppers and gouges were also used for this purpose. Spearheads and arrowpoints were of both the notched and the triangular types, chert being the usual material on inland sites and quartz on the coast. The shape and size of the point were dictated by the objectives of the maker, for the same type of implement could not be used equally well for hunting, fishing, and ceremonial practices. Hammerstones, flakers, and occasionally stone anvils were used in their manufacture.

Cylindrical pestles, mortars, mullers, and metates are rather common finds on Algonkian sites. The pestle was used for crushing or pounding substances in the mortar, while materials to be pulverized were cracked with the muller and then rubbed with it on the metate to the desired fineness. Metates were probably used in shallow bark baskets or upon skins which caught the pulverized substance as it fell from the stone. By these means dry foods could be reduced or powdered, paint pigments ground, burnt stone cracked for tempering potter's clay, and moist foods and raw fabrics pulped.[36]

The rarer artifacts include the so-called bola and sinew stones. The former were probably connected by thongs and used in hunting small game, and the latter primarily in smoothing bowstrings or sizing sinew thread.[37] Bannerstones, birdstones, and boatstones are of more speculative nature. Bannerstones are objects having wings or hornlike extensions from a perforated or grooved midrib.

35. Mooney, J., and Thomas, C., "Algonquian Family," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30,* i (1907), 43.

36. Parker, "Archeological History," p. 415.

37. *Ibid.,* p. 436.

Usually made of some relatively soft material, such as marble, steatite, or slate, they appear to have been a portion of a more complex implement or ornament and to have been fixed upon a shaft or spindle.[38] Birdstones comprise a class of polished slate and other stone objects, possessing in general a barlike body, an expanded and upward flaring tail, a neck projecting upward and supporting a forward-pointing head, and a perforated base. The perforation suggests fixation to some other object with thongs. The birdstone may have been ornamental or fetishistic in nature.[39] The use of the boatstone, which is usually associated with the mound-builder culture, is quite problematical. Perhaps it is the remaining portion of a hollow or podlike pendant or rattle, the other part of which was of wood or some other perishable substance.[40]

Gorgets, which are thin, well-formed, polished tablets of stone pierced by one or more perforations, have been found in nearly every part of the state showing any considerable indication of Algonkian or mound-builder occupation. While some appear to have been used as pendants and others as hair ornaments, it seems best to consider them simply as ornamental fastenings.[41] Many Algonkian sites, e.g., Levanna,[42] have yielded quantities of notched netsinkers, many of which have been sharpened on the edges somewhat in the manner of celts.

Bone, which is easily worked, served as the material for numerous implements, among them barbless fishhooks, punches and awls, scrapers, needles and bodkins, and the barbed harpoon. Awls were used primarily for perforating skin or bark, while needles were used for weaving coarse fabrics or sewing the warp over rushes or husk.[43] The longer bones of the smaller birds and animals were often cut into tubes, tubular beads, and other objects. The antlers of deer, moose, and elk were used in the manufacture of knife handles, digging blades, awls and punches, wedges and flakers, spoons, pins and plugs, and projectile points.[44] Beaver and bear teeth often served as flakers, scrapers, or knives. To the ornaments of bone and antler must be added shell beads of several varieties.

38. Parker, "Archeological History," pp. 356–8.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 366–8.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 370.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 401–3.
42. Woods and Follett, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
43. Parker, "Archeological History," pp. 356, 422.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Articles of wood, it must be remembered, were actually far more common than those of more durable substances, such as stone, bone, or clay, which predominate in prehistoric sites. Wood was used in the manufacture of dishes, spoons, clubs, baskets, bowls, mortars, cups, rattles, arrow and spear shafts, game sticks, boxes, and numerous other articles. Bark supplied the material for houses, canoes, and various utensils, as well as the fibers for rope, string, nets, and fabrics.[45] The existence of basketry is attested by the fabric-marked pottery. Mats of grass, bark, and rushes must have been part of the paraphernalia of every household.

The typical Algonkian pottery, as stated above, was ovoid in shape, with the small end at the bottom and the upper portion flaring. It was decorated over the entire outer surface with cord markings or their imitations stamped in with a cord-wrapped or a notched paddle. These impressions generally extended over the rim into the inner surface of the vessel for an inch or two. In the manufacture of pottery, the New York Indians dug the clay from natural sources, carried it to their workshops, and prepared it for molding. It seems then to have been pounded, mauled, and kneaded on a stone slab. Tempering material, consisting of coarse sharp sand, pulverized mica schist, burnt granite, cracked shells, and other similar substances, was thoroughly mixed into the mass. The clay was then rolled into ropes and coiled into the desired shape. The moist clay ropes were united by paddling the outside and scraping the inside with a stone spatula. Some of the pots seem to have been built up at the bottom within a gourd bowl, while others were hung in grass baskets or nets during the drying process, thus receiving the impressions of the cords.[46] Whereas some of the later Algonkian pottery was very well executed, in general it was inferior to that of the Iroquois.

The clay smoking pipes of the Algonkians were also distinctive.[47] They were of the elbow type with the elbow angle varying from 90 to 160 degrees. The stems were short, seldom exceeding seven inches in length, and varied in shape from the symmetrically round to the semi-round and flat-topped types. Bowls were either round, triangular, semi-triangular, or square in form. Some were plain; oth-

45. *Ibid.*, p. 456.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 430, 432.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 73–6; Woods and Follett, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–1.

ers bore decorations in imitation of pottery markings. Algonkian clay pipes seldom approached those of the Iroquois in beauty of form or finish. Effigy pipes were generally lacking. Stone pipes have been found on Algonkian sites, but they are not numerous. There were several forms, ranging from those with crude bowls to beautifully formed platform monitors. The latter, however, were a result of mound-builder intrusion.

Clothing consisted chiefly of animal skins, tanned until soft and pliable, and sometimes ornamented with paint and shell beads. Recent excavations at the Levanna site have revealed a series of small pits which have been interpreted as the loci of supports used in the tanning of hides. The dress of the women consisted of a leather, fringe-decorated shirt or undergarment and a skirt of the same material fastened about the waist with a belt and reaching nearly to the feet. The legs were protected in cold weather with leggings, and the feet with moccasins of soft-dressed leather, often embroidered with shell beads. The men usually covered the lower part of the body with a breech-cloth, and often wore a skin mantle thrown over one shoulder. The women dressed their hair in a thick, heavy plait which fell down the neck, while each man wore his hair according to his own fancy.[48] Decorative objects consisted of stone gorgets, pendants of shell, bone, antler, and even potsherds, and beads of stone and bone. Feathers, too, probably played an important part in ornamentation.

Among the minerals found in graves and refuse heaps, which by their condition show use as pigments, are sedimentary iron oxide, limonite of iron, hematite, red and yellow ocher, graphite, cannel coal, copper, charcoal, burnt bone, and clay. None of the vegetable dyes and stains, which the natives undoubtedly used, have been preserved. Paints were highly valued and frequently served as objects of intertribal trade.[49]

The characteristic Algonkian dwelling was the wigwam,[50] an arbor-like or conical structure of bark or similar material, which extended in distribution from Canada to North Carolina. The

48. Mooney and Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–2.

49. Parker, "Archeological History," pp. 424, 427.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 387; Hodge, F. W., ed., "Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30,* ii (1910), 951.

alignment of fire-hearths and the position of post-holes on the Levanna site[51] indicate the use of a communal longhouse, a type of dwelling perhaps comparable to that in use among the Mahican,[52] with a smoke-hole in the roof and a doorway in the side or end.[53]

The New York Algonkians depended chiefly on hunting, fishing, and collecting for subsistence. Elk, deer, moose, and bison were hunted with spear and with bow and arrow. Bears, wolves, panthers, and smaller animals like the beaver, otter, and raccoon were valued for their furs. On the Levanna site, the bones of the deer, bear, beaver, muskrat, squirrel, and wolf or dog are most in evidence.[54] The natives must have possessed considerable knowledge of the habits of these animals and skill in the art of trapping them. Passenger pigeons, ruffed grouse, and wild turkeys, ducks, and geese were snared or brought to earth by a well-directed arrow or bola. Fish were taken from the lakes and streams with barbless hooks, harpoons, arrows, traps, and nets, and the tidewater country furnished an abundance of clams and oysters. That fishing was an important occupation may be inferred from the quantities of net-sinkers present on most Algonkian sites. Roots, seeds, nuts, berries, and small summer fruits supplemented the native fare.

Many of the local groups practiced agriculture to a considerable extent, for corn, beans, and squash, and a relative abundance of grinding utensils have been found in the refuse heaps. That tobacco was either cultivated or obtained by barter is indicated by the occurrence of smoking pipes. Digging sticks and hoes, consisting of a shell or an animal shoulder blade attached to a wooden stick, were probably widely used in cultivating the soil. Corn, having been reduced by pestle and mortar, was made into bread or johnnycake.[55] Other common Algonkian dishes were hominy, succotash, and pottage. Nuts were frequently husked, dried, and pulverized for similar uses. In times of plenty, fish and meat were smoked and stored away in pottery jars for future needs. The dog,

51. Woods and Follett, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

52. Mooney, J., and Thomas, C., "Mahican," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30*, 1 (1907), 787–8.

53. *Cf.* the Delaware dwelling, described in Mooney and Thomas, "Algonquian Family," p. 42.

54. Woods and Follett, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

55. Mooney and Thomas, "Algonquian Family," p. 41.

whose bones have been revealed on numerous sites,[56] was the only domesticated animal.

The division of labor by sex was as equitable as the culture level and environment would permit.[57] The men did the hunting and most of the fishing, cleared the land when agriculture was practiced, did the heavier work in house-building, cut the trees, built the stockades when necessary, and defended the village against enemies. The women did much of the labor in building the wigwam, took care of the household and the children, collected roots, seeds, and nuts, cooked the food, dressed most of the hides, and cultivated the corn.

Since the great preponderance of the implements found on Algonkian sites are those of industry and of hunting rather than of warfare, it appears that the people were more peaceful than warlike.[58] In general, they feared no predatory enemies and felt free to wander within the known limits of their hunting grounds. Such warfare as did exist seems to have consisted mainly of small raids of only local importance. Great wars affecting large areas were usually the accompaniment of foreign intrusion. Although in some instances Algonkian tribes erected earthworks or stockaded inclosures for their protection, these structures were far less frequent than among the Iroquois and were probably the result of contact with a hostile, foreign people.[59]

Barter with neighboring tribes of kindred stock is attested by the presence of foreign materials, such as jasper and argillite, on Algonkian village sites in New York. Quarries of these materials, showing aboriginal working, are located in Pennsylvania.[60] The native trader relied upon both foot and water transportation. He followed the overland trails, originally marked out by the big game animals in their seasonal migrations, and navigated the inland waterways in his bark canoe or dugout.

The Third Period Algonkians, although more sedentary than their predecessors, were much less so than the succeeding Iroquois. It is quite likely that they were organized much as are certain Canadian Algonkian groups, which have preserved, even in recent

56. Ritchie, "Algonkin Sequence," p. 414.
57. Parker, "Archeological History," p. 387.
58. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," pp. 56, 59.
59. Parker, "Archeological History," p. 130.
60. Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

times, the family hunting band with a relatively fixed territory as the basis of their social organization.[61] This would account both for the characteristic open village site and the widespread evidence of occupation. The Algonkian family hunting band is a kinship group composed of individuals united by blood or marriage, having the right to hunt, trap, and fish in a specified inherited district bounded by certain rivers, lakes, or other natural landmarks.[62] These territories are often known by local names identified with the family itself. The whole area claimed by the tribe is subdivided into tracts owned from time immemorial by the same families and handed down from generation to generation in the paternal line. The family is sovereign over its own territory, and the head of the family transacts all business relative to it. The precise bounds of these territories are known and recognized. Trespass, which is of rare occurrence, is summarily punishable; divination and imitative magic figure largely in the means employed. A definite attempt is made by the natives to conserve the animal resources of the hunting area. Killing is regulated so that only the increase is consumed, enough stock being left each season to insure a supply for the succeeding year.[63]

When agriculture was practiced, as among the Delawares,[64] it is probable that related families who possessed contiguous hunting territories resided together, during the agricultural phase of the annual economic cycle, in a village which was the headquarters of a group of families. In this village there was a chief, presumably one of the family heads, who was accorded nominal authority over the other heads of families, his position implying preëminent influence. Among the northern and eastern Algonkian tribes under relatively isolated conditions, the family hunting band has retained most of its typical features. The central and southern divisions of the stock, however, have borrowed the clan system from alien cultures and have superimposed it upon the simpler family grouping.[65]

61. Parker, "First Appearance of Man," p. 56.

62. Speck, F. G., "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XVII (1915), 290.

63. *Ibid.,* p. 293.

64. MacLeod, W. C., "The Family Hunting Territory and Lenape Political Organization," *American Anthropologist,* n.s., XXIV (1922), 449, 463.

65. Speck, "Family Hunting Band," p. 304.

The religious beliefs of the various eastern Algonkian tribes were quite similar in general character though differing in details.[66] There was a common belief in souls or spirits inhabiting all things, animate and inanimate. At death the soul left the body and became a ghost, in which form the powers of the individual were accentuated.[67] The spirit world was essentially like the world of the living, and the same activities were pursued. Spirits sometimes transmigrated into the bodies of birds or animals. Deities were numerous, and were associated with many objects of nature such as the moon, trees, lakes, springs, and various animals. Mythology played an important part in religious ideas, and the concept of a great culture hero, to whom the creation and control of the world were ascribed, was common to many tribes. The chief religious dignitary was the shaman or medicine man, who played an important rôle in the social, political, and religious systems. In his functions of divination, magic, and curing the sick he was aided by the intercession of powerful spirits.

On the Algonkian village site at Levanna, numerous effigies constructed of fire-broken stone have been uncovered.[68] Some of these appear to have been the representations of various animals, the most obvious being the likeness of a bear. Near the head of this effigy there was found a fire-pit of great size and depth, probably indicating a religious significance for the figure. It is possible that the effigy stood "in expiation" or as an apology for the injury done the spirit of that animal, for the relative abundance of bear bones on the site indicates that this animal was an important source of food. Or the effigy may have been a device of imitative magic to acquaint the spirits above with the needs of the Algonkian people below, who from time to time may have experienced a shortage of bear meat. Another possible explanation is that the effigy was simply the representation of a totem animal. The theory of the importance of the bear in religious ceremonial[69] would seem to be substantiated by the recovery from various parts of the site of pipes and pipe bowls in association with bear bones. Pipes have

66. Mooney and Thomas, "Algonquian Family," p. 40.
67. Parker, "Archeological History," p. 418.
68. Woods and Follett, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–5.
69. *Cf.* Hallowell, A. I., "Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., XXVIII (1926), 1–175.

long been used as a means of propitiation as well as of self-gratification. An animal effigy of similar construction has more recently been excavated near Athens, Pennsylvania,[70] again indicating contact or cultural affinity between the early Pennsylvania Indians and the Algonkian tribes of New York.

Interment among the Algonkians was in the flexed position.[71] The corpse was doubled up on one side, the knees being drawn toward the chin and the hands placed together beneath the cheek. Few artifacts have been found in association with early burials.

The Algonkians fell before the invasion of the Iroquois because they could not cope with the superior culture of the latter. Whereas they probably equaled the Iroquois in physique and intelligence, they lacked their capability in organization, failing to appreciate the power and influence they might have wielded by confederation.[72] That they had remained in a state of culture relatively so primitive, while other areas had witnessed advancement, must be attributed, in large part, to both their forest environment[73] and their distance from Middle America, from which emanated the principal cultural influences of their time.

70. *Pennsylvania Archæologist,* III (1933), 20.
71. Parker, "Archeological History," pp. 49, 418.
72. Mooney and Thomas, "Algonquian Family," p. 43.
73. Holmes, *op. cit.,* p. 101.