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## ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

### Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting

CENTRAL STATES BRANCH, AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

### Thirteenth Annual Meeting

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGY

Milwaukee Public Museum, May 13-14, 1948

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### Editors' Note

Not all papers presented at the meetings are represented in this issue of THE BULLETIN. The authors of some preferred not to use this mode of publication; others were not received in time to be included.

SELECTED PAPERS

Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting

CENTRAL STATES BRANCH, AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

THREE INSTANCES OF JAPANESE WARTIME CANNIBALISM:  
PROBLEMS IN PSYCHIATRY OR CULTURE HISTORY?

Richard K. Beardsley  
University of Michigan

Cannibalism charges preferred against Japanese soldiers from occupied or bypassed Pacific Islands in current War Crimes Trials relate, for the most part, to incidents of starvation cannibalism. The interest of psychologists and anthropologists is drawn, however, to three instances of what appear to be ritualized cannibalism. One took place on Guam, late in the war, and one at the Chinese port of Tsingtao, Shantung Province, after Japan's surrender. The third, in Japan proper, is briefly noted in newspaper reports of War Crimes Trials proceedings for March, 1948. On each occasion human liver from executed American or Chinese prisoners was prepared and eaten either as a sovereign remedy or to gain magical power.

The question is raised as to whether these incidents are explainable solely as perversions perpetrated by unstable or deranged individuals under the sanction of special wartime conditions, or whether the phenomena are three times repeated because they stem directly from Japanese cultural tradition. Even without detailed information on either the personalities or the cultural environment of the groups of Japanese involved in each case, evidence appears in support of both psychological and cultural explanations.

The psychological argument, which would treat regional cultural factors as constant or of minimal influence, rests on the very widespread occurrence of actions or beliefs oriented on the liver. On every continent certain groups attribute special qualities to the liver of humans or of animals. Languages as different as English, Chinese, Japanese or Thonga use the word for liver or gall metaphorically for valor or boldness. To acquire this valor, the human liver may be eaten alone or with other internal organs at least in East Asia, Melanesia and Africa. The discontinuous distribution shows no obvious historical connection among all these areas. The view may thus be offered that eating the human liver, which is a prominent but physiologically mysterious organ, may occur anywhere for reasons as universal and common to the human mind as any act of contagious magic. Whether contagious magic as such is reducible to psychological explanation or not, this view would regard psychological explanation as sufficient to account for the factors motivating and the attitudes permitting these particular cases of liver-eating.

The argument from culture history need not deny the validity of the psychological problem, but challenges the sole jurisdiction of psychology over the phenomenon. The author's acquaintance with the Tsingtao liver-eaters suggests that at least some of the numerous persons involved were not psychopathic; whether "normal" or not, all were carriers of standard Japanese culture. Either as a standard culture trait or as an instance reported only once or twice for a particular group,

cannibalism of the human liver alone (most often taken from a war victim by the killer and eaten) appears almost solely from Southeast and East Asia; at least as a folklore motif, liver-eating is known from Japan itself. The Tsingtao incident, which appears to have been inspired by a woman's recommendation, suggests a link with the female shamanism of Japan and parts of China. The Vedda of Ceylon precisely duplicate the arbitrary features of hanging the fresh liver to dry and consuming it piecemeal. This evidence suggests that a minor practice of human liver-eating, as a trait in the East and Southeast Asiatic culture continuum, has survived in modern Japan. Thus culture history, independent of the psychiatric verdict on the individuals concerned, offers a coherent explanation of these incidents in terms of culturally derived ritual cannibalism, and should be made a part of any interpretation offered.

#### CONSUMPTION NORMS AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN ANKARA

Mubeccel Belik  
Northwestern University

This paper shows how the change in consumption norms in Ankara is a distinct part of the larger process of the westernization of Turkish culture.

From the data examined, it would seem that these conclusions may be drawn: First, the amount of wealth and the standard of living of a family play a very important role in the westernization of consumption norms. Second, the more contact the family has with the outside world through education, occupation, or even through travel, the more westernized its members become. Third, and more important than either of these, is the fact that the change of various consumption norms is not mechanical but highly selective, the norms showing the most rapid change being closely related to the "focal area" of the western cultures, while those which resist change are, more often, the ones most closely related to the "focal area" of the old culture. Finally, when these two "focal areas" come into conflict and pressure becomes too great, the norms are reinterpreted into new intermediate forms.

#### EFFECT OF WHITE CONTACT ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AMONG THE INDIANS OF PUGET SOUND

June M. Collins  
University of Chicago

The influence of contact with Whites on the social organization of the Indians of the Northwest Coast has long been a subject for speculation. To the south of this area, among the Salish-speaking Indians of Puget Sound, it has been possible to trace the effects of White contact, due to the recency of the appearance of the Whites in this area, in greater detail than for the Northwest Coast proper. In Puget Sound, during the period 1800-1860, social status differentiation became more marked. This increase in differentiation is correlated with an increase in the number and scope of potlatches given and in the ownership of slaves. An increase in the number and magnitude of potlatches was made possible by the introduction of White trade goods and by a rise in the number of articles manufactured by the natives. The increase in slavery was made possible by growing economic security on the part of families who could obtain food from Whites to eat during periods of seasonal scarcity. Slaves could be obtained in two main ways: by purchase and by

capture. Individuals were able to amass greater wealth by the sale of skins, fish, and services to the Whites and so could afford to buy more slaves. Raiding sorties and warfare became more frequent and, due to the introduction of the gun, increasingly effective, so that more slaves could be obtained in this way. Finally, the growth of political power in the hands of single individuals occurred with the encouragement of the Whites who selected and supported 'chiefs' as formally acknowledged leaders of the groups.

These developments were stopped abruptly by the Indian agents who, during the 1860's forbade potlatches and discouraged the accumulation of articles for the sole purpose of giving them away. It is suggested that these tendencies toward greater social differentiation, as an effect of White influence, are similar to those which occurred among the peoples of the Northwest Coast proper, with the difference that the indigenous social organization of the latter groups was more complex and the period of White influence extended over a longer time-span.

### THE PROBLEM OF ETHNOGRAPHIC TRUTH

Melville J. Herskovits  
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The significance of the fact that members of a given society, even though it be small, isolated and conservative, vary in the ways they meet given situations, has only recently been appreciated. This element of variation was neglected in earlier studies because students tended to suppress variants in favor of consenses, or because they presented a picture of a culture in terms of ideal patterns of conduct.

This approach was understandable when it is realized that the task of anthropology was conceived to be that of reconstructing "uncontaminated" cultures from the remnants of earlier ways of life found among shattered and dislocated peoples. As employed in developing the cultures of earlier times of American Indians, for example, it yielded valuable data, without which present-day students would often be at a loss in interpreting their findings. Work on an increasing scale among peoples with relatively undisturbed bodies of custom, however, especially in Africa and the South Seas, forced the realization that ~~contradictory statements made by~~ different informants, or differing instances of observed behavior in identical situations, made it essential to allow, both in theory and method, for the factor of individual differences.

This phenomenon can be documented effectively by the use of data from the Negroes of Brazil. It can be shown that in this culture considerable differences in the same rite will all be regarded as valid by the people themselves. There is, however, a nexus wherein a consensus is found that identifies each variant as belonging to the particular category of custom indicated by the common name given each variant.

From facts such as these, it follows that contradictions in data gathered by different observers of the same culture are not necessarily indications of faulty

field technique, but rather an expression of cultural variability. This has been increasingly recognized for its true worth in pointing a basic mechanism in cultural dynamics. It throws new and significant light on the problem of ethnographic truth which is thus seen essentially to be the determination of the limits of approved behavior within which probabilities of particular reactions to culturally sanctioned cues are to be expected.

RUSTIC METHODS OF DEALING WITH EPIDEMICS:  
A STUDY IN MOTIVATION

Francis Lang-kwang Hsu  
Northwestern University

That magico-religious behavior often occurs at points of human culture where doubt and uncertainty prevails is an easily observable fact. A tabulation of the purposes of divination in any culture will leave little doubt in this matter. Also magico-religious behavior normally forgotten or not emphasized is likely to be intensified during a crisis which is in danger of going out of control. The people of Britain were notified of the King's public prayers throughout the entire recent war.

Yet if we look at a changing culture, a new relationship between magico-religious behavior and science comes to light. Magico-religious behavior may persist at points where real knowledge is strong and readily available.

A case in point was found in the methods and attitudes in dealing with a cholera epidemic in Yunnan province, southwest China. In the spring of 1942 an epidemic broke out which took many lives. For a time it looked as though no one was safe. In a new modern hospital, all the techniques of scientific medicine were available to the people of the community without charge. Yet in spite of this, the people continued traditional methods of dealing with the epidemic, including prayer meetings, rituals, public exposition of the classics, food restrictions, spreading of amulets, and dissemination of traditionally available prescriptions. Furthermore, in spite of the obvious fact that none of the students in the schools got the illness because they took modern medical precautions, the public remained faithful to their traditional patterns.

A few simple conclusions may be drawn from this and other comparable happenings. Every culture possesses some things based upon real knowledge as well as some things based upon imagination. These two categories of cultural content are often found to supplement one another, but there is not always a clear cut line between magico-religious and scientific solutions to the same problem. That is to say, in solving one problem the culture may use both magico-religious and scientific means. The explanation is that man's relation to culture depends chiefly on conditioning, not on reasoning or logic. Conditioned to a culture in which shamans are supreme, the individual will have confidence in rituals, amulets and offerings. Conditioned in another culture in which the M. D. is honored, the individual will regard stethoscope and pills as part of the order of nature. This being the case, when a person brought up in one culture is confronted with some traits from another culture, regardless of the superiority or inferiority as measured by the criteria of modern science, the new traits may be totally rejected,

or syncretized(Herskovits) with pre-existing patterns. In dealing with such problems the individual may be completely magico-religious in his approach; may be completely scientific in his approach; may alternate between one or the other; or may synthesize the two. In each case the method resorted to depends upon the cultural definition of the problem and the chief logic, if logic is involved at all, is that of habit through conditioning. The problem of magic or science as individual attributes and as distinctive and separate cultural approaches to given problems as posed by Malinowski and others is therefore irrelevant to the phenomenon under question.

## SOME IMPLICATIONS IN THE STUDY OF PRIMITIVE AESTHETICS

Justine M. Johnson  
Northwestern University

Ethnologists are beginning to understand that the field of aesthetics in the study of non-literate cultures may hold the key to the understanding of the meaning of culture. The growing appreciation of the importance of aesthetics by anthropologists as a whole is much the same as the growing appreciation of semantics in language. We know that meaning and evaluation of cultural elements must be placed beside descriptive work, to give a well-rounded and integrated picture of the whole. However, in the fields of the dance and the graphic and plastic arts there has been only descriptive work, which in itself has been excellent, such as the work of Boas, Reichard, Bunzel, Wingerit and Linton. By evaluation and meaning is meant the analysis of creative art forms, particularly graphic and plastic arts, not only in terms of universal formal principles of art and design, but in terms of the creative drive: what makes people create art forms, what makes others enjoy them once created, who is the innovator, who are the followers, and why? In other words, the attitudes toward creative art forms and the approach to them may be described and recorded in the field just as any other aspect of culture may be.

There exists in art forms created in non-literate cultures today an untapped source of material that could be vital to students of personality. The same variation exists in the artist's personality and interpretation as it does in the folktale raconteur. It is here that we may find one of our most valuable clues to primitive personality in the measurable differences between individuals in the interpretation of a traditional art style. These deviations are actually measurable in terms of proportion, of delimitation of the form, areas of color, weight of lines, and accentuation in terms of proportion of given parts of a human or animal represented.

Aesthetic drives are not mystical concepts understood by only a few. We know they exist just as the creative drive exists, because it can be proved by the tangible end products we call art forms. This is much the same as demonstrating religion and primitive philosophy exist by their overt manifestation in institutional forms. Ruth Bunzel makes a nice distinction in defining aesthetic emotion, which is actually the crux of the whole problem in understanding art. She points out that there are two forms of aesthetic emotion: one which takes pleasure in creative work, the other enjoys the contemplation of the end products of creative drives, the art forms themselves. Perhaps it is because our culture does not understand this distinction too well that a dichotomy is set up between functional material culture and inventors on the one hand, and the creators and art forms on the other.



Because anthropologists as well as other members of our culture are subject to this divisional thinking, they find it difficult to see that art and the creative drive exist in non-literate cultures, and the distinction between the functional and the decorative is only a matter of degree.

Because workers in other fields, such as psychology, art, and philosophy are giving expression to their interest in primitive aesthetics, a mass of half-truths and misinformation is accumulating on the subject. These fields are utilizing the descriptive material by anthropologists, but are working without cultural setting of the designs they admire. This does not refer to symbolism or magical import alone, but the fact that they are reading motives into designs that simply are not there, such as distortion, color usage, influence of surroundings, or actually of the perceptual difficulties of the poor primitive. For it is amazing how almost every one of such books produced follows the Lévy-Bruhl "party line." However, of all the workers in the field, the artist of our culture is finding the primitive artist speaks a language that crosses cultural lines. He sees conceptual treatment of forms in very much the same way he himself treats them. Unfortunately the artist projects his own motives into that of the primitive artist, completely misunderstanding the real attitude of the primitive.

Anthropologists, who hold the key to the most valid comprehension of cross-cultural materials in any field can supply not only much needed materials and understanding, but can themselves profit from the insights they will obtain by research in this phase of culture, primitive aesthetics.

#### THE STATUS OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA

Robert A. Lystad  
Northwestern University

After 400 years of endeavor in China, it is clear that Christianity, as a religious enterprise, has failed in its efforts to change Chinese culture and plays only a marginal role in the religious aspect of Chinese culture. The reasons for its failure may generally be said to be these: it has tried to make a polytheistic people monotheistic, a tolerant, relativistic people absolutistic, and a non-theological people theological.

Three types of Chinese reaction to Christianity provide the evidence for this appraisal:

1) Rejection. Christian church membership statistics and precarious financial condition reveal Christianity's rejection. Among the reasons are the suspicion that the church is merely a camouflage for Western imperialism and that it is denationalizing. Intellectuals find it incompatible with scientific method. On all levels of society, however, the major incompatibility between the preexistent religion and Christianity is the latter's monotheism and its opposition to ancestor worship, which is a basic element in Chinese social structure. Young people, while apparently revealing a trend toward non-religion, are more willing to comply with ancestor worship than with Christianity, even in Christian families.

2) Acceptance. Unfortunately meager evidence indicates that many converts lose their status in their community, become dependent upon the mission for their livelihood, and suffer subsequent maladjustments. M. C. Yang's investigation of one Chinese village reveals intra-village conflicts created by the "conversion" of part of the village to Christianity.

3) Reinterpretation. The intention of Christian missions is a radical displacement of the preexisting religion, but this is nowhere accomplished. Where Christian elements are accepted to some degree, they are merely added to the list of preexisting beliefs and behavior. This syncretism is characteristic of native Chinese religion. Jesus Christ is interpreted even by Chinese Christian theologians in a way no different from the interpretation of the gods in the preexistent Chinese pantheon; that is, he is a virtuous man who passed into the supernatural by dint of his great striving and good works.

The conclusion is, therefore, that where contact between Christianity and the preexisting religion is intense enough to effect some degree of acceptance, the reinterpretation of the accepted elements is of such degree that the distinctive features of Christianity become submerged in the preexisting religion.

Because of the fundamental incompatibilities, the rejection of Christianity will not be altered by the outcome of the Nationalist-Communist conflict. Non-religious alternatives, such as industrialism, education, foreign employment, or Communism, are all more acceptable to the Chinese because none of them requires the drastic upheavals which Christianity demands in an aspect of culture in which the Chinese have traditionally been permissive.

#### ON THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE ATACAPA

Georg K. Neumann  
Indiana University

The Atacapa were a group of Indians who historically occupied the area along the Gulf coast between Vermilion and Galveston bay, Texas. This historical distribution, based on linguistic, ethnologic, and physical data corresponds closely with the distribution of the archaeological Galveston Focus. The Caplen mound in Chambers County, the principal site of the focus, yielded pottery that shows relationships to the Early Weeden Island and Coles Creek cultures. Linguistically Atacapa is regarded as constituting a distinct linguistic family, Tunican, although Sapir's grouping it with Hokan-Siouan may indicate a southeastern linkage. Physically the Atacapa can be shown to be an essentially Centralid group, which may have moved west from its southeastern home before the development of the higher southeastern cultures.

#### WICHITA HABITATIONS

Karl Schmitt  
University of Oklahoma

The Wichita Indians of Oklahoma have lived in a number of different types of habitations such as, grass houses, grass arbors, tipis, log cabins, and frame houses. These may be used to illustrate the shift in the economy which has occurred. Formerly the Wichita had led a dual existence; agriculture around semi-permanent villages during the summer, and buffalo hunting associated with tipis during the winter. With the disappearance of the buffalo, increasing contact with other Indian groups and whites, they have shifted to the present pattern of frame cottages and subsistence on lease money.



## THE LAPPS: A SURVEY

Thomas A. Sobeck  
Indiana University

The purpose of this paper was to summarize recent linguistic and ethnological research concerning the Lapps, including a statement of their distribution, position within the Uralic language family, the basis of their division into several mutually incomprehensible groups of dialects, and a survey of current investigation. The linguistic portion of this material will appear, in part, in *LANGUAGE*, vol. 24; the ethnological portion covered miscellaneous recent publications not yet reviewed in the United States, notably: Ernst Manker's *Die Lappische Zaubertrommel*, an immense book describing Lapp magic drums from the material point of view only; and Karl Tiren's *Die lappische Volksmusik*, a description of Lapp yodeling.

## THE EARLY ETHNOHISTORY OF WAMPUM

J. S. Slotkin  
University of Chicago

I would like to suggest the following hypothesis as to the early history of wampum: before the coming of the white man, wampum was a repository of value being used for decoration and gift exchange. Then, as a result of Western European influence because of the latter's monetary customs, wampum began being used as money; first, through the English in Virginia, later through the Dutch in New York among whom the classical uses of wampum are found in the 1620's.

## IFALUK, A MICRONESIAN CULTURE

Melford Spiro  
Northwestern University

Ifaluk is a low coral atoll in the Western Carolines about 400 miles south of Guam. The 249 people in the atoll are small, light brown, and show a mixed racial type. The women wear skirts woven of banana or hibiscus threads, and the men wear loin cloths of the same.

Though discovered in 1797 there is little acculturation in Ifaluk, except in material culture. Practically all coral or stone utensils and tools have given way to iron, steel and tin.

The economic organization is simple. The only division of labor is sexual, the women performing the usual domestic tasks, as well as the taro gardening, whilst the men do the fishing and construction work. Each household is an economic unit, neither trade nor barter being necessary. There are, however, three specialized activities which require special training and skill. These are carpentry, navigation and religion-medicine. Work is usually undertaken cooperatively, the fruits of the labor are divided equally. Though conceptually all property is government owned (that is owned by the chiefs), functionally property can be divided into public, lineage and private categories.

Political power is invested in five hereditary chiefs. Their power is entirely moral, there being no punitive power to enforce their demands. They ultimately direct all economic activities, as well as supervise the material and moral well-being of the people. They receive little, if any, rewards from their office, except that of prestige. Ifaluk is one of a number of small atolls that recognizes its political dependence on the Gagil district of Yap, and it pays a periodic tribute to Yap. There is a marked hierarchy of political prestige in this group of islands.

In social organization we find eight, non-localised, matrilineal clans, whose sole function seems to be the regulation of marriage. Residence is matrilineal, in extended family dwellings. The kinship system is classificatory. There are neither avoidance taboos nor joking relationships. Marriage is monogamous. Physiological paternity is recognized. Premarital intercourse is sanctioned.

Religion and medicine are inextricably intertwined. Though there is a pantheon of high gods, the important supernaturals are the alus, the dead, all of whom become supernaturals, either benevolent or malevolent. The latter cause illness, whilst the former cure illness by revealing both medicine and incantations to the priest-doctor, and to others. There is little connection between ethics and religion.

Folklore is scanty. There are myths and legends, some folk-tales, but no riddles, jokes, proverbs, etc. There is a large corpus of songs, the majority being love songs. The music is simple. There are dances, both secular and sacred. Plastic and graphic arts are practically non-existent.

Some of the dominant concerns of the culture are the avoidance of illness, the quest for food, the stress on cooperative behavior, and the inhibition of overt aggressive behavior.

#### ANIMISTIC AND RATIONAL THOUGHT

Sol Tax  
University of Chicago

In working with the Indians of Guatemala I have been much impressed with the degree to which animistic or more generally supernaturalistic beliefs color native thought, while at the same time the economic behavior of the people is on the whole very rational. A little questioning invariably showed that logical processes were involved in coming to a reasonable conclusion, -- but a conclusion based on premises that were strange to us.

The question is, how to account for the presence of these peculiar premises -- these beliefs that furnish the basis of so much more of the thinking of "primitives" than of ours. There is a long-noted major difference between the primitive conception of the personalization and socialization of nature and admission of the supernatural as opposed to our materialistic predisposition to distinguish animate from inanimate and man from other animate objects, and to deny the existence of anything that cannot be sensed by man.

I would like to reduce this to a simple difference in the nature of the content of cultural experience. To do so, I shall distinguish two kinds of information. One kind I shall call scientific knowledge, or simply knowledge; the other, the

opposite of knowledge, or ignorance. Knowledge I would use for any item of information derived from scientific interrelating of sense-perceived phenomena, and verifiable in the same manner. This does not mean that the individual who knows something has necessarily produced that knowledge -- or verified it by means of his own senses and his own logic. When the Indian says an eclipse of the moon causes tides -- both of us must rest our cases in an appeal to authority. But my belief is scientific knowledge -- because somebody in my cultural tradition has verified by the method of science the relationship of the moon to the tides -- that of the Indian is still just belief. However, even in the most isolated societies, there is considerable knowledge because use is made of scientific method of a crude sort.

If one asks for the process by which so-called "rational thinking" comes into being, he really asks how cultural beliefs involving animism and magical associations are replaced by cultural premises depending upon or originating in the scientific manner of associating phenomena. This comes down to asking for the process by which scientific knowledge is increased. The problem of why small, preliterate societies are characterized by "prelogical" or animistic thought is easily solved if one grants that mankind began in a state of ignorance. If this is so, the growth of rationalism has been part and parcel of the slow, irregular accumulation of knowledge. Increasing size of communities, breakdown of geographic barriers, literacy, technological advance and increased division of labor lead frequently to the impersonalization and secularization of society. Impersonalization and secularization themselves involve the freeing of minds from old ideas and encourage the spirit of inquiry and the greater accumulation of knowledge. In Western society one can trace the history of so-called "rational" thinking in terms of the accumulation of knowledge based ultimately on observations of the relations of material things; in our society one can see today the connection between ignorance and irrational thinking wherever it is found. All this on the hypothesis that what is often called "rational" thinking is equivalent to knowledge of the world of nature and of man that the scientific method, based ultimately on observation of the relations of material things, provides.

#### OBSCENE FOLKTALES IN THE "INTELLECTUAL" STRATUM OF OUR SOCIETY

Richard A. Waterman  
Northwestern University

The folktale in our society has the same entertainment function it has in a non-literate society, although the only type transmitted solely by word of mouth is that which contains obscenities, since other types are likely to be printed. Much leeway is permitted the individual raconteur in choice of words, but little variation is observed as regards the sequence of incidents, although it is permissible to telescope a story on occasion. A peculiarity of this type of folktale is that it must be new to almost all of the audience. Another peculiarity is that the chief audience reaction, which is limited to laughter, is elicited by a tag-line which usually carries the heaviest loading of obscenity. Characteristically, the audience discusses the merit of the story very briefly, immediately after the tag-line and the stereotyped laughter response. Obscene words and phrases ordinarily not permitted in conversation are acceptable in folktales, so long as emotional disturbances created by the obscenity do not outweigh in the mind of the audience the laughter-provoking value of the tale. The role of narrator passes from person to person, with a tendency to gravitate towards the person with the best combination of style and repertoire.

## THE WALAM OLUM AS SOURCE MATERIAL

Paul Weer  
Indiana Historical Society

Rafinesque acquired the Walam Olum as a collector's item. In 1836 he published at his own expense the volume which contained his one and only presentation of it. He could not afford to print the pictographs; and only because of the miraculous preservation of his manuscript has study of the material been possible by others better equipped to evaluate it. Squier said it conformed to the general tenor of traditional knowledge concerning the Algonquian stock, and gave a greater number of details about this people than had been acquired by the various anthropological authorities. This statement of Squier's is still a challenge.

Prior to this generation, Squier and Brinton were the only great Americanists who examined the Rafinesque manuscript of the Walam Olum. A detailed examination is given of the opinions of Squier and Brinton, both of whom reached the conclusion that the authenticity of the material was above question because of internal evidence, and that the Walam Olum should receive more study in the future. There follow examples of new knowledge since the days of Squier and Brinton for which parallels have already been set up in the Walam Olum narrative.

The value of the manuscript is in direct relation to its internal evidence of authenticity. On the basis of parallels suggested in the Argument, the logical assumption must be that future information may provide additional parallels. When such an assumption carries with it the suggested possibility of setting up in some detail the prehistory of the Algonquian language family as far back as its entry into North America, this would appear to be something we cannot afford to neglect.

## ON THE ALLEGED MYSTICISM OF EMILE DURKHEIM

Leslie A. White  
University of Michigan

Durkheim has been accused of mysticism by many sociologists and anthropologists -- Sorokin, Benedict, Richards, MacIver, et al. His writings however are permeated with the scientific spirit; he insists upon the necessity of applying the principles of cause and effect and determinism to social phenomena; he repeatedly inveighs against the influence of religious and moral prejudice in the interpretation of human behavior; he attacks the philosophy of Free Will; and declares that nothing is more urgent than to liquidate the "anthropocentric bias" that "stubbornly maintains itself in sociology." What then can be the basis of the charge of mysticism?

We believe that the answer is as follows: In addition to purely sociological interpretation, Durkheim endeavored to formulate a science of culture rather than a science of society-- culturology rather than sociology. In innumerable passages in his works, but especially in The Rules of Sociological Method, he makes it clear that he is concerned with culture as such and with its interpretations in terms of itself. His terminology, however, is quite inadequate to his purpose; it tends to be psychological rather than culturological. Thus, instead of speaking of culture and culture traits, he uses such terms as "collective representations," "collective consciousness," and "collective mind."

Due to its relative immaturity and novelty, the concept of a science of culture is not understood or appreciated by many sociologists and anthropologists even today, and is even repudiated by them when they are confronted with it. This fact, plus a misleading terminology, have kept many from understanding what Durkheim was trying to do and has evoked the charge of mysticism. Kroeber, too, has been accused of mysticism and for much the same reasons.

No one in modern social science has been less mystical than Durkheim. As the culturological point of view spreads and becomes established, Durkheim will be recognized as one of the founders of a new and significant science.

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SELECTED PAPERS

Thirteenth Annual Meeting

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGY

CULTURE CHANGE IN THE TAOS REGION, NEW MEXICO

David A. Baerreis  
University of Wisconsin

The archaeology of the region about Taos is little known, but it has been characterized as a region having a marked peripheral lag. This has been based largely on the survival into late periods of Taos Black-on-white, a relatively pure Chaco type of painted ware.

This report is based on survey work in the summer of 1947 and is designed to point out change and stability in the local culture, and to determine the nature of the "peripheral lag" at Taos -- whether the entire culture is involved or whether it is a case of differential change.

A variety of settlement patterns were found among the total of 85 sites in the valley. Since these appear to parallel forms that represent temporal variants in the Southwest as a whole, test excavations designed to obtain adequate pottery samples were conducted at four sites of markedly different forms. One was a single pit-house; a second, a group of four surface structures; third, a large village composed of 17 pit-houses and 3 surface structures; fourth, a large pueblo structure about half the size of the present Taos pueblo.

Taos Black-on-white is the only important painted ware at all of the sites tested. An incised ware, for which the name Taos Incised differentiates it from another incised ware, Potsuwi'i Incised, common in the lower Rio Grande, is also abundant at all the sites. Utility types found in very small quantities and apparently without temporal significance include several corrugated types and smooth undecorated forms. A marked temporal distinction however is indicated by the presence at the large pueblo structure of a new utility ware. This is a form described by Kidder as Blind Corrugated and referred to by Mera in other regions as Smeared Indented. The distribution of this ware in the valley is quite restricted and confined to five sites. The ceramic complex shows the unusual feature of a marked stability in the painted ware and at the same time marked changes in the utility ware.

Changes in other aspects of the material culture are to be seen only in a few stone artifacts. 3/4 grooved stone mauls are found only in sites lacking Blind Corrugated ware. With Blind Corrugated ware are found both fully grooved specimens and others with small partial notches. Projectile point forms found at all sites include unnotched and side-notched triangular forms. However in some areas in the valley, still associated with Taos Black-on-white, diagonal corner-notched forms are found.

It is difficult to assign temporal periods to the sites discussed above. Some wood which may be dateable was recovered and is at present under study. Trade sherds, which ordinarily give a good indication of relative time periods, are markedly scarce. Only 6 were found in the valley as a whole and only two of these were associated with the nearly 9,000 sherds obtained in test excavations. The commonest type was Wingate Black-on-red, a variety of no great utility as a temporal marker. One sherd of Wiyo Black-on-white was found on the surface of the large pueblo structure, suggesting that this site and the Blind Corrugated ware are the most recent of the sites discussed.

There is certainly a survival of many early traits in the valley. Pit-houses, neck-banded pottery and diagonal corner-notched points suggest an early horizon. Cultural change has been shown in certain features, the most striking being the differential change in the ceramic complex. The scarcity of trade sherds suggests that an important factor in the stability is the relative isolation of the valley. This isolation includes contact with the Plains, since no positive evidence on this point was uncovered despite diligent search. Though Taos valley lagged slightly behind the cultural centers of the Southwest, there is stability in the painted ware alone.

#### THE IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT CORN RESEARCH ON RECONSTRUCTIONS OF AMERICAN CULTURE HISTORY

Volney H. Jones  
University of Michigan

Corn was the dominant and most widespread crop plant in American Indian agriculture. Almost all cultures which had risen above the hunting-gathering stage owed their advance to the adoption of corn culture as an economic base. It has been assumed, therefore, that corn has been highly operative as a culture builder and that the origins and development of the higher American cultures have been closely associated with the domestication and diffusion of corn. Consequently, data bearing on the history of corn have been of keen interest to anthropologists. Albert Gallatin in 1845 argued that American agriculture was invented independently from Old World agriculture, originated in the American tropics, and spread from there. Essentially this opinion is still inherent in anthropological theory today, and after a hundred years the increment of definite knowledge has been quite small.

The close relationship of teocentli (Euchlaena mexicana) and corn was recognized about 1875 and from then until about 1930 it was assumed that teocentli had played some part in the origin of corn. The limited range of teocentli in the highlands of Guatemala and southern Mexico riveted the place of domestication of corn to a restricted area. Harshberger in 1893 summarized the botanical, archaeological, and historical data on corn and pointed it up so effectively that he perpetuated this viewpoint until long after new evidence had weakened his argument. About 1910 archaeological work in the Valley of Mexico revealed levels which seemed to represent the very beginnings of pottery making and agriculture. Spinden in 1917 welded this archaeology and the nearby teocentli into his "Archaic hypothesis" that agriculture and pottery originated in southern Mexico and spread on the Archaic level into South America and temperate North America. It was soon realized that the Archaic was not sufficiently early or primitive to serve this function, but no earlier levels were found in Mexico. Heretics began to look toward South America, but teocentli blurred the vision and the Archaic held a tight grip -- sooner or later earlier levels would turn up in Mexico!



Mangelsdorf and Reeves in 1939 obligingly resolved this impasse by showing that teocentli is a descendant of corn rather than an ancestor, a product of hybridization of corn and a wild grass, *Tripsacum*. Later studies (on chromosome knobs) also indicate that most corn of Guatemala and northward has some contamination with *Tripsacum*, while corn farther south is relatively pure. This suggests that corn originated south of Guatemala and such opinion is reinforced by the occurrence of seemingly primitive varieties in South America and the great varietal diversity there. As a not too well supported hypothesis, Mangelsdorf and Reeves have suggested that corn was derived from a wild form of pod corn in lowland South America, but such a wild ancestor has not yet materialized. With teocentli apparently removed as a progenitor of corn and South America strongly suggested as an area of origin, the search for archaeological evidence of the beginnings of agriculture in this latter area has been intensified. Certain excavations by Bird and others may have some bearing on this but full interpretations are yet to appear.

Anderson and Culter have recently dismissed the old arbitrary system of corn classification by starch patterns of the kernels (flint corn, flour corn, dent corn, etc.) as a major method of classification. They are setting up instead "races" of corn based on the entire plant. Their studies of the areal and chronological distributions of these and their association with tribes and archaeological manifestations are very promising.

Anderson has found that a modern corn from the Loa Santa oasis in Chile is very similar to certain corn from early Nazca sites. These in turn have close resemblance to certain types of corn typical of Burma, India, and the East Indies. Some contact is indicated but the direction is yet to be ascertained. Anderson reasonably suggests that an origin of corn in the Orient and a diffusion to the South American coast should be given consideration as a possibility. However, this brings to my mind a picture "(a la Gladwin, "Men Out of Asia", p. 144) of Sauer in Burma centering an ear of corn to Gladwin in Java, and Gladwin flipping a pass to Anderson on the Peruvian goal line.

#### NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS NEAR CINTALAPA, CHIAPAS, MEXICO

Arden R. King  
Middle American Research Institute  
Tulane University  
New Orleans, Louisiana

During 1947 Mr. Arnold Snell and Mr. Wallace Miner of Tacoma, Washington, discovered and explored several archaeological sites near Cintalapa, Chiapas. They returned to the United States with a collection of pottery and other artifacts from five sites. Four of these sites are located to the north and east of Cintalapa in or near La Venta canyon. The fifth lay to the east on the road to Tuxtla Gutiérrez.

Site One consists of a large group of small pyramids located on El Refugio ranch near the south rim of La Venta canyon. These pyramids are approximately forty feet high, forty feet at base, and had masonry shafts extending from the apex of the pyramid into the pyramid. Site Two is a cave on the rim of La Venta canyon approximately five miles to the west of Site One. Site Three is also a cave and is located in the south wall of the La Venta canyon seventy feet above the floor. It contains a slab masonry structure consisting of several walls which have no apparent shape. Part of the masonry is covered with white stucco which has parallel lines of

red paint running from top to bottom. Site Four is a large rock shelter near the bottom of La Vonta canyon which is very dry and contained textile materials. Site Five is a small cave twelve miles from Cintalapa on the road to Cintalapa.

The pottery and other artifacts from Site One show definite relationships to late archaeological cultures to the south of Chiapas. Site Two yielded orange and brown ware which appears to be related to the Early Late cultures in the Maya area. Site Three artifacts show no close relationships with any known archaeological cultures, although generally they appear to be late. The artifacts from Site Four offer the greatest interest to the archaeologist. Here were found several pieces of polished blackware with incised decoration. Some of the incisions were filled with white paint. Pottery of this sort is found at Lower I, Cerro delas Mosas, Lower and Middle Tres Zapotes, Middle Tres Zapotes A and B, Monte Alban II, early at Zacualpa, El Arbolillo I, Chama, and Mamon. It is not implied that Site Four pottery is identical with the sites lists, but that the techniques used in manufacture and decoration are very similar. Besides the ceramic material from Site Four the remains of what appears to have been a shaman's bundle were recovered. Two fragments of cotton muslin, bark cloth, cotton and agave twine, copal balls, tufts of cotton and eciba, and what appears to have been a small medicine bundle were among the many objects in the bundle. Since these objects were found in direct association with pottery with some claim to an early date we may have here a possible lead to the types of fibers and weaves used early in Middle America. Site Five gave up three pieces of pottery, all of which have relationships to the west. An effigy foot is like those found in Monte Alban III-IV. An effigy cup and a conser have Zapotec characteristics.

#### SOME REMARKS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ARCHEOLOGICAL DATING BY MEANS OF RADIOCARBON

Robert S. Merrill  
University of Chicago

Archeologists have long been interested in the development of new techniques for dating sites in the absence of historical records. Recently, Dr. W. F. Libby of The Institute for Nuclear Studies of The University of Chicago suggested the use of a naturally occurring radioactive element, the mass 14 isotope of carbon, for dating archeological remains. He and his co-workers are now attempting to develop this idea into a useful dating method. Though work is still in its early stages and success is not guaranteed, it may be useful to outline the nature of the proposed technique so that archeologists may have some idea of its problems and potentialities.

The theory of the  $C^{14}$  method is based on the following assumptions: (1)  $C^{14}$  is produced by the action of cosmic ray neutrons on atmospheric nitrogen, radioactive equilibrium resulting in a constant amount of  $C^{14}$  on the earth; (2) atmospheric mixing and chemical exchange lead to a uniform distribution of  $C^{14}$  throughout the carbon of all living matter; and (3) when an organism dies, intake of  $C^{14}$  ceases, and the concentration of  $C^{14}$  in the carbon of its body decreases according to the usual law of radioactive decay. If these assumptions can be shown to hold, the time of death of an organism may be calculated from the  $C^{14}$  content of its remains, the present  $C^{14}$  content of living matter, and the half-life of  $C^{14}$  (about 5000 years).

The  $C^{14}$  concentration in samples of living carbon analyzed to date is in reasonable agreement with that calculated theoretically, and, as expected, was considerably lower in petroleum carbon. These results tend to confirm the theory of cosmic-

ray production of  $C^{14}$ . The uniformity of the  $C^{14}$  content of living carbon over the world is now being tested. The final check will be the measurement of  $C^{14}$  in accurately dated archeological remains.

If the method is validated, its usefulness appears at present to be limited by the following factors. Accurate  $C^{14}$  measurements now require about 1-2 lbs. of carbon, an expensive isotope enrichment plant, and considerable time. Efforts, already partly successful, are being made to reduce these requirements. Present indications are that the method would be useful for dating organic remains containing sufficient original carbon that are from 1,000 to 30,000 years old with a minimum error of about 2-5%.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF CULTURE IN THE SOUTHWEST

Irving Rouse  
Yale University

When the problem first arose of organizing and presenting the data of Southwestern archaeology, a culture-area approach was used, the region being divided into a series of sub-areas based upon the drainage systems. This proved to be unsound, principally because the prehistoric inhabitants of the Southwest had the habit of moving from one drainage to another.

The emphasis was then shifted to the study of cultural traditions, and to the establishment of developmental stages within those traditions. This approach also has weaknesses, namely that (1) ethnic groups in the Southwest apparently did not always maintain their original traditions and (2) the traditions do not always seem to have followed the branching pattern attributed to them by Gladwin and others, but are instead intertwined in a complicated fashion.

More important, Southwestern archaeologists are unable to agree upon the nature and relationship of the traditions. This makes it necessary for a writer like Brew, who wishes to take into consideration all alternative viewpoints, to present and represent the data according to each archaeologist's conception of the traditions. It would be more efficient if a single method of presenting the data could be found, so that interpretations in terms of traditions or of any other approach could proceed independently.

It is proposed that the method used in Eastern archaeology and in Latin America be applied to the Southwest, i.e., that emphasis be placed upon cultural foci rather than upon areas and traditions, and that these foci be arranged in terms of their relative positions in time and space. The traits of the foci could then be used as the basis for distribution studies which would provide a more realistic means of distinguishing ethnic continuities and regional variations within Southwestern culture.

As an example of this approach, the writer presented by means of slides a tentative formulation of cultural foci within the San Juan region of the Southwest and discussed briefly the relationships between these foci.

# UTATLAN, IXIMCHE, AND THE MAYA CORRELATION PROBLEM

Robert Wauchope

Middle American Research Institute  
The Tulane University of Louisiana

Utatlan and Iximche, capitals of the two most powerful Guatemala highland kingdoms in proto-historic times, and the two best documented ruins in Guatemala, are important not only for the prehistoric sociology which they should yield on excavation, but also because they provide fairly exact European dates to which we can attach the latest end of highland archaeological chronology. As such, they provide another approach to the Maya-European Correlation Problem.

Several scholars have ventured estimates of the age of Utatlan or Iximche, based on the generations of kings listed in the Popol Vuh and the Annals of the Cakchiquels. These estimates vary widely, from the twelfth century A.D. to the mid-fifteenth century A.D.

Many previous calculations are probably in error on two counts: they assign a full generation to each reign listed in the native chronicles, and they calculate generations at forty years each. This system results in dates far too early for the founding of the sites, and can be disproved by internal evidence in the accounts.

By tracing generations through actual father-son relationships mentioned or implied in the chronicles, and by assigning twenty years to the generation rather than thirty or forty (for reasons explained at length in the Society meeting), we arrive at exactly the same dates for rather remote reigns, traced through two different chronicles in two different languages. Utatlan seems to have been founded about 1433, and Iximche became the Cakchiquel capital about 1463. The Quiche and Cakchiquels received their insignia of royalty from Nacxit, Lord of the East, about 1383, and the first princes mentioned by the Popol Vuh, in other words the beginnings of Quiche traditional history, date to about 1263.

The Popol Vuh states that Quicab conquered Zalcualpa. If we coordinate this event with the beginning of the last archaeological phase at Zalcualpa, when the site was largely abandoned and cremations appeared for the first time, we thus equate 10.19.0.0.0 with 1463, which is only one year short of the date an 11.3.0.0.0 correlation requires. In every scheme of coordination between archaeological phase and the European date that is tried, the 11.3.0.0.0 correlation provides a date much closer than does the 11.16.0.0.0 (Goodman-Thompson-Martinez) correlation.

## NOTES AND NEWS

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### UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

Karl Schmitt is teaching in the summer session at the University of Oklahoma. He is also continuing his research project, begun last winter, with a group of Wichita Indians at Anadarko and is collecting incidental material on the Caddo and Kiowa. This work is the beginning of a long range program to collect ethnological and linguistic data on the various Oklahoma Indian groups.

Recording equipment has been purchased by the department for use in ethnological and linguistic research. It is hoped that much valuable material in the way of recorded languages, songs, myths, etc., can thus be obtained and preserved.

Edith Crowell, graduate linguistic student in the department, has been continuing her study of the Kiowa language under the direction of George Trager.

Edward Sywulka of Guatemala has completed his master's thesis on the "Morphology of the Mam Language of Guatemala, Central America". He will receive his degree at the spring convocation and will remain at the University this summer to teach in the Linguistic Institute.

Robert E. Bell is directing the summer field session in archaeology. The first month will be spent at the Scott site in eastern Oklahoma. Preliminary work at this site last summer indicated its importance in leading to a better understanding of the Fourche Maline complex. The second month of the field session will be spent in northeastern Oklahoma at the Norman site which is a part of the Spiro focus. Both of these sites are in reservoir areas.

David Wenner and two assistants are conducting surveys in the Tenkiller Ferry and Bufala reservoir areas. These surveys are being carried on in conjunction with the Army Engineers and the U. S. National Museum.

Karl Schmitt is analyzing archaeological material from the Lee-Bowen site near Lindsey, Oklahoma, which was tested during the spring dig sponsored by the department. A preliminary statement concerning this material will be published this summer in the University Museum Information Series.

The University Museum is being consolidated in new quarters and is now in the process of being moved. Better exhibition rooms plus much needed and improved laboratory and storage space will now be available.

Robert E. Bell

### UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Two new appointments in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology bring the teaching staff in Anthropology to a total of five persons.

Dr. C. W. M. Hart, formerly of the University of Toronto, has accepted an appointment as Associate Professor of Anthropology.

Mr. Ward H. Goodenough of Yale University has been appointed an Instructor in Anthropology.

Others on the staff in Anthropology include W. W. Howells, John Useem and David A. Baerreis.

## OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Jim Spuhler reports excellent progress on the Ramah Navaho public health and social biology project. Navaho families are passing through the observational station at Black Rock ahead of schedule. Edward Bruner, graduate student in anthropology and sociology at Ohio State, is official photographer for the expedition. He is also conducting a level-of-aspiration experiment with the Navaho subjects, utilizing a variant of psychological tapping tests.

John Bennett is off duty, working on the public opinion project he is directing in company with Dr. Don Campbell of the Department of Psychology. Bennett is also working on the index and bibliography for Social Life: Structure and Function, the text he is writing with Melvin Tumin of Princeton. The book will be published sometime in late Fall by Alfred A. Knopf.

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## C \* S \* B \* NEWS

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### FALL ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN

The Fall issue of THE BULLETIN will feature, as usual, a roundup of summer research news from the CSB members. News on other matters of interest to the membership is also requested. The deadline is October 15. Postcards will not be sent out this Fall, so please make a note of this news call and get your contribution in as soon as possible.

### PROGRAM COMMITTEE APPOINTED

President James B. Griffin announces the appointment of a Program Committee for the 1949 meeting of the CSB: John W. Bennett, Chairman; Thomas Sebeok and Woreau Maxwell. Watch THE BULLETIN for announcements pertaining to the meeting and the papers presented.

### MORGAN CASE

President Harry L. Shapiro of the AAA has appointed a committee of investigation in the case of Richard G. Morgan, Curator of Archeology at the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society Museum. This committee will consult with officials of the Society and transmit a report on all proceedings and documents in the case to the AAA Executive Board. The committee consists of Drs. Fay Cooper Cole, James B. Griffin and John W. Bennett. As announced in the recent issue of the AAA News Bulletin, the Society will hold hearings on Morgan's case sometime this summer. President Shapiro has requested the Society to permit Dr. Bennett to be present at the hearings and to receive transcripts of all proceedings.

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AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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