

Southern Anthropologist



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Southern Anthropologist

Editor: Gifford S. Nickerson

Editorial and Publication Office:

Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work
Campus Box 8107
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, NC 27695-8107
Telephone: (919) 737-2491

CONTENTS

Editor's Corner and President Miracle's Corner	Pages 2-5
SAS Annual Meeting News	Pages 6-10
Brian M. du Toit's Paper on Pre-Heroic Anthropology	Pages 11-21
Edward A. Monnier's Paper: "Games as a Social Window"	Pages 22-32
Ben G. Blount's Obituary for James M. Crawford	Pages 33-35

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Editor's Corner

-- Gifford S. Nickerson --

Discussion of early anthropology in the South continues in this issue, with Brian du Toit's careful and informative piece on "Pre-Heroic Anthropology" in Florida (pp. 11-21). In the Summer issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*, Miles Richardson set the stage for a continuing examination of the beginnings and early phases of Southern anthropology. We obviously need more help on this, and I encourage any of you who have pertinent information relating to early anthropological developments in the South (or the means and inclination to obtain such information) to work it up and send it along for publication in the *Southern Anthropologist*.

We are all indebted to the efforts and contributions of numerous Southern forebears, many of whom are largely unknown and, consequently, unappreciated with respect to their roles in the development of anthropology in this region. If some today feel themselves relatively deprived in terms of size and/or influence, imagine how it must have been several decades ago for certain pioneers in the discipline!

As with a Polaroid film that has just emerged from a camera, the image of early Southern anthropology is fuzzy; even the outlines are just now becoming visible. We need further "fleshing out" of the image, and I look forward to an increasing contrast of background and foreground which will allow us to better comprehend the early anthropological scene in the South. Following this analogy, while the film may take some time to "develop"—and may never "develop" completely—we certainly can anticipate a better understanding of the relationship of the Southern anthropological past to its present as various elements of the "film's" background become increasingly clear.

We also congratulate Edward A. Monnier for his winning entry in the SAS 1989 Undergraduate Student Paper Competition, "Games as a Social Window," which is published in this issue (pp. 22-32). Submission and deadline details for the 1990 Student Paper Competition are included in this issue (pp. 9-10), and we look forward to good winning entries in the 1990 competition at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Ben Blount's obituary for James Crawford in this issue (pp. 33-35) is very much appreciated. It is a fine tribute to a colleague whose many solid accomplishments and human attributes are brought to our attention. As Ben indicates, he will be missed.

I also am pleased that Alvin Wolfe has contributed a description of the Applied Anthropology Doctoral Program at the University of South Florida (pp. 36-38). We hope that this will be the "kickoff" item for many more to come from other departments in the South. Information from departments will be published in a timely fashion, including job announcements (such as the East Carolina item on page 39). Send them along!

The President's Corner

— — — Andrew W. Miracle — — —

Marginality and Creativity in Southern Anthropology

From time to time anthropologists have been described as marginal (e.g., Freilich 1970); undoubtedly, however, some have always been more marginal than others. Anthropologists in the South, perhaps, have been most marginal of all. Of course, by marginal, I mean on the periphery of the system.

A. F. C. Wallace's (1961) mazeway theory was an attempt to explain the implications of marginal individuals for situations of culture change. Analogously we might consider the marginality of anthropologists and anthropology programs in the South within the context of change in the discipline.

When I began my graduate studies two decades ago, the South had few graduate programs, and no more than a few even pretended to national significance. This is changing. Now, several departments have graduate programs that are considered among the best in the nation. In addition there are some new graduate programs, formed only recently, which would seem to have the requisite personnel and resources to make their mark.

The South is a region of potential growth in anthropology and for anthropologists. In spite of the difficulties experienced by most academic programs since the mid-70s, the South has been a good place for the recruitment of students and the placement of graduates in anthropology. This probably owes to the fact that the economy in the South has fared better than that in much of the rest of the country in the 1980s.

Concurrently, there has been a weakening of the traditional network of a few elite departments dominating the discipline. For example, centers such as Columbia and Chicago, which fed fledgling anthropology programs through most of this century, seem to have lost some of their dynamism, and a good deal of their former influence. Their networks no longer serve to fill almost all of the elected positions within the American Anthropological Association. Moreover, elitist programs, like everyone else, have had difficulty placing their graduates in academic positions. Arguably, some traditional

programs are no longer centers of innovative anthropological theory and meaningful intellectual debate—in part because some of their more notable scholars have fled to the South or the West.

It might be suggested that there are no dominant centers in anthropology today, that the discipline has been so thoroughly disseminated that major state universities often have more recognized scholars than private ones, and that programs from North Carolina to California can easily challenge the more traditional ones for their academic excellence.

However, I would argue that for anthropological creativity and innovation, no region in North America rivals the South. Of course, along with innovation, there are vital tensions, which only serve to advance the discipline.

For example, the South has become a hub of applied anthropology. Ask anthropologists to list prominent applied anthropologists or to recommend programs for students interested in working on a degree in applied anthropology. The majority of the responses may be Southern.

Applied anthropology is not the only example of innovation in the South. Today, the South can be considered the center not only of cultural materialism, but an important hub for humanistic anthropology, visual anthropology, and even such exotic topics as the anthropology of humor and sports. Anthropologists in the South have been leaders in these and many other areas that have been explored and developed in the past decade or so. Moreover, these newer developments have occurred within the context of a continuing commitment to strong programs in Southeastern archaeology. In fact, in terms of regional North American archaeology, only that of the Southwest is comparable in scope and impact to the Southeast.

Being marginal has meant that anthropologists in the South could take chances. This freedom from staid traditions has allowed Southern anthropologists to test new visions, seek new experiences. There is no danger of the new generation of strong programs in the South replacing traditional institutions as elitist centers of anthropology in the future. Most departments in the South seem to reflect the egalitarian values of those peoples from what Arensberg (1965) calls the Atlantic Fringe (e.g., Celts) who settled and came to dominate much of the non-plantation South.

To the extent that is true, expect anthropologists in the South to prize their independence as what my grandmother, who lived in Harlan County, Kentucky, would have called "free thinkers." You also can count on them to be more than a little contrary, to enjoy a sense of humor, and to relish a good fight, all the while respecting individual differences.

However, as they explore the fringes of traditional anthropology, working on mar-

ginal topics and testing outrageous hypotheses, you also can expect anthropologists in the South to foment the next generation of paradigms which may well capture the imagination of the entire discipline.

No wonder there is an air of excitement in the Southern Anthropological Society. Come to Atlanta next April and verify it for yourself. Be forewarned, though, the excitement may be contagious.

Arensberg, Conrad M.

1965 *A Comparative Analysis of Culture and Community: Peoples of the Old World*. In *Culture and Community*. Pp. 74-94. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Freilich, Morris, ed.

1970 *Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work*. New York: Harper and Row.

Wallace, Anthony F. C.

1961 *Culture and Personality*. New York: Random House.



**CALL FOR PROPOSALS
1992 KEY SYMPOSIUM**

The SAS is soliciting proposals for the key symposium for the 1992 annual meeting. Anyone wishing to organize the key symposium and assume responsibility for editing the volume of the proceedings is encouraged to submit a proposal. The proposal should contain a description of the proposed topic, a rationale for the selection of that topic, and a tentative list of participants and their individual paper topics. The proposals will be evaluated by the Board and the selection will be announced at the business meeting next April in Atlanta.

Selection will be based on the organization and merits of the proposal, probable relevance and appeal of the topic to SAS members, and potential contribution of the edited proceedings volume to the SAS Proceedings Series. Since 1992 is the 500th anniversary of Columbus' first voyage to the New World, a topic which was tied to that event might have special appeal. However, submissions on any topic will be welcomed. Please submit proposals by March 1 to: **Andrew W. Miracle, Department of Sociology, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas 76129.**

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY 1990 ANNUAL MEETING

**RAMADA HOTEL CAPITOL PLAZA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
APRIL 26-28**

THEME

The theme of the meeting will be *African-Americans in the South*. Several organized sessions are expected which will explore this theme from the perspective of the various specialties within the discipline. The key symposium has been organized by Yvone Jones (University of Louisville) and Hans Baer (University of Arkansas).

This year the SAS will meet jointly with the American Ethnological Society and will be hosted by Spelman College.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Submissions, including abstract forms and advanced registration fees are due by **February 1, 1990**. Organized symposia should be submitted as a package by the organizer and accompanied by a cover letter providing the following information: (1) The name of the symposium; (2) The name, address, home and work telephone numbers of the organizer(s); (3) A brief description of the purpose of the symposium; (4) A list of the participants, including discussants, in desired order of presentation; (5) Any special requests regarding the format of the symposium; and finally, (6) estimated attendance. **For further information contact:**

**Harry G. Lefever, Program Chair
Box 253
Spelman College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314.**

REGISTRATION FEES

Registration fees are \$25 for members, \$13 for students. Payment of the 1990 membership fee (regular, \$20; students and retired, \$12) will ordinarily be required for participation in the meeting program, and non-members are expected to join at the time they submit papers or proposals for organized symposia. The requirement may be waived in the case of foreign scholars and/or scholars from other disciplines who are planning to take part in the program.

STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION

In 1990, the Student Paper Competition will again be handled by Dr. Tim Wallace (North Carolina State University). Competition details are on pp. 9-10 in this issue.

TRAVEL AND HOTEL INFORMATION

The meetings will be held at the **Ramada Hotel Capitol Plaza**, 450 Capitol Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia 30312. Rooms are available for meeting participants for \$50 for single or double occupancy and \$55 for triple or quadruple occupancy. Reservations should be made in advance directly with the Hotel: **(404) 688-1900** (Sales representative: Ms. Priscilla Patin). An arrangement for group discounts on airline tickets has been made with **Delta Airlines**. Call **Brock Tours** at **1-800-221-1212** or **(404) 244-1980**.



Acknowledgement

The photograph of James Mooney on the front cover was used through the courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

A Preview of the Key Symposium at the 1990 SAS Meeting

The theme of the key symposium at the 1990 SAS Meeting will be "African-Americans in the South: Issues of Race, Class, and Gender." Yvone Jones (Louisville) and Hans Baer (Arkansas at Little Rock), the organizers of the key symposium, met at a NEH Institute on African-American Culture at Trenton State College during the summer of 1987, and observed that since the organization of the SAS in 1966 various key symposia have included presentations on African-American culture in the South, the Society had never convened a key symposium focusing on this topic.

Despite the oppressive and harsh conditions of slavery, the dashed hopes of Reconstruction, the disenfranchisement of the Jim Crow era, and the significant but limited gains made by the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans have played and continue to play an instrumental role in the history and culture of the American South. Over half of African Americans still reside in the South, and they account for from 16 to over 50 percent of the population of various Southern states. The 1990 key symposium will view Southern Blacks of various social classes and genders in the context of racism and capitalism as it has existed over the past 370 years in the American South. The SAS Board decided that Atlanta would be a suitable location for the 1990 SAS Meeting because it has played a pivotal role in Black history and is the home of several historic Black colleges, including Atlanta University where W. E. B. Dubois, the father of the social scientific study of African Americans, taught and Spelman College, an institution over which anthropologist Johnnetta Cole serves as president.

Confirmed participants and the topics of their presentations include:

- (1) Yvone Jones (Louisville): "Black Entrepreneurship in a Upper South Metropolis";
- (2) Ira Harrison (Tennessee): "AIDS among Southern Blacks: Poverty Strikes Again";
- (3) Annie Barnes (Norfolk State): "Teenage Pregnancy among Black Americans";
- (4) Charles Williams (Memphis State): "The Black Church as a Health Resource Center";
- (5) Holly Mathews (East Carolina): "Reproduction: Bringing Back the Old Methods in the Age of Scarcity"; and
- (6) Hans Baer (Arkansas at Little Rock): "Protest and Accomodation in the Church of God in Christ, the Largest Black Pentecostal Body in the World."

The organizers are awaiting confirmation from several other invited participants.

CALL FOR STUDENT PAPERS

SAS 1990 STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION

For the ANNUAL MEETING to be held

April 26-28, 1990

RAMADA HOTEL Capital Plaza
450 Capital Avenue, SE
Atlanta, Georgia

The amplified 1990 Student Paper Competition deadline is February 1, 1990. Two awards will be given: one to the best undergraduate paper and one to the best graduate paper on an anthropological topic. The awards for each paper consist of: (1) a certificate, (2) a cash prize of \$200.00, (3) a selection of anthropology books and monographs, and (4) publication of the winning entry in the *Southern Anthropologist*.

All students entering a paper will appear on the 1990 Annual Meeting program and will be able to present their papers. The Student Paper Competition Chair is Dr. Tim Wallace, Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, NC 27695-8107, telephone (919) 737-2491. If you have written or are writing a paper that might be worthy of consideration, please consider entering it in the competition. And, please pass the word!

Requirements:

- All submissions must follow the standard anthropological format for citations, footnotes, and "References Cited" (see the style guide for—or consult a recent issue of—the *American Anthropologist*).
- Maximum length of text is 20 typed, double-spaced pages, but additional pages of tables, figures, references, etc. beyond the maximum are permitted.
- All manuscripts should be printed or typed on bond paper with ample margins.
- The author's name, address, telephone number and class standing (graduate or undergraduate) should appear on a sheet separate from the title page.
- All entrants must submit 4 copies of **both** their manuscript **and** a 100-word abstract along with the cover letter.

•Finally, all entrants must be (or become) members of the Southern Anthropological Society and register for the Annual Meeting. The student membership fee (\$12) and the registration fee (\$13) may be submitted simultaneously with the manuscript.

Mail papers and fees by February 1, 1990 to:

Dr. Harry Lefever
Program Chair, S.A.S.
Department of Anthropology
Box 253
Spelman College
Atlanta, GA 30314

One More Time . . .

In the last issue of the *Southern Anthropologist* Tony Paredes' brief submission came out in a form which he did not intend. I am giving it another try; I think that we've got it right this time —ed.

A Parody of Southern Culture

submitted by J. Anthony Paredes

Sometimes it seems Southern culture is intent on parodying itself. A portable sign set up in front of a convenience store spotted in June 1989 outside a small, very small town in the panhandle of Florida read:

Thank you for your business. Esther, Renee, Lamonda, & Juanita.

And just when you thought it was safe to come out of the chifforobe!

(With apologies for reifying "Southern culture.")

Pre-Heroic Anthropology: Lifting the Curtain on the South

Brian M. du Toit

Department of Anthropology

University of Florida

In a recent issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*, Miles Richardson proposes going "further back in our prehistory, back to the truly heroic days of those who first brought the emancipatory project of an enlightened anthropology to a South enslaved by the traditions of its pre-industrial past (Richardson 1989:37). He then mentions the names of Frank Essene, Charles Fairbanks, Hale Smith and others. If these people represent the heroic age, who prepared the way? Who spelled out what anthropology was and created vacancies at universities into which these heroes could step? Who represents the equally important pre-heroic days?

In most cases it is fruitful to look at sociology departments. That is where one frequently finds a professor who may have had an anthropologist on his—in those pre-heroic days they were almost exclusively men—graduate committee. These anthropologists at one of the old universities of course could have been Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Cora DuBois or someone else, but again frequently was a man. The recent sociology graduates found something interesting, or perhaps valuable, in their anthropological experience and brought that into their own work. In time courses on anthropology were taught in sociology departments, then anthropologists taught in sociology departments, and finally we have burgeoning anthropology departments (du Toit 1986).

To present this pre-heroic anthropology for Florida will hopefully stimulate similar research in other states. I would like to sketch, if this is imaginable, a university completely void of anthropological perspective and insight. This university has luckily a sociology department and "well educated" sociologists, and that is the beginning. The rest, to follow, is history.

PART I

In 1918 a fresh, brash, young Ph.D. was appointed to the chair of Sociology at the Florida Female College in Tallahassee. His name was Raymond F. Bellamy and he had

received his doctorate at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1917. Bellamy had a well rounded general education and as a graduate student taught botany, chemistry and physics at Clark University. However, he later turned to sociology as his favorite subject. At Clark University (1912-17) he studied under Alexander Chamberlain, a student of Franz Boas, and discovered the growing anthropological literature—"those interesting books on primitive races" (*Democrat*, 4 May, 1969). Raymond Bellamy taught a variety of courses in sociology, economics, history and political science.

In 1925 he offered the first year-long course in anthropology, "probably the first such course south of Johns Hopkins University" (*Democrat*, 4 May, 1969). Stimulated by this course and his conviction that "whenever any person studies another group he never quite understands them because he's seeing it from the outside" (*The Tampa Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1958), Bellamy in 1925 wrote a short tongue-in-cheek article. This article, which anticipated Horace Miner's Nacirema paper (1956) by 30 years, was published in 1927 by the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.

In "M'Lamblo's Study of American Religion" Bellamy wanted to show how easy it is to make mistakes when studying another religion from the outside. The observer in his satire is M'Lamblo, an educated Polynesian who spent five years in the United States studying religion. M'Lamblo reports on the many deities in America, among them Santa Claus who has his special day, whose effigy is widely displayed, and in whose worship Americans spend all their worldly goods returning after the Santa Claus season to a state of poverty. There is also the dog whose worship is reflected in such phrases as "doggone" and whose flesh is symbolically eaten in the "symbolical hot dog." He also points out to his Polynesian audience that "dog" spelled backward is "god." Cows, M'Lamblo reported, were not holy, though a woman used the expression, "holy cow" quite frequently and there may have been a bovine deity named "Bull Durham."

Animism is very prominent (though universally denied) as men talk to their golf balls with great earnestness. M'Lamblo explains that there still are traces of a crude theory of descent from totemic ancestral animals. "There are still many who cling to the old notions and insist on literally interpreting the traditional beliefs that they are descended from animals, particularly that apes were their ancestors. But there is a very strong fight against this conservatism by a group of daring progressives who insist that this is all a myth, and preach that man has no animals among his ancestors." In conclusion the educated Polynesian admitted to his audience that he could be as badly mistaken in his observations on American religion as some of them might have been "who have studied the religion of us Polynesians."

This kind of talk was simply not acceptable in those days; it was downright atheistic. In 1928 a Tallahassee builder named L. A. Tatum who was a deacon in the Presby-

terian Church, a Mason and an officer in the Ku Klux Klan, made excerpts of the paper and mailed them to legislators, preachers and other influential people. Governor Syd Catts, trying for his second gubernatorial term, vowed that, if elected, he would fire Bellamy (*St. Petersburg Times*, May 11, 1965). Catt's threat was that, if elected, he would appoint a new board of control every week, if necessary, but Bellamy would go. A third person entered the fray against Bellamy, namely Alphonse Pichard, a Baptist and lumber dealer in Tallahassee. Through the efforts of these men there now was formed the "Florida Purity League" with the avowed aim of ridding the libraries of offensive material. An outstanding leader in this case was a Mr. Singletary, a state senator from Marianna. He was appointed chairman of an investigation committee to examine the books in the library.

This formidable group of men insisted that university President Conradi fire Bellamy since there was no place in the state educational system for a pro-German, a Bolshevik, an atheist, a teacher of evolution and of free love, and in addition a Damnyankee. Conradi refused, but advised Bellamy not to rock the boat.

Meanwhile the library critics had gained power. Under such heavy pressure the presidents and the Board of Control yielded to it to some extent. At a board meeting, President Murphree of the University of Florida moved that the books under attack be removed from the open shelves and that these books not be used as textbooks. The books involved were:

A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*

E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*

E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*

H. G. Wells, *An Outline of History*

All of Bertrand Russell's writings, including his physics and pure mathematics

Bellamy, however, sidestepped the issue. Ross' *Principles of Sociology* was proscribed but his newly published *Outline of Sociology* was not and Bellamy used the latter as text. He also told his students he wished he could use Kroeber's *Anthropology* but could not require that they use it. However, they were free to buy any text in anthropology that they desired. All the students went out and bought Kroeber's *Anthropology*.

The reader should keep in mind that this controversy was not occurring in a vacuum but reflected the concerns of the times. In July, 1925, the public school teacher John T. Scopes was tried in Dayton, Tennessee for teaching Darwinian evolutionary theory. Anthropologists such as Fay-Cooper Cole had been brought in as expert witnesses and Clarence Darrow heatedly argued the case with William Jennings Bryan, but Scopes was convicted. The "Monkey Trial" resulted in legislation against teaching such materials in

Tennessee and Mississippi, and other Southern states tended in that direction. Bellamy's article and his anthropology course coincided with this conservative trend.

To the end Dr. Edward Conradi, President of the Florida State College of Women (as it was now called), refused to fire Bellamy. Furthermore, Catts lost the election to Doyle E. Carlton, Sr. and education in Florida became more enlightened. The course that Bellamy started continued, and Bellamy himself retained his interest and involvement in anthropology. Bellamy tells of his experience as a subject in a physical anthropology research report. "I was measured by Dr. Ales Hrdlicka in the Smithsonian Institution when he was measuring 'Old Americans,' those who had all four grandparents born in this country." Among other things, Hrdlicka was classifying hair color, but using Hering colors which had been imported from Germany. Bellamy, with the help of a psychologist, Dr. Finner, evolved a method of using a color wheel. The results were published in 1930. The paper was "Measuring Hair Color" and appeared in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. Bellamy also wrote three chapters with strong anthropological orientations in Elmer Pendell's *Society Under Analysis: An Introduction to Sociology*. These chapters are listed in *Catalogue of the Library of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Library of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*.

Bellamy under-emphasized his own role in getting anthropology off the ground in Florida, but he did recognize the importance of the museum holdings. The most important contribution here is the Peruvian collection which arrived in 1944 and was shared by Ms. Van Stan, who taught textiles in the school of home economics. Dr. Anthony Pa-redes says:

Perhaps Bellamy's most lasting contribution to Florida anthropology was his role in obtaining the Carter Collection of Peruvian artifacts (now valued conservatively at \$2,000,000). The collection remains almost criminally under-reported but Martin-Vegue (1949) and Van Stan (1955 and 1958) have written on parts of the collection. According to oral history, it was the possession of that collection that was the impetus for FSU to establish a department of anthropology in the early 1950s under the direction of Hale G. Smith.

Two further involvements need to be recorded. One is Bellamy's role as co-founder on February 6, 1936, of the Florida Academy of Sciences. He and Dr. Fred Moor, a leading Tallahassee physician, drove to Gainesville and met with local academicians at the University of Florida in setting up the Academy. He served as President in 1941-42 and subsequently as Secretary-Treasurer. The second role was Bellamy's membership on the organizing committee in 1949 of the Florida Anthropological Society.

Looking back at the events and Bellamy's academic role, Allen (1984:8) comments:

The intellectual character of Dr. Bellamy's opposition is thus revealed. Such trials and tribulations undergone by Bellamy and others—the vilification of Dr. Bellamy was statewide and sometimes vicious—have led, however, to improved academic conditions, tenure policies which would protect professors in the performance of their jobs, emphasis on academic freedom, and the like. Many battles would still have to be fought over the issue of academic freedom. The social sciences are especially vulnerable if professors take stands that are not popular at the time; probably battles will still have to be fought concerning academic freedom, although the American public is much more enlightened in this area today.

Are these pre-heroic contributions? Was Bellamy clearing the way for Hale Smith and others to come later to do anthropology at Florida State University? Even though he did not have a degree in anthropology I would suggest that he was in fact an anthropologist, a student of humankind. But what was happening at this same time on the other side of the great Florida swamp? Was Bellamy a voice crying in the wilderness or were there others who were making the same sounds, doing the same things, teaching the same courses? What was happening at the University of Florida?

PART II

By the early 1930s we also note changes in the course offerings at the University of Florida. Possibly due to the example of Bellamy and his courses or the general growth in social sciences, we find greater diversity and specialization. In addition to *Cultural Development of the United States*, we find *Race Problems* with a content description which represents the beginnings of an anthropological approach. What is more significant is that the same year also saw the introduction of *Anthropology*, taught by Professor B. R. Weld. Generalized as the course description might have been, it represents the first formal course in anthropology offered at the University of Florida. Students were told that the course dealt with:

Nature and scope of anthropology. Fossil man; living races; the beginnings and early development of culture; early development of culture in native America, with special reference to Florida.

Of great importance for the development of anthropology in Florida and in the South was the appointment of John M. Maclachlan to the Chair of Sociology in 1941. Completing his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), Maclachlan had taken anthropology from Guy Johnson as well as a course in folklore. He served as Chairman of the Department of Sociology between 1941 and 1959. While not teaching

the anthropology course, he was most enthusiastic about a colleague who taught this course. Maclachlan was instrumental in assuring that anthropology became a course offering and ultimately a separate department at the University of Florida. The colleague whom he supported and gave this responsibility to was W. W. Ehrmann.

"Dick" Ehrmann received his Ph.D. in Sociology from Yale University in 1938. The members of his committee were A. G. Keller, George P. Murdock and Maurice R. Davie, who supervised his dissertation, "Cultural Determinants of the Status of Women." Murdock's influence on Ehrmann was far-reaching. Not only did Ehrmann teach the anthropology course at the University of Florida, he also published a paper on the Timucua Indians (Ehrmann 1940) and was one of the founders of the Florida Anthropological Society in 1947. We will return to this important academician below.

In the catalog for 1938-39 we find a course called *Social Anthropology*. There is no course description or any indication of what was to be covered. Is it possible that events at the University of Chicago where A. R. Radcliffe-Brown taught from 1931 to 1937 had anything to do with the title change? As will be discussed below, Ehrmann did turn to an anthropologist, Margaret Mead, for an introduction to his book a number of years later. It is also entirely possible that the new course title sounded better in a sociology department.

At this point Ehrmann must have had criticism or inspiration, for the following year under *Social Anthropology* there is a new course description. The content, however, is not much different from what was called *Anthropology* three years earlier. It reads:

Physical anthropology: physical characteristics of prehistoric and modern man; race distinction; distribution of races; a critical analysis of racial theories—Aryanism, Nordicism, Nazism. Archaeology. Cultural anthropology: the development of culture; a comparative study of representative cultures. The American Indian. The Timucua and Seminole Indians of Florida.

The inclusion of physical anthropology and archaeology as well as cultural anthropology makes this course a lot like the "general anthropology" courses taught at a number of Northern universities in those years. Such a course was frequently a one-year course, with the first semester or quarter dealing with archaeology and physical anthropology, and then the next semester dealing with cultural anthropology.

Ehrmann's use of the description "social" during these three years remains an enigma. Ehrmann, however, had gone on leave to serve in the armed forces during World War II. He was in the army for five years, serving thirty-two months in the China-Burma-India Theater. Many years later he would remark:

One of the many facts that was vividly impressed upon the writer while serving in the Orient was the complete absence in the indigenous cultures of the highly personalized and physically intimate behavior that is such a prominent part of dating and courtship among young people in the United States (Ehrmann 1959:5).

By 1945 Maclachlan wanted Ehrmann to return, and letters speak of a special fondness for his colleague and a recognition of his anthropological interests and abilities. Maclachlan suggested Ehrmann teach a course following Lloyd Warner's example and even a course on *Far Eastern Cultures*. Ehrmann did not commit himself due to uncertainty about his release from the army and the time away from the university. One senses urgency in Maclachlan's letters as well as concern lest Ehrmann go elsewhere after his military service.

In October 1945, a number of letters were passed. Among them was one notifying Ehrmann that he would return to campus as full professor at a salary of \$3200. Now Maclachlan was planning again:

Meanwhile, I have further brainstorming to report. This time it is in connection with the development of your work in archeology. There are some influential people in the state who will support the development of a State Society, including the governor's wife. We have been having some correspondence with a Mr. Wilkinson who seems to be both able and willing to 'carry the ball' in matters which would be inappropriate for the University. In school now we have a nucleus of interested students who would get a great kick out of helping to get the work going. The suggestion has been made that the position of State Archeologist be associated with the work here, but I took the liberty of suggesting that that kind of decision be postponed until after your return.

As a first step, I suggest that we propose two new courses, both of course to be your province. One could be something like: *Old Florida Cultures*. The other could be: *Field Work in Archeology*.

In addition, Maclachlan mentioned at least \$500 per year to buy equipment, and about \$900 for a graduate assistantship.

Due to his interests in sociology and "marriage and the family" writing and research, Ehrmann must have indicated inability or unwillingness to submerge himself in archaeology. In 1948 the University of Florida appointed a young archaeologist, John Mann Goggin.

This major change is reflected in a letter on February 10, 1949 from Maclachlan to Dean Ralph Page of the College of Arts and Sciences. Maclachlan states the need for "several new courses in the field of anthropology." He continues:

The courses are the minimum necessary for the development of an undergraduate and graduate major with emphasis on Anthropology. All the courses now submitted, with the possible exception of APY 401, Principles of Archaeology, could also be included in the courses making up a sociology major . . .

He urged consideration by the appropriate committee "since failure to include the submitted materials in the new catalog will hamper the development of our program in anthropology next year." These curriculum changes were approved.

By the following academic year John Maclachlan, who had been on leave, was back at the head of the "Department of Sociology and Anthropology." Again new courses were proposed to Dr. Atkin and the Curriculum Committee, among them SY 400: *Field Session in Archeology* to be offered for the first time in the first summer session of 1949. Additionally, area courses had been added and the anthropology menu was becoming quite delectable.

Ehrmann in the meantime was conducting research of a social kind—research that would make him famous and result in him losing his job. This research resulted in Ehrmann's *Premarital Dating Behavior* (1959) which contains an introduction written by Margaret Mead. The research on which the study is based was conducted between 1946-53 in the Marriage and the Family course at the University of Florida. It should be remarked that this coincided with Kinsey's work in Indiana, but that he had not even heard of Kinsey when he started his own research. Kinsey collected papers reporting Ehrmann's research and referred to these in his books on male and female sexual practices. Later Ehrmann dedicated his book to the memory of Alfred C. Kinsey.

It is important to keep in mind that Ehrmann conducted his research and did his calculations before the era when everybody had access to computers. The Registrar, Richard Sadler Johnson, was some kind of a whiz on the University of Florida I.B.M. computer. In fact he left the university to work for that company. Johnson volunteered to run Ehrmann's data on the university computers. Statements from former faculty members suggest that Dean Page was outraged that Ehrmann conducted his research at the University of Florida and felt that the findings reflected negatively on the university. He apparently had already blocked Ehrmann's salary raises, research and activities on campus and one would expect that he was not very sympathetic to facilitating Ehrmann's return from leave in Colorado. Dick Ehrmann did not return.

Looking back years later on his academic career, Ehrmann recalled, "four consecutive years without a raise under a dean who feared the sex research would get his university in trouble (*The Des Moines Register*, May 9, 1977). He also remembered "having spies planted in the classroom by the Ku Klux Klan and also by a Florida legislative

committee. (The Klan issued pamphlets stating that marriage counselors at Florida State University at Tallahassee were 'training whores for the communist revolution')" (*The Des Moines Register*, May 9, 1977).

In other areas, too, there were growth. The Florida legislature in 1935 established the Florida Archaeological Survey, which allowed for the appointment of a State Archaeologist. Systematic archaeological work was being conducted and drew professional interest to the state. The universities had to benefit though most of the graduate students still went north.

John Griffin had studied at the University of Florida and upon the recommendation of John Maclachlan had gone to the University of Chicago to study anthropology under Lloyd Warner—by some quirk he became an archaeologist. This is the same archaeology program, under department chairman Fay-Cooper Cole, including practical training at the Kincaid Field School, that produced Charles Fairbanks, William Sears and Hale G. Smith. Before he left Chicago in 1945, Griffin was hired for a job as State Archaeologist with an office in Tallahassee. His job had a slot for a "foreman." Griffin changed this to "assistant" and hired Hale G. Smith, who started work at the Higgs site in Brevard County.

In the meantime the University of Chicago archaeology program had folded due to Fay-Cooper Cole's retirement and its graduates were going to the University of Michigan for doctoral studies. James B. Griffin, who had a long-standing interest in Florida archaeology, drew William Sears, Charles Fairbanks and Hale G. Smith in succession to Michigan. As Fairbanks finished up with the National Park Service, stationed in Georgia, Smith wrote him about a job opening up at Florida State University. By this time Sears was at the Florida State Museum in Gainesville.

In 1947 a three-day conference in Daytona Beach resulted in the establishment of the Florida Anthropological Society, "organized to serve both nonprofessionals and professionals interested in one or more fields of Florida anthropology." Present at this meeting—actually called to discuss archaeology and exchange information—were John Goggin, John Griffin, Hale G. Smith, Charles H. Fairbanks, Gordon R. Willey, Charles M. Brookfield, Albert C. Mauncy, Wesley Hurt and Antonio J. Waring. Almost at the same time a wider group was included, among them Raymond Bellamy and an Organizing Committee established to plan for the first annual meeting to be held in February, 1949 in Gainesville at the University of Florida. The Committee was:

Chairman: W. W. Ehrmann, University of Florida

Secretary-Treasurer: Hale G. Smith, Florida Park Service

Editor: John W. Griffin, Florida Park Service

Committee Members: John M. Goggin, Miami
 O. F. Quackenbush, University of Florida
 Frederick W. Sleight, Rollins College

By this time, however, Hale G. Smith was packing his bags to return to the University of Michigan to complete his Ph.D. The way it is told, he passed through Tallahassee. By that date the all-female Florida State College for Women in 1947 had become co-educational and its name had been changed to Florida State University. While there, he was offered the chair in a newly established Department of Anthropology, the separation of departments following the retirement of Bellamy from Sociology where he was in the Chair. Smith was appointed Acting Head and Acting Associate Professor as well as Acting Director of the University Museum. In 1951, when he completed his degree, he stopped commuting and settled in Tallahassee.

And thus we come to "those who first brought the emancipatory project of an enlightened anthropology" to the South. This includes Frank Essene, Charles Fairbanks, Hale Smith and others, but perhaps equally as important it includes Raymond Bellamy, W. W. Ehrmann, John Maclachlan and others like them. Thus we pass from the pre-heroic to the heroic era of anthropology in the South.

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Mooney Award Update

The new SAS Mooney Award Committee comprises three members:

Gilbert Kushner (University of South Florida), Chair, 3-year term

Hester Davis (Arkansas Archeological Survey), 2-year term

Malcolm C. Webb (University of New Orleans), 1-year term

Chair Kushner indicates that "the Committee anticipates reviewing prior procedures, processes, and activities with a view towards changing whatever seems appropriate so to do in the interests of efficiency and smooth operations."

The Committee "would much appreciate any suggestions, comments, ideas from the membership." These should be addressed to the Chair:

Dr. Gilbert Kushner
Department of Anthropology
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Games as a Social Window*

Edward A. Monnier
Emory University

Part I: Background Information

The Neighborhood

Each and every time I make my weekly journey to visit Anthony I am reminded of that familiar cliché "over the tracks." Nevertheless, each and every time I have to laugh at the irony of passing under the Marta rail instead of over it. And the cliché proves right, things change as I pass under the hovering Marta tracks that subdivide Atlanta just south of Rocky Ford Avenue.

As I continue heading down the offshoot from the busy road, the small houses steadily increase in their states of disrepair. Yet, none are quite as dilapidated as many of the inner city housing areas which I have seen located closer to the heart of the *Gateway to the South*. It is not until one block into my final right turn, just three short blocks from the Marta rail line, that reality slaps me in the face.

It appears as though a small section of despair from the inner city has been translocated the six or seven miles to this particular block. On the south side of the tiny street, an apartment building shelters four dwellings in utter disrepair. Screens with massive holes ripped in them, a mere shred of cloth serving as a curtain to the outside world, a front yard barren of any growth save for the old crooked tree which tries in vain to produce a full coat of leaves and the garbage which dots the dirt, these shout "Poverty!"

As I enter the center screen door, the stairwell to the two upper floor units, I am startled by how dark this lengthy set of stairs is even in the bright sunshine of an early fall day. I somehow know that the lightswitch has not lit the bulb that overhangs the top stair in years. As I prepare to knock, I cannot help but wonder what is causing the odor that fills the littered entryway. It is indescribable, but it is there.

Anthony and Friends

From within the rundown apartment, Anthony's mother slowly answers my knock, "*Who it is?*" Anthony's mother neither reads nor writes. She has been tested below

*Winning entry in the Southern Anthropological Society's
1989 Undergraduate Student Paper Competition

sixty-nine on a standardized intelligence test, resulting in her being labeled mentally retarded. Anthony, too, has been so labeled. However, these discriminating labels exist only outside the neighborhood. I have never heard anyone from within the neighborhood refer to either Anthony or his mother as mentally retarded. However, Anthony's mother is occasionally poked fun at (always behind her back) because of her unusually slow and deep speech pattern.

As Anthony dons his coat, we venture outside to "*find da udha guys, man.*" The other guys are Anthony's main friends, most of whom live across the street in an equally run-down subsidized housing project, heavily populated by kids of all ages. Anthony places Lanele at the top of his list of friends. The two exhibit as tight a friendship as I have seen. Lanele is also very thin, but not quite as lanky as Anthony. Lanele underscores Anthony by nearly six inches.

Although they are in the third and fourth grades, respectively, they each have been held back two years. Neither is bothered by the fact, and both indicate that they still enjoy school. It is not surprising that neither Anthony nor Lanele is bothered by failing to pass, for it is the norm rather than the exception on this block. Of the twenty kids on the block who are third grade or older, only two are reported (by kids on the block) to have not been held back at least once.

Lee and Marko fall under the general category of next best friends for both Anthony and Lanele. Lee is average in height, while Marko is extremely short but confident. Both have been held back one year and are presently in the fourth grade. From my observations, it appears as though Anthony and Lanele have developed a much closer friendship than the friendship that exists between Lee and Marko. Just as Lee and Marko fall under the next-best-friends category for Anthony and Lanele, Anthony and Lanele are considered next-best friends for Lee and Marko. The four often play together, and the best friend issue does not come into effect until some disagreement arises. Sides are quickly taken, each person pairing with his best friend; Anthony and Lanele opposite Lee and Marko. The disagreements are usually settled with verbal shouts and slanders or play fighting. Very rarely are the fights meant to be real, although admittedly, often the shouts, slanders, and play look real.

Part II: Games as Social Commentary

One Bounce Stick Ball

When not in school, the foursome are most likely playing together. One of the more popular games is "one bounce stick ball." This game can be played with as few as three persons but four or more works best. There is a batter, a "hindcatcher," a pitcher, and

however many people who want to try to field the ball. A broomstick or a regular wooden baseball bat is used to hit the ball, while a tennis ball usually serves as the ball. The playing field is the narrow concrete parking lot for the subsidized apartment complex where Lanele, Lee, and Marko all live.

In "one bounce stick ball," the object is not to strike the batter out as in traditional baseball. Rather, the object of the pitcher is to pitch the ball so that it can be hit by the batter. Because the batter is given only one opportunity to hit the ball, a good pitch is one that can easily be hit. If the batter strikes at the ball and misses, the "hindcatcher" and the batter immediately change positions. This is considerably modified from traditional baseball where the pitcher is matched *against* the batter and his purpose is to strike the batter out.

A ball that is successfully hit by the batter is fair play to all but the "hindcatcher" and the batter himself. Most hits travel fifteen yards, while a really solid hit may travel twenty or more yards. If the ball is caught on the fly or within one bounce of striking the ground, the batter is sent into the field and the fielder of the ball goes to bat. The "hindcatcher" and the other fielders remain in their respective positions.

However, if the ball is not caught within one bounce, the fielders still have an opportunity to earn a chance to bat. The rolling ball is chased by the fielders until stopped. The batter then lays the bat at his feet so that the largest surface area of the bat faces the fielders. The player who successfully fielded the ball rolls it in an attempt to strike the bat. The ball may be rolled directly from the point where it was fielded, or the fielder may choose to roll the ball from any point on an imaginary line extending across the width of the field from the point the ball was fielded. Rolling a tennis ball into a bat from fifteen yards is not an easy task. It is almost as if the second chance were so unlikely, so remote, that it serves as more of a token chance than a real chance.

If the attempt is successful, and enroute to the bat the rolling ball bounced less than once, The fielder and batter change positions; but if the attempt is unsuccessful, the previous positions are held and play resumes.

No score is kept in "one bounce stick ball." While some people are better at the game than others, as determined by their length of time as the batter, the better batters do not win *per se*. In fact, the notion of winning in a typical middle-class sense is strangely absent. These kids do not have many toys, so most of their time is spent playing outdoors. Stick ball is not played to boost competitive egos, rather it is played in an effort to pass time.

Unlike traditional baseball, cooperation between the batter and pitcher is important to the success and enjoyment of the game. This is much like life outside the world of play.

Life within this poverty-stricken area would hardly be bearable without the cooperation of a friend. From my observances in this neighborhood, nearly everybody has somebody with whom they cooperate and upon whom they depend.

The game of stick ball exemplifies the mutual dependence exhibited by the members of this particular poverty-stricken neighborhood. The players depend on the pitcher to pitch the ball such that it may easily be hit. Failure to pitch properly will result in fewer interactions among the players, and fewer interactions mean fewer chances at bat for the other players. It is imperative, therefore, that the pitcher and batter cooperate.

The importance of seizing available opportunities is also evident in this particular game. When the batter misses hitting the ball, the person closest to him, the "hindcatcher," takes the next opportunity to bat. Likewise, missed opportunities are quickly grabbed by those who are able to seize them. Of course this is true throughout the world's cultures, but the traditional game of baseball has been transformed to epitomize this particular social group's attitudes towards opportunistic behavior.

Chopping Wood

"Chopping wood," a variation of checkers, also exhibits the importance of cooperation as well as the importance of maximizing opportunity. This game is played on a conventional checkerboard using the normal number of pieces, often piecemealed from several sets of checkers to make a complete set.

Likewise, the checkers are set up in the traditional manner. "Chopping wood" has several playing options which must be mutually agreed upon prior to the start of actual play. The playing options are often agreed upon in a loud but playfully argumentative manner, although final decisions on which rules to abide by are often settled by the "I called it first" syndrome.

One of these playing options is "telling or no telling." If "telling" is agreed upon, then each player may receive advice from those who are watching as frequently as they may like. Once "telling" has been agreed upon, the advice-giving is generally initiated by the observer rather than requested by the player. This form of cooperation is mutually agreed on about one-half of the time.

Yet, even when "no telling" has been agreed on, the actual act of telling usually takes place. This is strictly prohibited in traditional checkers, ". . . as there should be no talk whatever during a checker game . . ." (Encyclopedia Americana, 1954). The pattern of "telling" even when "no telling" is mutually agreed upon clearly indicates a favoritism towards the underdog, a desire to equalize the imbalance between the two players. Cooperation between the players and the observers acts as an opposing force to purely individualistic competition, even when "no telling" has been selected. However, once

the underdog appears to have no hope, the observers change from supportive to nonsupportive: *You history man. He got ya now. Next!* (calling the next player as if there is no reason to actually finish the game).

A second option that must be decided is that of limits on the direction of movement. That is, backwards jumps by uncrowned pieces will either be allowed or disallowed. Such a move is illegal in the conventional game of checkers unless the piece is crowned. This sanction of a traditionally illegal move, thus making it easier to succeed, is popular in the games that I have participated in, as well as those that I have witnessed.

The third and final playing option that I have witnessed is the option of "cutting corners." Like the directional movement sanction, this rule also facilitates success. If a piece need only be one diagonal square closer to complete a legitimate move, the player may make that move. For example, if a black checker is sitting two diagonal squares from a red checker, and the diagonal on the opposite side of the black checker is vacant, the red piece may capture the black piece by moving into the vacant square on the opposing side (Fig. 1.1). Traditional checkers is played such that a piece may only be jumped by the opposing player if the two opposing pieces are diagonally adjacent and one of the other adjacent diagonal squares is empty. "Cutting corners," as the name suggests, is a legalized way to make moves that would be illegal in traditional checkers.

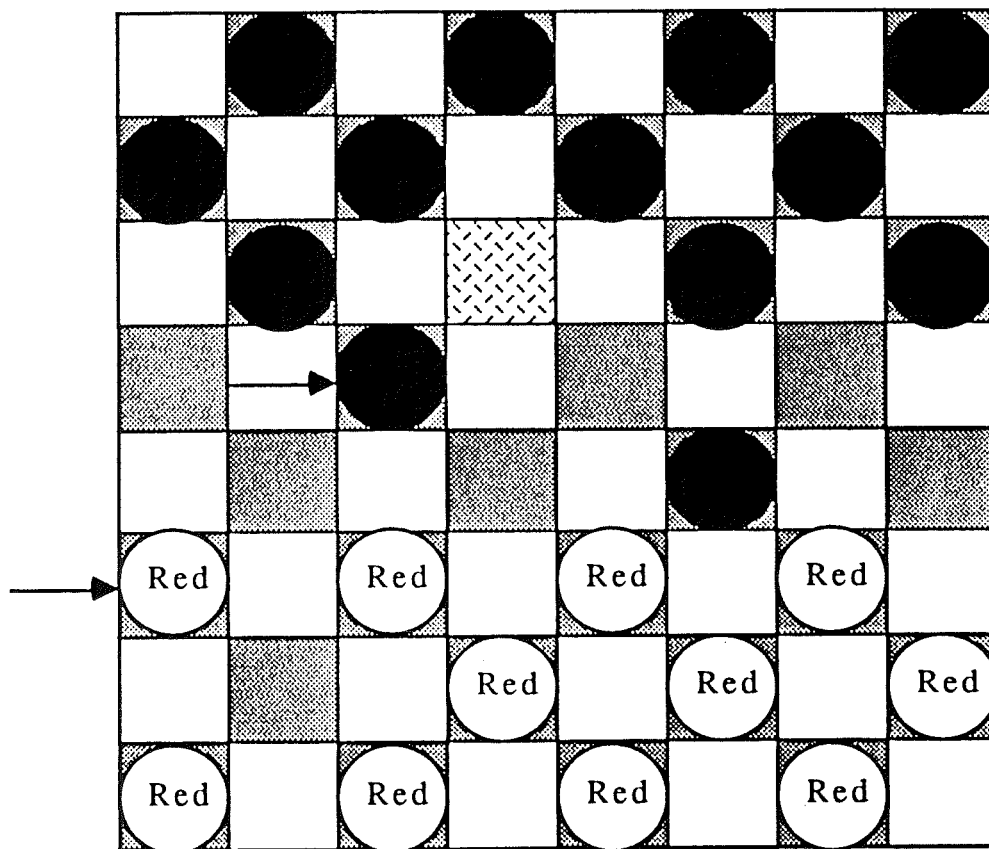
Those pieces that have been successfully advanced to the opposite edge of the board are crowned as in conventional checkers. Crowned pieces may only move one square per move if there are no opposing pieces on any of its diagonals. However, in "chopping wood," if an opposing player's piece lies on a diagonal, whether adjacent or not, the king may jump any length to overtake the uncrowned piece as long as there is an empty diagonal square on the opposite side of the piece that is being captured (Fig. 1.2).

Another rule that differentiates "chopping wood" from traditional checkers is the "blow" rule. If a player has a viable move but fails to take that move, for whatever reason, the opposing player may take the piece that would have completed the move. The piece is taken by removing it from the board and blowing on it, symbolizing the notion that "you blew it."

Interestingly, the "blow" rule has its origin in traditional checkers where it is known as the huff rule. However the "huff is not generally played except in match play where the moves are very strict and every move is timed by special clocks" (Encyclopedia Americana, 1954). "Chopping wood" demonstrates the importance of seizing opportunities by the *do it or lose it* philosophy associated with blowing. Unlike stick ball, however, there is no second chance.

In "chopping wood," the pervasive rule transformations of traditional checkers loosen the rules, thereby aiding the success of the players. The nonrestriction on the length

Figure 1:1
Cutting Corners

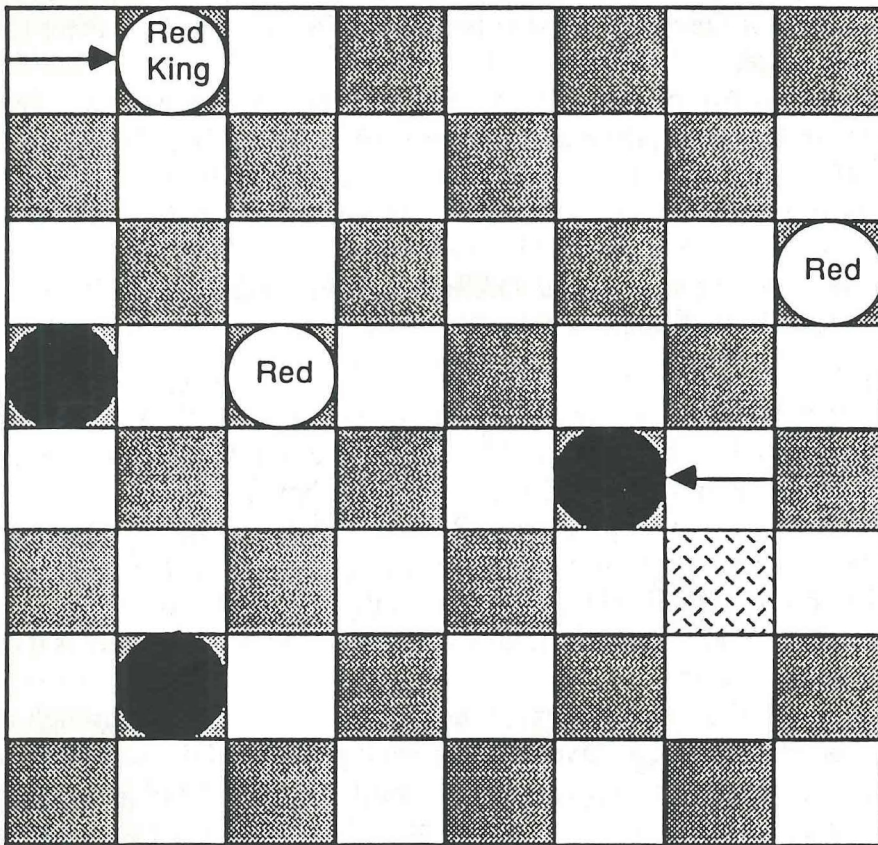


In "Chopping Wood," if "cutting corners" is mutually agreed upon, the red checker may capture the black checker by occupying the lightly shaded square. Such a move is illegal in the traditional game of checkers.

of a king's jump and the "blow" rule are two rule transformations which are operative in all games. To a large extent, the players decide case by case how much to loosen the rules. The "telling," "backwards," and "cutting corners" rules are options which the players may or may not decide to invoke. Nevertheless, cooperation is exhibited not only in the final decision upon which rule(s) to invoke, but also in the process of

"telling" even when "no telling" is previously agreed upon. Both exhibitions of cooperation serve as limiting factors on purely individualistic competition, thereby facilitating equalization among the participants.

Figure 1.2
The King's Jump



In "Chopping Wood," the king's jump is unlimited. The newly crowned red piece may capture the opposing black piece by occupying the lightly-shaded square. Once a piece is crowned, an easy time is made of capturing opposing pieces.

Going Through School

Basketball always begins with several minutes of practice shots and general horsing around. "Going through school" is a particularly popular version of basketball among the third through seventh graders. This game consists of shots taken in front of, at, and just beyond the free throw line. These shots represent "kindergarten," "grade school," and "junior high school," respectively. A shot at the top of the key (about three and one-half feet behind the free throw line) serves as the "high school" shot. Five feet behind the top of the key is the "college" shot. Finally, the "job" shot is a side shot taken from the very boundary of the court. This is the most difficult shot since there is no backboard from this angle.

Each player has two opportunities to sink two consecutive baskets from whatever level. If both are successful, the player advances to the next grade. However, if the first shot is not successful, the second is taken only as practice. Particular fun is poked at those who have trouble advancing in the lowest grades, "kindergarten" and "grade school."

Hey, you still in grade school. Mama's boy, he a mama's boy. You can't shoot no ball, man.

As the difficulty in grades is raised, the teasing tends to change to encouragement. Missed opportunities at the higher grades are often blamed on bad luck. The winner is the first person to land a job by successfully sinking the side shot on both tries.

Success in traditional basketball is generally attributed to skill. Somebody who is unable to sink easier shots is simply not skilled at basketball. And those who do perform well in the traditional game of basketball are generally considered to have achieved proficiency via the Protestant work ethic; namely, countless hours of dedicated practice. Only through extreme dedication does the middle-class achieve success; rarely is it connected with good or bad luck alone.

On the other hand, lack of success in the higher levels of "going through school" is often blamed on bad luck. If a player is experiencing continual difficulty in completing the "high school" shot, the other players all support the notion of bad luck rather than the lack of practice or natural skill. I have not witnessed any teasing for somebody's inability to sink the "high school," "college" or "job" shots.

This bad luck spills over to real life at the high school age as well. Sixteen-year-old Clifton, for example, was recently arrested for selling drugs. He holds (and the entire neighborhood seems to believe him) that he was just running with the wrong guys. Apparently, the drugs were found on one of the other boys, but Clifton was also arrested

for reasons of association—and the fact that he had over one hundred dollars in his pocket.

This bad luck is a common occurrence. Lanele describes a similar situation which involved one of his many older brothers:

... he don't do it. He don't sell it. He just saw a man with some (cocaine) and said, "Give me that cocaine." The police came by and caught him with it.

Lanele's oldest brother is also serving time in prison. *"But he didn't do nothin', he just drove the getaway car and they put him in jail."* Marko's father was arrested two weeks ago for attempted murder, but bad luck has not been attributed—nobody seems to know the details yet.

Having a job, sinking the side shot twice in a row, is the hardest accomplishment of all. If you make the first shot, you have landed the job, but you must keep that job by sinking the second shot. This creates considerable tension for those playing, even those who are not taking the shot. Very few people on this block have jobs, and those that do, save for few exceptions, do not seem to hold them.

While stick ball may display, in game form, the mutual dependence of the kids on this block, basketball best portrays their attitudes on life. As school becomes increasingly more difficult with age, the likelihood of success decreases. High school takes many tries before getting it right (sinking the two consecutive baskets) and often several failings result (missed sets of basket attempts). Indeed, it may not be worthwhile waiting around to see if the bad luck is replaced with the good; that is, quitting school is much easier. And if you are lucky enough to land a job (make the first side shot) it is doubtful, even with the support and encouragement of friends (*"Come on man, put it in, split the hoop"*) that the job can be held (the second shot sunk).

Part III: Concluding Remarks

Games are only one way of trying to understand the world view of a different class of people. Most people, myself included, would have to spend considerably more time among Anthony and his friends to gain even a glimmer of how their world view is shaped by their surroundings. However, the altering of traditional games does provide a window into the world view of this particular group of people.

Perhaps the main thrust of these nontraditional games is twofold. Firstly, these games allow the children to practice those behaviors which are prevalent in the neighborhood; namely, to learn appropriate times for teasing, cooperation, and luck blaming. For example, teasing is inappropriate when extreme difficulties are encountered. Generally,

fun is not poked at those who are attempting difficult tasks (completing the high school and college shots). Rather, the players generally offer encouragement to the player under the most duress, even though this encouragement may sometimes be in the form of prodding. That is to say, remarks that may seem challenging or belittling out of context are, in fact, forms of encouragement.

Cooperation among the players is essential, just as it is among the neighborhood when they are not playing games. Greater group cooperation leads to greater opportunities. And those opportunities that are missed by others should quickly be seized by those who are nearest. Finally, failures—missed opportunities—are not due to lack of skill or practice, they are due to misfortunes.

Secondly, and equally important, these games serve as a criticism of traditional White class values. Anthony and his friends reject those values by altering the games they play. Cooperation succeeds competition in this neighborhood. Winning to Anthony and his friends is being lucky enough to land and hold that hard-to-get job, not winning some traditional game of basketball. This lack of traditional competition serves as an equalizer; nearly everybody is equal to a certain extent.

I am not saying that the neighborhood is homogeneous. What I am stating is that the traditional notion of competition among the middle class is strangely absent in Anthony's world. Anthony and his friends do make competitive statements such as, "*I can whoop you in a runnin' race.*" But even on those rare occasions when the challenge is accepted (usually only between two closely matched people), often luck or some other unfortunate circumstance such as asthma is attributed by the loser. The competitors are returned to the same level, no matter what the margin of victory. Although the excuse may be refuted by the victor, it still serves as a sort of equalizer, even if the equalization is only in the loser's mind.

An opportunity that has been missed several times will be seized by some other more fortunate person. These people know that if they missed the ball on the fly, and failed to catch it on the one bounce, that it is extremely difficult to roll a tennis ball into the bat from twenty yards. That is, they are unlikely to gain the opportunity to be the batter. They must wait in the field for another opportunity to field the ball. In life, Anthony's neighborhood knows that after several job failings many of their hopes are gone. Nobody really wins the game of "one bounce stick ball," and nobody really wins the game of life in Anthony's neighborhood, because they wait (the field) for the next opportunity to come their way (the batter to hit the ball their way). And in this neighborhood there are many players, most of whom are still waiting for their next opportunity.

Chandra Jayawardena (1968) posited that egalitarianism in complex societies is more likely to arise among classes whose status is uniformly low. Egalitarianistic behav-

ior helps form a common shield among the subordinated class which, in turn, protects them from the status distinctions common to middle and upper class groups of the same society.

Anthony's neighborhood exhibits the egalitarianistic ideology that Jayawardena spent so much time writing about (1968). Yet, only three of the four factors that he specified as contributing factors to egalitarianistic behavior seem to be present in this particular neighborhood: residence within a technologically sophisticated society, and social as well as political differentiation to the wider society. Lacking as a contributing factor is Jayawardena's notion of economic exploitation.

It is my hypothesis that the differentiation of ideologies between this neighborhood and typical middle-class society operates in much the same manner as exploitation among the Guyanese operated. Active exploitation is not necessary because circumstantial differences act in the same manner in this particular model of egalitarianism. Anthony's neighborhood resents middle-class society because middle-class society is luckier, not because they are economically exploited by them. Middle-class America has better schools, more adequate housing, and considerably more economic and political opportunity. In this particular neighborhood the minimization of internal social differences, the notion of human equality, fits within Jayawardena's theoretical framework (1968; Bern 1987).

Games help Anthony and his friends mediate their natural inequalities through cooperation. They see themselves as equals plagued with bad luck. After spending over fifty hours in Anthony's world, I am just beginning to see it as he sees it. But his world is an easy one for me to escape. I simply pass under the Marta rail again. For Anthony and most of his friends, escaping their world is sinking that side shot, landing and holding that job, which seems so impossible most of the time. Sadly enough, the game of "going through school" often ends before the job is secured; that is, the "job" shot is often never sunk. Even more sadly though, is the fact that this parallels reality all too perfectly for most of the residents of this neighborhood.

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Obituary

James M. Crawford
(1925-1989)

Ben G. Blount
University of Georgia

JAMES M. CRAWFORD, 63, Professor of Linguistics at the University of Georgia, suffered a massive heart attack and died in Richmond, Virginia on 5 May 1989. He was in Richmond to attend a dance recital that included his daughter, Elizabeth, a student at Virginia Commonwealth University.

A native of Georgia, Jim Crawford received his B.S. in Forestry from the University of Georgia in 1949, and he began his career as a forest ranger, serving in Georgia, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, and California. After 10 years of forestry work, he decided to make a career change, and he entered graduate school in linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. At Berkeley, he studied American Indian linguistics under the distinguished scholars Mary Haas and Murray Emeneau, among others. He began field research on Yuman languages in 1962, developing an interest in Cocopa that continued for the remainder of his life. Jim received his Ph.D. in Linguistics in 1966, writing his dissertation (*The Cocopa Language*) under the supervision of Mary Haas.

Jim's first faculty position was in the Department of Anthropology at Idaho State University. In 1968, the opportunity arose for him to return to Georgia, which for Jim, was home. He joined the faculty of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Georgia as an associate professor in 1968. He was promoted to the rank of Professor of Anthropology in 1981, and in 1986, he became Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Anthropology and Linguistics, a status that gave him considerable pleasure.

Jim put into place a series of linguistic courses at Georgia that has continued to the present. The courses were designed to train linguistic and anthropology students in descriptive linguistics, and Jim's most popular course was field methods in linguistics. Until recently, virtually all students who were awarded graduate degrees in anthropology received their linguistic training from him. He provided a valuable service to anthropology throughout his teaching career.

The continued research interest in Cocopa led to publication of *Cocopa Texts* in 1983, and only weeks before his death, he completed for publication his Cocopa dictionary. The latter work is a part of the Comparative Yuman Dictionary project under the guidance of Dr. Margaret Langdon. Jim also developed an interest in American Indian languages of the southeastern U.S. (Timucua, Yuchi, and Mobilian), and he made important contributions to scholarship on those languages. He was the editor of *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages* (1975) and the author of *The Mobilian Trade Language* (1978). The latter book won the James Mooney Award (Southern Anthropological Society) in 1977. In 1980, Jim was the recipient of an Albert Christ-Janer Award for Creativity in Research (University of Georgia), based on his contributions to the study of American Indian languages.

A careful, meticulous scholar, Jim Crawford valued quality over quantity. Through painstaking, thorough teaching and research, Jim served as a model to instill the value of scholarship in generations of students, and he made significant and enduring contributions to American Indian linguistics. Always polite, soft-spoken, and cooperative, he was an excellent colleague who is sorely missed.

Major Publications of James M. Crawford

- 1970 Cocopa Baby Talk. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 36:9-13
- 1973 Yuchi Phonology. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 39:170-179
- 1975 The Southeastern Indian Languages. *In Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*. James M. Crawford, ed. Pp. 1-120. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- 1975 The Phonological Sequence *ya* in Words Pertaining to the Mouth in Southeastern and Other Indian Languages. *In Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*. James M. Crawford, ed. Pp. 265-283. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- 1976 A Comparison of Chimariko and Yuman. *In Hokan Studies*. Margaret Langdon and Shirley Silver, eds. Pp. 177-191. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1976 The Cocopa Auxiliary Verb *ya*—"be located, happen." *In Proceedings of the First Yuman Languages Workshop*. James E. Redden, ed. University Museum Studies 7. Pp. 18-28. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- 1976 A Cocopa Tale: the Alligator Who Couldn't Turn Over. *In Yuman Texts*. Margaret Langdon, ed. Native American Texts Series 1(3):136-152. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1978 More on Cocopa Baby Talk. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 44:17-23.

- 1978 Coyote and His Daughter. *In* Coyote Stories. William O. Bright, ed. Native American Texts Series, IJAL-NATS Monograph No. 1. Pp. 137-148. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1978 Nominalization in Cocopa. *In* Proceedings of the 1977 Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop. James E. Redden, ed. Occasional Papers on Linguistics 2. Pp. 43-53. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University.
- 1979 Spanish Loan Words in Cocopa. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology : Papers in Linguistics* 1:117-132.
- 1979 Timucua and Yuchi: Two Language Isolates of the Southeast. *In* The Languages of Native America: Historical and Comparative Assessment. Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, eds. Pp. 327-354. Austin: University of Texas Press.

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Classificatory Verbs in Cocopa. *In* Papers in Honor of Margafet Langdon on Her Sixtieth Birthday. Pamela Munro and Leanne Hinton, eds. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. (in press)

Yuchi. *In* Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 13 (Southeast). William C. Sturtevant, ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. (in press)

Houma. *In* Dictionary of Indian Tribes of the Americas. St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press. (in press)

Mobile. *In* Dictionary of Indian Tribes of the Americas. St. Clair Shores, Mich.: Scholarly Press. (in press)





DEPARTMENTS

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Applied Anthropology Doctoral Program
Focusing on the Practice and Applications of Anthropology

This doctoral program was initiated in 1984 to complement a successful master's program in applied anthropology which had graduated over a hundred students and had seen most of them placed in useful and rewarding professional positions. The Ph.D. program is independent of the USF master's program, but requires for admission a master's degree in some field as well as some grounding in anthropology. The program is directed primarily toward training practicing anthropologists for research, administration, planning, and evaluation in such domains as health and mental health, community, regional and international development, urban planning, design and services delivery. Training is also provided for those who wish to teach applied anthropology in academic settings.

A distinctive component of both USF programs is the internship, which functions as the equivalent of field research for traditional programs, but it is carefully focused toward employment and professional practice. Doctoral students spend two semesters working full-time with a non-academic organization actively involved in problem-solving, locally or elsewhere. Examples of internships include a project studying the functions of a city manager, one evaluating innovativeness of an inter-agency committee on planning and evaluation, a study discerning the threads of history and individual effort in a city's planning for services to children and families, a phenomenological study of women who experience infertility, an ethnographic study of the education of migrant workers, an evaluation of primary health care for the elderly, a project aimed at incorporating culture into patient care in a hospital, and one studying why some elderly do not take full advantage of available mental health services.

Information concerning admission and requirements should be sought directly from the Department of Anthropology. For the doctoral program, applications completed with all supporting documents are considered after a March 1 deadline. Some deadlines for financial aid, however, are earlier.

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FACULTY

Michael V. Angrosino (Medical anthropology, applied anthropology, mental health; Caribbean, contemporary U.S.A.)

Roberta D. Baer (Nutritional anthropology, medical anthropology, international development, ethnopharmacology; Latin America, U.S.A.)

Carol Bryant (Nutritional anthropology, social marketing, maternal and child health, public health; Hispanic America, Southeastern U.S.A.)

S. Brian Burkhalter (Anthropological applications in business, cultural ecology, economic anthropology, quantitative methods; South American Indians, Brazil, U.S.A.)

Jeannine Coreil (International maternal/child health care, public health)

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- Patricia Waterman** (Applied folklore, education and anthropology, aesthetics; Australia, U.S.A.)
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- Alvin W. Wolfe** (Director of Graduate Studies) (Social anthropology, applied anthropology, urban studies, social networks; Africa, U.S.A.)

Further information can be sought from:

**Dr. Alvin W. Wolfe, Director
Graduate Studies
Department of Anthropology
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620-8100**

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Gifford S. Nickerson, Editor
Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
Campus Box 8107
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, North Carolina 27695-8107

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