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Anthropological Method and theory in a Study of Costume

Harvey Cleaver Moore

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHOD AND THEORY IN A STUDY OF COSTUME

By

Harvey Cleaver Moore

A Dissertation
In partial fulfillment of the
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The University of New Mexico

1950

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHOD AND THEORY

IN A STUDY OF COSTUME

By

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CHAPTER I

A SEARCH FOR A METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this dissertation is threefold, with the achieving of the third and major goal dependent upon the achieving of the first and second minor goals.

First is the problem of deciding what methods will be useful in the original study to be undertaken later. Second is the application of these methods to the subject of the original study, namely, the changes in the forms of garment parts of the costumes in the eighteenth century French court circles and upperclasses. Third is the problem of examining the sequences of costume forms so determined to see what these sequences imply for generalized anthropological theory.

The first goal will be reached by examining the methods used in several inductive studies involving reconstructions of particular historic developments. Of these methods, the most pertinent ones will be applied in Chapter II to the study of developments in French costumes.

The third goal will be reached, in Chapter III, by examining certain generalized anthropological theories to see if, when tested by the data of Chapter II, they seem to be correct in their entirety, correct with reservations, or not justified.

CHAPTER I

A SEARCH FOR A METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this dissertation is threefold, with the achieving of the second and third goals dependent upon the achieving of the first, and second goals.

First is the problem of deciding what methods will be useful in the original study to be undertaken later. Second is the application of these methods to the subject of the original study, namely, the changes in the forms of women's parts of the costumes in the eighteenth century French court circles and upperclasses. Third is the problem of examining the sequences of costume forms as determined to see what these sequences imply for generalized anthropological theory.

The first goal will be reached by examining the methods used in several individual studies involving reconstructions of particular historic developments. Of these methods, the most pertinent ones will be applied in Chapter II to the study of developments in French costumes.

The third goal will be reached, in Chapter III, by examining certain generalized anthropological theories to see if, when tested by the data of Chapter II, they seem to be correct in their authority, correct with qualifications, or not justified.

A. THE METHODOLOGY OF FRANZ BOAS IN "DECORATIVE DESIGNS OF ALASKAN NEEDLECASES: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF CONVENTIONAL DESIGNS, BASED ON MATERIAL IN THE U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM."[1]

Summary of the article. Boas studied sequences in the decorative designs of the Alaskan needlecases to see if they shed light upon the history of decorative design (p. 565). He studied only a particular kind of needlecases (p. 568). He arrived at historic sequences for the needlecases' parts. He arrived at the conclusion that the influence of a fixed convention and the play of imagination under that convention provide the main explanations of decorative forms (pp. 588-89). He further decided that explanations of the development of decorative design could be made only after several psychic processes had been considered (p. 592).

The method. Boas established a certain kind of needlecases as a generalized type by listing its characteristics: a tube with a slight bulge in the middle, wings or flanges at the upper end, two small and opposing knobs below the flanges, concave faces on the upper ends of the tube, parallel lines forked at the lower ends and setting off the

---

[1] In Race, Language and Culture, The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. 564-92. (Reprinted from Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum, vol. 34, 1908, pp. 321-44)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

concave faces, border designs on the flanges and faces, and an alternate-spur band at the bottom of the tube (p. 568).

Boas admitted that it might be argued that the knobs once served to attach skin straps to the needlecases, but he noted that the cases were carried by an attachment to the strip of skin that contained the needles. Therefore, he decided that the knobs were indicative of conventionalization rather than of serving a practical purpose (p. 574). Thus Boas disposed of an alternative interpretation that might have been made.

The objects he studied appeared only among the Eskimos and those who were influenced by them in art styles (p. 570). Thus Boas was enabled to consider clearly limited and defined social groups.

Apparently his time period was the entire period this type had existed (p. 574).

Boas recognized that the design of the alternate-spur band was related to a single spur line that appeared on other objects in other parts of the world (p. 571), thereby showing that the writer must decide whether there have been influences from other social groups.

He next proceeded to a detailed comparison of the needlecases (pp. 574-88), noting variations in the parts and constructing a series for the variations. He showed awareness that he must satisfy the reader as to the identity of

some of the less obvious of his series. He attempted this by noting the "impression" he got from observing all the series and considering one specimen in connection with all the others (p. 577).

From these series he constructed sequences of fairly certain accuracy. He considered the conventionalized eastern specimens as the earliest because of their archaeologic antiquity (p. 574), and because of the uniformity of the conventionalized type as contrasted with the realistic forms (p. 588).

He sometimes judged the validity of his sequences by considering whether a probable line of development was in accord with the known stylistic tendencies of Eskimo artists, such as their tendency to decorate by means of using incised lines (p. 574), and their tendency to utilize animal motives (pp. 579, 581).

He at times relied upon "plausible" explanations of positions in an uncertain sequence for a particular part of a needlecase by considering whether the rest of the parts of the needlecase seemed to indicate how the whole needlecase should be considered in its sequential relations to other needlecases (p. 583).

Comments on the method. Boas's basic tenet in this article seems to be that generalized theoretical concepts

about probable lines of historic cultural development can best be reached through examining specific examples of provable sequences.

The methodology of Boas's article is more applicable on the whole to the study of costume forms than are the methodologies in the other articles examined in Chapter I. Therefore, Chapter II will indicate, step by step, how the method of Boas and the one to be used here coincide or differ. The specific applications of his method to the present problem need not be noted here, since they will appear later.

It might be well, however, to note here that Boas did not strongly substantiate his archaeologic reasons for considering the eastern specimens to be the oldest ones.

W. D. Wallis[2] criticized Boas for doing what Boas said should not be done, i.e., for using a "circular procedure" in argument (p. 150, Wallis article). Wallis stated that Boas "is using precisely such circular procedure when he assumes that a decorative design which is widely spread is older than one which has a more limited distribution. He assumes the conclusion which he professes to establish" (p. 150, Wallis article).

---

[2] In "Inference of Relative Age", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 1, 1945, pp. 142-59.

above propositions, [illegible] and further developments must be [illegible] through [illegible] specific examples of proveable [illegible].

The methodology of Dewey's article is more applicable on the whole to the study of [illegible] forms than the methodologies in the other articles examined in Chapter I. Therefore, Chapter II will indicate, step by step, how the method of Dewey can be [illegible] to other [illegible] differ. The specific applications of [illegible] to the present problem need not be spelled out here, since they will appear later.

It might be well, however, to note here that Dewey did not attempt to substantiate his axiomatic reasons for considering the eastern approaches to be the oldest ones.

R. P. Wallis criticized Dewey for doing what Dewey said should not be done (i.e., for using a "circular procedure" in arguments for his article). Wallis argued that Dewey [illegible] such circular procedure when he assumes that a [illegible] pattern which is widely spread is older than one which has a more limited distribution. He assumes that a [illegible] pattern "proceeds to establish" (p. 150, Wallis article).

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* See "Influence of Material Culture", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 1, June, 1945, 349-60.

Wallis then quoted Boas's statement which, in condensed form, held that, when one uses a purely theoretical point of view, arranging a series with a realistic figure at one end and a conventionalized figure at the other can be done only on the basis of one's judgment concerning similarities. To Boas the deciding that such a series is a genetic series [sequence (?)] requires further proof. Considering the series as genetic without further proof means that a new principle has been substituted for the classificatory principle that was used in arranging the series (p. 589).

Wallis maintained that Boas made such a substitution "when he assumes that magnitude of distribution is an index of age. Although he refers to archaeological evidence that the widely distributed design is old in certain areas of Eskimo culture, his argument relies not on archaeology, which, in this instance, for him, is merely supplementary, but on magnitude of distribution." (p. 151, Wallis article.)

A close reading of Boas's article would indicate that some of his archaeologic evidence (whatever it was) pertained to the antiquity of the conventionalized type of needle-cases (p. 574), as well as to the two designs (p. 569). The statements of Boas referred to by Wallis pertained to any art series considered from a purely theoretical point of view (p. 589). The reference by Boas to magnitude of

[illegible] Euler's statement that, in consequence [illegible] that, when a case a purely hypothetical point of view, assuming [illegible] a realistic figure at one end and a conventionalized figure at the other end be done only on the basis of certain [illegible] plausibilities. To [illegible] the conclusion that series is a pseudo series (sequence (1)) requires further proof. Maintaining the series as probable without the [illegible] proof means that a new principle had been substituted for the classificatory principle that was used in arranging the series (p. 2[illegible]). Galile maintained that [illegible] made such a substitution "when he assumes that magnitude of distribution is an index of age. Although he refers to orthodoxical evidence that the widely distributed [illegible] certainly appeal to [illegible] matters, his argument relies not on archaeology, which, in this instance, for him, is merely supplementary, but on the quantity of distribution." (p. 1[illegible], [illegible] article.)

A [illegible] reading of [illegible] article would indicate that some of his archaeologic evidence (whatever it was) pertained to the antiquity of the [illegible] type of medallions (p. 2[illegible]), as well as to the two designs (p. 2[illegible]). The statements of [illegible] relative to the [illegible] portraiture are series considered from a purely theoretical point of view (p. 2[illegible]). The reference to [illegible] to magnitude of

distribution was made in connection with the antiquity of two design elements characteristic of Eskimo art (p. 569).

Boas substituted "magnitude of distribution" for "archaeology" (p. 151, Wallis article), in giving antiquity to the two design elements. However, it should be mentioned, lest the reader infer that Boas's sequence for needlecases is therefore invalidated, that Boas did not substitute the principle of distribution for the classificatory principle in his general consideration of the development of art designs, or in his specific consideration of the development of needlecase forms. He used magnitude of distribution only for deciding upon the antiquity of the two design elements.

Boas considered the two design elements as characteristic parts of needlecase decorations, at the same time stating specifically that originally the designs bore no relation to needlecases. Since Boas did not trace the needlecases to their origins, he did not show how the two came to be connected. Any use he made of magnitude of distribution in determining the antiquity of the two design elements did not indicate that he used that evidence for determining sequences from the series of needlecase forms and designs.

References elsewhere to the needlecase series would indicate that Boas thought he had "further proof" justifying his considering these classificatory series as forming

distinguish made in Gorgias also the ambiguity of two design elements characteristic of Eleatic poetry (p. 409).

Bass substituted "merits of clarification" for "arrangement" (p. 189, radio version), in giving ambiguity to the two design elements. However, it seems permissible, lest the reader infer that Bass's sequence for merit-lessness is therefore invalidated, that Bass did not substitute his principle of distribution for the differentiatory principle in his general consideration of the development of art designs, or in his specific consideration of the development of meddlesome form. He used magnitude of distribution only for dealing upon the ambiguity of the two design elements.

Bass considered the two design elements as characteristic parts of meddlesome decorations, as the same time establishing specifically and originally the design form as relation to meddlesome. Since Bass did not trace the meddlesome to their origins, he did not show how the two could be connected. Any use in such of merritude of distribution in determining the ambiguity of the two design elements did not indicate that he used that evidence for determining sequences from the series of meddlesome form and design.

Differences elsewhere in the predicates series would indicate that Bass thought he was "further proof" justifying his consideration these classificatory series as forming

historic ones: on page 565 he stated that he would attempt through the needlecase study to throw light on the history of decorative design; on page 570 he referred to a spread from Alaska to other Eskimo areas and to neighboring non-Eskimo areas; on pages 571-72 he considered the ladder-design to be a degenerate form of the alternate-spur design; on other pages, passim, he considered changes in form and design that indicate a developmental sequence (especially in pages 575-78). On pages 579 and 581 he mentioned modifications of generalized types. On pages 585 and 588 he indicated that he had an awareness that formal similarities between items may not necessarily warrant their being considered in the series.

B. THE METHODOLOGY OF EDWARD SAPIR IN "INTERNAL LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE SUGGESTIVE OF THE NORTHERN ORIGIN OF THE NAVAHO".[3]

Summary of the article. Sapir recognized the value of external, distributional, linguistic evidence in indicating a northern origin of the Navaho (p. 224). Nevertheless, he believed that internal linguistic evidence could show "a secondary origin of apparently fundamental elements of Navaho

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[3] In American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 38, pp. 224-35, 1936.

diatomic dwell. On pages 326 he states that he would attempt through the predicate study, by Ghost Light on the history of decorative designs, on page 270 he referred to a spread from Alaska to other Bering areas and to neighboring non-Bering areas; on pages 271-72 he considered the Yuma-design to be a degenerate form of the alcornate-gum design; on other pages, passim, he commented changes in form and design that indicate a developmental sequence (especially in pages 275-78). On pages 279 and 281 he mentioned modifications of generalized types. On pages 282 and 288 he indicated that he had an awareness that formal similarities between items may not necessarily represent their use as considered in the series.

B. THE METALOGICAL OF KIVANS SAYIN IN "INTERNAL LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE SUGGESTIVE OF THE NORTHERN ORIGIN OF THE NAVAHO".[3]

Summary of the article. Kivans questioned the value of external, distributional, linguistic evidence in indicating a northern origin of the Navaho (p. 325). Nevertheless, he believed that internal linguistic evidence could show "a secondary origin of apparently fundamental elements of Navaho

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[3] In American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 58, pp. 324-35, 1956.

culture, such as agriculture, and that such evidence seems to point to an early association of the culture of these people with a more northern environment" (p. 224). Therefore "the more elusive internal linguistic evidence has its place in giving confirmation to a hypothesis based on linguistic distributions" (p. 224).

Sapir analyzed

> "four Navaho words having cultural connotations [and showed] that the gourd was not originally an element of Southern Athapaskan culture; that spoons in this culture were originally made of horn; that broadcast sowing of seed was foreign to the culture; that maize, a staple in historic times, was at one time felt to be an alien food. . .; and that a glimpse, faint but not to be lightly argued away, may be had of a time when the Navaho, or Southern Athapaskans collectively, made use of canoes" (p. 234).

The method. Sapir introduced his study of linguistic, internal evidence by noting that such evidence was not "much in favor among cultural anthropologists at the present time" because it is "tricky as to what of a factual nature can be gathered from it" and because "linguistic evidence is difficult to handle" (p. 224).

He then proceeded to examine forms of four Navaho words or groups of words: 'àdè·', -sàs, nà·dá·', -ké·h (-kè·h

culture, such as agriculture, and that such evidence seems to point to an early association of the ancestors of these people with a more northern environment" (p. 224). Therefore "the more clearly internal linguistic evidence has its place in giving confirmation to a hypothesis based on linguistic distributions" (p. 224).

Sapir analyzed

"four Navaho words having cultural connotations [and showed] that the round was not originally an element of Southern Athapaskan culture; that spoons in this culture were originally made of horn; that broadcast sowing of seed was foreign to the culture; that maize, a staple in historic times, was at one time felt to be an alien food. . .; and that a glimpse, faint but not to be lightly argued away, may be had of a time when the Navaho, or Southern Athapaskans collectively, made use of canoes" (p. 224).

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He then proceeds to examine forms of four Navaho words or groups of words: tádi, -ná, na ła, -łi'g (-łi'n

(?)), meaning gourd (gourd ladle, spoon), seed lies, corn, imperfective referring to "sleeplessness" (with verb stem suggestions of "gliding"), by noting the forms and meanings of each word in various Athapaskan dialects (pp. 225-34). By studying the varying forms of the word, he showed the various dialect equivalents of it. By studying the meaning of the word in each of the dialects and by studying the circumstances under which the word was used, he was able to reconstruct the probable semantic history of the word.

For instance,

> "the semantic history of 'adè·' would. . .be: (1) an animal's horn; (2) ladle made of horn; (3) any ladle; (4) gourd ladle; (5) the gourd, Cucurbita, of which ladles are made. Stage 1 would be proto-Athapaskan; 2, a dialect Northern and Pacific, and presumably early Southern, development based on the wide-spread use of horn for spoons; 3, a Southern Athapaskan transfer of meaning due to the fact that spoons were no longer made of horn; and 4 and 5, a specific Navaho (in part perhaps also Apache) development" (p. 226).

Sapir's linguistic analysis of each word permitted him to discover matters of historic interest about each word, (pp. 227, 228, 231, 233). As a cumulative result, he found internal linguistic evidence supporting the suggestion (from

(?)), meaning round (round ladle, spoon), seed flea, corn, imperfective referring to "slaughtering" (with very often suggestions of "gilding"), by noting the forms and meanings of each word in various Algonquian dialects (pp. 225-34). By studying the varying forms of the word, he showed the various dialect equivalents of it. By studying the meaning of the word in each of the dialects and by studying the circumstances under which the word was used, he was able to reconstruct the probable semantic history of the word.

For instance,

"the semantic history of 'ade' would, i.e.: (1) an animal's horn; (2) ladle made of horn; (3) any ladle; (4) round ladle; (5) the gourd, Cucurbita, of which ladles are made. Stage 1 would be proto-Algonquian; 2, a dialect Southern and recent, and presumably early Southern, development based on the wide-spread use of horn for spoons; 3, a Southern Algonquian transfer of meaning due to the fact that spoons were no longer made of horn; and 4 and 5, a specific Navajo (in part perhaps also Apache) development" (p. 226).

Sapir's linguistic analysis of each word permitted him to discover matters of ethnologic interest about each word, (pp. 227, 228, 231, 233). As a cumulative result, he found internal linguistic evidence supporting the suggestion (from

external, distributional evidence) that the Navaho came from the north (p. 223).

As a result of his investigation, he created a problem for future study, namely, "an analysis of Southern Athapaskan culture. . .to reveal four strata" (p. 235). One strata might be comparable to that of the Mackenzie Basin cultures, one "an early western Plains adaptation," one "a first Southwestern influence," one a "distinctly Pueblo, Southwestern influence." To these he would add the "Navaho specialization on the basis of the Pueblo influence." He cautions that "the disentangling of these various layers is work for the future and, in any event, is hardly likely to be ever more than fragmentary." (p. 235).

Comments on the method. Sapir's basic tenet in this article seems to be linguistic evidence in the Americanistic field has yielded "a scanty return to the historian of culture" (p. 224), mainly because of insufficient knowledge on the part of linguists; but this situation will not necessarily continue. To illustrate a potentiality of internal linguistic evidence, he undertook his particular study of four Navaho words or groups of words.

The conclusions he was enabled to reach in his article were more the result of the cumulative study of the words than the result of the study of any one word considered by

itself. For instance, Sapir had noted (p. 226) the widespread use of horn for spoons and had recognized that horn spoons, "not directly given by present-day Navaho culture, must be assumed to have been known to the remoter Athapaskan-speaking ancestors of the Navaho or, at the least, to early Southern Athapaskan culture" (p. 227). In other words, the changes in meaning of horn-ladle-gourd might have occurred in one area, as the Southwest.

As the title of Sapir's article indicates, the changes in meanings of the four words are suggestive of a northern origin. The cumulative evidence of four words suggesting a northern origin is more substantial than is the evidence from only one word. However, analyses of any number of words would probably result in only suggestive indications. They would not present proofs so long as the changes in meanings could have occurred in one geographic locale. Just as the changes of horn-ladle-gourd might have occurred in the Southwest, so one may say the lack of broadcast sowing of seed and the regarding of maize as an alien food might once have been characteristics of certain groups that were at home in the Southwest and the changes might have occurred there. Conceivably, a Southwestern group could have used canoes at one time, although much of the archaeologic and ethnologic evidence would render this somewhat unlikely. This would be his best point. But if the origin of the

itself. The Indians, [illegible] (p. 252), who where
spread way to [illegible] spoons and recognized that fork
spoons, "not only [illegible] present-day Yavapai culture,
must be assumed to have been brought by the [illegible]
speaking ancestors of the Yavapai [illegible] as the least, to [illegible]
northern "[illegible]" (p. 227). In other words, the
changes in manner of [illegible] have occurred
in one area, not the southwest.

As to the title of Martin's [illegible] indicates, the [illegible]
in meaning of the four words are [illegible] of a northern
origin. The [illegible] of four words [illegible]
northern origin is more [illegible] than is [illegible] evidence in
only one word. However, [illegible] of any number of words
would probably result in only [illegible] indications. The
would non-[illegible] people [illegible] the [illegible] in meanings
could have [illegible] in [illegible] locale. Just as the
changes of [illegible] might have occurred in the
southwest, so one may [illegible] of [illegible] meaning of
seed and the [illegible] of [illegible] have been [illegible]
[illegible] in the southwest and the [illegible] more [illegible]
there. Conceivably, a [illegible] from could have used
canoes at one [illegible], although [illegible] of the [illegible]
although [illegible] would [illegible] unlikely.
This would be [illegible] point [illegible] of [illegible]

-kéh was one meaning "to travel by canoe" and if that simply means "gliding," the datum has no value.

Sapir's demonstration is twofold: (1) that internal evidence is very valuable for indicating probable historic sequences, (2) that the findings secured through using external evidence may be strengthened through also using internal evidence, and vice versa.

It will be recalled that Haddon[4] developed, largely on the basis of internal evidence, a sequence of forms of crocodile arrows that purportedly showed the development of art forms progressed from the realistic to the non-realistic. Boas,[5] on the other hand, showed that, in at least one historic sequence, the development went in the other direction. He used external evidence to indicate the starting point of the sequence.

In the present study of costume there will be examined the value of internal evidence for indicating historic sequence, especially when that evidence is presented in conjunction with the circumstances in which it appeared. Two garment parts, lapels and collars, will be examined to see if, utilizing only internal evidence, a sequence may be

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[4] In Evolution in Art, In the Contemporary Science Series, edited by Havelock Ellis, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1895, pp. 20-5.

[5] F. Boas, op. cit., p. 588.

-xon was one problem to speak of cancel and it that simply means "lifting," not determining its value.

Another consideration is twofold: (1) that internal evidence is very valuable for determining probable historic sequences, (2) that the time has passed although not the external evidence may be strengthened through also using internal evidence, and vice versa.

It will be recall[4] that Gadhra developed, largely on the basis of internal evidence, a sequence of forms of crocodile arrows that purportedly showed the development of art forms progressed from the realistic to the conventionalized.[5] On the other hand, showed that, in at least one historic sequence, the development was in the reverse direction. We used external evidence to indicate the starting point of the sequence.

In the present study of geometric bows will be analyzed the value of internal evidence for indicating historic sequence, especially when that evidence is measured in conjunction with the chronologies in which it appeared. Two persons part, Jacob and Collins, will be examined to see if, utilizing only internal evidence, a sequence may be

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[4] In Problem in Art, in the Contemporary Jaipur Series, edited by Harry Ott and Marilyn Martinez, Rosa, New York, 1980, pp. 80-5.

[5] D. Davis, op. cit., p. 468.

proposed. Then external evidence will be admitted so that the line of sequence may be indicated further.

It may be noted that, while Sapir's article presented internal, linguistic evidence, this article will present internal, material evidence. The difference is more apparent than real. Studies concerned with changes in form, meaning, and circumstances of use, whether they be changes in words, needlecases, or garment parts, have significance for historical reconstructions.

C. THE METHODOLOGY OF JOHN M. COOPER IN "CULTURE DIFFUSION AND CULTURE AREAS IN SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA".[6]

Summary of the article. Through using ethnological and archaeological evidence, Cooper reached a tentative conclusion that

> "the culture of the Yahgans, Alacaluf, and Chonos shows marked affinity and distributional continuity with that of the Tehuelche. The culture west of the Cordillera and its southern Magellanic extension is quite sharply in contrast with the culture east of the same dividing line, notwithstanding the underlying uniform culture pattern that is the common possession and seemingly the common inheritance of

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[6] In XXIe Session, Congrès International des Américanistes, Deuxieme Partie, Göteborg Museum, 1925, pp. 406-21.

propose. Then a general statement will be modified so that the line of argument can be traced far-ther.

It may be noted that, while Lapin's article presented internal, linguistic evidence, this article will present internal, material evidence. The difference is more apparent than real. Linguistic connections may change in time, meaning, and circumstances of use; material objects may be traded, modified, or otherwise [illegible] qualifications for historical reconstructions.

C. THE ETHNOLOGY OF JOHN M. COOPER IN "CULTURAL DIFFUSION AND ECLIPSE AMONG THE SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICANS."[4]

SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLE: Cooper using ethnological and archaeological evidence, hoped to establish a tentative conclusion that:

> "the culture of the Alacaluf, Alacaloof, and Chonos shows marked affinity to Algonkinian culture with Shaman the [illegible]. The culture west of the Andes was like so much Araucanian extension in quite clearly [illegible] in the culture west of the Andes alone, [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] in the common possession of a [illegible] common inheritance of

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later, Thomas Lapin, Cultural Diffusion, [illegible], pp. 408-21.

both" (p. 416). "The direction of culture drift has been from north to south. . .There have occurred three chronologically distinct major drifts in the region" (p. 417).

"We may call the territory west of the Cordillera from the Rio Maule to the Horn the Southern Coastal Area, with two sub-areas, the Araucanian. . .and the Magellanic. . . " (p. 417). "We may likewise suggest that the territory east of the Cordillera be called the Campestrian Area. . .from the southern shore of Tierra del Fuego Island. . .north to include the Pampas and the Chaco" (pp. 417-18). "There are three sub-areas: the Onan, the Pampean, and the Chacoan" (p. 418).

The method. Cooper stated his problem was "to trace cultural diffusion and to block out the culture areas and sub-areas in the southern tip of South America from Araucania and the Rio Negro to the Horn. The secondary aim is to contribute a mite towards the solution of the far broader problem of culture history and stratification on the American continent as a whole. This broader problem will not be solved, we feel, until exhaustive intensive studies have been made of cultural content and drift within the many local culture areas of the continent" (p. 406).

both" (p. 418). "The direction of culture drift has been from north to south. . . There have emerged three chronologically distinct major drifts in the region" (p. 419).

"We may call the territory west of the Cordilleras from the Rio Lauca to the Gulf of the Southern Coastal Area, with two sub-areas, the Atacamenian. . . and the Magellanic. . . ." (p. 417). "We may likewise suggest that the territory east of the Cordilleras be called the Campesinian area. . . from the southern shore of Tierra del Fuego Island. . . north to include the Pampas and the Chaco" (pp. 417-18). "There are three sub-areas: the Guaranian, the Jaqueian, and the Chacoan" (p. 418).

The method. Cooper stated his problem was "to trace cultural diffusion and to identify the culture areas and sub-areas in the southern tip of South America from Atacama and the Rio Negro on the north. The ethnographic job is to contribute a mile toward the solution of the far broader problem of culture history and culture diffusion in the American continent as a whole. This broader problem will not be solved by field, until exhaustive intensive studies have been made of cultural contact and drift within the major local culture areas of the continent" (p. 420).

Cooper named three "cultural invasions" of the continent as "the historic, the pre-hispanic, and the archaic" (p. 406). He then proceded to search out and list the cultural characteristics of each.

For instance, he stripped "off of modern Tehuelche culture the elements introduced into it since the early eighteenth century" (p. 409), thus arriving at the pre-hispanic culture. He selected the elements by a comparative study of the literature of the early and that of later contacts, noting what new elements are mentioned in the latter.

He identified pre-hispanic Araucanian and Tehuelchean culture elements by studying the literature pertinent to the first Spanish contacts. Then he noted the traits of these two cultural sub-groups that were not found in the Chono-Fuegian and Onan sub-cultures, respectively, thus deciding that

> "pre-hispanic drifts, with their starting-point north of Araucanian and Tehuelchean territory, stopped short at the cultural barriers formed by the Chonos Archipelago on the west coast and by the Strait of Magellan on the east coast" (p. 410).

He identified the archaic cultural drift by listing "a large group of cultural traits. . .of practically continuous distribution over the whole Araucanian, Tehuelcehan, and Fuegian areas" (p. 411). Since his list presented "a

Cooper named these "cultural layers" of the continent as "pre-Olmecs, the pre-Chibchas, and the archaic" (p. 406). He then proceeded to search out and list the cultural characteristics of each.

For instance, on at least "six of modern technology and culture the olmecs introduced into to mixed the early eighteenth century" (p. 406). Thus arriving at the pre-Chibchas culture. He relates the olmecs by a comparative study of the literature of the early and late 16 Jesuit chroniclers, noting that can elements are mentioned in the latter.

He identified pre-Chibchas a transmitter and technical culture elements by studying the literature pertinent to the first Spanish contacts. Then he noted the traits of these two cultural sub-groups that were not found in the Chibcha-Tunjian and Cuna sub-cultures, respectively, thus finding that

"pre-Chibchas traits, such as: stirrup-point north of Ecuador, the Chibcha territory, showing short at the cultural centers (Cuna) the Chibcha Archipelago, the Cuna and the Chibcha of Morgalla or the Chibcha (p. 410).

He identified the cultural traits finding "a large group of cultural traits, as presently existing distribution over the Cuna Mountain, Tunjian and Tunjian" (p. 411). Then he also presented "a

distribution cutting across linguistic and somatological lines as well as across the cultural barriers" [i.e., geographic conditions affecting the diffusion of culture] (p. 411), he decided that these traits are older than the pre-hispanic and are probably archaic (pp. 411-12).

He supported his belief in the existence of a north-and-south culture barrier by showing the cultural differences on each side of the barrier of the straits (p. 410).

Comments on the method. Cooper's basic tenets seem to be: (1) that by inverse stripping off of culture elements known to be associated with particular historic influences, one may eventually arrive at conclusions about what constituted the archaic culture of an area; (2) that by studying the elements peculiar to and common in an area, one may determine the diagnostic elements of a culture area or sub-area.

Cooper's style of organization and writing is lucid. His goals are clear, and his approaches to the goals are clear also.

In the articles by Cooper and by Sapir the statements of aims, and of ways in which the aims will be reached, are lucidly made. Furthermore, the original statements of purpose are adhered to so that the conclusions reached bear a direct relation to the evidence presented.

distribution and the cores in equals and parallelogram lines as well as across the natural barriers (p. 4). geographic conditions affecting the distribution of culture (p. 411), he decided that these traits are clear from the pre-diffusion and are probably arrants (pp. 411-12).

He supported his belief in the existence of a north-and-south culture barrier by showing the cultural differences on each side of the barrier of the atlantic (p. 414).

Comments on the method. Cooper's basic tenets seem to be: (1) that by inverse multiplying out of culture elements known to be associated with particular diffusion influences, one may eventually arrive at conclusions about characteristics of the cultural culture of an area; (2) that by studying the elements peculiar to one nation in an area, one may determine the diffusion elements of a particular area or sub-area.

Cooper's study of organization and within is lacking. His tenets are clear, and all approaches to the tenets are clear also.

In the article by Cooper and by Wissler the statements of aims, are not very in which he aims will be reached, the logically made. In the former, the original elements of purpose are adhered to so that the conclusions reached have a direct relation to the original statements.

In both articles no pretensions have been made about the finality of the conclusions, but in both the conclusions reached suffer, if at all, only from an inadequacy of data, not from an inadequacy of method.

The study of costume can profit from observing the lucid organization in the articles of Cooper and Sapir. Furthermore, it can profit by their recognition that probable conclusions, when supported by data, are scientific conclusions.

D. THE METHODOLOGY OF JOHN L. CHAMPE IN "WHITE CAT VILLAGE"[7]

Summary of the article. Champe identified his incompletely excavated White Cat Village (on Prairie Dog Creek, Harlan County, Nebraska) with Lovitt Village (on Stinking Water Creek, Chase County, Nebraska), classifying both as foci of the Dismal River Aspect (pp. 285, 289). He tentatively identified Lovitt and White Cat Villages as the homes of the Paloma or Lipan Apaches and tentatively identified the Pueblo ruin in Scott County State Park as El Cuartelejo, the home of the Cuartelejo Apache visited by Ulibarri in 1706 (p. 291).

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[7] In American Antiquity, vol. 14, no. 4, part 1, 1949, pp. 285-92.

In both studies no statements have been made about the finality of the conclusions, but in both the conclusions reached suffer, if at all, only from an inadequacy of data, not from an inadequacy of method.

The study of courtship can profit from observing the inside organization in the articles of Cooper and Sagin. Furthermore, it can profit by their recognition that probable conclusions, when supported by data, are valuable conclusions.

D. THE ECONOMY OF JOHN L. CRAIG'S "SLIM CREEK VILLAGE"[7]

Summary of his article. Craig identified his hypothesis completely according with the village (on Prairie Log Creek, Harlan County, Nebraska) with Soviet village (on Dnieper Water Creek, Dnepr Country, Ukraine), identifying both as food or the Dnepr/Nebraska Aspect (pp. 888, 889). He tentatively identified Prairie Log Creek and Slim Creek as the homes of the Kiowa Indians in Nebraska. He tentatively identified the Pashka Valley in Soviet Country State Farm No. 21 Chernobaje, the home of the Ukrainian Kiowa, which states by Vilhavet in 1702 (p. 891).

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7 In American Anthropology, vol. 18, no. 4, part 1, 1916, pp. 888-891.

He found some evidence that

"just after 1720 the Comanche displaced the Lipan tribes of Apachería almost overnight and, further, that the Padouca with whom the French established contact in 1724 were the Comanche rather than those Apaches who were also called 'Padoucas Orientaux'" (p. 291).

Champe thought the Upper Republican and Nebraskan cultures were older than the Dismal River culture (p. 291). He did not agree with previous suggestions that the Dismal River culture was a descendant of the Sterns Creek culture (p. 292).

The method. To provide background material, Champe gave a history of the excavations at White Cat Village (p. 285), and a summary of the previous literature on the Dismal River Aspect (p. 285). He then discussed the findings of the excavators at White Cat Village: the "evidence of structures" (pp. 286-88), and the evidence of such artifacts as ceramics, stone, bone, faunal remains, iron and brass items, and a gunflint (pp. 288-89).

After providing the data, Champe undertook a discussion "of ethno-historical and anthropological implications" (p. 289). His evidence for dating the Dismal River Aspect at ca. 1700 was taken from studies, by others, of tree rings,

He found some evidence that

"just after 1750 the Comanche displaced the Lipan tribes or apparently almost exterminated and/or drove, that the Indians with whom the French established contact in 1724 were the Comanche rather than those Apaches who were also called 'Petites Oreilles'" (p. 297).

Change through the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic cultures were older than the Upper Delta culture (p. 291). He did not agree with previous suggestions that the Black River culture was a descendant of the Texas Green culture (p. 292).

The method. To provide background material, Ubelaker gave a history of the conservation at Mille Lacs Va. Lake (p. 288), and a summary of the previous literature on the Dismal River aspect (p. 289). He then discussed the findings of the excavators at Mille Lacs Va. Lake: the "evidence of structures" (pp. 289-291), and the evidence of pots, artifacts or journals, stone, bone, faunal remains, iron and brass items, and a pipelike (pp. 292-293).

After providing the data, Ubelaker undertook a discussion "of chronological, or archaeological implications" (p. 293). He evidence for dating the Dismal River Aspect at Va. Lake was taken from artifacts, the shapes, of rims, rings,

datable Pueblo cross finds, and charcoal (p. 289). His attempt to identify the "Dismal River peoples with one of the Plains Indian tribes" (p. 289), involved a survey of the previous anthropologic literature (pp. 289-90), and "a preliminary review of certain historical facts" (p. 290). His chief historical sources were Alfred B. Thomas's After Coronado (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935, which mentions various expeditions into the area), and "a personal collection of photostatic copies of early French and Spanish maps" (p. 290), which give some tribal locations.

Champe then gave a summary of his article (p. 291). He next added a dissent with Martin, Quimby, and Collier (Indians Before Columbus, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. 331-32), who stated that there was a partial contemporaneity between the Dismal River culture and the Upper Republican and Nebraska cultures. Champe said there seems to be no direct evidence to support this view (p. 291). He referred to his earlier publication (Champe, Ash Hollow Cave, University of Nebraska Studies, New Series, No. 1, Lincoln, 1946), which, he said, showed by stratigraphic and dendrochronologic evidence that there was a time gap between the Dismal River and Nebraskan occupations of one site in western Nebraska. He also disagreed with a view that the Dismal River culture is a descendant of Sterns Creek Culture (Martin, Quimby, and Collier, idem.; James B.

datable Pueblo cross rings, and otherwise (p. 289). His attempt to identify the "Pueblo River people with one of the plains Indian tribes" (p. 290), lavish a survey of the previous anthropological literature (pp. 288-290) and "a preliminary review of certain historical events" (p. 290). His chief historical sources were Alfred B. Thomas's After Coronado (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935) which mentions various expeditions into the area, and "a personal collection of photostatic copies of Spanish and Spanish maps" (p. 290), which give some tribal locations.

Champe then gave a summary of his archaic (p. 291). He next added a glossary with notes, dates, and citations (Indians Before Columbus, op. cit.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947, pp. 321-32), and stated that there was a partial correspondency between the Pueblo River culture and the Upper Republican and Nebraska culture. Champe said there seems to be no direct evidence to support this view (p. 291). He referred to his earlier publication (Champe, and Holtzer Jr., Anthropology of Nebraska Studies, New Series, No. 1, Lincoln, 1940), which, he said, proved by stratigraphic and dendrochronological evidence that there was a time gap between the Pueblo River and Nebraska occupations of one site in western Nebraska. He also disagreed with a view that the Pueblo River culture is a descendant of Steere Creek Culture (Lewis, Lewis, and Collins, op. cit.: page 2.

Griffin, "Cultural Change, etc.," in Man in Northeastern North America, edited by F. Johnson, Papers of the R. S. Peabody Foundation of Archaeology, vol. 3, pp. 37-95, Andover, 1946, p. 54), disagreeing because of the ecological and time gaps between the two cultures (pp. 291-92).

Comments on the method. Champe's basic tenet in this article seems to be that archaeological evidence, used in conjunction with ethnological and documentary historical evidence, may have ethno-historical and anthropological implications.

Champe's methodology gives an example of how a great deal may be done with a minimum of archaeologic material, provided that cross-checks are made with other archaeologic material and with at least some ethnographic and historic documentary evidence.

He took care to point out the inadequacies of his material, but he nevertheless made tentative conclusions based on the evidence at hand.

Champe referred briefly to the distribution in the rest of the Central Plains of material comparable to that found in White Cat Village, thus giving the reader a sense of the distribution in space (and time) of the types of artifacts found.

In discussing the significance of the artifacts, he

Griffin, "Culture Change, etc.," in Ken in Northeastern North America, edited by F. Johnson, Papers of the R. S. Peabody Foundation of Archaeology, vol. 6, pp. 97-103, Andover, 1946, p. 861, discussed the problems of the ecological and time gaps between the two cultures (pp. 891-92).

Comments on the method. Champe's basic tenet in this article seems to be that archaeological evidence, used in conjunction with ethnological and documentary, historical evidence, may have ethnological and anthropological implications.

Champe's methodology is not an example of how a great deal may be done with a minimum of archaeologic material, provided that type-objects are made with other archaeologic material and with at least some ethnographic and historic documentary evidence.

He took care to point out the inadequacies of his material, but he nevertheless was tempted to formulate based on the evidence at hand.

Champe referred briefly to the distribution in the rest of the central plains of material comparable to that found in sites on Milford, thus giving the reader a sense of the distribution in space (and time) of the types of artifacts found.

In discussing the Milford area of the Southwest, he

referred to both the ethnographic and documentary historic material. He made no pretense to a thorough checking of all the historic material. Instead, he used one secondary source (which contained translations of various primary documents) and the primary sources of old maps. This material seems sufficient to help support his dating of the White Cat Component. His use of the primary material, found in maps, was more thorough. By cross-checking the tribal placements indicated on the maps with ethnographic data for the time and with historic documentary material from Thomas, he reached his identifications of the tribal names on the maps with present day ethnic groups.

In conclusion, it is believed in this article on costume, that the references used by Champe, although not adequate for the kind of documentary study a historian would make, are sufficient to support the validity of his conclusions, conclusions based primarily on anthropologic evidence. In this study of costume, the portraits of the eighteenth century will permit a reconstruction of sequences of garment parts and costumes. A use will be made, also, of the secondary documentary material on the history of the eighteenth century France and on the Europe of the time, as well as of secondary material on the costumes of the eighteenth century.

In other words, documentary material will be used in

referred to been too preoccupied with documentary historic material, to make any attempt to a thorough checking of all the historic material. Therefore, we have the secondary sources (which consisted of publications of various primary documents) and the primary sources of old maps. This material seems sufficient to help support his thesis on the Metis as Component. The use of the secondary material found in maps, was more thorough. It proves somewhat the tribal placenames indicated on the maps with ethnographic data for the area and with Birdsell's documentary material from Thomas, he reached his identification of the tribal names on the maps with present day ethnic groups.

In conclusion, it is believed in this article on costume, that the references made by Gregg, although not adequate for the initial documentary study a Minnesota would make, are sufficient to support the validity of his conclusions. Conclusions based primarily on ethnographic evidence, "is [illegible]" are portrait of the eighteenth century with a proper combination of sequences of current styles and costumes. It will be made, also, of the numerous illustrations on the history of the eighteenth century France and of the Europe of the time, as well as of secondary material on the costumes of the eighteenth century.

In a word, documentary material will be used in

this study of costume to suggest corroborations or refutations of the conclusions reached by using primarily anthropologic data. The study of historic documentary material will make no pretense of being exhaustive.

E. THE METHODOLOGY OF BERTHOLD LAUFER IN "THE DIAMOND".[8]

Summary of the article. Laufer stated that, although India was a distributing center both to the East (China) and to the West (Southeastern Mediterranean area), the coincidence of Chinese ideas concerning the diamond with those of the classical literature of the Hellenistic Orient, rather than with those of India, indicates direct importation of the ideas about the diamond from the Hellenistic Orient.

These coincident ideas stem from the Chinese Liang se kung ki, written ca. 464 to 549, which compares with a story in the writings of Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, ca. 315 to 403. The source for the transmission was (the unlocated) Fu-lin, a part of the Roman Empire, from whence it spread to China and India. The story spread not only to China and India, but also, in modified and later forms, to India, Persia, and to the Arabs.

Laufer next undertook a discussion of other ancient Chinese ideas about the diamond. He demonstrated early

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[8] In Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 184, Anthropological Series, vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 1-75.

this study of myths by modern correspondences are relations of the conditions governing the making particular anthropologic data. The study of historic documentary material will make no pretense of being exhaustive.

B. The Wanderer by Ou Yang Hsiu in "The Dragon".[8]

Summary of the article. Laufer stated that, although India was a distributing center both to the east (China) and to the west (Southeastern Mediterranean area), the coincidences of Chinese ideas concerning the dragon with those of the classical literature of the Hellenistic orbit, rather than with those of India, indicates direct importation of the ideas about the dragon from the Hellenistic orbit.

These coincidences lead him from the Chinese Hsuan Ko Kuan Pi, written Ou, 1054 to 1113, which concerns with a story in the writings of Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, ca. 310 to 403. The source for the transmission was (the unknown) Fu-lin, a part of the Roman Empire, from whence it spread to China through the Persian Empire, not only to China and India, but also, in modified and better form, to India, Persia, and to the Arabs.

Laufer next considers a discussion of other Hellenic Chinese ideas about the dragon. He demonstrated early

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8 In Plain Dragons in Natural History, Publication 1o, Anthropological Series, vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1-75.

knowledge of the indestructibility of the diamond (pp. 21-3). He pointed out that the Chinese probably knew of diamonds in the form of points before knowing of them as gems (p. 33). He decided the ancients knew nothing of diamond dust or polishing the diamond (pp. 46-50). He warned of drawing inferences from modern uses of words (p. 51). He showed that a stone's having nocturnal luminosity did not necessarily mean it was phosphorescent, and that sinologues have confused the two qualities (pp. 55-71).

The method and comments on the method. Laufer's basic tenet in this article, although it is not stated, seems to be that there is value in the study of the historic development of any single item if all the ramifications and implications of such a study are pursued.

Laufer started with an unproved statement that, of all the wonders of the Hellenistic-Roman Orient, the "large variety of beautiful precious stones" created the most profound and lasting impression on the minds of the Chinese (p. 5).

Laufer then went on to state that the lack of acquaintance of the Chinese with the diamond would make these people easily susceptible to the reception of foreign ideas about it (p. 5). This statement was unsupported and is to be questioned, in its expressed form. It would have

knowledge of the interrelationship of the diamond (pp. 31-32). He pointed out that the diamond's unusually high of diamonds in the form of pulse waves usually of three-to-four (p. 33). He decided the molecule have burning or glowing and or polishing the diamond (pp. 46-50). The method of erasing reference from modern use of tools (p. 51). The reason it a stone's being neutral inductivity did not necessarily mean it was phosphorescent, and that minerals have combined the two qualities (pp. 68-71).

The method and comments on the method. Laufer's basic point in this article, although it is not stated, seems to be that there is value in the study of the diamond development of any single item in all the particulars and implications of such a study are traced.

Laufer started with an improved statement that, of all the wonders of the Philippines-Borneo Island, the "large variety of beautiful precious stones" created the most profound and lasting impression on the minds of the [illegible] (p. 5).

Laufer then went on to state that the lack of acquaintance of the Chinese with the diamond would make these people easily susceptible to the transmission of foreign ideas about it (p. 6). This statement was unsupported, as is to be questioned, in the expressed form. It would have

been better to state that since the Chinese apparently were interested in the diamond, they were also apparently willing to accept foreign ideas about it. There is no proof in ethnology or psychology that lack of knowledge concerning a particular subject will necessarily predispose a people to want to learn about that subject. Sometimes lack of knowledge concerning a subject seems to make for closed minds toward it.

He interpreted (p. 7) the somewhat confusing Chinese legend in the Liang se kung ki by showing its similarities to the more understandable legend in Epiphanius (pp. 8-10). He noted (p. 10) that the Chinese version lacks the features of the Western legend that were added since the time of Epiphanius in the West.

It is not clear why Laufer stated, without qualification, that the Chinese legend was transmitted from Fu-lin (p. 10). Later (pp. 20-1), he returned to this subject and, by process of elimination and by comparison of the forms of the legend, decided Fu-lin was the center for dissemination to India and China, but the reasons for this are still not clear to this reader.

After discussing the oldest version of the legend in the East and the West, Laufer proceded to discuss the second oldest western version, found in the oldest Arabic work on mineralogy (written before the middle of the ninth century). He related this version to legends in Arabic stories of

been being so quite that some Chinese apparently were interested in the dragon; they were also apparently willing to accept foreign ideas about it. There is no proof in ethnology or psychology that lack of knowledge concerning a particular subject will necessarily predispose a people to want to learn about that subject. Therefore lack of knowledge concerning a subject seems to make for closed minds toward it.

He interpreted (p. 7) the seventh concluding chapter legend in the Liang ge zhuan 梁 by saying it illustrates to the more sophisticated legend in Euphemius (pp. 8-10). He noted (p. 10) that the Chinese version lacks the features of the Western legend that were added since the time of Euphemius in the West.

It is not clear why Lauffer stated, without qualification, that the Chinese legend was transmitted from Yu-lin (p. 10). Later (pp. 20-21) he returned to this subject and, by process of elimination so to speak, of the forms of the legend, decided Yu-lin was the center from which it went to India and China, but the reasons for this are still not clear to the reader.

After discussing the Arabic version of the Seven in the East and the Seal, Lauffer proceeded to discuss the modern oldest western version, namely the oldest Arabic work on mineralogy (written before the death of the ninth century). He related this version to legends in Arabic sources of

Sindbad (pp. 10-12).

Laufer traced the changes in the legend in Arabia, China, and Europe by quoting such sources as the writings of a Chinese envoy to Persia, an Arabic mineralogist, and Marco Polo (pp. 13-15).

He decided that the Chinese version retains the only extant content of the Indian versions that must have existed about the beginning of the sixth century. Furthermore, the Chinese and Indian versions indicate that the legend was folklore when Epiphanius recorded it. According to Laufer, they also indicate the enormous wealth in jewels of Fu-lin. He did not seem to allow for human exaggeration.

It would be tedious to present all the evidence Laufer presented for all his conclusions. Throughout, he used a careful correlation of sources on several subjects and from several areas.

In conclusion, the kind of study made by Laufer of documentary sources would be especially applicable to the study of French costume if the data of that study were to be oriented toward the studying of costume and costume sequences to illuminate the social and cultural conditions of the century. Laufer's kind of study would also be useful should the data on costume be so organized that it would lead to a discussion of the influences exerted by certain individuals on the choices in costume made at any particular time.

Sindbad (pp. 10-12).

Later proofs are emerging in the legend in Japan, China, and Europe by quoting such sources as the writings of a Chinese envoy to India, an Arabic mineralogist, and Marco Polo (pp. 13-15).

He decided that the Chinese version certainly had only extant content of the Indian version that must have existed about the beginning of the first century. Furthermore, the Chinese and Indian versions indicate that the legend was folklore when Epipanius recorded it. According to Dundes, they also indicate the common source in lands of Tamil. He did not seem to allow for human creation.

It would be tedious to present all the evidence Dundes presented for all his conclusions. Tomorrow, he used a careful correlation of sources on several subjects and from several areas.

In conclusion, the kind of study made by Dundes of documentary sources could be especially applicable to the study of Mormon culture if the core of that study were to be oriented toward the studying of courtship and romance customs to illuminate the social and cultural conditions of the century. Dundes's kind of study would also be useful around the data in documents on an organized chart in order lead to a discussion of the influences reached by certain individuals on the choices in courtship made at any particular time.

Laufer's method illustrates the value of searching various kinds of documentary material, even though the apparent subject matter of that material is not relevant to the considerations in hand. So, in a study of costume, one must study paintings and engravings that depict costume; he must examine other studies of costume; and he must study also such things as the memoirs, laws, journals, and generalized historic works.

This study of costume is oriented toward illustrating certain anthropologic theories. A lengthy consideration of the social and personal conditions of the century would obscure the main point of the article. However, the methods of Laufer are useful even in an article oriented as is this one. They illustrate the way in which obscure material may be clarified through documentary research. For instance, the ancient Chinese legend is obscure if one does not interpret it with the aid of Epiphanius's legend. So the adoption of the radically different costume of the Jacobin Period would be difficult to understand if one studies costume alone. However, such an adoption becomes understandable when one studies documents that explain the ideological upheavals of the time.

Lawrence's section illuminates the Victorian sensibility various kinds of documentary material. Even though the apparent subject matter of some documents is not relevant to the considerations in hand. So, as a study of costume, one must study paintings and engravings that depict costume; one must examine other objects of costume; and one must study also such things as the models, laws, journals, and geneological history works.

This study of costume is enhanced toward illuminating certain anthropologic dimensions. A lengthy consideration of the social and personal attributes of the century would obscure the main point of the article. However, the models of Lawlor are useful even in an article oriented in this one. They illustrate the way in which obscure material may be clarified through documentary research. For instance, the ancient Chinese learned to observed if one does not interpret it with the aid of Confucius's theory. So the adoption of the predominant Victorian costume of the Jacobin period would be difficult to understand if one studies costume alone. However, such an adoption becomes understandable when one studies documents that explain the ideological prevails of the time.

F. THE METHODOLOGY OF L. FROBENIUS IN "THE ORIGIN OF AFRICAN CIVILIZATIONS".[9]

Summary of the article. Frobenius attempted in his article on the origin of African civilizations not only to indicate these origins but also to provide an effective methodology for approaching this kind of problem.

He found four major kinds of influences on the culture forms of Africa: Negrito, Malayo-Negrito, Indo-Negrito, and Semito-Negrito.

However, he indicated the purpose of his article by stating that,

> "It was written not to array arguments substantiating the correctness of certain new points of view, but to sum up those points of view in a brief presentation. If I have succeeded in showing how the new method should be wielded and what sort of results can be reached by its application, it has fulfilled its purpose" (p. 649).

The method. First (p. 638), Frobenius, referring to a previous article of his on the subject of Malayo-Negrito origins for African civilization (in Petermann's Mitteilungen,

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[9] In Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1898, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1899, pp. 637-50.

F. THE REFINEMENT OF A TRADITION: "THE DEATH OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION"[9]

Summary of the article. Frederick established in his article on the origin of American civilizations not only to indicate these origins but also to provide an effective methodology for approaching this kind of problem.

He found four major kinds of influences on the culture form of America: Neoptic, Paleo-Neritic, Indo-Neritic, and Semito-Neritic.

However, he increased the purpose of his article by stating that,

"It was well-nigh not to a very arguments substantiating the correctness of certain new points of view, but to sum up those points of view in a brief presentation. If I have succeeded in showing how the new method should be applied and what sort of results can be reached by its application, it has justified its purpose" (p. 663).

The problem. First (p. 663), Frederick referring to a previous article of his on the origins of Paleo-Neritic origins for African civilization (in Fejervary's Mitteilungen

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[9] In Smith Smithsonian Institution Annual Report, 1934, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1935, pp. 657-90.

Parts X and XI, 1897), stated that aspects of African culture should be examined "as to their constituent elements, the composition of each, its prevalence, and its origin. The areas of distribution of elements. . ." should be presented (p. 638).

Frobenius then undertook to answer the question, "How can culture affinities be determined" (pp. 638-40). First, "The proof of culture affinity depends upon our conception of civilization." Second, certain culture elements "are made to assume corporeal form by means of a certain unity of distribution." These elements, in spite of great variability, have "the marks of origin. . .indelibly impressed upon the framework of these forms or creatures of civilization." Therefore, we must not "especially in the case of complicated products. . .talk too much of local discovery of natural laws, of independent invention and origin."

Third, since every culture form has characteristics similar to animals in that they pass through "a genetic period", "a period of maturity", and "a period of decay", and since we can trace the descent of animals, we can trace "the affinities and the descent of culture forms." We do this through a study of culture anatomy. We present

> "the peculiarity of the material on the one side and the form and nature of the object on the other, so as to make it appear that the object grew out of the

Parts X and XI, 1897, presented such aspects of Kroeber's culture as being by examination "across their backgrounds, elements, the composition of each, its provenance, and its origin. The areas of distribution of elements. . ." should be presented (p. 65a).

Problems then remained to answer the question, "How can culture activities be determined objectively?" Kroeber: "The proof of culture activity depends upon our conception of civilization." Second, certain culture elements "are made to assume corporeal form by means of a certain unity of distribution." Those elements, lacking of great variability, have "the marks of origin. . . indelibly impressed upon the framework of these forms as creations of civilization." Therefore, we must ask especially in the case of complicated products. . . "only too much of local discovery of natural laws, of independent invention and origin."

Thirdly, since every culture form has characteristics similar to organic life, it must pass through "a genetic period", "a series of phases" and "the period of decay", and since we can trace the growth of animals, we can trace "the activities with the energy of culture items." We do this through a study of culture analogy. The problem "has particularly to be resolved on the one side into the form and nature of the objects on the other, so as to make it appear that the objects grew out of the

material as a necessary consequence."

Fourth, "local material gives rise to a series of utensils. . .whose existence is due solely to that material." When the culture moves to another area, "the forms remain, the material changes"; and the anthropologist must retrace the path of the migration.

Frobenius next proceded to illustrate the foregoing points by discussing African drums, stringed instruments, bows, shields, axes, huts, chairs and neck rests, and costumes (pp. 640-44).

He stated that

> "In itself the fact of agreement in form between certain or indeed all of the objects in use in West Africa and those of Oceania is not convincing proof of their culture affinity. But likeness of anatomical origin coupled with the outlined area of distribution is not to be gainsaid" (p. 645).

After ruling out other approaches, he decided the east side "is the open door of the African continent" (p. 646). Malayo-Negrito influences came to Africa from the east.

According to Frobenius, the "mechanical process" of the spread of Malayo-Negrito culture is revealed by a study of distribution. Use also might be made of a study of the "physiologic structure" (p. 646), of a civilization. Malayo-Negrito cultures of West Africa show their affinity with

material as a necessary or sufficient.

Further, Gladwin writes, also in a review of Wednesday, "whose [illegible] in the end) to that material." When the author moves to another area, "the terms remain, the material changes" and the anthropologist must retrace the path of the migrants.

Frobenius must proceed to illustrate the foregoing points by discussion [illegible] dance, architecture, musical bows, anklets, axes, knives, quartz and rock crystals, and costumes (pp. 240-43).

He states that:

"In regard to the fact of agreement in form between certain particular [illegible] of the objects in use in West Africa and those of Oceania is not convincing proof of their [illegible] relationship. But likeness of [illegible] origin coupled with the circumscribed area of distribution is not so be [illegible]" (p. 243).

After ruling out [illegible] hypotheses, he decides the case side [illegible] of [illegible] Malayo-Negrito influence came to Africa from the east.

According to Frobenius, the "mechanical process" of the spread of Malayo-Negrito influence is revealed by a study of distribution. One also must be made of a study of the "physiologic structure" (p. 244) of a civilization. Malayo-Negrito culture [illegible] of West Africa show their affinity with

what Frobenius considered their oceanic origins by their dependence upon vegetable substances, their use of definite plants (as replacing bamboo with banana leaves and leaf stems), their use of new material to replace the material of the old locale (shell blades with iron, cowry shell money with ropes of shell coins), their degenerate pile dwellings, their use of mesh nets. They thus contrast with continental African cultures that are half-nomadic, eat flesh, are patriarchal (instead of matriarchal or matrilineal), and have slight worship of ancestors (since nomads are seldom reminded of their past) (p. 647).

Frobenius then turns to listing and describing the four influences on African culture forms.

Comments on the method. Frobenius's basic tenets in this article seem to be that, after deciding on the original area for particular objects of culture, one can reconstruct the past history of a culture by a comparative study of forms, noting their geographic distributions, the numbers of formal similarities among the various areas, and the probable line of migration from the area of origin to other areas.

There seem to be two major parts to Frobenius's method, one, the geographic-quantitative part; and two, the biologic part.

In the geographic-quantitative part Frobenius made an

what problems concerned African cosmic origins by their dependence upon vegetable substrates, chalk-use or definite plants (as replacing bark or rigid patterns lacking not less atoms), their use of the material representing the substrate of the old locale (shell objects with lines, cowry shell, cones with ropes of shell money). Their dependents pile specifics, their use of mark marks. Less than centuries with continental African cultures than the hill-herded, cogt flesh, are partisanes (Ancient or essential or matrilineal), and have slight worship, and substratifance marks are seldom reminded of their past (p. 64).

Robertson then turns to Lévy-Bruhl and discussing the four influences on African culture thus:

Concerning the central, Robertson's basis begins in this article seem to be the, after deducing on the original area for particular objects a culture, are one reconstruct the past history of African art as a comparative study of forms, during their mechanic distribution. The numbers of forms [illegible] African areas, and the possible line of migration from the [illegible] of origin to other areas.

So [illegible] be certain major parts to Robertson's method, one, the geographic-distributive part; and two, the biologic part.

In the geographic-distributive part Robertson made an

influential contribution to anthropologic methodology. Ratzel had shown that West Africa and Indonesia and Melanesia had comparable bows. Frobenius listed other comparable items, thus strengthening the probability of a connection between the areas and thus, also, advancing the "criterion of quantity". Furthermore, by attributing corporeal form to the conjunction of these culture elements, he developed Ratzel's migration theory into the theory of "culture circles". Whatever our opinion of the Kulturkreis method in anthropology, we may consider Frobenius part in the developing of that method to be an important one.

In the biologic section of his article Frobenius said that we can trace the descent of a culture through studying its organic periods. Nevertheless, he did not do this.

He did not always make clear what he meant by saying that a form remains but the material often changes when a culture migrates. He illustrated, for instance, by saying, among other things, that leather is used in costume wherever cattle are bred (South and East Africa and the Sudan), except that in the east and north of the Sudan leather is replaced by cotton. Since cotton is also in the southeast and southwest, an Indian origin is indicated. In the Congo Basin palm fibers predominate and two small enclaves in the east of Africa show the path of this influence from a Malayo-Negrito origin. Bark fabrics are used in the Sudan, but

influential contributor to ethnographic methodology.

Ratzel had seen that very similar Lacustrine and Polynesian had comparable bows. Frobenius listed other comparable items, thus strengthening the probability of a connection between the areas and thus, also, advancing the "criterion of quantity". Nevertheless, by attributing corporeal form to the complexes of these culture elements, he developed Ratzel's migration theory into the theory of "culture circles". Whatever our opinion of the authenticity method in anthropology, we may see a clear recognition part in the developing of that method to be an important one.

In the closing section of his article Frobenius said that we can trace the descent of a culture through studying its organic parts. Nevertheless, he did not do this.

He did not always make clear what he means by saying that a form remains but the material often changes from a culture element. He illustrated, for instance, by saying among other things, that leather is used in Germany when cattle are dead (South and West African) the Bushmen, except that in the east and where as the Zulus leather is replaced by cotton. Since cotton is also in the southwest and southwest, and Indian origin is indicated. In the Congo basin palm fibers predominate and the small quantities in the east of Africa show the path of this influence from a Malayo-Negrito origin. Bark clothes are used in the Congo, and

they exclude all others only in the northern and western Congo Basin. This indicates an affinity with tapa, a supposition that "is favored by the fact that the trees yielding the raw materials are planted and tended in great quantities in newly-founded villages" (p. 644). This reader does not see how any of the foregoing discussion of costume shows a retention of form.

The area of distribution of similar items in West Africa and in the area of the Malayo-Negritos indicates a "path" of diffusion (p. 645). Frobenius apparently decided the direction of diffusion along this path by considering such things as: the "home" of the wooden drums must have been an area "of the lofty bamboo cane, for these drums are developed from the bamboo" (p. 641); the similarities of the form of the head of the West African ax and the cylindrical shell ax of Melanesia (p. 643). However, it is not clear to this reader why Frobenius decided the direction of diffusion was from the Malayo-Negrito area to the West African area, instead of vice versa.

Frobenius's listing of three other influences on African culture forms is not supported by much data. It is difficult to see how his data for Malayo-Negrito affinities with West African civilizations are connected with a conclusion that there were three other influences: Negrito, Indo-Negrito, and Semito-Negrito.

they explore all spheres only for the Congo-and Congo Basin. This tendency particularly with Lapp, a supposition that "is favored by the fact that the tropical yielding the raw materials are planted and tended in great quantities in newly-found villages (p. 221). The reader does not see how any of the foregoing fundamental cultures shows a reduction of form.

The area of distribution of similar types in Africa and in the art of the Sudan-Guinea indicates a "path" of diffusion (p. 222). Proposing apparently applied the direction of diffusion along this path by considering such things as the "bowl" of the wooden drum must have been an area "of the lofty bamboo canes, for these drums are developed from the bamboo" (p. 221); the similarities of the form of the drum of the west African ex and the cylindrical shell ex of Melanesia (p. 221). However, it is not clear so this reader why Frobenius rejected the direction of diffusion was from the Indo-Pacific area to the West African area instead of vice versa.

Frobenius's list of other other influences on African culture forms is not supported by much data. It is difficult to see how his data from Indo-Pacific affinities with West African civilizations are consistent with a conclusion that there were three "interdependent" areas: Indo-Pacific, and Semito-Hamitic.

It is necessary to state here that Frobenius's article has been chosen largely because of its influence in laying much of the foundation for a criterion of quantity and a theory of culture circles.[10] The article has not been taken as typical of Frobenius. An evaluation of the man as a student of culture is not even implied here. In fact Schmidt[11] quotes Frobenius as later (1905) regretting the errors in this article. It must be regarded as in part a pioneer effort (B. Ankermann's "Kulturkreise in Africa," Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie, vol. 37, did not appear until 1905 and Graebner's Die Methode der Ethnologie until 1911).

In conclusion, it is believed here that in determining historic connections, one may utilize similarities of forms when these similarities do not result from the technical demands of the material involved. If several such similarities exist, the probabilities of historic connections receive additional support.

Attention will be paid in this study of costume to similarities of garment forms for eighteenth century males of the court circles. From these similarities and the changes in these forms, an historical reconstruction will be made of the changes in garments.

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[10] W. Schmidt, The Culture Historical Method, p. 26.

[11] Op. cit., fn. 18, p. 83.

It is interesting to note that Frobenius's article has been given increasing consent of late including in laying much of the foundation for a criterion of quantity and a theory of culture circles.[10] His methods have not been taken as typical of research. An evaluation of the man as a student of culture is not even in this case. In fact Schmidt[11] quotes Frobenius as later (1926) regretting his errors in this article. It must be regarded as in part a pioneer effort (B. Malinowski "Anthropologie in Africa," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 57, did not appear until 1906 and Graebner's Die Methode der Ethnologie until 1911).

In conclusion, it is noticed here that in determining historic connections, one may utilize similarities of forms when these similarities do not result from the technical demands of the material in view. If several such similarities exist, the probabilities of historic connections receive additional support.

Attention will be paid in the study of culture to similarities of process from an element contrary to that of the count circles, from which similarities in the change in these forms, an historical reconstruction will be made of the changes in process.

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10 W. Schmidt, Die Methode der Ethnologie, p. 23.

11 Op. cit., Ibid., p. 24.

G. THE METHODOLOGY OF TOR IRSTAM IN "THE KING OF GANDA".[12]

Conclusions of the publication. Irstam's study is sub-titled "Studies in the Institutions of Sacral Kingship in Africa". His subject is, therefore, sacred kingship not only in Uganda but also in the rest of Africa. He found its

"most important centres in the bigger states in the Congo, Middle Lake Region and Sudan. . .we must take these as our point of departure in our attempts to interpret their wanderings. Two routes are indicated, both proceeding from Abyssinia, to which country the sacral kingship had come from the Near East. One route goes westward over the Sudan states to Sierra Leone, and one goes southwards through the Middle Lake region down to south-east Africa. As far as the Congo region is concerned, one should certainly reckon with influences from both Nigeria and the Cameroons over Loango and from the Middle Lake Region.

"Special features of the sacral kingship that lead us to think precisely of the Near East are for example the notions of the scapegoat. . ., the

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[12] In The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm (Statens Etnografiska Museum), New Series, Publication No. 8, Stockholm, 1944.

D. THE METHODOLOGY OF THE SEGRAN IN THE ERA OF WAR.[12]

Conclusions of the Publication. Hrdlička's study is sub-titled "Studies in the Institutions of Social Life only in Africa". His subject is, therefore, manifestly not only in Uganda but also in the rest of Africa. He finds the "most important centres in the higher states in the Congo, Middle East, Region and Sudan. . . We must name these as our point of departure in our attempts to interpret their wanderings. Two peoples are indicated, both proceeding from Abyssinia, to which country the secret kingship had come from the Near East. One route goes westward over the Sudan states to Sierra Leone, and one goes southwards through the Middle-Lake region down to south east Africa. As far as the Congo region is concerned, one should certainly reckon with influences from both Nigeria and the Cameroons over Ubangi and from the Middle Lake Region.

"Special features of the secret kingship that lead us to think primarily of the Near East are for example the notions of the leopard. . . the

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[12] In the Kongoprofilen, Tusenet of Sweden, Stockholm (Statens Etnografiska Museum, Ser. Series, Publication No. 8, Stockholm, 1944.

substitute-king. . ., the water of life and the life-tree. . ., and the identification of the king's life with the life of the country. . .In this connection it should be pointed out that the myth upon which a certain rite is founded is as a rule not to be found in Africa. . ." (p. 193).

The method. The reader has probably noted that the preceding section of this discussion of Irstam's publication presented his conclusions, not a summary of what he wrote. The reason for this is that Irstam's publication does not lend itself to a concise summary. It does not do so because the data he presented was not synthesized in a culminating set of generalizations, or conclusions. That is, the conclusions were not the outgrowth of the data. Therefore, since the publication was not unified in its conceptual scheme, it cannot be summarized in much less than an outline of the whole work.

Such an outline would not help in accomplishing the present purpose, namely, a discussion of the methodologies of various inductive, historical studies and a selection of certain of these methods for application to a study of costume in Chapter II. Therefore, a brief survey will be made of what Irstam did in his publication; and then a selection will be made among his methods in accordance with present needs.

subjects . . . are water or life and the life-
tree. . . . are the life orientation of the king's life
with the life of the country. . . . In this connection
it should be pointed out that the myth upon which a
certain rite is founded is as a rule not to be found
in Africa. . . ." (p. 190).

The reader. The reader has probably noted that the
preceding section of this discussion of Frazer's publication
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set of generalizations, or conclusions. That is, the con-
clusions were not the outgrowth of the data. Therefore,
since the publication was not outlined in its conceptual
scheme, it cannot be summarized in much less than an outline
of the whole work.

Such an outline would not help in accomplishing the
present purpose, namely, a discussion of the methodologies
of various industrial, historical-sociological and a selection of
certain of these methods for application to a study of
costume in Chapter III. Therefore, a brief survey will be
made of what Frazer did in his publication, and then a
selection will be made among methods in accordance with
present needs.

Irstam began his study by referring to various statements by anthropologists concerning the origin of sacred kingship in Africa (pp. 11-14). Among the origins were the medicine-man (Frazer); an Hamitic origin (C. Seligman, Brauer, Roscoe, Driberg, Schebesta); the "Sudanese culture that extended from Abyssinia south of the Sahara to Senegal" (p. 12), (Frobenius, Baumann, Wieschhoff, Friedrich, von Sicard); from the Near East, via Abyssinia (Schilde); Egypt (C. K. Meek). Irstam added that Wieschhoff later came to be more in accord with Seligman than with his teacher, Frobenius. Later (p. 191), he indicated Baumann "advanced" the idea of the Near East origin before Schilde "advanced" it (p. 13).

Irstam, after referring to the varied views just mentioned, wrote,

> "It may therefore perhaps be desirable, in the light of what is in part new material, to endeavour to ascertain whether at the present stage of research it is possible to give a more exact account of and to classify the complex of customs that are referred to as sacral kingship, and whether it can be established that this is native to Africa or imported. In this way a contribution may perhaps also be made to the solution of the question as to the actual origin of sacral kingship" (p. 14).

He then proceded to discuss (pp. 15-42), the system

Frazer, Segerstedt, by referring to various statements by anthropologists concerning the origin of sacred kingship in africa (pp. 114-1). Among the origins were the medicine-man (Frazer); an animistic origin (G. Seligman, Brauer, Rodger, Junker, Roux etc.); the "primeval culture that extended from Abyssinia south as far as Kamerun to Lake Tchad" (p. 12), (Frobenius, Lemkin, Alexandroff, Pelsaert, von Sicard); from the Nam land, via Ashanti (Sonline); Egypt (C. K. Meek). Frazer added that Alexandroff later came to be more in accord with Seligman than with his teacher, Frobenius. Later (p. 121), he indicated Lemkin "advanced" the idea of the Nam land origin before Sonline "advanced" it (p. 10).

Instead, after referring to the various views just mentioned, wrote,

"It may therefore perhaps be certainly, in the light of what is in part not material, to endeavour to ascertain whether at the present stage of research it is possible to give a satisfactory account of and to classify the complex phenomena that are referred to as sacred kingship, and whether it can be established that this institution to Africa or imported. In this way a contribution may perhaps also be made to the solution of the question as to the actual origin of sacred kingship" (p. 14).

As mentioned by Frazer (pp. 10-14), the system

in Ganda, from the election of a king to his death. Included are discussions of the Queen, the King's Mother, and the King's Officials.

Having presented an effective and coherent account of kingship in Ganda, Irstam proceded to a comparative discussion of kingship in the rest of Africa where kingship exists (pp. 43-186).

He finally presented his conclusion (pp. 187-93), wherein, contrary to the generally accepted conception of what a conclusion should include, he introduced new evidence (pp. 189-91) about Egyptian kingship (thus attempting to eliminate Egypt as a source of African kingship). He never described the kind of kingship of the Near East, which he accepted as the source of African kingship. He had previously made only a few brief references to Near Eastern kingship (for instance, he said (p. 91) that the origin of ceremonies to invigorate the King was, in all probability, in the Near East, "where the sacral king's cradle once stood. . ." He also said (p. 165) that, in many places all sexual acts were forbidden after the king died and until a new king was installed; and he said we should "compare with this the notions in Babylon and Assyria concerning the period during which Tammuz and Ishtar were regarded as being in the underworld.") In his " onclusion," he mentioned some four of the characteristics of kingship in the Near East and

in Ganda, from the election of a king to his death. Included are descriptions of the Kabaka, the King's mother, and the king's officials.

Having presented an effective and convenient account of kingship in Ganda, Fallers proceeds to a comparative discussion of kingship in the rest of Africa where kingship exists (pp. 43-146).

He finally presents his conclusion (pp. 147-50), wherein, contrary to the generally accepted conception of what a conclusion should include, he introduced new evidence (pp. 180-91), about Egyptian kingship (thus attempting to eliminate myth as a source of African kingship). He never described the kind of kingship of the Near East, which he accepted as the source of African kingship. He had previously made only a few brief references to Near Eastern kingship (for instance, he said (p. 91) that the origin of ceremonies to invigorate the king was, in all probability, in the Near East; he also said the Kabaka's crown is Egyptian in origin). He also said (p. 180) that in many places all sexual acts were forbidden under the King which had until now kept the kingship; and he said he should "compare with this the motions" in Babylon and Egypt concerning the period during which Tammuz and Ishtar were supposed to be dwelling in the underworld.") In his "conclusion" he mentioned some four of the Near Eastern parallels of kingship in the Near East and

assumed, since these characteristics are also found in Africa, and since the system does not seem original to Africa, that the Near East is the source (p. 193, the last page of the "Conclusion"). There appeared also a footnote mentioning, by name only, some Near Eastern cultures with sacral kingship (fn. 1, p. 193).

Despite the weaknesses in Irstam's methodology, his study may be considered of value in that he collected, in the "Comparative Part" of his study, a wealth of material on the expression of aspects of kingship in the rest of Africa. His research of the anthropologic literature was thorough. His noting conflicting data is creditable.

Some of his minor conclusions, whether right or wrong, stem from his data. For instance, he made a generalized statement that

> "the person of the sacral king was hedged in by a number of prescriptions and taboos, which can all be explained by his divine nature. He must not be seen, still less touched; he must take all his meals alone; he must not touch the ground; his saliva, nails, hair, etc. were not thrown away; his blood must not be spilt" (p. 78).

Irstam generalized also that

> "as the life of the country and the people was dependent on the king, it is quite natural that

assumed, since these superstitions are found in Africa, and since the styles have not been original in Africa, such has been said in the source (p. 182, the last page of the "Conclusion"). There appeared also a footnote mentioning, or rather only, some dark leaders returned with several alligatorskins. (p. 182).

Despite the evolutionary, irrational methodology, his study may be considered original in that he believes, in the "Comparative Part" of his study, a wealth of material on the expression of aspects of kingship in the rest of Africa. His research of the anthropologic literature was thorough. His noting conflicting data is creditable.

Some of his minor conclusions, whether right or wrong, stem from his data. For instance, he made a concluding statement that:

"the person of the sacred king was hedged in by a number of prescriptions and taboos, which can all be explained by his living mummy. He must not be seen, still less touched; he must take all his meals alone; he must not touch the ground his sandals, etc. Hence not wonder that his blood must not be spilt" (p. 72).

Under generalized kingship:

"as the life of the country and the people was dependent on the king, it is quite natural that

everything possible should be done not only to protect, but also to invigorate his life. Unfortunately, however, our sources afford very scanty evidence on this point" (p. 88). "In many cases the king was the high priest of his people" (p. 119). ". . .the king was nothing but a personification of the moon. Just as this rose, waxed to fullness, waned and disappeared, so also the king was radiant in all his glory and splendour, paled, and at last disappeared" (p. 130). "We have found an intimate connection between the king and the sacred fire" (p. 141). ". . .the king was the living expression of a permanently active divine principle, which was considered to have begun with the primeval father and to continue in all eternity . . .Consequently he had the right to live only so long as he did not show any signs of degeneration" (p. 162). "We have found that the king's chief officials in practically the entire field covered by our enquiry were four in number or three to four" (p. 178).

Irstam reached a number of minor conclusions, each of which was supported by data from every tribe having the particular expression of kingship being mentioned at the time. These minor conclusions indicate Irstam could have

everything possible should be done not only to protect, but also to invigorate his life. Unfortunately, however, our sources afford very scanty evidence on this point" (p. 58). "In many cases the king was the high priest of his people" (p. 119). ". . . the king was nothing but a personification of the moon. Just as this moon, waxed to fullness, waned and disappeared, so also the king was radiant in all his glory and splendour, pale, and at last disappeared" (p. 150). "We have found an inseparable connection between the king and the sacred fire" (p. 141). ". . . the king was the living expression of supernaturally active living principle, which was considered to have begun with the primeval father and to continue in all subsequently . . . Consequently he has the right to live only so long as he did not show any signs of degeneration (p. 168). "We have lord than the king to other officials in practically the entire India covered by our enquiry were four in number or three to four" (p. 176).

Frazer tracked a number of Aryan conclusions, each of which was supported by data from every tribe serving the particular hypothesis of kingship being performed at the time. These also conclusions indicates India, could have

produced a worthwhile publication without attempting to solve the problem of origin.

Since Irstam covered, ostensibly, the whole of Africa, it would seem that he should have included the Khoisan area, where there were comparable elements in peripheral areas of marginal transition. References might have been made to such things as larger bands with hereditary chiefs in the male line among northwestern Bushmen, to such things as a Bantu sense of relative seniority found in the superior position of the chief of the senior clan of the Nama Hottentot, and to the presence of elders and the sacred fire among the Bergdama.

Comments on the method. Irstam's basic tenet in this publication seems to be that, through a study of the forms which sacred kingship takes throughout Africa, one can arrive at a solution of the origin of the system. It would seem probable that, had he studied the forms and their meanings, had he noted the spatial distributions of both, and had he attempted to translate the varying forms, meanings, and distributions into an expression of space-time, he might have succeeded. However, he did not do this.

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Irstam set for himself two major tasks: (1) describing and classifying the customs concerning sacred kingship; (2) deciding whether the system is original with Africa and,

if not, where its origin is.

In the study of costume to be made in Chapters II and III of this dissertation we shall set our task: (1) the description of and sequential development for the parts of the coat and waistcoat worn by male French of the eighteenth century court circle and upper classes; (2) the attempted demonstration of the contribution such an historical reconstruction may make to anthropologic theory.

CHAPTER II

A METHODOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHANGES IN COSTUME FORMS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH COURT CIRCLES

A. INTRODUCTION.

Analyses of the methodologies used in several inductive studies that were concerned with reconstructing historic sequences and the theoretic implications of these sequences were presented in the preceding chapter. The methodologies analyzed indicate some of the various approaches to a reconstruction of historic sequences. These methods of approach will serve as guides for the methodology used in the original, inductive study which is the subject of this chapter.

A consideration of the changes in material forms of the male costume of the court circle and upper classes of eighteenth century France will be presented in this chapter. The evidence for change will be collected and organized here in Chapter II. The reliability of the sequence of costumes that has been developed by observing changes in form in certain specified parts of garments will then be cross-checked by documentary evidences. The sequences will be examined in Chapter III to determine their value in illustrating certain anthropologic theories about culture change.

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B. THE METHODOLOGY.

The particular methodology of Chapter I most applicable to the subject matter of Chapter II is that employed by Boas in his study of needlecases. However, Boas did not use documentary material. When cross-checking with documentary material is attempted here, use can be made of the kind of documentary studies exemplified in the articles by Laufer and Champe. Also applicable to the present chapter are the criteria of form and quantity of the German anthropologists, the awareness of degrees of probability exemplified in the article by Cooper, and the utilization of internal evidence exemplified in the article by Sapir.

The following points indicate some of the similarities in the methods used by Boas and those used in this chapter, and they also indicate some of the differences:

1. Boas did not study all Eskimo needlecases.[13] He concentrated upon the variations of a certain generalized type of needlecases. This chapter will not present a study of all French male costumes of the eighteenth century. The concentration is on the variations of a certain type of costume, namely the conventionalized one worn by the court

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[13] F. Boas, "Decorative Designs," p. 565.

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circles and upper classes.

2. Boas established the identity of his generalized type by mentioning certain characteristic features of the needlecases.[14] This present study establishes the identity of the formal costume of the Frenchmen involved by mentioning some of the characteristic features of this costume. The costume had three basic components (leaving out a consideration of shoes): coat, waistcoat, and tight knee-breeches. This may seem a too obvious statement if it is regarded in the light of present day formal attire of coat, vest, and pants. However, it will be remembered that, prior to the adoption of this habit à la francaise in the reign of Louis XIV, the basic components of male costume were doublet (or its reduced version, the jacket), elaborate shirt, and petticoat breeches. The costume under consideration then, was a formal one that originated in the French court of Louis XIV and became the court costume of most of Europe during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The generalized form of the coat and waistcoat and the variations therein and therefrom will receive detailed attention in the latter part of this chapter. The forms of the culottes accompanying these coats and waistcoats, although not the immediate subject of this chapter, will be

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[14] Ibid., p. 888.

mentioned where necessary.

3. Boas selected for his study objects that appeared among specific people only, thereby limiting the social groups he had to consider.[15] The peoples were the Eskimo and those who were influenced by them in art styles. The costumes studied in this chapter appeared among the court circles and upperclass Frenchmen, who all together formed a culturally definable sub-group of French society. These people had standards peculiar to themselves in costume, as well as other things. However, they were a part of French society as a whole and were not unconnected with other societies of human beings. So this chapter includes those other people who were influenced by the French court circles and upperclasses in costume forms and decorations, or who influenced the court circles.

4. Boas's time period for study apparently was that of the entire (but unknown) length of time that those needle-cases he studied were made, perhaps not a lengthy span.[16] The time period here selected has been generally limited, for ease in handling, to that roughly between the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and the French Revolution beginning in 1789. This period has been chosen because it may be

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[15] Ibid., p. 570.

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considered a phase separable from other periods in history for study purposes. It was a period of cultural transition in France from absolutism to revolution and attempted republicanism.

5. Boas recognized that, although the alternate-spur-band was an Eskimo characteristic, this design was related to the single spur line found on other kinds of objects in many other parts of the world.[17] It is recognized here that although the habit à la francaise was a costume of French gentlemen, it was related to the other kinds of costumes of the lower classes of Frenchmen and to the costumes of peoples of other lands. These relationships are shown later in this paper. Point 5 differs from Point 3 supra, in that the emphasis there was upon the distribution and kinds of peoples involved while here it is upon the distribution of the costumes involved.

6. After specifying the points listed above, Boas prodeeded to a detailed comparison of the needlecases in his collection.[18] In so doing, he noted variations in form and decoration among the characteristic parts of the needlecases. He studied these variations in each part to see if they had enough characteristics in commcn to warrant their being

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[17] Ibid., p. 571.

[18] Ibid., pp. 574-88.

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5. Ross recognized that, although the alternate-square band was an Italian characteristic, this design was related to the single square line found on other kinds of objects in many other parts of the world.[17] It is recognized here that although the habit *a la francaise* was a costume of French gentlemen, it was related to the other kinds of costumes of the lower classes of Frenchmen and to the costumes of peoples of other lands. These relationships are shown later in this paper. Point 5 differs from point 3 *supra*, in that the emphasis there was upon the distribution and kinds of peoples involved while here it is upon the distribution of the costumes involved.

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 374-88.

classified as variants of but one series. Thus he reached an inferential series for the variations in the parts of the needlecases. The present study compares in detail the form and decoration of the court costumes shown in the paintings and engravings of the period. Variations are noted among the parts of two of the characteristic components of the costume: the coat and the waistcoat. The parts studied are: lapels, collars, skirts, pockets, sleeves, and cuffs. These parts are classified serially.

7. Boas's series alone did not permit him to make a decision as to their sequences. This decision had to be based on observations of the series plus supplementary evidence. Proof for determining the initial points of the sequences was furnished by such external evidence as the archaeologic antiquity of the eastern,[19] conventionalized (non-representative) type, and by the uniformity of the conventionalized type as contrasted with the diversities among the realistic forms.[20] However, Boas did not state what his archaeologic evidence was except to say where some of the old specimens came from. Furthermore, Boas made no surmise about ultimate origins. He based his theoretic conclusions on the tracing of a number of particular sequences,

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[19] Ibid., p. 574.

[20] Ibid., p. 588.

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[19] Ibid., p. 574.

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sequences of only fairly certain accuracy. None of the series developed here for garment parts can be considered a sequence until further proof is supplied.

The justifications for taking a series of costume forms and considering this series as a probable sequence beginning at one specific end and going to the other specific end can properly be made clear to the reader only if a few series of costume parts are presented and a probable sequence is developed for each series. In order that the value of internal evidence may be demonstrated here, Boas's method of using external evidence as well as internal evidence will not at first be followed in this chapter. The sequences will first be based solely on internal evidence. After two parts, lapels and collars, have been studied in this manner, external evidence will be introduced to clarify further the directional development of the sequences.

In studying the objects to see if they form a genetic sequence, it is well to keep in mind the fact that the objects themselves do not grow from one shape to another. When one form seems to have grown into another, there is only, in fact, an indication that one then-existing form suggested at some past time a new and altered form to some person or persons then living.

8. Boas sometimes judged the validity of his sequences by considering whether a probable line of development was in

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accord with the known stylistic tendencies of Eskimo artists, such as their tendency to decorate by means of using incised lines.[21] The validity of some of the probable sequences of garment parts will be further determined by considering whether they were in accord with the known stylistic tendencies of French courtiers, such as their tendencies to use flowing lines and to exhibit a richness in attire, architecture, snuff boxes, and other things.

Before reading the reconstruction of garment parts, the reader may gain perspective from reading a brief summary of the developments in the costume of the seventeenth century.[22]

The costume of the seventeenth century. In the first half of that century the Spanish influence was the major one on European costumes. The doublet developed a shorter waist and longer skirts; slitting of the body of the doublet was reduced; sleeves went from slit and close fitting below the elbow to non-slit and closer above, looser below the elbow; with the closing of the sleeve the buttoned wrist opening was turned back and led to the cuff; shoulder caps went from wider to none at all; the doublet became more vest-like.

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[21] Ibid., p. 574.

[22] M. Davenport, The Book of Costume, vol. 2, pp. 505-06, 517-19.

accord with the known stylistic tendencies of Ramino artists, such as their tendency to decorate by means of using inclined lines.[21] The validity of some of the probable sequences of garment parts will be further determined by considering whether they were in accord with the known stylistic tendencies of French courtiers, such as their tendencies to use flowing lines and to exhibit a richness in attire, architecture, small boxes, and other things.

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[21] <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 574.

[22] M. Davenport, <u>The Book of Costume</u>, vol. 2, pp. 505-08, 517-19.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the French influence on costumes became the major one in Europe. The doublet became a vest, with sleeves. The military cassock became a collarless coat, at first cut like the cassock but eventually with skirts to the knee and with more shaping to the body. The vest lengthened with the coat. Coat sleeves lengthened and the cuff became more important. Pockets went from vertical (as they had been in accordance with the vertical lines of the doublet) to horizontal, moving higher and developing heavier flaps. Coat materials were plain but trimming increased. Waistcoats and the matching turn-back material were often embroidered. Men's fashions became more elegant and artificial.

With the foregoing information about the seventeenth century costumes in mind, the reader will have a background that may be useful in following the changes in the garment parts.[23] Perhaps it should be repeated that lapels and

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[23] The sources for this material are: C. Augé, Nouveau Larousse Illustré, Tome Troisième, pp. 314-15; E. Bayard, L'art de reconnaître les styles: Le style Louis XVI; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., vol. 7, pp. 240-46; M. von Boehm, Modes and Manners, vol. 4 (this volume covers Europe during the eighteenth century), pp. 217-62; G. Clinch, English Costume, pp. 115-29; M. Davenport, op. cit., pp. 652-792 et passim; V. Duruy, Histoire de France, vol. 2, pp. 346-556; M. Evans, Costume, pp. 154-68; F. W. Fairholt, Costume, vol. 1, pp. 344-409; F. Gaxotte, Louis the Fifteenth, pp. 56, 82, 134, 142, 176; W. Hogarth, Hogarth's Works Complete, over 100 plates on England during the century; C. H. Jackson, The French Court, vol. 1, pp. 16, 140, 238; P. Lacroix, XVIIIme Siècle,

In the second half of the seventeenth-century the French influence on fashion became the major one in Europe. The doublet became a vest, with sleeves. The military cassock became a dolman, or flared out like the cassock but eventually with sleeves to the knee and with many buttons to the body. The vest lengthened with the coat. Coat sleeves lengthened and the cuff became more important. Pockets went from external (as they had been in accordance with the vertical lines of the doublet) to horizontal, moving higher and developing heavier flaps. Coat materials were plain but trimming increased. Waistcoats and the matching knee-length material were often embroidered. Hats became more elegant and artificial.

With the foregoing information about the seventeenth century costume in mind, the reader will have a background that may be useful in following the changes in the twenty parts.[25] Perhaps it should be repeated that length and

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25 The sources for this [illegible] are: [illegible], Univers Parures Illustre, Time Treasury, [illegible], Saint de recommandre les abrigat [illegible] de la Louis XVI; The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., vol. [illegible], pp. 240-46; The Encyclopedia Modes and Manners, vol. [illegible] (this volume covers Europe during the eighteenth-century), pp. 417-03; [illegible], English Costume, pp. 113-[illegible]; [illegible], pp. 80-[illegible] et passim; [illegible], History of Dresses, vol. 2, pp. 446-[illegible]; Evans, Costume, pp. 100-[illegible]; [illegible], Costume, vol. 1, pp. 344-[illegible]; [illegible], Costume, pp. 88, 89, 134, 142, 170; [illegible], Costume [illegible] & Costumes, over 100 plates on England during the 18th century; [illegible], The French Court, vol. [illegible], pp. [illegible]; [illegible], Aviation Models,

collars will first be studied with internal evidence alone. Then external evidence will be added.

C. THE RECONSTRUCTION.

Lapels. It will be noticed that some coats, as in Figure 1, have a suggestion of lapels; others, as in Figure 2, lack such a suggestion; still others, as in Figures 24, 25, and 26, have lapels that are easily recognizable as such. Do there seem to be enough similarities in the forms of the suggested and real lapels to permit a decision that a series exists, or are the forms superficially similar but not sequentially related? In all cases, the lapel is formed by a turning back of a portion of the upper center coat or waistcoat closing.

The shape of the lapel is either a very elongated one, as in Figures 1 and 18, or a broad triangle, as in Figures 19, 21, 24, 25, and 26.

The elongated triangular shape of Figure 1 is due to the wearing of the coat in such a way that the front of the coat hangs open down to the buttoned waist. The form of the waistcoat lapels in Figure 22 is similar, differing only in

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pp. 473-512; K. M. Lester, Historic Costume, pp. 142-60; E. Sellner, History, plates for 18th century and period of 1794-99; E. Traphagen, Costume Design, pp. 117-21; R. T. Wilcox, The Mode in Costume, pp. 193-235, 257-65; C. Wilson, Fashions, plates XII-XVII.

collars will direct the sewer with internal overhead slope. Then external evidence will be added.

C. THE MOCCASIN-TONGUE.

Legris. It will be noticed that some cases, as in Figure 1, have a separate or applied tongue, as in Figure 2. Such such a separation will occur, as in Figures 24, 25, and 26, have legris that are easily recognizable as such. In these seem to be enough similarities in the form of the suggested and real legris to permit a decision that a series exists, or are the forms superficially-like but not sequentially related? In all cases, the legri is formed by a turning back of a portion of the upper edge back or waistcoat circle.

The shape of the legri is almost always elongated one, as in Figures 1 and 18, or a broad triangle, as in Figures 19, 21, 24, 25, and 26.

The elongated triangular shape of Figure 1 is due to the weaving of the cloth in such a way that the front of the coat hangs down to the elongated waist. The form of the waistcoat legris in Figure 1 is similar, differing only in

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pp. 473-518; J. A. Leeder, Leather Jerkins (Dublin), pp. 145-60; R. Collier, Military Costume, plates for 18th-century and early of 19th-century; E. Thomson, Costume [illegible], pp. 117-21; R. T. Wilcox, The Book of Costume, pp. [illegible] 2, 257-63; R. Wilcox, Footwear, plates XIV-XVII.

detail and degree of development. The outer edges of the lapels form a curved (instead of straight) line with the edges of the closing of coat or waistcoat. The edges of the lapels in Figure 22 no longer carry buttons or buttonholes, and the lapel is pressed back instead of hanging loosely as in Figure 1. The lapels in Figure 18 are comparable to those of Figures 1 or 22, except that they are buttoned back at the chest.

The more equilateral triangular-shaped lapels are related to the back hanging top corners of the center edges of the coat front closing. The triangle is small in Figures 19 and 21, large in Figures 24, 25, and 26. As was the case in Figures 18 and 22, the edges of the back hanging lapels in Figures 24, 25, and 26 no longer form a straight line with the edges of the coat front opening. The lapels of Figures 24 and 25 have features common to both shapes of lapels.

The similarities among the lapels all stem from their comparable position on the coat or waistcoat and from their representing either a naturally or an artificially shaped turnback of the material of the coat at the chest. The differences among the lapels are merely expressions of variations of a generalized form, with varying amounts of material that is turned back. Therefore, one series may be said to be present.

Since a series has been found to exist, the next

details and degree of more humor. The outer edges of the lapels form a curved (broad or straight) line with the edges of the closing of each a rightness. The edges of the lapels in Figure 22 do not have every business or professions, and the lapel is dressed back instead of hanging loosely as in Figure 1. The lapels in Figure 22 are comparable to those of Figures 1 or 22, except that they are narrower each at the chest.

The more formal, rather less-shaped lapels are related to the back hanging too nearer of the center edges of the coat front clearly. The similarity is weak in Figures 19 and 21, large in Figures 14, 20, and 23. As was true in Figures 18 and 22, the edges of the coat hanging lapels in Figures 24, 25, are so longer than a straight line with the edges of the coat front pattern. The lapels of Figures 24 and 25 have features common to both shapes of lapels.

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Since a [illegible] has been found to exist, the next

problem is to determine the sequence of that series. The evidence for both coats and waistcoats indicates that there are several variations within the series of lapels. Some garments have only suggestions of lapels, as in Figure 1; some have large, buttoned back lapels, as in Figure 18, or small unbuttoned turnbacks, as in Figures 19 and 21; and some have pressed, unbuttoned, shaped lapels, as in Figures 22, 24, 25, and 26.

At one end of the range of variation for lapels there are the turnback flaps that suggest lapels. At the other end there are such artificially shaped lapels as those in Figures 18, 22, 24, 25, and 26. An awareness of the range of variations for lapels helps in solving the problem of sequence. Let us start at one end of the range and see if there is an apparent development of lapels from that end to the other.

The seed of the idea of lapels in Figure 1 may have been immediately followed by the artificially shaped ones at the other end of the range. However, the gradation of form indicates that intermediate steps were probably taken. A gradual change would indicate less abrupt habit changes on the part of tailors and wearers of coats and waistcoats. Probably, then, the development went thus: from (1) lapelless, fully cut garments; to (2) garments with the extra fullness buttoned back, as in Figure 18, or to garments

buttoned at the center closing so that only a small flap hung back, as in Figures 19 and 21; to (3) garments with artificially shaped lapels.

However, the reverse of the foregoing sequence may have occurred. That is, lapels may have existed early in the century and may have disappeared as people grew accustomed to buttoning or closing the front center its full length up to the neck. Either sequence is a hypothesis requiring further evidence for acceptance. In the present study of form, this evidence probably can be developed by working out series and probable sequences for other garment parts and then correlating the various probable sequences to see what general direction may have been taken. However, circumstantial evidence may be used here to supplement the internal evidence presented so far. Figure 1 will be used arbitrarily as representing the initial point in the sequence and circumstantial evidence will be added to the other evidence in an attempt to determine a direction of development.

It will be noticed that the coat in Figure 1 is cut with a fullness of material at the chest which permitted ease in buttoning the coat the full length of its closing. Therefore, it seems probable that this coat originally was tailored so that it might be worn closed. However, the coat of the court costume of eighteenth century France was habitually worn open at the neck, even if it was buttoned at the

buttoned at the center (noting so that only a small slit
hung back, as in figures 3 and 4) or (3) attached with
artificially shaped tapes.

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to the back. Either sequence is a hypothetical speculation
further evidence is needed. In this present study of
form, this evidence probably was developed by looking at
series and probably requires comparison of several hundred
then correlating the various robbing sequences to see what
general direction may have been taken. However, substan-
tial evidence may be used to substantiate the internal
evidence presented earlier. Figure 1 will be used additionally
as representing the initial point in the sequence and
circumstantial evidence will be added to this type evidence
in an attempt to determine [illegible] sequence.

It is interesting to note that [illegible] and
with a fullness of the front as the chief distinction between
ease in bending the [illegible] the chemise.
Therefore, it seems probable that both sexuality was
tailored so that it might be more modest. However, the back
of the corset contained of eighteen ribbons. Hence its functio-
nality were open at the back, even if it was fastened at the

waist. Any coat cut on the supposedly old lines, with ample material in the chest, would have loosely hanging flaps if it were buttoned only at the waist as in Figure 1. Now, open flaps might have advantages for comfort and for showing the finery beneath the coat or waistcoat, but loosely hanging flaps would be untidy. One of the characteristics of the formal attire of the eighteenth century was carefulness in dress. Therefore, large and loosely hanging flaps were probably frowned upon.

Since large and loose flaps were probably frowned upon, a solution might have been to adopt coats cut with less material at the chest. This did happen. A coat such as that in Figure 16 or a waistcoat such as that in Figure 20 was cut so that the two sides of the coat front met barely, if at all.

Yet the coats with enough material for a turnback (Figures 1, 18, 19, 24, 25, and 26) show a variety of styles in other parts of the garments also. This indicates that coats with ample material for a turnback must have persisted for a long period of time, perhaps even persisting concurrently with form fitting, lapelless coats. This persistence in making coats with enough material at the chest for a turnback probably went on long after coats were no longer worn fully buttoned.

Not only does this persistence indicate that the habit patterns of tailors in cutting a certain fullness of material at the chest were slow to change completely, but it also indicates that people had become habituated to seeing some coats with turned back flaps resembling lapels. This was probably true, for workingmen had long worn their flaps unbuttoned occasionally. Thus, the flaps of the workingman's coat in Figure 17 would present, when worn open, a suggestion of lapels. Although this coat is not in the series of court costumes, it seems probable that this type of coat exercised an influence on the series. Occasionally, also, fully cut coats belonging to courtiers were worn open from the waist, as in Figure 1. Therefore, if this were the line of sequence, a practice developed of wearing lapel-like turned back flaps.

If large, open, lapel-like flaps were somewhat generally worn, but if they conflicted with the formality of court costume, it may be that the buttoned back lapels in Figure 18 indicate a compromise between formality and comfort. Also, it may be that the garments buttoned almost to the top, as in Figures 19 and 21, represent another compromise. It seems probable that the oval shaped flap of Figure 22 developed, via Figure 18, from Figure 1 which was buttoned only at the waist. It also seems probable that the sharp lapels of the coat in Figure 26 represent an elaboration of the turned back lapels of Figures 19 and 21, which

were buttoned almost to the top. The oval shaped lapel probably developed on the coat, and the more equilateral, triangular-shaped lapel probably developed on the waistcoat. The lapels of Figures 24 and 25 may represent a blending of, let us say, the idea of lapels in Figures 18 and 19.

The variety in lapel forms seems to indicate that a considerable length of time elapsed between the two polar variants, Figures 1 and 22 or 26. Also, the considerably extensive changes in other parts of the garments that will presently be fitted into the sequences between Figure 1 and 18, where the real lapel first appears, would suggest that the seed of the idea of the lapel was very slow in producing results. However, more evidence is needed before anything definite can be said here about what constitute the terminal points of the sequence for lapels, or about the length of time elapsed between these terminal points. So attention will now be turned to the development of the collar.

Collars. In speculating upon a series for collars, one sees that some coats lack collars, as in Figure 1; that others have upright collars, as in Figure 14a or Figure 13; and that others have turned down collars with deep points, as in Figure 19. The problem here, as with the previous discussion of lapels, is to determine whether there is a logically inferrable series indicating that all are variations

were bunched almost to coalition. The oval annexed label probably developed on the coast, but has been supplanted, triangular-shaped lapel probably developed, again unknown. The lapels of figures 2A & 2B are representative of, let us say, the idea of lapels in Europe during.

The variety in lapel forms seems so plausible that considerable length of time elapsed between the two-point variants, figures 1 and 2B or 3A, then, the relatively extensive changes in other parts of the garment, which presently be fitted into the sequence between figures 1 and 1B, where the real lapel line appears, would separate the head of the idea of the lapel was very slow in producing results. However, more extreme instances prove nothing definite can be said more than that no attempt was bracketed points of the separate variations, for much has been done of time elapsed between these personal points. To waste time will now be turned to the development of the collar.

Collars. In speculating upon a series for collars, one sees that some come from collars, as in figure 1, others have vertical collars, as in figure 1A or figure 1B and there others have the non-collared at some points, as in figure 1A. The problem here is the predominance of lapels, in the assuming whether there is a logically justifiable sequence including the collarless

of a fundamentally similar type. Since the collar in Figure 14a is but an enlargement of the collar in Figure 13, and since Figures 14b and 16 seem to be the collar of Figure 14a turned down, there is enough evidence to indicate that a series exists. The collars in Figures 19, 24, 25, 26, and 27 are comparable in shape to the collars of Figures 16 and 18, so all form one series.

It seems advisable to start with coats that lack collars and to try to move toward an explanation of the fully developed collars, remembering all the while that the direction of historic development may have been either way. Figure 7 illustrates a neckline which has a slightly higher upward thrust than do the other necklines in Figures 1-12. When this upward thrust is considered in the light of the general fondness of the people of the age for on-flowing lines, which is apparent in even the most severe coats of the court costume, one may assume that something would eventually be done about the severity of a plain neckline. This would happen particularly if there were no functional impediment, such as a full bottomed wig, which would interfere with an upward thrusting neckline.

The slight curve just below the neckline of Figure 7 would produce what may be seen in Figure 13, where a jog gives the top of the coat a step-like effect, clearly suggesting a collar. Once such an upward thrust took place,

of a [illegible] type. Since the collar [illegible] ies is not [illegible] in the collar in [illegible], and since figures 16 [illegible] to be the collar of figure 15 turned down, there is enough evidence to indicate that a series exists. The collars in figures 15, 16, 24, and 27 are dissimilar in shape to the collars of figures 12 and 18, so all form one series.

It seems advisable to start with some typical collars and to try to have shown an explanation of the fully developed collars, abandoning altogether the direction of historic developments may have been either way. Figure 7 illustrates a machine which has a slightly slant upward curved than do the other machines in figures 1-12. When this upward curved is considered in the light of the general fashions of the people of the age for curved lines, which is apparent in every [illegible] of the court costumes, one can easily see that something would actually be done [illegible] a [illegible] machine. This would [illegible] the [illegible] machine [illegible] impedimenta, even as a full bodyed ship, which would [illegible] fore with an up and [illegible] machine.

The slight curve that exists the machine of figure 7 could produce what may be seen in figure 14, where a line gives the top of the [illegible] shape-like [illegible] suggesting a collar. Does such an [illegible] [illegible]

the well-raised collar of Figure 14a would be but a continuation of the same line of development.

The next problem, since it may be assumed that the turned down collar developed from the upright one, is to determine why this happened. The comment already has been made that one of the characteristics of the formal costume here studied is elegance and ornateness, without untidiness. A coat with a collar would be more ornate and elegant than a coat without one, at least it would be so according to twentieth century standards. However, a coat with an untidy collar would not be suitable for formal wear. There would seem to be two obvious ways to make a collar neat.

One way to make an upright collar neat would be to stiffen it. The other would be suggested by what doubtless often happened to the upright collar. Under the pressures of side movements of the neck and head, the collar was probably often pushed partly down. An extension of the idea suggested by the partly turned down collar would result in one turned down completely. Since the collars in Figures 14b, 16, and 19 are basically similar in form to the collar in Figure 14a, this is probably what happened.

The study of lapels has already indicated a stylistic tendency of the French either to continue an elaboration once started or to continue a trend toward simplification once such a trend started, depending upon the direction of

the sequence for lapels. The deep and distinctive points in Figures 26 and 27 are apparently illustrative either of a continued elaboration of collars, if that is the direction in which things went, or are illustrative of an elaborate beginning followed by increasing simplification. The actual direction of the sequence may be clarified by reference to another part of costume, the wig.

The portraits of the century show people with full bottomed wigs and collarless coats. They also show that this kind of wig was not worn with collared coats. It seems likely that the full bottomed wigs belong to that part of the century when collarless coats were worn and that collars could develop only after there was no such fullness of the bottom of the wig to interfere with an upraised neckline.

Guide posts for determining sequences. The studies of lapels and collars by using internal evidence alone have given some indications of the probable sequences in their developments. As has been said, Boas presumably selected the starting point for needlecase sequences by noting the archaeologic sources of the needlecases. Also, it has been said that his selection was influenced by the uniformity of the non-realistic type and the diversities of the realistic types. In other words, he depended on evidence external to his sequences to indicate to him what end came first. Such

the sequence for Jomon. The deep and distinctive points in Figures 26 and 27 are apparently illustrative examples of a continued elaboration of motifs, if that is the criterion in which things seem or are dissimilar or an elaborate beginning followed by increasing simplification. The spiral directions of the sequence may be established by reference to another part of Japan, the Ainu.

The potsherds of the country that people with full bottomed pots and collarless coats. They also show some kind of pig was not known with collared coats. It seems likely that the full bottomed kind belong to that part of the country where collarless pots were used and that collars could develop only after there was no such fullness of the bottom of the pig to interfere with an upraised machine.

Guide posts for materializing sequences. The studies of Japan and Melanesia by using internal evidence alone have given some indications of the probable sequences in their developments. We have been quite good presumably selected the starting point for each of these sequences by using the archaeologic sources of the decorations. Also, it has been said that this selection was influenced by the uniformity of the non-realistic type and the diversities of the realistic types. In other words, we depended on evidence external to the sequences to indicate to us first and some "first" were

evidence is acceptable. It now seems advisable here to add external evidence to the internal evidence already presented.

The counterpart to archaeologic evidence for eighteenth century French court costumes is the visible evidence remaining in portraits of the kinds of costumes worn in France and other countries in the centuries preceding and following the eighteenth century. When only the forms of these costumes are studied and conclusions are based on material form alone, internal evidence is still being used. However, the ascribing of dates to these costumes can come only from utilizing external evidence also. Our external evidence from the centuries preceding the eighteenth indicates that true lapels did not exist in France in the seventeenth century, although there are definite similarities to eighteenth century lapels on the jerkin (jacket) of the sixteenth century. On these garments the outer edges of the lapels merged into the folded back edges of the front closing and extended down to the waist.

Moreover, lapels may have existed in other countries before they appeared in eighteenth century France. Also, they may have developed in a different manner in different countries. For instance, Davenport[24] shows a portrait of Alexander Farnese, grandson of Charles V, in which Farnese,

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[24] M. Davenport, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 462.

evidence is of probably no more scope available regarding and external evidence to the textual evidence already presented.

The commonest surviving evidence for eighteenth century French court costume is the vis-à-vis dance remaining in portraits of the kings of Portugal, France and other countries in the dances in ballets and following the eighteenth century. When only the forms of these costumes are studied and compared, are based on material from internal evidence is still being used. However, the assigning of dates to these dances can also only from utilizing external evidence also. Not external evidence from the contention preceding the eighteenth indicates that true hoops did not exist in France in the seventeenth century, although there are definite similarities to eighteenth century hoops on the jerkin (jacket) of the seventeenth century. On these garments the outer edges of the hoops moved into the folded back edges of the front bodice and remained down to the waist.

However, hoops may have existed in other countries before they appeared in elsewhere. Certainly France. Also they may have developed in a different manner in different countries. For instance, Bernini[24] shows a portrait of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, in which farthes.

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[24] M. Lavergne, op. cit., vol. I, p. 402.

though painted about the middle of the sixteenth century, is wearing a cloak with a notched collar and a suggestion of lapels. This portrait is a Spanish one, but since Farnese governed in the Netherlands and often lived in Spain, it is probable that the kind of series and sequence for lapels and collars that occurred in France may have occurred in Spain, the Netherlands, and other countries. And, indeed, portraits from Spain, England, Holland, Italy, the German states, and France indicate this was true at various times. Whether the developments were due to diffusion or convergence or parallel development would require an explanation for each area. But that need not be worked out here, for there is specific evidence of a developmental sequence in French costume considered largely by itself. Let us now return to the French developments, taking up a consideration of the collar.

The portraits of preceding centuries in French history indicate that the collar was not a new thing in France, although it may have had a new development in the eighteenth century. This new development may have been influenced by the evidence still on hand in eighteenth century France of the collar, i.e., evidence in portraits and old garments still available. Whatever its ultimate source, the collar apparently did have a new and gradual development in the eighteenth century.

If all the external evidence is collected, it may be

seen that developed lapels, not attached to collars, did not exist in France prior to the eighteenth century. It may also be seen that the loose fitting garment in Figure 1 is probably an outgrowth of the loose fitting military cassock of the seventeenth century, differing only in being longer, more form fitting, and in being worn buttoned only at the waist. Furthermore, it may be seen that full bottomed wigs were worn in the seventeenth century. This indicates that the full bottomed wigs seen during part of the eighteenth century doubtless belong to the early part of that century, as do the collarless coats accompanying them.

Putting together the internal and external data, the probable sequences of lapels has as its initial point the coat in Figure 1; and the sequence for collars has as its initial point the coat in Figure 7.

The evidence so far presented permits the establishment of certain guide posts which may be used in establishing the sequences for other series of garment parts. As one guide post, the turned down collar in Figures 14b, 16, 18, or 19 may be used. It may be assumed that all necklines without such a collar may be earlier in time, or at least such an assumption may be made unless the evidence of other parts of the garment demands the changing of the assumed chronologic position of the collarless garment.

As another guide post, the lapels of the coats in

seen that developed lapels, not attached to collars, did not exist in France prior to the eighteenth century. It may also be seen that the Jones dirtcoat pictured in Figure I is probably an exaggeration of the loose-fitting military cassock of the seventeenth century, differing only in being longer, more form fitting, and in being more buttoned only at the waist. Furthermore, it may be seen that full bottomed wigs were worn in the seventeenth century, which indicates that the full bottomed wigs seen during part of the eighteenth century correspond rather to the early part of that century, as do the collarless coats accompanying them.

Putting together the internal and external data, the probable sequence of lapels and on its initial point are set out in Figure II; and the sequence for collars and on its initial point the coat in Figure V.

The evidence so far presented permits the establishment of certain guide posts which may be used in establishing the sequence for other styles of earlier parts. In one guide post, the tracing dates of coatwear Figures IVb, IX, IX, or IX may be used. It may be assumed that all machines within a coatwear may be similar in time, or at least such an assumption may be made unless the evidence of other parts of the garment contradicts the validity of the assumed chronologic position of the coatwear pattern.

As another guide post, the lapels of the coats in

Figure 18 or the waistcoat in Figure 19 may be used. A tentative assumption may be made that all coats without lapels are earlier than Figure 18, although it must be recognized that there may have been lapelless coats after other coats developed lapels. In fact, it is obvious that the assumption is only a guide. The coat in Figure 19 has a cutaway skirt seemingly more advanced than the skirt in Figures 7, 14a, or 16, and yet the coat in Figure 19 shows no lapels, even though its waistcoat does. The definite shaping of the collar points of Figure 19 further indicates that this coat is fairly late.

Although part of a garment must be used as a guide to other sequences only with discretion and in conjunction with the evidence presented by several other parts of the garment, the placement of parts other than lapels and collars in sequences may be facilitated by the use of those figures mentioned here as guide posts.

Skirts. The general uniformity in the shapes and positions of the skirts of coats or waistcoats is so readily apparent that proving a series exists would be superfluous. Variations in the coat skirt occurred in the degree of flare, the presence of pleats, and the extent to which the skirt was cut away in front. These are all variations of one fundamental type. This is true even of the skirts of the

more casual coats in Figures 4 and 5. And this is true of the waistcoat skirt, which varied in flare or length but which did not vary fundamentally as long as a skirt existed.

The problem connected with the skirts is not the proving of an obvious series, but the establishment of a sequence. It will be noted that the coat in Figure 19 may be placed near the coats of Figures 24, 25, 26, and 27 because of the collars. The cutaway condition of the skirt of the coat further justifies this placement. Since, judging by lapels and collars, the coats in the figures just mentioned are representative of costumes that apparently belong late in the century, in most cases, they would normally be used as terminal points. However, Figures 24, 25, 26, and 27 are in some ways radically different from the coats in Figures 1-19, so Figure 19 will be used as one terminal point, Figure 1 as the other, and the remaining coats will be fitted in between. Then the figures at the end of our illustrations will be fitted into the sequence.

The skirts between Figures 1 and 19 will now be arranged. The skirt of Figure 16 is slightly less cut away than Figure 19, but it has the same lack of flare. This evidence, plus that of their collars, permits placing the skirt of Figure 16 in next descending order to that of Figure 19, and it permits placing the whole coat tentatively in the same order.

Looking at the other end of the illustrations, one sees that the skirt of Figure 2 is slightly more tailored than is the skirt of Figure 1. The skirts of Figures 3 and 2 seem similar in general outline. The differences in the positions of the pockets of Figure 3 and those of Figure 6 does not yet express significance in this study, but it will later. (The pleats at the side of the skirt in Figures 4 and 5 are obviously for the utilitarian purpose of letting the sword be worn without distorting the lines of the skirt.) The skirt of Figure 6 shows not only flare, but a non-utilitarian elaboration of pleats. Therefore, it may be placed after Figures 1, 2, and 3. Since Figure 4, although similar in outline to the preceding skirts, indicates more fullness at the back than does Figure 3 but less than Figure 5, it may be placed between the two. Figure 6 retains the pleats and has more side flare than Figure 5, so it may be placed next. Figure 7 flares in both sides and back; it is about the same as Figure 8. The placement of Figures 7 and 8, and that of Figure 11, will be substantiated better when pockets are considered. Figure 9 flares slightly more than Figure 8, so it may be placed in next ascending order. Figure 11 will be placed next tentatively, since little can be seen of the coat skirt in Figure 10. Figure 11 illustrates an extreme development of the flare.

Since Figure 15 has less flare than Figure 11 should

it not precede it? The clues to the answer may be found in Figure 16, the skirt of which has no flare and the collar of which is developed. So the trend from Figure 14a to Figure 19 seems to be one of diminishing skirt flare. This brings the sequence of skirts to Figure 19, which has already been placed at the terminus.

The skirts of the waistcoats were long in the figures from 1 through 20, but a graduated shortening may be noticed at the latter end of the scale. This shortening stops at the waist in Figure 21, which is to say that no skirt exists.

The waistcoat skirt of Figure 2 may be placed at the first of the sequence because of the coat with which it is worn. Subsequent figures through Figure 11 show a flare of the waistcoat skirt in proportion with the flare of the coat skirt over it. Figure 10 illustrates the general shape of the waistcoat skirt during the time of flare, with the coat open the better to reveal it. As the coat skirt flares less between Figures 14a and 19, the waistcoat skirt also flared less.

The sequence for skirts for the figures examined is thus: Figures 1-11 represent an increasing flare, although the skirts of Figures 7, 8, and 9 may represent variations of one time period; 15, 16, and 19 represent a decreasing flare; Figures 15 and 16 the beginnings of the cutaway which is pronounced in Figures 24, 25, 26, and 27.

It not proceed [illegible] planes to see where may be found in Figure 1a, the value of which can be no flare as the center of which is developed. [illegible] Figure 1a by Figure 1b seems to be one of disclosing a [illegible] flare. This brings the sequence of events in Figure 1b, with the already been placed at the beginning.

The subtle of the [illegible] were lowered in the figures from 1 through 50, [illegible] shortening can be noticed at the lower end of the [illegible]. The shortening occurs at the water in figure [illegible] is [illegible] with [illegible].

The [illegible] shown in Figure 2 may be placed at the first of the sequence because of the [illegible] with it is worn. [illegible] Figure 2 [illegible] the waistcoat [illegible] the [illegible] flare of the coat skirt over it. Figure 1d illustrates the general [illegible] the waistcoat [illegible] the line of flare, with the coat open the [illegible]. At the coat skirt flare loss between Figures 1a and 1d, the waistcoat skirt also flared less.

The [illegible] or the figures [illegible] is [illegible] Figure 1-11 [illegible] the skirts of Figures 7, 8, and 9 may represent variations of one time period; [illegible] is [illegible] flare; Figure 1a and 1d are [illegible] of the [illegible] which is [illegible] in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5.

(Perhaps parenthetic mention should be made of the fact that, although separate numbers are used for each figure, there is no implication that equal time periods are represented by each costume. Also, in some illustrations only one part of a garment has value for determining sequence; but in most cases several parts are used. Separate numbers are attached to each garment, and the parts of this garment are identified by the garment number. Although this numbering system may result in attaching separate numbers to what are really variations in one garment part in one period of time rather than changes over a time period, it seems to offer the simplest and least confusing method for identifying the illustration being referred to at any one point in this article.)

Pockets. Do the pockets represent one series? In the preceding century pocket lines had been vertical in keeping with the vertical lines of the doublet. The evidence for the eighteenth century indicates that all pockets had horizontal lines. However, the position of the pocket changed. There were also changes in the pocket flaps, but the small scale of the available source material does not permit making a detailed study of the flaps. However, the pockets may be considered a series on the bases of their general uniformity in shape, their uniformly horizontal

(Roman numerals were written simply because of the fact that, although numerals were used for each figure, there is no implication that equal time periods are represented by each numeral. Also, in some illustrations only one part of a numeral has value for determining sequence, but in most cases all parts are used. Separate numerals are attached to each pocket, and the order of this numeral are identified by the repeated number. Although this numbering system may result in a slightly accurate number by which are nearly variations in one instance, but in one period of time numerical changes each time period, it seems to offer the simplest and least complicated method for identifying the illustration being referred to at any one point in this article.)

Pockets. In the pocket representing one quarter in the preceding century period lines had been vertical in keeping with the vertical lines of the doublet. The criterion for the eighteenth century indicates that all pockets had horizontal lines. Since the horizontal lines represent the period changed. Representing one or in the pocket flaps, but the small number of the variable source material does not permit making a definite study of the flaps. However, the pockets may be considered a series on the basis of their general uniformity in size, their numerical horizontal

position, their having flaps, and their appearing somewhere on the lower half of the coat and waistcoat.

From the present illustrations, pockets can be placed in a sequence according to their location on the garment. Since Figure 1 has already been placed at the first of the sequences for various reasons, the low position of its pocket may be taken as the earliest position of the century. The pocket of Figures 2 and 3 are in about the same position. In Figures 4 and 5 the pockets are somewhat higher, but this does not prove anything because these figures have so far been tentatively classified on only one point, the shape of their skirts. In Figure 5 the pocket is still high, like that in Figure 6. The pocket of Figure 7 is in about the same position as that of Figure 5, or Figure 8; but in Figure 9 the pocket is lower. Therefore, there is an ascending position of the pocket from Figure 1 to Figure 5 and then a levelling off. Since the pockets of Figure 10 and 11 are higher than those of Figure 9, and since Figure 9 otherwise fits into about the same position as Figures 7 and 8, it may be concluded that the position of the pocket in Figure 9 is an aberrant one.

Figure 16 has been placed as late because it has a turned down collar and slightly cut away skirt, cut away in the manner of Figure 15. The pockets of Figures 15 and 16 are lower than those of Figures 11 and 14a. The pockets in

position, their backs [illegible] their opposing somewhere on the lower half of the [illegible] and [illegible].

From the [illegible] figures, pockets can be traced in a sequence according to their location on the [illegible]. Since figure 1 has already been placed as the first of the sequences for various reasons, the low position of the pocket may be taken as the earliest position of the century. The pocket of figures [illegible] is in about the same position. In figures 4 and 5 the pockets are somewhat higher, but this does not prove anything because these figures have so far been tentatively classified on only one point, the shape of their skirts. In figure 6 the pocket is still high, like that in figure 6. The pocket of figure 7 is in about the same position as that of figure 8, or figure 9; but in figure 8 the pocket is lower. Therefore, there is an ascending position of the pocket from figure 1 to figure 5 and then a levelling off. Since the pockets of figures 10 and 11 are higher than those of figure 9, [illegible] pockets [illegible] like into about the same [illegible] as figures 7 and 8. It may be concluded that the position of the pocket in figure 9 is an aberrant one.

Figure 12 has been placed as late because it has a turned down collar and slightly cut away skirt, but away in the manner of figure 13. The pockets of figures 12 and 13 are lower than those of figures 11 and 14. The pockets in

Figure 25 are low also. Since pockets in Figures 11 or 14a are near the waist, they are almost at the highest point possible to remain on the skirt. If changes were to occur later in their position on the skirt, they would have to go lower, as they apparently did. There are not enough illustrations available to permit a positive statement that pockets were descending at the close of the century, since the coats in Figures 24, 26, and 27 lack pockets. Pockets may have been disappearing from the coat skirt.

Waistcoat pockets may be seen to follow the general upward movement of coat pockets as long as the waistcoats had skirts upon which pockets could appear. The pockets on the waistcoat of the skirtless Figure 22 are placed on the chest part of the garment and are flapless. However, this garment actually belongs early in the next century and has been included in the present illustrations largely because it illustrates the further development of the buttoned back lapels of Figure 18.

Cuffs. A cuff appeared on all the garments of the century until the time of the Jacobins, Figure 24. The essential structure of the cuff consists of a foldback from the sleeve's end, often buttoned at its upper edges. The basic similarity of forms establishes the cuff as a series of related variations.

Figure 23 are torn off. Other pockets in Figures 11 or 14 are near the wedge, so it is not at all impossible that possible to obtain on the right. It seems more so, of course later in each instance and the skirts may well have to be lower, as they apparently did. There are not enough illustrations available to prove a positive statement that pockets were necessary in the close of the century, since the coats in Figures 24, 25, and 27 lack pockets. Pockets may have been discarded from the coat skirt.

Bustles seem to follow the general upward movement of coat pockets as time went on, although had skirts upon which a bustle could appear. The pockets on the variants of the different figure 22 are placed on the chest part of the garment and are flapless. However, this garment actually belongs early in the next century and has been included in the present illustrations largely because it illustrates the further development of the outdoor cape of Figure 19.

Cuffs. Cuffs appear in all the last ten of the century with the exception of the jacket, Figure 24. This essential constituent of the coat consists of a folded-back the sleeves end, often buttoned at the upper edge. The basic similarity of form remains the cuff as a series of minor variations.

Figure 1 will serve as a starting point for consideration of cuff sequences. This cuff has a deep turnback, and it hangs loosely at the opening so that the sleeves of the waistcoat and shirt may be displayed. The cuff of Figure 2 is similar in size; but it is slit and, although it is difficult to illustrate, the cuff of the waistcoat has been turned back over the coat cuff. Figure 3 illustrates a cuff of about the same size, with material matching the waistcoat. Probably the idea of matching the material of cuff and waistcoat was suggested by the turned back waistcoat cuff in Figure 2. The fact that the waistcoat cuff is no longer turned back indicates that the waistcoat cuff is becoming shorter. Figure 4 illustrates a cuff slit at the side and tapering, with buttoned upper edges; but it is smaller than in Figure 2. However, the casual coats in Figures 4 and 5 were included because the skirts of these coats seemed transitional between the skirts of Figures 3 and 6 or 7. It looks as if casual attire affected the more formal attire. The cuffs of Figures 2, 4, and 5 seem to group together in being slit; while the cuffs of Figures 1, 3, and 6 are closed. Apparently there were permissible variations in cuffs. The cuff in Figure 4 is smaller than that in Figure 2; but this smallness is an expression of its having been for casual wear, and it does not express a sequence.

The cuffs of Figures 5 and 7 are larger than those of

Figure 1 will serve as a starting point for consideration of our sequence. This suit has a deep surplice, and it hangs loosely at the opening so that the sleeves of the waistcoat and shirt can be displayed. The cuff of Figure 2 is similar in size but is larger and, although it is difficult to illustrate, the cuff of the waistcoat has been turned back over the coat cuff. Figure 3 illustrates a cuff of about the same size, with several decorative buttons. Probably the lack of matching fabric material of cuff and waistcoat was suggested by the turned back waistcoat cuff in Figure 2. The fact that the waistcoat cuff is no longer turned back indicates that the waistcoat cuff is becoming shorter. Figure 4 illustrates a tail with its side and tapering, with buttons upon edges, but it is smaller than in Figure 3. However, the general cuts in Figure 3 were included because the outline of these cuts seems transitional between the cuts of Figures 2 and 5 or 7. It looks as if cutting efforts affected the coat first and, The cuffs of Figures 5, 6, and 7 were so cut together in being slit, while the cuffs of Figures 1, 2, and 3 are closed. Apparently there were permissible variations in cuts. The cuff in Figure 4 is smaller than that in Figure 2; but this smallness is an exception of its no long for casual wear, and it does not express a sequence.

The cuffs of Figures 5 and 7 are larger than those of

Figures 3 and 4; the former has a plain upper edge and the latter a scalloped and buttoned upper edge. The cuff of Figure 6 is not elaborate, but it is about the size of the cuffs in Figures 5 and 7. Figure 8 shows an unusually large cuff, buttoned back, and with an enlarged portion near the upper edge to permit bending of the elbow. The cuff of Figure 9, not buttoned and slightly smaller than the cuff in Figure 8, is shaped about the same as the buttoned cuff in Figure 10. In Figure 11 the material of the coat cuff matches the waistcoat material in design. After Figure 11 the matching of coat cuff and waistcoat material does not appear. Apparently the loss of the waistcoat sleeve occurred sufficiently long ago for the old similarity to be retained no longer. However, the idea of an elaborate decoration of the coat cuff is retained in reduced degree in the slight decorations on the cuffs in Figures 15 and 16.

Until Figure 11 was reached, the cuff may have been seen to grow larger and then to rest relatively static for a time. The cuff in Figure 14a differs somewhat from the shape of the cuffs of the series, and its shape may reflect an influence of the cuff of the redingote in Figure 12. Figure 8 has the largest cuff, but the position of its pockets and the degree of flare of its skirt indicate it is earlier than the coat in Figure 11. The cuff of Figure 8 represents an extreme in the enlargement of the cuff, but not the terminal

Figures 1 and 2, the corresponding plain upper edge and the latter a scallopped and buttoned upper edge. The cuff of Figure 8 is not slashed, while in about the sleeve of the cuffs in Figures 9 and 9. Figure 9 shows an unusually large cuff, buttoned back, under the sleeve a portion near the upper edge to permit bending of the elbow. The cuff of Figure 9, not buttoned and slightly smaller than the cuff in Figure 8, is shown with the same as the buttoned cuff in Figure 10. In Figure 11 the material of the chat cuff matches the matchcoat material in design. After Figure 11 the matching of cloak and matchcoat material does not appear. Apparently the area of the matchcoat sleeve observed sufficiently from age for the old similarity to be retained no longer. However, the idea of an elaborate decoration of the coat cuff is retained in reduced degree in the slight decorations on the cuffs in Figures 10 and 16.

Until Figure 11 was reached, the cuff may have been seen to grow larger and then to rest relatively constant for a time. The cuff in Figure 10 is therefore somewhat larger than of the cuffs of the earlier, and intermediate may reflect an influence of the cuff of the redingote in Figure 12. Figure 9 has the largest cuff, but the position of its pockets and the degree of flare of the lower flounce indicate it is earlier than the coat in Figure 11. The cuff of Figure 9 represents an extreme in the enlargement of the cuff, but not the terminal

point for the wearing of large cuffs. The cuff of Figure 15 is definitely smaller, though still buttoned. This buttoning would appear to be less necessary to hold back a smaller cuff, and it does not appear in the small cuffs of the later illustrations. Also, the cuff is no longer slit.

The cuff of Figure 16 is smaller than that of Figure 11; it is close to that of Figure 15. In Figure 16 the sharp collar points, reduced flare of the skirt, and lowered pockets warrant placing this coat as late in the sequence. The cuff of Figure 18 is about the size of that in Figure 16. The lapels and collar of this coat indicate that the garment is roughly contemporary with that in Figure 16. The small cuff of Figure 19, when considered in conjunction with the late features of this garment, seems to indicate a continuation of the reduction of size first indicated in Figure 15.

Thus, the sequence of cuffs may be seen as one of increasing enlargement until almost the limit of possibility was reached in Figure 11 or Figure 14a. After the cuff was enlarged to a size approximating its upper limits of practicability, it was diminished and finally no longer used. Consequently only vestiges may be seen in the turn-down of Figures 24, 25, and 27, and in the small, vertically buttoned cuff of Figure 26.

point for the average or large quilt. The cut of figure 1b is definitely smaller, though quite distinct. This indicating would appear to be less necessary on holding a smaller quilt, and it does not appear on the small quilt, of the later illustration. Also, one quilt is no longer quilt.

The cut of figure 1c is a smaller than that of figure 1b; it is close to that of figure 1a. In figure 1d the waist collar points, pointed flap of the waist, and lowered pockets warrant placing this cut as late in the sequence. The cut of figure 1e is about the size of that in figure 1c. The lapels and collar of that coat indicate that the garment is roughly contemporary with that in figure 1c. The small cuff of figure 1f, when considered in conjunction with the lace fancuffs of this garment, seems to indicate a continuation of the progression of sizes first indicated in figure 1a.

Thus, the sequence of cuffs may be seen as one of increasing quilt length until almost the limit of possibility was reached in figure 1d or figure 1e. After the cuff was enlarged to a size approaching the upper limits of practicability, it was diminished and finally no longer used. Consequently only vestiges may be seen in the turn-down of figures 2a, 2b, and 2f, and in the small, vertically buttoned cuff of figure 2c.

The sequence of coat forms. A drawing together of all the data for the parts presents the following sequences (leaving out Figures 12, 14a, 17, and 23, except where they are significant): Lapels, starting with a situation as in Figures 1 or 17, the sequence is Figures 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, and 26. The lapels of Figure 22 appeared in the next century. There was an exaggeration in the flamboyant Directoire Period, Figure 25, and a settling down afterwards. Collars, Figures 7, 13, 14a, 14b, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, and 27. Skirts of coats, Figures 1-11, 14a, 15, 16, 19, 24, 25, 26, and 27. Skirts of waistcoats, Figures 1-19 (where they appear), 20, 21, and 25. Pockets of coats, higher from Figures 1-11; lower in Figures 14a, 15, 16, and 25. Cuffs, larger from Figures 1-11; smaller in Figures 15, 19, and 26; none in Figures 24, 25, and 27.

The figures that are not a part of the series but have influenced some parts of garments were excluded from the above listing except where they exerted influences. The most aberrant figures of the series proper are Figures 24 and 25. Figure 24 represents the Jacobin Period, a period of intense reaction to the costume of the old aristocracy. Figure 25 represents the Incroyables of the Directoire Period, a period of reaction in costume and other things to the anti-monarchical republicanism of the Jacobin Period. The lower position of the pocket, as well as the culottes

The sequence of peak forms. A drawing together of all the data for the parts presents the following sequence (leaving out figures 18, 19, 17, and 20, except where they are significant): Beginning, starting with a stockade as in Figures 1 or 27, the sequence is Figures 16, 10, 21, 24, 28, and 26. The logic of figure 22 appears in the next section. There was an arrangement in the Classicant Hirsohorn Period, Figure 26, and a matrix, Hope Alternate, Colliers, Figures 7, 12, 14a, 14b, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, and 27. Shrine of Zeus, Figures 1-11, 14a, 15, 16, 19, 24, 25, 26, and 27. Shrine of Wal Tandes, Figures 1-15 (where they appear), 20, 21, and 26. Temple of Zeus, Minor Ire, Figures 1-11, lower as Figures 14a, 16, 18, and 26. Gulla, larger from Figures 1-11; smaller in Figures 15, 19, and 25; none in Figures 24, 26, and 27.

The figures that are not a part of the peaks but have influenced some parts of patterns were excluded from the above listing except where they exerted influence. The most apparent figures of the peaks proper are Figures 24 and 25. Figure 24 represents the Jacobin Period, a period of intense reaction to the reforms of the old aristocracy. Figure 25 represents the Imperial of the Hirschbolne Period, a period of compromise in conflicts and other things as the anti-monarchical temperaments of the Jacobin Period. The lower position of the Gulla, as well as the Gulches

(instead of pants, as in Figure 24) and the return to lines of costume more like those of the monarchy represent a revulsion of feeling on the part of the people and a temporary return to the old ways. Therefore, Figure 25 represents a sort of nativistic revivalistic movement by aristocrats who saw their social and political position being swept away by the new and powerful republicanism.

A summary of the development of court costume in France during the eighteenth century indicates that the skirts of men's coats and waistcoats were characterized by swelling and stiffening during the first part of the century (as also were women's skirts of the time, Figure 23). Later in the century the skirts on men's clothing were less full and were cut away, giving the appearance of a swallow-tailed frock coat. Sleeves of waistcoats disappeared, but reminders of them appeared in the fabric on the cuffs of the coats. Coat cuffs became first larger and then smaller, tending to disappear.

Waistcoat skirts at first altered in length and fullness with the skirts of the coats, but in the latter part of the century the waistcoat became vest-like. From then on, it no longer doubled as night-shirt or served as an alternative outer garment.

The neckline of the coat rose and became an upturned or down turned collar, with later elaboration of the points.

(instead of dance, as in Fishing) and the return to Nature of costume into the guise of the mercury representing a revulsion of feeling on the part of the people and a temporary return to the old ways. Nevertheless, Figure 22 represents a sort of realistic mechanistic movement by artists who saw their social and political ideal of liberation being swept away by the new and powerful republicans.

A summary of the development of court costume in France during the eighteenth century indicates that the skirts of men's coats and waistcoats were emphasized by swelling and stiffening during the first part of the century (as also were women's skirts at the time, Figure 23). Later in the century the skirts on men's clothing were less full and were cut away, giving the appearance of a swallow-tailed frock coat. Sleeves also lost their flapperes, but reminders of them appeared in the tabs on the cuffs of the coats. Coat cuffs became first larger and then smaller, tending to disappear.

Waistcoat cuffs at first widened in length and fullness with the skirts of the coats, but in the latter part of the century are seldom seen at vest-tails. From then on, it no longer exhibits an [illegible] or served as an alternative outer garment.

The hemline of the vest now and then became an extension or down turned collar, with the direction of the points

Lapels appeared, developing from the turned back flaps of both coats and waistcoats. Overall decoration declined throughout the century on the coat, while the waistcoat lost its decorated sleeves and back as it became distinctly an undergarment.

Of course, the coat and waistcoat as whole garments never lacked decorations inasmuch as the forms of their parts were decorations of the garments. Since the form of the garment parts served the purpose of decoration, as well as serving often times in a utilitarian way also, the present study of the forms of the parts is ipso facto a study of the decorations of the garments.

Other influences on the sequences. It will be noted that many of the changes in the costume of the court circle were influenced by changes either from other series (Figures 12 and 17) or from costumes within the series (Figures 16 and 18), but not the costume of the civilian members of the court.

The English redingote (Figure 12), which became popular in France, had been placed in the illustrations in a position to show the approximate time of its adoption. It seems probable that this costume exerted accelerating influences on already developing tendencies in French court costume. It probably hastened the development of the collar

Lapeia appears, as already, as the turned back shape of both posts and arches. The overall decorative design throughout the church is one of unity, while the multiple loss the deformed ribbed arch as it becomes distinctly an undergarment.

Of course, the case for Gothic as whole arches never lacked decorative language as the lower of their parts were decorations of the structure. Since the form of the garment parts served the purposes of decoration as well as serving other ends in a utilitarian way, the present study of the forms of the parts is more than a study of the decorations of the garment.

Other influences on the sequence. It will be noted that many of the changes in the sequence of the court clothes were influenced by changes without from other series (Figures 12 and 17) or from patterns within the series (Figures 16 and 18), but not the development of the civilian members of the court.

The English rediscovery (Figure 18), which occurs before in France, had been in use in the illustrations in a position to show the approximate time of its adoption. It seems probable that this sort of accelerated acceleration influences on already developing changes in fashion could occur.

It probably [illegible] the development of the collar

and the reduction of the flare of the skirt.

The French workingman's costume, shown in Figure 17, probably influenced the development of lapels by its flaps often being worn open. It may have influenced the reducing of the size of the cuff and flare of the skirt, but the explanations already given for these two developments seem more probable.

The army uniform of Figure 18 is a part of our series; but it was not worn by civilians, of course. Its lapels represent, probably, an attempt to make neat the open flaps of Figures such as 1 and 17 by buttoning them back. This was apparently the first kind of real lapels in French court circles. These appeared in a slightly changed form in the much later vest of Figure 22.

The naval uniform of Figure 16 indicates an early use of the cut away coat front and the turned collar.

The aberrant Figure 14a is taken from a portrayal of a Frenchman of an upper class but not of the court circle. The projecting neckline, already begun in Figure 7, may have had a further development on non-court French costumes before it appeared in the same form, but turned down, on court costumes (Figure 16) after the redingote, with its large collar, became popular.

Some of the major changes (such as collars, lapels, and reduced skirt flares) appeared first on costumes of

and the predecessor of the dress of the waist.

The French workingman's costume, shown in Figure 17, probably influenced the development of Israels's in Figure 16 often being worn open. Artists have influenced the reducing of the size of the cuff and the lapel of this waist, but the explanations already given for these two Israels models seem more probable.

The true uniform of Figure 18 is a part of our service; but it was not worn by civilians, of course. Its legals represent, probably, an attempt to make most the open lines of Figures such as 1 and 16 by opening their back. This was apparently the first of Israel's legals in French court circles. These appeared in a slightly changed form in the much later coat of Figure 22.

The naval uniform of Figure 19 indicates an early use of the cut away coat front and the turned collar.

The sharpest Figure 20 is taken from a portrait of a Frenchman in an under dress at best of the court circle. The proportions of Figure 20, and perhaps Figure 7, may have had a further development on non-court French costumes before it appeared in the Israels model but turned down on court costumes (Figure 18) when the redingote, with its large collar, became popular.

Some of the major changes (such as waist, lapels, and reduced waist line) were had first on costumes of

people not in the civilian court circle proper. They were originated by people outside the civilian court circle and later adopted and developed by the civilian members of the court. Even the navy and the army were apparently more inclined to originate changes in uniforms than were the civilian members of the court circle in their costumes.

The influences from outside which had the greatest effects on the court circle costumes were those that could be associated by the courtiers with features of costume that already appeared on their garments. The new collar could be associated with the projecting necklines of Figures 7 and 13. The new lapels could be associated with the open hanging coat front of an earlier time.

D. THE RELIABILITY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION.

The reconstruction of the sequences of garment parts and of garments considered as wholes has been based upon the study of observable changes in material forms. This procedure has been followed so that the difficulties involved in the present study will render the study comparable with a reconstruction such as Boas's of needlecases or Haddon's of crocodile-arrows.[25]

However, the present sequence may be checked by

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[25] A. C. Haddon, Evolution in Art, pp. 20-5.

people not in the village as a single problem. They were originated by people outside the village school circle and later adopted and developed by the village members or the court. Even the very one who was apparently responsible claimed to originate a number in addition to have the village members or the court give it its very emphasis.

This is because the outside social and the practical effects on the people of the village were those that could be associated by the two lines with Tachibana, although already appeared or shown previously. The new points could be associated with the preceding theorizing of Tachibana 7 and 12. The new ideas could be associated with the open and the cost front of an earlier time.

D. THE RELIABILITY OF THE RECONSTRUCTION.

The reconstruction of the sequence of pattern parts and of geometric consideration in models has been based upon the study of observable original material form. This procedure has been followed in the original development involved in the present study with the study comparable with a reconstruction such as [illegible] be reconsidered or Hadden's of crocodile-arrows.[26]

However, the present sequence may be checked by

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[26] A. C. Hadden, Journal of Arts 14, 20-6.

references to documentary material. The check will be undertaken here only to such an extent as will indicate the reliability of the reconstruction. That is, the present study does not pretend to demonstrate how full use may be made by anthropologists of the documentary material, if any is available, for any period they may study. Nor will the study attempt to prove the exact historic date for each variant costume shown in the illustrations. A demonstration of either how to use documents or how to prove the placement of each illustration would be a subject for an entire paper, and a long one at that. The present purpose of indicating the reliability of the reconstructed sequences can be accomplished more briefly.

A checking of the accuracy of a chronology should, in a paper of this type, be based chiefly upon primary source material. Fortunately for the present purposes, the portraits and engravings that have been examined represent, in themselves, primary material. They were painted by the artists of the time. The subject matter of these portraits may help indicate the reliability of the sequences of forms if these subjects and the events of their lives are known. Another indication is the date of the painting of the portrait, when such is known. Reliable secondary source material may be used to supplement the information from the primary material.

When the author undertook the present study of

costume, he had a limited time in which to complete the work. In order to expedite matters, he went through books on art, costume, and history in a search for illustrative material which he thought might have some significance for the development of costume. He noted the garments which he thought might be of use in his study and handed the list to his wife, asking her to sketch the garments at a common scale of measurement. She did that while he was trying to organize his approach.

Her sketches were put upon 8½" x 11" paper, several to a page, and in the order of his list, which was the order of his discovering the costume but not the order of a sequence in costumes. The author then put scissors to the sketching sheets, cut out the figures, and arranged them in what appeared to be a sequence, judging by general forms. He next studied the individual parts of each garment, rearranged the sketches, and corrected his text.

By this time he had forgotten where his material had come from and practically all else about it. So he took his original list; and he decided, for his own satisfaction, to check the sketches for accuracy. At the same time, and with some trepidation, he attempted to find out the historical dates for each costume. In some cases his sources gave exact dates for a type of costume; in other cases he could work out fairly close dates by doing some supplementary

costume, he had a limited time in which to complete the work. In order to accomplish this, he went through books on art, costume, and history in a search for illustrative material which the photographs might have some significance for the development of costume. He also had the measures which he thought might be of use in his study and handed the list to his wife, asking her to secure the measures at a certain exact of measurement. She did this while he was trying to organize his approach.

Her sketches were put upon 8½" x 11" paper, several to a page, and in the order of his list, with the order of his discovering the measures and the order of a sequence in costumes. The author then put aside to the sketching phase, cut out the figures, and arranged them as what appeared to be a sequence, begins or general terms. He next studied the individual parts of each period, rearranged the sketches, and completed his task.

By this time he had forgotten where his material came from and practically all else about it. So he took his original list; and he decided, for his own satisfaction, to check the sketches for accuracy. In this a few lines, and in some trepidation, he attempted to find out the historical dates for each costume. In some cases his sources gave exact dates for a type of costume; in other cases he had to work out fairly close dates by using some supplementary

reading; in a few cases the sources permitted approximations only to the quarter of the century involved.

When the task of checking was finished, the order of the dates followed roughly the same sequence as had his arrangement on the basis of form. In some cases, the length of time a particular costume was used came out more clearly from the documentary material (for example, this was true of Figure 18). In other cases (as in Figures 7, 8, and 9), he had suspected that the situation was one of variations within approximately one time period, rather than variations over any considerable period of time, but he could not prove his suspicion. However, documentary material indicated the dates of these portraits are, respectively, ca. 1723, 1724, and ca. 1725.

To illustrate how a check may be made, let us examine those costumes illustrated here which may be found on known historic personages. Luckily for the present purpose, this kind of illustration is fairly regularly spaced throughout the illustrations presented here.

Figure 1 has been placed as first in the sequences. Foldbacks of the front center coat closing like those in this figure may be seen on an engraving of Charles of Lorraine, Count of Marsin, made by A. Trouvain and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. They may also be found on a portrait of le Duc de Chartres, by A. Trouvain, in the

reading in a few cases the Gaskoyne permitted approximations only to the quarter of the numbers involved.

When the task of reading was finished, the order of the dates followed roughly the same sequence as did his arrangement on the basis of form. In some cases, the length of time a particular design was used differs one more clearly from the accompanying material (for example, this sequence of Figure 16), in other cases (as in Figures 7, 8, and 9), he had suspected that the mills was one of variations within approximately one time period, rather than variations over a any considerable period of time. But he could not prove his suspicion. However, documentary material indicated the dates of these portraits are, respectively, ca. 1720, 1724, and ca. 1735.

To illustrate how a check may be made, let us examine those contemporary illustrated book plates may be found on known historic personages. Usually for the present purpose, only kind of illustration is fairly regularly spaced throughout the illustrations presented here.

Figure 1 has been placed as first in the sequence. Roldness of the front neckcloth clearly like those in this figure may be seen on an engraving of Charles-of Lorraine, count of Armagnac, made by A. Trouvain and now in the Fleropne Morgan Library. It may also be found on a portrait of Le Duc de Guise, by A. Trouvain, in the

Pierpont Morgan Library. A third engraving with suggestions of lapels is that of Louis, Duke of Burgundy, by Berey, in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Chartres, of course, became the regent Orleans after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. The engraving is of him as a younger man. The engraving of Burgundy shows him holding the portrait of his betrothed, to whom he became engaged in 1695 and married in 1697.[26] Thus Figure 1 is properly placed as representing the costume of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Figure 3 has been placed as third in the sequential developments in costumes. This coat may be seen in a portrait of Louis XIV and his family painted by Nicolas de Largillière and now in the Wallace Collection, London. The person illustrated in Figure 3 wears a costume like that of Louis of Burgundy, but the painting also shows Louis XIV. It is an undisputable historical fact that Louis XIV died in 1715.[27] Furthermore, Burgundy died in 1712.[28] Therefore, this picture had to be painted before 1712. In fact, it is dated as 1710.[29] This is clear evidence that the costume of

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[26] M. Davenport, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 549-50; V. Duruy, op. cit., pp. 272, 348, plates 1459, 1460, 1462.

[27] V. Duruy, op. cit., p. 294.

[28] Ibid., p. 293.

[29] M. Davenport, op. cit., p. 660, plate 1772.

fireport Bowen Library. A label engraving with suggestions of legals in Italian venue, Phelps Burgundy, by Morey. In the fireport Bowen Library, therefore, had source, became the report of Bowen after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. The engraving is of him as a younger man. The engraving of Burgundy shows him holding the portrait of his sobriquet, to whom he became engaged in Nice and married in 1697.[20] Thus figure 3 is properly viewed as representing the capture of the and of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Figure 3 has been placed as thus in the sequential development in question. Field-work may be seen in a portrait of Louis XIV and his family painted by Nicolas de Largillière and now in the Wallace Collection, London. The person illustrated in Figure 3 bears a striking like that of Louis of Burgundy, but the painting also shows Louis XIV. It is an unlikelihood that Louis XIV died in 1715.[21] Furthermore, Burgundy died in 1712. Therefore this picture had to be painted before 1712. Moreover, it is dated as 1710.[22] Data [illegible] see that the portrait of

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[19] Bowen, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 340-50; V. Duruy, op. cit., 1v. 2, 2nd ed. Paris: Hachette, 1907, 1102.

[20] B. Duruy, op. cit., 88.

[21] Ibid., p. 893.

[22] B. Duruy, op. cit., 2nd, date 1712.

Figure 3 belongs where it has been placed, early in the century.

It is obvious, of course, that the date a portrait was painted provides only a rough guide to the date of the costume involved. Tree rings give the date the tree was cut, not the date of the house in which they were found. The date a portrait was painted is only that; it is not the exact date of a coat found in the portrait.

Figure 11 illustrates a portrait of the youthful Louis of France, painted by Louis Tocqué, and now in the Louvre. Louis of France was the father of Louis XVI and the son of Louis XV. Since Louis XV ascended to the throne at the age of five years in 1715 and reigned until his death in 1774, at which time Louis of France was already dead and his son (Louis XVI) twenty years of age,[30] the portrait of the young Louis of France has to be painted before the middle of the century. And, indeed, the portrait is dated as 1739.[31]

Figure 18 is based upon an engraving, artist unknown, of Maurice, le marechal de Saxe, who became a marshal in 1743,[32] and who led the French army at Fontenoy in 1745. The engraving appears to show Saxe at the time of the height

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[30] V. Duruy, op. cit., pp. 359, 436.

[31] M. Davenport, op. cit., p. 675, plate 1816.

[32] V. Duruy, op. cit., p. 374.

Figure 2 [illegible] has been placed, small in the century.

In a display, of course, that has made a portrait was painted provides only a rough guide to the date of the costume depicted. The sitter gives the date [illegible] not the date of the house fashion that were [illegible]. The date a portrait was painted is only that; it is not the exact date of a case found in the portrait.

Figure 11 illustrates a portrait of the young Louis of France, painted by Louis Tocqué, and now in the Louvre. Louis of France was the father of Louis XVI and the son of Louis XV. Since Louis XV ascended to the throne in the age of five years in 1715 and died in 1774, at which time Louis of France was already dead and his son (Louis XVI) twenty years of age,[50] the portrait of the young Louis of France has to be painted before the middle of the century. Now, however, the portrait is dated as 1752.[51]

Figure 12 is based upon an engraving, artist unknown, of Maurice, Comte de Saxe, who became a marshal in 1743,[52] and was the French army at Fontenoy in 1745. The engraving appears to show Saxe as the time of the height

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[50] V. Perry, op. cit., pp. 355, 430.

[51] K. Ketchpoff, op. cit., p. 575, plate 1610.

[52] V. Perry, op. cit., p. 574.

of his command, in the early 1740's. However, a coat with lapels similar to this except that they extend up and parallel to the base of the upright collar may also be seen on a reproduction of an engraving by Hopwood of the young Marquis de La Fayette. The engraving was apparently of La Fayette in the 1770's.[33] Therefore, variants of the buttoned back lapel appeared on military uniforms over a long period of time. Any variant of this lapel cannot be given its position in a developmental sequence through studying solely the form of the variant.

Figure 19 illustrates definite lapels on a waistcoat. Exactly the same kind of lapels may be seen in a plate by Moreau le jeune, dated at 1776.[34] Since Figure 19 is placed after Figure 18, which shows a type of lapels worn in the middle of the century, the placement of Figure 19 appears to be correct.

Figure 24, showing the Jacobin costume, represents a type of costume that may be seen in a water color of a group outside the Palais Royal, painted by Philibert Debucourt.[35] The Jacobin Period is usually put between 1791 (the flight of the King) and 1795 (the founding of the Directoire),

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[33] C. H. Jackson, op. cit., p. 238.

[34] M. von Boehm, op. cit., p. 165.

[35] M. Davenport, op. cit., p. 713, plate 1982.

of his mounted, in the early 1710's. However, a coat with lapels similar to this, at least that they extend up and parallel to the front of the wearing collar may also be seen on a representation of an unknown by Rigaud of the young Marquis de la Fayette. The uniform was apparently of la Fayette in the 1770's.[33] Therefore, variants of the cut-back lapel appeared on military uniforms over a long period of time. Any variant of this lapel cannot be given the position in a development sequence through which only the form of the variant.

Figure 18 illustrates definite lapels on a waistcoat. Exactly the same kind of lapels can be seen in a plate by Moreau le jeune, dated ca 1775.[34] Since Fig. 18 is placed after Figure 16, which shows a type of lapels worn in the middle of the century, the placement of Figure 18 appears to be correct.

Figure 19, showing the Jacobin costume, represents a type of costume that may be seen in a water color of a group outside the Palais Royal, painted by Philibert Debucourt.[35] The Jacobin period is usually set between 1791 (the Flight of the King) and 1795 (the Foundation of the Directoire).

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[33] G. E. Jackson, op. cit., p. 326.

[34] M. von Boehn, op. cit., p. 108.

[35] M. Dauphot, op. cit., p. 115, Plate 1888.

although Jacobins were especially active from 1789 (when the King left Versailles).[36] So this costume represents the one worn by the would-be republicans of about 1790.

Figure 25 shows the costume of the Incroyables of the Directoire Period. There was no standardized form for this costume, which, as has been said, expressed a reaction to the costumes of the Jacobins. Variants of it may be found in Sellner and in Wilcox.[37] The Directoire Period was that between 1795 and the downfall of the Directory in 1799.[38]

Thus, a spot checking of various figures illustrated the following sequence: Figure 1, ca. 1700; Figure 3, dated as ca. 1710; Figure 11, dated as ca. 1739; Figure 18, dated as ca. 1745-70; Figure 19, dated as ca. 1776; Figure 24, dated as ca. 1789-95; Figure 25, dated as ca. 1795-99. The rise of Napoleon took place about 1800, at the time of the aftermath of the Directory.[39] Figure 26, from the painting of Napoleon in the Versailles Gallery, showing his costume as of 1800,[40] rounds out the century.

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[36] L. R. Gottschalk, The Era of the French Revolution, pp. 152-53.

[37] E. Sellner, op. cit., plate for 1794-99; R. T. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 233.

[38] L. R. Gottschalk, op. cit., p. 302.

[39] Loc. cit.

[40] C. H. Jackson, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 224.

although [illegible] actually active from 1789 (when the King left Versailles). [illegible] are many representations of [illegible] worn by the Revolutionaries of about 1790.

Figure 35 shows the costume of the Monmouthshire Directoire period. There was no standardized form for this costume, which, as has been said, characterized a reaction to the costumes of the Jacobins. Variants of it may be found in Spillman and in Wilcox.[37] The Directoire period was that between 1795 and the demise of the Directory in 1799.[38]

Thus, a book that lists of various figures illustrated the following sequence: Figure 1, ca. 1790; Figure 5, dated as ca. 1790; Figure 11, dated as ca. 1793; Figure 15, dated as ca. 1795-70; Figure 19, dated as ca. 1872; Figure 24, dated as ca. 1780-90; Figure 32, dated as ca. 1795-99. The rise of Napoleon took place about 1800, at the time of the aftermath of the Directory.[39] Figure 26, from the painting of Napoleon in the Versailles Gallery, showing his costume as of 1804,[40] (about each 14 century).

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[35] [illegible]. Geoffrey [illegible]. The Life of the French Revolution, pp. 185-90.

[37] [illegible]. Spillman, op. cit., plate 1; 1794-99; [illegible]. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 443.

[38] [illegible]. R. Gottwerth, op. cit., p. 302.

[39] Loc. cit.

[40] [illegible]. R. Jackson, op. cit., vol. [illegible], p. 224.

The illustrations checked have given a general coverage of the various types of eighteenth century costumes. The sequences of the dates substantiate the sequences based on forms. Therefore, the reconstruction, which was the main purpose of this chapter, has now been finished. However, a few of the changes in the rest of the male costume of the eighteenth century French court circles will be mentioned briefly to give a more complete idea of costume changes.

E. CHANGES IN OTHER MALE GARMENTS.

Associated with the changes in the coat and waistcoat were changes in other male garments.[41] As more of the legs was revealed through wearing the coat open, breeches were cut on a bias and were more carefully tailored. They were called culottes in France. During the days of the French Revolution, the culotte was discarded as it was considered to be a garment of the disliked aristocracy, and the English pantaloon (Figure 24) with fly front (instead of the buttoned one of the culotte (Figure 25 and of sailors' pants) came into popularity. Shoes throughout the century became less heavy and more carefully shaped to the natural outline of the foot. Stockings were at first worn over the bottoms of knee breeches (Figure 1) and later were worn under the

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[41] For outline of the century, see M. Davenport, op. cit., pp. 652-57.

slit and buttoned ends of the culotte (Figure 15).

In hats, the tricorns changed with hair styles and became a bicorne. High-crowned hats came to be used, spreading from England to France at the time France was adopting English political ideology. Wigs became less elaborate, but court circles, although showing less elaborate coiffures on the tops of the heads of men and women, nevertheless showed considerable attention to the hair in back (which was tied, enclosed in a bag, braided, or clubbed). Natural hair became more popular. Powdering declined.

Accessories (such as snuff boxes, muffs, and handkerchiefs) remained popular, but the popularity of the snuff box did not always indicate the popularity of snuff. The box, in time, was often considered an ornament or a gift expressing esteem rather than a utilitarian object.

The paintings, engravings, etc. of other European countries show that the development of costume in France did not proceed uninfluenced by things foreign. However, the French court was the style-leading center of the century and more often affected people in other countries than vice versa. Among the foreign influences on French styles of architecture, furniture, and women's costumes were the Roman styles of the first century A.D., as revealed by the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii during the mid-century.[42]

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[42] Ibid., pp. 711-12.

silt and turbaned made of the *gelobe* (figure 15).

Instead, the turban was worn with hair styles and became a trend. Hair-net had been used to be used, spread-ing from England to France at the time France was adopting English political ideology. Hair became less elaborate, but court circles, although having less elaborate coiffures on the tops of the heads of men and women, nevertheless showed considerable effort in the hair in order (which was tied, enclosed in a bag, braided, or plaited). Natural hair became more popular. Powdering declined.

Accessories (such as snuff boxes, muffs, and handker-chiefs) remained popular, but the popularity of the snuff box did not always indicate the popularity of snuff. The box, in time, was often considered an ornament or a gift ex-pressing extra-textual meaning, a miniature object.

The patterns, styles, etc. of other European countries show that the development of costume in France did not proceed uninfluenced by things foreign. Indeed, the French court was the style-leading center of the country and more often affected people in other countries than *vice versa*. Among the foreign influences on French style of architecture, furniture, and women's costumes were the Roman styles of the first century B.C., as revealed by the excava-tions at Herculaneum and Pompeii during the mid-century.[42]

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[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

This influence increased later in women's costumes of the Directoire. Documentary material would indicate the cause of the increase might be the growing interest in the democracies of ancient times as discontent increased with the monarchy of the present.

Other non-European influences that found expression in the fabric designs of women's costumes were those of the East Indies and China. These were conditioned by the world trade of the time and expressed themselves frequently, beginning about the time of the reign of Louis XV. Later, Indian goods became popular.[43]

Eighteenth century England witnessed the courts of Anne and the various Hanovers. The latter were Germanic and had German wives (except the widowed George I). The trend in England was away from the rich men's costumes which Europe had known in the time of Louis XIV. However, George II's reign had its "beaux" and the reign of George III had an efflorescence of extravagant dress in the "Macaronis" of the latter part of the century. In general, wigs,[44] which had come to the English court with Charles II were eventually replaced with natural, unpowdered hair.

Early in the century the corners of English military

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[43] E. Traphagen, op. cit., p. 98.

[44] M. Davenport, op. cit., p. 762.

This increase lasted later in women's costume of the Directoire. Documentary evidence indicates the cause of the increase might be the growing interest in the excavations of Pompeii where the discovery increased with the monarchy of the Bourbons.

Other non-European influences that found expression in the fabric designs of women's costumes were those of the East Indies and China. These were contributed by the wives of the time and expressed decorative frequently, beginning about the time of the reign of Louis XV. Later, Indian goods became popular.[43]

Eighteenth-century dresses mirrored the courts of Anne and the various Georges. The latter were German and had German wives (except the second George I). The trend in England was away from the French court costumes which Europe had known in the time of Louis XIV. However, George III's reign had its "vogue" and the reign of George III had an efflorescence of extravagant dress in the "Regencies" of the latter part of the century. In general, styles which had come to the English court with Charles II were eventually replaced with natural, sunburned hair.

Part of the century the court dictated English

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[43] E. Crapham, op. cit., p. 88.

[44] A. Davenport, op. cit., p. 103.

and riding coats were turned back and buttoned up in a manner like that of the Dutch of the seventeenth century.[45] Loosely woven or elastic material permitted the culotte to become the pantaloon. The culotte was not adapted to fastening with the jockey-boot, the top of which came below the knee.

German[46] styles in the main followed the French[47] and Italian[48] styles continued on their own way (although the English "Macaronis" imitated these Italian styles). Spanish costume is difficult to describe briefly, but it reflected both English and French costumes, as well as having characteristics peculiarly its own.[49]

F. A CAUTION.

The form of the eighteenth century costumes, which have been studied in this chapter, obviously brought forth many elements still seen in twentieth century costumes. Among those elements are long pants, lapels, and vests. At

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[45] Ibid., p. 652.

[46] Ibid., p. 731.

[47] E. Traphagen, op. cit., pp. 97-8; M. von Boehm, op. cit., pp. 28-38.

[48] M. Davenport, op. cit., p. 721.

[49] M. von Boehm, op. cit., pp. 226, 252.

and piping were then turned up and patterned up in a manner like that of the Tudor Renaissance costume,[45] loosely worn or slightly waisted, permitted the ankles to become the pantaloon. The silhouette was not adapted to exaggerating the "hour-glass", the way of which was taken the same.

German[46] silhouette was much followed the French[47] and Italian[48] styles contained in their own way (although the English "Elizabethan" Dutch" those Italian styles). Opening costume is of Italian or French origin, but it reflected both English and French costumes, as well as having another variation peculiarly its own.[49]

F. A QUESTION.

The form of the 16 century Italian costume, which have been studied in this chapter, obviously produce many elements, still used in twentieth century costumes. Among those elements are long waist, puffed sleeves, it

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[45] Ibid., p. 298.

[46] Ibid., p. 351.

[47] E. Tranchant, op. cit., p. 97-8; A. von Boehn, op. cit., pp. 78-80.

[48] A. Bernhard, op. cit., p. 321.

[49] A. von Boehn, op. cit., pp. 320, 322.

the end of the century there was apparent a greater sobriety in men's clothing, comparable to the sobriety of much of the male costumes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Clearly, then, the study of eighteenth century costumes seems to provide an explanation of the roots of much that is present in modern costume. However, it may not be assumed that the presence of joined lapels and collars on twentieth century coats, or of vests beneath the coats, represents an unbroken continuation from the eighteenth century.

The collar had come and gone before the eighteenth century. Did it do so after that time? Did lapels disappear at some time? An unbroken sequence, with modifications, from then to now is probable, but it would have to be proved. The vest seems to be disappearing today. Did it do so before? The answers to these questions lie beyond the confines of this study. Here the purpose has been to work out sequences of parts during the eighteenth century. Next this study will turn to the significances of these sequences for anthropological theory.

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

FIG. 4 Casual Coat

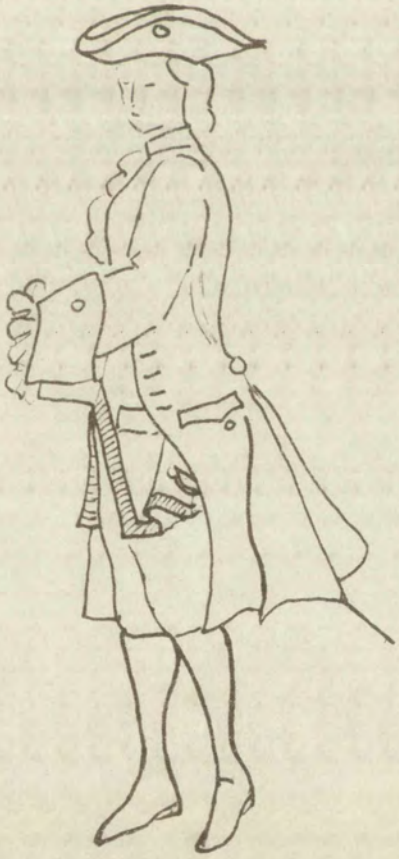
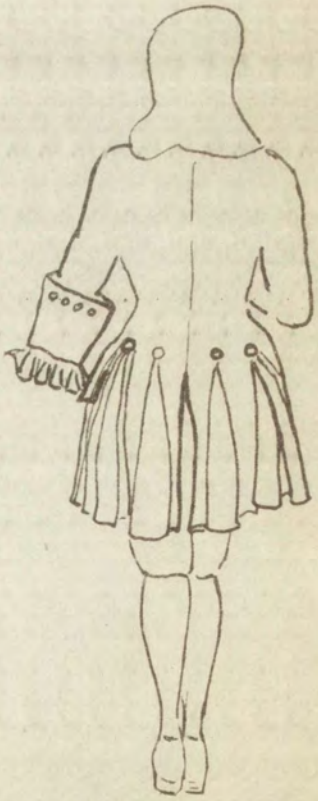


FIG. 5 Casual Coat



a

FIG. 6

FIG. 6

FIG. 7

FIG. 8

FIG. 9

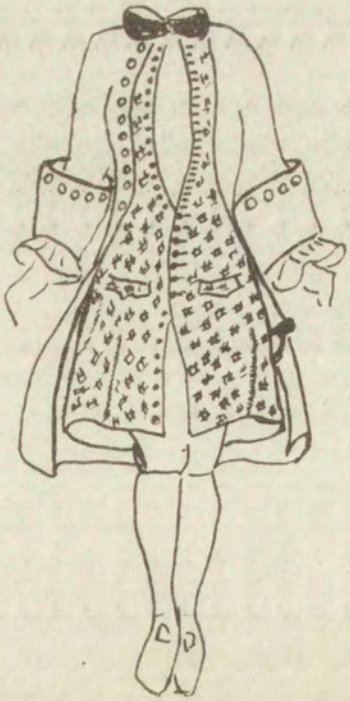


FIG. 10

FIG. 11

FIG. 12 Redingote

FIG. 13

b

FIG. 14

a

FIG. 14

FIG. 15

FIG. 16 Naval Uniform

FIG. 17 Worker's coat of first half century

FIG. 19

20

21

22

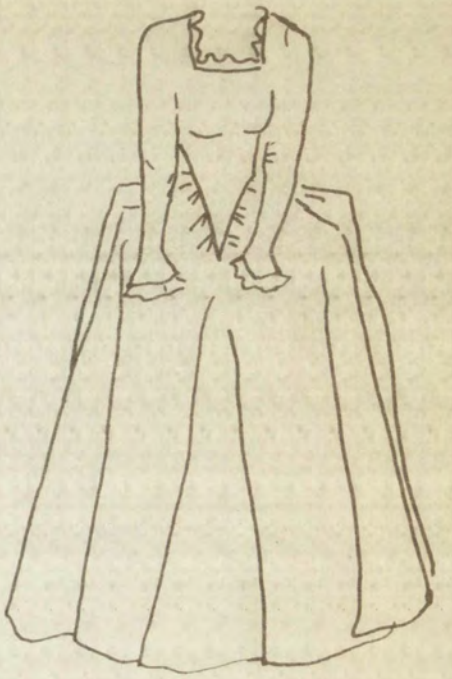


FIG. 23

FIG. 18 Army Officer

FIG. 24 Jacobin

FIG. 25 Directoire

Napoleonic Period

FIG. 26 Army Officer

FIG. 27 Cutaway

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGES IN COSTUME FORMS

The preceding chapter had as its purpose the presentation of a study of the changes in the forms of the coats and waistcoats worn by Frenchmen of the court circle and upper classes during the eighteenth century. The present chapter has as its purpose an examination of these changes to see what implications this kind of study has for anthropological theory. Certain theories will be scrutinized to see if, when tested by the data of Chapter II, they seem to be correct in their entirety, correct with reservations, or not justified.

The theories to be considered are among those to which the data of Chapter II are pertinent. These data, it would seem, permit a consideration of such things as cultural alternatives, generalizations about lines of historic development, what constitutes a unit of culture, the importance of considering cultural context, the influence of historic accident, limited possibilities, cyclical movements in culture, and causality in cultural development.

The author is aware that there are other possibilities inherent in the data of Chapter II. For instance, one might undertake a discussion of functionalism as this is conceived

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE CONCEPTS

II. CULTURE TRAITS

The preceding chapter has set the purpose and presentation of a study of the strength in the form of the zones and centroids, more by examination of the cosmic circle and upper climate during the nineteenth century. The present chapter has as its purpose an examination of these zones to see what implications with the view of study has for anthropological theory. Certain theories will be scrutinized to see if, when based on the data of Chapter II, they seem to be correct in their analysis, correct with reservations, or not justified.

The theories to be scrutinized are those based on which the data of Chapter II is a consistent. These data, it would seem, permit a new interpretation of such ideas as culture alternatives, cumulative culture, culture or historic development, what constitutes a unit of culture, the problem of considering cultural centers, the influence of climate on accident, limited possibilities, qualitat movements in culture, and causality in cultural development.

The author is aware that there are other possibilities inherent in the data of Chapter VI. For instance, one might undertake a discussion of time relationships as this is achieved

by both Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. Also, one might gather data pertinent to costume changes that would permit a discussion of the influence of certain individuals on culture change. Considering the subject of costume changes from still another viewpoint, one might attempt to see if a comparative study of the costumes of various social categories (for instance, court circle and laboring classes) might be illustrative of some of the social and cultural interrelations of these categories. Or, to consider still another matter, one might proceed from a study of costume to a discussion of the psychology of fashion.

While consideration has been given to the inquiries mentioned in the preceding paragraph, they have not been pursued in the present study as it did not seem probable that the data, as presented in Chapter II, would contribute enough new insight into these matters to warrant a thorough investigation of them at this time. It is felt that the anthropological theories that will be considered are of sufficient importance to justify the present article without adding to them other considerations implicit in a study of costume.

A. THE THEORY OF CULTURAL ALTERNATIVES.

Among the anthropological theories to be studied in this chapter is the one formulated by Linton concerning

cultural alternatives.[50] Linton explained "alternatives" by noting that certain members of a society share in common some elements of culture that are not shared by all the members of the society or even by all members of a definite social category within the society. He also noted that all members of a society share common knowledge of certain elements of culture and that each member makes personal choices as to the elements he utilizes.

Redfield[51] pointed out that two kinds of cultural elements are involved in Linton's concept. The first kind is shared by some members only. Redfield would call them "variants." The second kind are known to all, and the individual makes his choices from them. Redfield would call these latter "alternatives."

How does this study of costume illuminate theories concerning cultural alternatives and variants? "Variants" will be studied first.

The fact that the costume described herein was not shared by all members of French society is easily demonstrated by a comparative study of the paintings that show the upper classes and those that show the laboring people. In dress the two strata of French society were comparable but not

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[50] R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 272-75.

[51] R. Redfield, The Folk Culture, pp. 347-49.

cultural alternatives. [50] Linton explained "alternatives" by noting that certain elements of society evoke indifference; some elements of culture are not shared by all the members of the society, or even by all members of a particular social category within the society. He also noted that all members of a society share some knowledge of certain elements of culture and that each member makes personal choices as to the alternatives he utilizes.

Redfield[51] pointed out that two kinds of cultural elements are involved in Linton's concept. The first kind is shared by some members only. Redfield would call them "variants." The second kind are known to all, and the individual makes his choices from them. Redfield would call these latter "alternatives."

How does this study of Jamaica illuminate theories concerning cultural alternatives and variants? "Variants" will be studied first.

The fact that the Jamaican economic pattern was not shared by all members of Jamaican society, a society characterized by a complex [illegible] of the relations that arose from many changes in the [illegible] among the laboring people. In degree the two spheres of Jamaican society were comparable but not

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[50] R. Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 276-78.

[51] R. Redfield, The Folk Culture, pp. 347-48.

identical. For instance, coats of the common people were both plainer and shaped somewhat less gracefully. Also, commoners wore full length trousers more often than culottes, especially later in the century. Thus, the costume of the court circle was, in Redfield's terminology, a "variant" from the French costume worn by most of the people of the society.

Let us now take up a study of "alternatives." The court costume represented a variation from the costume of the majority of the French people, a variation shared by the members of a social category, the court circle. But all members of this social category did not wear costumes that were exactly the same. There was no absolute identity of form within this variant type of costumes. Not only were there specialized costumes of army and navy officers (who were members of the court circle), but also there were variations (at any one time period) within the generalized court costume of civilian members. Although the illustrations do not show this, the reader may accept the statement that one painting showing several people may also show variations, rather than identities, in the costumes of these people. Furthermore, the parts of any one garment may not all be equally progressive, or retarded, but may show a mixture. For instance, the pockets of Figure 9 are lower than one would expect since other data place this coat as about the same time as the coats in Figures 1 and 8. Therefore, its

identical. For instance, several of the peasant people wore both plaines and simple sarrouels less frequently. Also, commoners were fit in length, where more often than not, especially during the period. Thus, the costume of the court circle was in particular terminology, a "variant" from the French culture, rather than the people of the society.

Let us now take a study of "alternatives." The court costume represented a variation from the costume of the majority of the French people, a variation shared by the members of royal society, the court circle. But all members of this royal society did not wear costumes that were exactly the same. There was no absolute identity of form within this vestment type or costume. Not only were there specialized costumes for army and navy officers (who were members of the court circle), but also there were variations (at any rate, minor) within the vestments worn by courtiers of civilian status. Although the illustrations do not indicate, the record may reveal the research that has probably supplied a people who also show variations, rather than identical, in the costumes of these people. Furthermore, the parts of any one garment may not all be equally prominent, or essential, but may appear as mixtures. For instance, the pleats of figure 2 are larger than one would expect since only a quarter-circle coat is adjusted the same lineage the coats in figures 1 and 3. Therefore, its

pockets, being lower, represent a less advanced development than does the rest of the coat.

Another example of a garment whose parts are not in the same stage of advancement is in Figure 8. Here the cuff is much farther along the line of development of cuffs than are the other parts in the lines of their developments.

Perhaps the two foregoing examples illustrate the fact that a garment may have, let us say, an older cuff, a still older skirt, and a very new position for the pocket. If this has been made clear, one can easily see the variations as to stages of development exhibited by any one court costume or by any collection of court costumes, even though all were worn at the same time by members of the same social category.

It may be assumed that the knowledge of the changes in the court costume was shared in common by all in the court circle. The fact that there was no uniformity of court costume beyond that of correspondence to a generalized type indicates cultural alternatives might be chosen by the members of the court circle. This court circle was a variant from French society, and its costume was a variant from French costume in general. Therefore, this study illustrates that "alternatives" may occur in "variants."

As the boundaries of a social category became less clear, it would seem that the number of permissible

pockets, being now, although a less advanced development than both the rest of the coat.

Another sign of a current whose parts are quite the same type of development is in Figure 8. Here the cuff is much larger along the line of development of cuffs, are the other part in the line of their development.

Perhaps the two interesting examples illustrate the fact that a movement, if it is, let us say, an older pull, a still other style, and a very new position for the pocket. If this has been made clear, one can easily see the variations in the degree of development exhibited by any one court costume by any collection of court costumes, even though all were worn at the same time by members of the same social category.

It may be answered that the anomalies of the chemise in the court costume was shared in common by all in the court circle. The fact that there was no uniformity of court costume beyond that of correspondence to a generalized type indicates quite well, alternatives might be chosen by members of the court circle. This court circle was a variant from French society, and the costume was a variant from French costume in general. Moreover, this study illustrates that "alternatives" may occur in "variants."

Again boundaries of the social category become less clear, it would seem that the number of permissible

alternatives increased. Figure 14a illustrates a costume worn by a member of an upper class, but not a member of the court circle. This costume has an upright collar, an advance over the lack of collar in Figure 11, and over the partial projection of the neckline in Figures 7 and 13. Also, the skirt in Figure 14a is less flaring in a manner comparable to the advanced skirt in Figure 15, but without a cut away, and is similar to the skirt of the redingote in Figure 12. On the other hand, the cuff of Figure 14a is large like the old cuff in Figure 8 and with full, straight lines like the cuff in Figure 12. In general, this coat shows mixed sequences and also shows influences of coats not in the series for the court circle and those of the upper classes who imitated the courtiers. It is conceivable that this represents the confused social position of its wearer.

B. GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT LINES OF HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT.

It seems advisable to state here that concepts of "alternatives" and "variants" do not contribute anything fundamentally new to anthropologic knowledge and theory. No one has said they do. Anthropologists have long been aware of the fact that most cultures contain several permissible and acceptable ways of doing things. This awareness could come to them from their knowledge of their own culture or through their experiences with informants in the field study

alternative emerged. Figure 16a illustrates a costume worn by a member of an upper class, but not a member of the court circle. This costume has an upright collar, an opening over the back of collar in Figure 11, and over the partial protection of the neckline in Figures 7 and 16. Also, the skirt in Figure 16a is less flaring in a manner comparable to the advanced skirt in Figure 7b, but without a cut out, and is similar to the skirt of the ladiques in Figure 9c. On the other hand, the cuff of Figure 16a is large like the cuff in Figures 8 and with full, straight lines like the cuff in Figure 9b. In general, this coat shows stylo sequences and also shows influences of course not in the series for the court circle and those of the upper classes who imitated the courtiers. It is conceivable that this represents the continued social position of its wearer.

B. GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT LEVEL OF HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT.

It seems evident to some that the concepts of "alternative" and "variant" represent some quite fundamentally new to anthropological knowledge and theory. No one has said they do. Anthropologists have long been aware of the fact that most cultures contain several permissible and acceptable ways of doing things. This awareness could come to them from their knowledge of their own culture or through their experiences with informants in the field study

of other cultures.

An ethnologist, even without a knowledge of a formulated theory of "alternatives," would probably have had the experience of having more than one of his informants tell him the "proper" way to do a certain thing. If the ethnologist had found that these informants differed in their concepts of what was proper, and if he accepted their honesty, he would, or should, have realized that each informant was expressing the attitude of the sub-group of the society to which he happened to belong, if not a personal choice. If, on further investigation, the ethnologist saw that these various "proper" ways existed together harmoniously in one society, he would have presented in his ethnography some examples of permissible alternatives even if he did not use that term.

Although the concept of alternatives did not present something new, its being formulated did remove any excuse for an anthropologist's overlooking alternatives when he studied a culture, and when he made generalizations about that culture. Since "culture" is an abstraction and a generalization, and since it is often more easily handled, to use Linton's terminology,[52] as a "culture construct" (which reduces a variety of data to modal generalizations)

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[52] R. Linton, The Cultural Background, pp. 43-7.

of other cultures.

An ethnologist, even without a knowledge of a formulated theory of "alternatives," would probably have had the experience of having some man out of the informants tell him the "proper" way to do a certain thing. If the ethnologist had found that these informants differed in their concepts of what was proper, and if he accepted their honesty, he would, no doubt, have realized that each informant was expressing the attitude of his sub-group of the society to which he happened to belong, if not a personal choice. If, on further investigation, the ethnologist saw that these various "proper" ways related together harmoniously in one society, he would have presented in his ethnography some example of potentiate alternatives even if he did not use that term.

Although the concept of alternatives did not present something new, its being formulated did remove any excuse for an ethnological relativism - alternatives when he studied a culture, [illegible] alternatives about that culture. Since "culture" is an abstraction and a generalization, and since it is often very easily handled, to use Kroeber's terminology, "as a 'mutual consonant' (which reduces a tendency to detail and generalization)

[illegible] Kroeber, The Culture Concept, pp. 50-7.

rather than as a "real culture" (which presents all the data from which the construct is abstracted), there is sometimes exhibited by anthropologists a tendency to generalize too freely. The weakness of this practice may be illustrated by material from the study of costume.

An observable line of change in a garment part for a certain period does not permit a generalization that "this is the way things will continue to go." Noticing the cuffs of Figures 1-14a, one might assume that the trend of cuffs was toward increasing enlargement. However, if he observed only the cuffs of Figures 15-27, he might assume that the trends of cuff development was toward smaller size and, perhaps, eventual disappearance. In both cases, he would be right for the limited time of his observation. However, his generalization would have to take into consideration more factors than just an observable trend if that generalization were to have any long term validity. In the case of increasing or decreasing size of the cuffs the principle of limited possibilities, to be discussed in more detail later, is involved as well as are alternatives.

On the other hand, variations of the cuff may not follow a sequential pattern. The cuffs in Figures 7 and 8 seem to represent alternative choices permissible in one period of time, and the same may be said for the cuffs in Figures 1 and 2. The skirts in Figures 7, 8, and 9 also

rather than as a "real culture" (which presents all the data from which the construct is abstracted), there is knowledge exhibited by anthropologists a tendency to generalize too freely. The weakness of this practice may be illustrated by material from his study of cowtown.

An observable line of change in a garment particular a certain period does not permit a generalization that this is the way things will continue to go. Considering the curve of figures 1-1a, one might assume that the trend of curls was toward increasing enlargement. However, if he observed only the curls of figures 1a-2V, he might assume that the trends of curl development was toward smaller size and, perhaps, eventual disappearance. In both cases, he would be right for the limited time of his observation. However, his generalization would have to take into consideration more factors than just an observable trend if that generalization were to have any long term validity. In the case of increasing or decreasing size of the curls the principle of limited possibility, to be discussed in more detail later, is involved as well as are alternatives.

On the other hand, variations of the curl may not follow a sequential pattern. The curls in figures 7 and 8 seem to represent alternative styles possible in one period of time, and the same may be said for the curls in figures 1 and 2. The styles in figures 7, 8, and 9 also

represent variations within one time period more than they represent variations over a period of time. These varying expressions of alternative choices must be taken into consideration whenever generalizations are made about the direction of future historic development, whether the subject is coat cuffs or the analysis of modern nations to see the trend in their actions, and attitudes (as, for instance, the efforts during the past war to see how the Japanese would react at some future time).[53]

C. THE UNIT OF CULTURE.

The reader may have noticed that the foregoing discussion of cultural alternatives drew its illustrative material from specific garment parts rather than from garments considered as wholes. The reason for illustrating with parts rather than with wholes was that the whole garment at any one time period was likely to consist of parts representing several time periods, some very advanced, some very retarded, some in between. Since "alternatives" are choices permissible in one period of time, the mixture of parts from several time periods in a whole garment made whole garments difficult to use as illustrations of cultural

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[53] See R. Benedict, The Chrysanthemum, p. 1; C. Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man, pp. 175-77; F. S. Hulse, "Technological Development," p. 128; A. H. Leighton, Human Relations, p. 171.

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The reader may have noticed that the foregoing discussion of cultural alternatives drew its illustrative material from specific garment parts rather than from garments considered as wholes. The reason for illustrating with parts rather than with wholes was that the whole garment at any one time period was likely to consist of parts representing several time periods, more or less mixed, some very recent, some in between. Since alternatives are choices available in one period of time, the mixture of parts from several time periods in a whole garment made whole garments difficult to use as illustrations of cultural

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[53] See E. Benedict, The Chrysanthemum, p. 11 f.; Kluckhohn, Mirror for Man, pp. 173-77; K. M. Dale, "Technological Development," p. 128; A. H. Leighton, Human Relations, p. 171.

alternatives.

Nevertheless, it has been seen that not only were there sequences of garment parts throughout the century but also there were generalized changes in the garment as a whole. The changes in the overall form of the coat was such that one would be unlikely to confuse the coat in Figure 1 with the coat in Figure 27. Therefore, the coat as a whole, as well as its parts, did change sequentially in time.

Furthermore, it was seen in Chapter II that the sequences for the changes in any one series of garment parts could often be worked out only if the element of the series was considered not only in its relation to other elements of that series but also in the light of its appearing on a specific garment which had already been given a tentative position in the sequences of other garment parts.

Since "alternatives" could best be illustrated by references to individual parts, but since parts could often be understood only if they were placed in their setting of the whole garment, the question arises as to what should be considered the unit of culture, the whole, or parts, or both?

Different anthropologists have referred to various kinds of "units" in their writings. For instance, Boas[54] wrote that he early in life was motivated by the appeal of a

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[54] F. Boas, "History and Science," p. 305.

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Different anthropologists have referred to various kinds of "units" in their writings. For instance, Boas[84] wrote that he early in life was motivated by the appeal of a

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[84] F. Boas, "History and Science," p. 608.

phenomenon that impressed him as a unit and that he therefore wanted to understand a complex phenomenon. Dixon,[55] in commenting on the significance of cultural "traits," observed that the anthropologist must study not only the present distribution of a trait but also its past history if he wishes to reach conclusions on diffusion and the growth of culture as a whole. Lowie[56] said that to obtain social correlations one must first define the "traits" involved. He went on to show that the fluid social conditions that prevail among most people make a definition of traits very difficult. Siegel[57] noted that cultural relativists accepted "all cultures as equally valid units for comparative study and for an understanding of how value systems operate."

The units for cultural study mentioned in the preceding paragraph range all the way from single traits, to traits considered in the light of history and distribution, to a complex phenomenon, to individual cultures.

In the present study of costume, it may be noted that changes in a particular part of a garment may have significance in themselves, apart from the changes in other parts. Thus, the appearance of side pleats in the skirt of Figure 4

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[55] R. B. Dixon, The Building of Cultures, p. 149.

[56] R. H. Lowie, Social Organization, pp. 37-45.

[57] B. J. Siegel, "Currents," pp. 203-04.

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In the present study of costume, it may be noted that changes in a particular part of a garment may have significance in themselves, apart from the changes in other parts. Thus, the appearance of side pleats in the skirt of figure 4

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[55] R. B. Dixon, The building of cultures, p. 139.

[56] R. H. Lowie, Social organization, pp. 97-98.

[57] A. L. Kroeber, "Surrender," pp. 202-04.

is better explained by reference to the sword and by the statement that side pleats permit the sword to be worn without its disturbing the lines of the skirt; but the appearance of many pleats in the skirt of Figure 6 may be explained by reference to pleats alone and by the explanation that this elaboration of pleats indicates a psychological tendency of the French courtiers to elaborate progressively a development once started.

Although at one time the waistcoat skirt changed in shape with the coat skirt, the fact that the waistcoat skirt eventually disappeared while the coat skirt did not shows that the skirts of both garments were separate units and that changes in one need not always be explained by changes in the other, although at times (as in the proportionate flare of the two skirts) the significance of the changes in one of the skirts could not be made clear without reference to the changes of the skirts of the other.

When the changes of the skirts of one garment could be explained only be referring to the changes in another garment, these skirts would be conceptually separable; but one who perceived their interdependence would better understand their changes. However, the flare of the waistcoat skirt was in no way connected with the development of lapels on the waistcoat. In this case, both skirts and lapels are units and even the fact that they are part of one whole

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garment does not serve to interconnect the changes in them.

At times, more than one garment or even more than the whole costume would have to be studied to understand the significance of a change in the part of any one garment. The loss of the waistcoat skirt could not be explained by a study of form alone. True, a study of form might indicate that there was a progressive shortening of the waistcoat skirt, which reached its upper limits at the waist. But this would not explain why the skirt did not then start to lengthen again, in the manner that cuffs changed first in one direction and then in the other.

The explanation of the fact that waistcoat skirts did not start to lengthen again can be found, however, in the use to which the garment was put. Formerly, the waistcoat was used as a garment to be worn under the coat, as an indoor coat, and as a night dress. After it was no longer used for the last two purposes and was used solely as an undergarment, its skirt served no purpose and it did not re-develop once it was lost.

In the same way, the substitution of pants (Figures 24 and 27) for <u>culottes</u> cannot be explained by the formal study of French <u>culottes</u>, but it can be explained by stating that the <u>culotte</u> had become a symbol of aristocracy. On the other hand, English costume was considered democratic because England at the time had had a republican political philosophy

garment does not serve as a framework for changes in shape.

At times, more than one garment or even more than one whole costume would have to be studied to understand the significance of a change in the part of any one garment. The loss of the waistcoat skirt could not be explained by a study of form alone. Here, a study of form would indicate that there was a progressive shortening of the waistcoat skirt, which reached its upper limits at the waist; but this would not explain why the skirt did not begin again to lengthen again, in the manner that it had changed first in one direction and then in the other.

The explanation of the fact that waistcoat skirts did not start to lengthen again can be found, however, in the use to which the garment was put. Formerly, the waistcoat was used as a garment to be worn under the coat, as an indoor coat, and as a night dress. Later it was no longer needed for the last two purposes and was used solely as an undergarment. The skirt served no purpose. It did not re-develop once it was lost.

In the same way, the substitution of pants (figures 24 and 27) for <u>culottes</u> cannot be explained by the formal study of French <u>culottes</u>, but it can be explained by stating that the <u>culottes</u> had become a symbol of aristocracy. On the other hand, English costume was democratized because English became as the time had had a republican political philosophy

which the French had borrowed. That is, the French associated English ideas with English costume. So, when France became republican in government, the French assumed the long pantaloons which had developed in England from short breeches. They also adopted long pants for wear by all classes because the French of the laboring classes had worn looser and longer pants and these pants therefore became symbols of the common man, who was considered the exemplary type during the time of triumph of republicanism.

It may be seen from the foregoing illustrations that attempts to specify that either the garment, its parts, or the garment or garment parts considered with such things as political philosophy, should be the unit of culture is satisfactory only when the one or the other has bearing upon the cultural considerations involved.

Instead of reaching an arbitrary decision that either a part, or a whole, is the unit of culture, one would do better to say that the cultural unit is that smallest item or group of items that has significance in the study being undertaken.

D. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONSIDERING CULTURAL CONTEXT.

Diffusionists have often been criticized for isolating traits of culture and studying them as isolates. It has been

which the French had borrowed. Thus is, the French associated English ideas with English costume. So, when France became republican in government, the French assumed elaborate pantaloons which had developed in the land side about Dunkirk. They also adopted long pants for wear by all classes because the French of the laboring classes had worn lesser and longer pants and these pants therefore became symbols of the common man, who was considered the exemplary type during the time of triumph of republicanism.

It may be seen from the foregoing illustrations that attempts to specify what either the garment, the pants, or the garment or pattern parts considered as such belong to political philosophy, should be the unit of culture is satisfactory only when the one or the other has bearing upon the cultural considerations involved.

Instead of regarding an isolated society, a class or a part, or a whole, as the unit of culture, one would be better to say that the cultural unit is that significant item or group of item a study has significance in the study being undertaken.

D. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL CONTEXT.

Diffusionists have often been criticized for isolating traits of culture and studying them as isolates. It has been

seen in this study that isolated traits may at times have significance. But this does not mean, of course, that a study of the changes in one isolated garment part might not often be better explained when those changes are considered against the background of the context of the whole culture.

The importance of considering context has been stressed again and again in anthropological literature. Context has often been referred to in two different ways. One view states that things should be studied in their historic context of time. The other view states that things should be studied in the cultural context of one period of time. The stressing of one view need not result in the exclusion of the other.

As examples of the value of temporal context, mention may be made of Kroeber's statement[58] that the majority of anthropologists, looking upon their discipline as an historical science, have, since 1890, felt that their cultural phenomena can be understood only in its historic context. Sapir[59] has written that the data of cultural anthropology cannot be understood in itself or in its interrelations except as end points of historic sequences. Both Kroeber and Sapir here emphasize the value of understanding data

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[58] A. L. Kroeber, Configurations, pp. 3-4.

[59] E. Sapir, Time Perspective, p. 1.

seen in this study that isolated traits may be given new significance. But this does not mean, of course, that a study of the changes in one isolated element might not often be better explained when these changes are considered against the background of the patterns of the whole culture.

The importance of considering context has been stressed again and again in anthropological literature. Context has often been referred to in two different ways, one view argues that traits should be studied in their diachronic context of time. The other view argues that synchronic should be studied in the cultural context of one period of time. The stressing of one view does not result in the exclusion of the other.

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[58] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 3-4.

[59] E. Sapir, Time Perspective, p. 1.

through knowing cultural antecedents.

As examples of the value of the context of one time period, mention may be made of Malinowski's stressing of the value of the "context of situation"[60] and Thomas's stressing of the value of "the definition of the situation."[61] Wissler has indirectly referred to a kind of context of situation by stating that "there seems to be a psychological cultural environment that is a factor of first importance" in explaining the origin of cultures.[62] Malinowski, Thomas, and Wissler here emphasize the value of understanding data by knowing cultural environment.

This paper indicates the importance of noting both kinds of contexts. The adoption of the lapel may be explained by its historic context as stemming from the idea suggested by the turned back coat closing in Figure 1 or the turned back waistcoat corners in Figure 19. However, the reasons for the adoption of the lapel are made still clearer when the context of situation is explained also. That is, the reasons are made clearer when it is realized that the English wore lapels and the French of the time were imitating the English in many ways, and also, due to the democratic

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[60] B. Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning," pp. 306-09.

[61] W. I. Thomas, Primitive Behavior, p. 8.

[62] C. Wissler, "The Psychological Aspects," p. 224.

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As examples of the value of the context of one time period, mention may be made of Malinowski's exploration of the value of the "context of situation"[80] and Thomas's elaboration of the value of "the definition of the situation."[81] Wissler has indirectly related to a kind of network of sites by stating that "there seems to be a psychological cultural environment that is a factor of first importance in evaluating the origin of culture."[82] Malinowski, Thomas, and Wissler here emphasize the value of understanding data by knowing cultural environment.

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[80] B. Malinowski, "The Problem of Meaning," pp. 306-307.

[81] W. I. Thomas, Primitive Behavior, p. 6.

[82] C. Wissler, "The Psychological Approach," p. 274.

ideals then prevailing, were trying to make the costume of the common man (who often wore open coat flaps) the approved costume for all.

E. THE INFLUENCE OF HISTORIC ACCIDENT.

The change from culottes to long pants did not result from a gradual change in the form of the French culotte. Instead, it resulted from changes in other parts of French culture. When "accident" has been defined, one may see that this change illustrates the nature of historic accident.

"Accident" has been defined by Beard and Hook.[63] They used "chance" and "accident" interchangeably. They have written that the clearest use of "chance" by historians is as an

> "unpredictable intersection of two series of events, only one of which is historical. . ./a chance event/ has historical effects but not historical causes, e.g., the tidal wave at Lisbon. . ."

However, they also stated that "from the point of view of the history of the American Indian culture, the coming of the white man would be a 'chance'. . .event."

Dixon[64] referred to an "accidental trait complex" as

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[63] C. A. Beard and S. Hook, "Problems of Terminology," S.S.R.C. Bull. 54, p. 116.

[64] R. B. Dixon, op. cit., p. 156.

ideals then prevailing, were leaving to wake the sensibilities of the common man (who often wore open coat flaps) the preferred costume for all.

E. THE INFLUENCE OF HISTORIC ACCIDENTS

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[63] C. A. Boas and E. Nagel, "Problems of Terminology," S.S.R.C. Bull. 54, p. 116.

[64] R. B. Dixon, op. cit., 1928.

one that results from an association of certain traits at some particular time and place as the result of an accident of history.

Goldenweiser[65] noted that the accidental and the deterministic appear together inseparably in historic processes.

Linton,[66] in discussing the appearance and acceptance of inventions, stated that in explaining the development of cultures the phrase "historic accident" serves to lull the curiosity but not to explain the development. It appears that such development, to him, is largely to be understood through a psychologic approach. He conjectured that cultural development would no longer appear accidental once one understood the "personality norm" of a society. He believed that this norm might be understood through studying many societies and cultures with the aid of techniques developed by personality psychology.

Kluckhohn[67] stated that accident represents one of the divergent aspects of phenomena in culture change, as opposed to convergent aspects. He went on to state that

> "the course of history of various societies was unmistakably different because at a crucial period there

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[65] A. Goldenweiser, History, p. 31.

[66] R. Linton, op. cit., p. xv.

[67] C. Kluckhohn, "The Personal Document," pp. 137, 140-42.

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Linton,[66] in discussing the appearance and acceptance of inventions, stated that in explaining the development of culture the phrase "historic accident" serves to fill the curiosity and not to explain the development. It happens that a cult development, to him, is felt only to be understood through a psychological approach. He concludes that cult development would no longer appear accidental once one understood the "personality norm" of a society. He believed that this norm might be understood through studying a society and culture with the aid of secondhand material by personality psychology.

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[65] A. Goldenweiser, History, p. 71.

[66] R. Linton, op. cit., p. xv.

[67] C. Kluckhohn, "The Personal Document", pp. 157, 160-

'just happened' to be a leader of unusual capacity or foresight."

He added that

". . .occasional persons are able to organize and direct social trends in ways which are by no means wholly determined by preexistent cultural patterns. Anthropologists have seldom faced this fact which is so disturbing to some of their calculations."

He attributed this situation to Western science's abhorring chance in the last two centuries. While not denying the influence of culture, he felt the existence and qualities of some people (such as Juan Pistola) seem to make the difference between the reactions of their society and other societies in times of crisis. He defined accidental as "not foreordained by the cultural pattern of social interrelations."

How does the study of costume illustrate these views? The components of formal costume (coat, waistcoat, and breeches) were obviously the result of an "accidental trait complex" resulting from past associations. There was nothing inherent in this complex, for formal costume eventually came to consist of cutaway, vest, and pants (Figure 27).

Explaining the change from culotte to breeches as the result of accident would, as Linton said, explain nothing. Explaining it as an impact of the "universe" of political thought on the "universe" of costume would be more meaningful.

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How does the study of costume illustrate these views? The components of formal costume (gown, petticoat, and dressers) were dictated by the result of an "accidental trait complex" resulting in a past revolution. There was nothing inherent in this complex, for formal costume eventually came to consist of corsets, gown, and pants (Alpers 57).

Explaining the change from culottes to dressers as the result of accident would, as Alpers said, explain nothing. Explaining it as an image of the "universe" of political thought on the "universe" of costume would be more meaning ful.

It would be conceivable that the buttoned ends of the French culotte could, in time, have moved down the leg (as did happen to English breeches). However, this change might have been a gradual one, with transitional steps from knee to ankle. One could not foresee from studying the apparent line of changes in the culotte that Frenchmen would adopt pants very quickly.

Yet the influence of the impact of the "universe" of political ideology upon the "universe" of costume is apparent. The French did adopt pants quickly, even if only temporarily, in the Jacobin Period. The change came from without the historically indicated line of change in the culotte and had the nature of an historic accident. Even though this change had aspects of the accidental, the way for it had been paved by adopting other things from English costume, as the redingote. It has been said that the redingote may have had something to do with the accelerated development of the nascent idea of the collar expressed in such French coats as those in Figures 7 and 13. The adoption of lapels may have been influenced by the knowledge that lapels were being developed in other European countries. So, the adoption of long pants was not the first example of the influence of English on French costume. Nor was it the first example of the influence of the attire of the lower classes on formal wear. The lapel of the formal costume was

It would be conceivable that the business man of the Tudor *culotte* could, in time, have moved from the *jupe* (as it happen to English breeches). However, this change might have been a gradual one, with transitional shape (pun intended) in mind. One could not foresee from reading the Tudor line of changes in the *culotte* that Frenchmen would adopt pants, very suddenly.

Let the influence of the impact of the "universal" or political ideology upon the "universe" or economic is apparent. The French did adopt pants suddenly, even if only temporarily, in the Jacobin period. The change came from without the historically indicated line of change in the *culotte* and had the nature of an historic accident. Even though this change had opposite of the accidental, the way for it had been paved by adopting certain features from English costume, as the redingote. It has been said that the redingote may have had something to do with the economical development of the culotte, as of the coatier expressed in such French expressions as redingote and it. The adoption of Tudor dress may have been influenced by the knowledge that Japan were paid as tribute in other European countries. So, the adoption of long pants was not the first example of the influence of English on French costume. Nor was it the first example of the influence of the styles of the lower classes on fashion trends. The model of a formal coat

probably influenced by the flaps of the workingman's coat. The pants of the formal costume were probably influenced by the loose breeches of French workingmen.

As Goldenweiser said, the accidental and the deterministic appear together inseparably, and this is illustrated in our study of changes of costume. The impact of two "universes" might spring from factors outside the line of historic development of either universe, but the reaction to the impact would be influenced by the pre-existent cultural situation.

The adoption of the new form of breeches would seem to have been influenced by the previously existing forms and structures, somewhat as the development of the styles of Plains Indian moccasin decoration was "due to the structural type of the original moccasin" upon which a style appeared.[68]

Among the structural influences, one may note that the new pantaloons enclosed the legs in a cylinder of cloth in the manner of the culotte. The French Revolutionists did not adopt an altogether radical garment for the lower part of the body, even though these revolutionists were considered very radical. It seems doubtful, for example, that they would have adopted the type of garment worn by the aboriginal male Pueblo Indians even if they had known fully of the

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[68] C. Wissler, "Structural Basis," p. 111.

probably influenced by the image of the workingman's coat. The pants of the formal costume were probably influenced by the loose breeches of French workmen.[98]

As mollenhauer said, the "identity and the governing ratio appear frequently in architecture in the vicinity of our study of transparency perhaps. The fact of two "universes" might spring from factors ranging from the idea of historic revival or of urban universes, but the question is the impact could be influenced by the pre-existent cultural situation.

The adoption of the new form of bread-box would seem to have been influenced by the previously existing forms and structures, concerning the development of the style of Italian Indian modernism generally due to the particular type of the original "models" upon which a style appeared.

Among the admirable features, one has note that the new pentalpha produced the lack in a variance of cloth in the manner of the [illegible] Indian Modernism did not adopt an elaborate [illegible] of the body, even though these [illegible] were considered very radical. It is some possible [illegible] that they would have adopted the type of [illegible] the conditional male public nudism even if they had known fully of the

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[98] O. Mizler, "Personal Basis", p. 111.

democratic aspects of Pueblo government. Nor, in spite of their knowledge of the Greek and Roman democracies, did they adopt the wrap-around garment of these peoples. Despite the fact that the French Revolution and the changes it produced could not have been foreseen by a study of the historic development of costume, the reactions in costume to the revolution were conditioned by the culturally determined pre-existent forms of garments.

It would seem that, although the impact of two universes is not "foreordained by the cultural pattern" the effects of such an impact were canalized, at least in part, by that pattern.

F. THE THEORY OF LIMITED POSSIBILITIES.

Goldenweiser's theory of limited possibilities and his associated theory of involution may be used in explaining the limits of the observed changes in coats and waistcoats. The theory of limited possibilities[69] stated that variety in culture is checked by the possible variations that might be made of a given cultural form. The theory of involution[70] presented a specialized kind of limited possibilities.

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[69] A. Goldenweiser, "The Principle of Limited Possibilities," pp. 274, 278; History, p. 20.

[70] A. Goldenweiser, "Loose Ends," pp. 243-45.

democratic aspects of Jacobin government. Yet, in spite of their knowledge of the dangers and risks involved, and they adopt the wrong-headed patterns of these analyses. Despite the fact that the French Revolution and its consequences could not have been foreseen by a study of the internal development of societies, the reaction induced by the revolution were conditioned by the culturally determined pre-existent forms of government.

It would seem that, although the impact of the universe is not "predetermined by the cultural pattern" the effects of such an impact were mediated, at least in part, by that pattern.

V. THE THEORY OF LIMITED POSSIBILITIES.

Goldenweiser's theory of limited possibilities, or his associated theory of Involution, has been used to explain the limits of the observed changes in culture and institutions. The theory of limited possibilities[69] states that the culture of a given culture is made of a given culture. The theory of involution presumed a specialized kind of limited possibilities.

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69 . Goldenweiser, "The Principle of Limited Possibilities," Op. Cit. 1936, Kroeber, p. 80.

70 . Goldenweiser, "Loose Ends," Op. Cit. 40.

According to this theory a cultural pattern provides a limited frame for change. When development occurs within the framework of a pattern, involution may be said to take place.

A skirt of a coat can get no longer than the distance from a man's waist to the ground unless it stops being a skirt and becomes a train. Or, on the other hand, the skirt of the waistcoat cannot recede any higher than the waist, for any further recession would be that of the body of the waistcoat. Of course, the position of the waist may be either physically or culturally defined and the exact point at which the skirt ends and the train begins may vary with changing cultural attitudes. Another example may help to clarify the point. Sleeve ends may be open or closed, cuffed or uncuffed, but that is about all.

Other limited possibilities in garment form could be mentioned, but perhaps the point is clear that some of the limited possibilities are prescribed by the shape and size of the human male body, by the cultural conventions of a society, and by the limited number of variations conceivable for any one garment part.

The involution of form and decoration may be illustrated by the fact that all the variations occurred within the conventionalized concepts of a coat's opening in the front (instead of being a pullover), by the potentialities

According to this theory a cultural pattern provides a limited frame for change. Even development occurs within the framework of a pattern. Involution may be said to take place.

A skirt or a vest can get no longer without the change from a man's waist to the second which is more being a skirt and becomes a kilt. Or, on the other hand, the skirt of the waistcoat cannot expand any higher than the waist, for any further expansion would be part of the coat of the waistcoat. Of course, the position of the waist may be either physically or culturally defined. The exact point at which the skirt ends and the waistcoat begins may vary with changing cultural attitudes. Another example may help to clarify the point. Sleeve openings may be open or closed, cuffed or uncuffed, but that is about all.

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The involution of form and ornamentation may be illustrated by the fact that all the variations occurred with the conventionalized coat-of-a-man's-vest-and-trousers front (instead of being a pullover), by the peculiarities

of the types of culturally selected fabrics used (silks, satins, velvets, and cotton), and by the cut of the material. Occasionally, however, a change might go beyond the range of the conventionalized boundaries. For instance, when the English jockey-type boot was developed, breeches in England were taken beyond the customary lower limit of just below the knee and were made to reach the boot top. So breeches changed from a culotte-type to a pantaloon-type. But as long as involution occurs, there is reinterpretation of customary motifs within the limits permitted by the motifs.

This study further indicates that involution of pattern could exert influences even where that pattern was generalized rather than specific in nature. For instance, the choice of color for the costume was apparently an individual one, but the color chosen was usually vivid.

G. THE THEORY OF CYCLICAL MOVEMENTS IN CULTURE.

It would seem that much of the cyclical nature of the costume changes here shown could be explained by considering limited possibilities and involution.

Kroeber has discussed cyclical movements. He has recognized that limitations of patternplay an influential part in limiting the development of culture.[71] He has also

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[71] A. L. Kroeber, op. cit., p. 840.

of the types of materials selected (white satin, satine, velvets, and cotton) and by the cut of the material. Occasionally, however, a change might go beyond the range of the conventionalized symbols. For instance, when the English jockey-type boot was developed, breeches in vogue were taken beyond the customary lower limits to just below the knee and were made to resemble the boot top. So breeches changed from a culotte-type to a pantaloon-type. But the long as involution occurs, there is reinterpretation of customary motifs within the limits permitted by the motif.

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distinguished between a cycle and a growth. The latter he considers to be a development and fulfillment of a definite pattern, while the former is considered to be a wave or pulse within the cultural growth.

The cycle is represented by periodic development and periodic suspension of growth, according to Kroeber. He stated that, in 1944, he avoided the word "cycle" because of the implications attached to it.[72] However, in an earlier work, published in 1940, Richardson and Kroeber[73] had pointed to periodic recurrences of two kinds of silhouettes in women's dresses over a period of three centuries. They noted that these recurrences were within the limits of a basic pattern. (One may also note that limitations of a physical nature were involved.) In a still earlier article, published in 1919, Kroeber,[74] on the basis of data derived from a study of changes in fashion of women's dresses, noted that "regularity in social change is the primary inference from our phenomena. The amplitude of the periodicities is of hardly less importance."

The present study of costume indicates that during the eighteenth century the skirts of the coat went from more natural lines to flaring lines with stiffening and then back

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[72] Ibid., p. 27.

[73] J. Richardson and A. L. Kroeber, "Three Centuries," p. 148.

[74] A. L. Kroeber, "On the Principle of Order," p. 260.

distinguished between a cycle and a growth, the latter be considered to be a development and fulfillment of a definite pattern, while the former is considered to be merely a change within the cultural growth.

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The present study of costume indicates that during the eighteenth century the waist of the coat went from more natural lines to flowing lines with stiffening and then back

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[72] Ibid., p. 87.

[73] A. L. Kroeber and A. L. Richards, "Three Centuries," p. 148.

[74] A. L. Kroeber, "On the Plane of Growth," p. 690.

again. Although conceivably the coats could have flared to even a greater degree, comparable to the flare in women's hoop skirts, they could not easily have gone beyond that (or even that far) if mobility were not to be hampered dangerously. It will be remembered that Frenchmen of the court circle included officers of the army and navy, swordsmen, hunters, etc., and that these active people often used their costumes for more than clothing them only while they walked through the rooms of Versailles.

The seemingly cyclical nature of cultural changes in costume forms is thus related to physical and cultural limitations and to involuted change within these limitations.

H. CAUSALITY IN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

It has been seen that during the eighteenth century parts of garments worn by French upper class males changed their forms in various ways. Attention has been paid to the way the various parts changed or did not change. The overall purpose of the paper has been to discover what changes took place in French costume, and then to discover what processes of cultural development are exemplified by these changes. The word "development" is used here to include both change within a conventionalized pattern (which is akin to a stability of basic items) and change that goes beyond the basic patterns in at least some respects.

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The changes of the garment forms from Figure 1 through Figure 13 may thus be said to indicate more stability than radical variation. The changes after Figure 13 still indicate the influences of the basic pattern for costume form, but they are also indicative of increasingly rapid change, or instability.

If this study has shown how one change in form suggested the idea that produced another change, and if it has shown some of the cultural implications of these forms and changes, it has achieved a worthwhile goal. It is believed that this goal has been reached to some degree. This, however, does not imply that the present study contains all the answers to what we would like to know about changes in material forms. Among the unanswered questions is that of what are the fundamental causes of the changes which have been described. However, the study does give some indications as to the nature of the "causes" involved.

Steward has objected to what he considers to be a hesitancy on the part of some anthropologists to come to grips with causality. He has pointed out that regularities may be valid even though they are not absolutes and universals.[75] These valid regularities would apparently meet a

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"present need"[76] by offering "a conception of culture and methodology for formulating the regularities of cultural data which are consistent with scientific purpose."[77] The formulation of these regularities

> ". . .will enable us to state new kinds of problems and to direct attention to new kinds of data which have been slighted in the past. . .facts exist only as they are related to theories, and theories are not destroyed by facts--they are replaced by new theories which better explain the facts."[78]

It is believed in this present article on costume that all studies of culture should have as their goals either an explanation of cause and effect by a development of the theoretical implications of the facts or else they should attempt to offer data, which, when made more complete at perhaps a later time, could be used in making formulations.

Steward has said that "insights into causes are deeper when the interrelationships of historical phenomena are analyzed functionally."[79] It has been shown in this study that there were interrelationships of coat cuff and waistcoat

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[76] Ibid., p. 2.

[77] Ibid., p. 24.

[78] Ibid., p. 25.

[79] Ibid., p. 3.

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Kroeber has said that "Unlike time courses are devoid when the interrelationships of interrelated phenomena are analyzed functionally."[79] It has been shown in this study that there are interrelationships of cost-cost and welfare-cost

76 Ibid., p. 2.

77 Ibid., p. 24.

78 Ibid., p. 20.

79 Ibid., p. 2.

cuff, and of coat skirt and waistcoat skirt. Changes in the coat skirt may have been more instrumental in producing the effect of changes in the waistcoat skirt than were changes in other parts of either garment. So some events are more like causes than are others.

When changes in a part of one garment are interrelated with changes in a part of another, there would seem to be a functional relationship between the two. Does a functional analysis of this interrelationship give a better explanation of cause and effect than would merely a noting of the facts of the interrelated changes?

It will be remembered that the waistcoat sleeve disappeared, as did its skirt, thereby ceasing to be interrelated with anything. Now, Steward's statement was that "so long as a cultural law formulates recurrences of similar interrelationships of phenomena, it expresses cause and effect. . ."[80] If one phenomenon in its changes "caused" interrelated changes in another phenomenon, could either of the phenomenon cease to exist while the other survived? If a coat skirt of the early eighteenth century "caused," by its changing form, changes in a waistcoat skirt, wouldn't there have to be a waistcoat skirt so long as there was a coat skirt? In other words, does analyzing interrelationships

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[80] Ibid., p. 5.

gulf, and of local shifts and maldistribution. Changes in the coast shelf may have been more instrumental in producing the effect of changes in the adjacent shelf than were changes in other parts of either product. So some events are more like causes than are others.

When changes in a part of one product are interrelated with changes in a part of another, there would seem to be a functional relationship between the two. Does a functional analysis of data interrelationally give a better explanation of cause and effect than would merely a notice of the fact of the interrelated changes?

It will be remembered that the velocities above disappeared, as did the shift, thereby causing to be interrelated with survival. But, Stevens's statement was that "so long as a natural law relates temporaneous or similar interrelationships of phenomena, it expresses cause and effect. . ."[80] If one phenomenon in its change "caused" interrelated changes in another phenomenon, could either of the phenomena cease to exist while the other survives? If a coast shelf could [illegible] changes which "caused," by its changing form, energy in a product, would it then have to be maintained alive as long as there was a coast shelf? In other words, does analysis interrelationally

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[80] Ibid., p. 5.

necessarily give insight into causes?

Steward's formulations in the article here quoted pertained to the development of certain early civilizations. They applied to conditions which no longer exist, unless possibly in a changed form in China.[81] Therefore, since the conditions creating the regularities are no more, have the formulated regularities of interrelationships ceased also? If so, does his formulation of a past regularity help us to meet a present cultural need? Does his formulation direct our attention to data formerly slighted?

It would seem that, if the laws are no longer operating, due to their causal conditions having disappeared, the significant matters for present study in the cultures with which Steward was concerned would be the historic meaning of the data, the facts, of those now-gone cultures which either still exist or which contributed to molding the conditions of the present. This is the kind of data often studied by diffusionists. So Steward's formulations, if valid, would seem to be significant mainly because they would help us to understand the past history of the facts which still survive. The formulations themselves would not meet a present need of a theoretical nature; they would not explain the regularities of present cultural data. They

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[81] Ibid., pp. 21-2.

necessarily also instant data because?

Steward's formulations in the article have quoted pertained to the development of certain early civilizations. They applied to conditions which no longer exist, unless possibly in a changed form as China.[61] Therefore, since the conditions operative in modern times are so much have the formulated regularities or interrelationships ceased also? If so, does his formulation of a past regularity help us to meet a present cultural need? Does his interpretation direct our attention to data formerly neglected?

It would seem that, if the laws are no longer operating, due to quite unusual conditions having transpired, the significant matters for present study in the cultures with which Steward was concerned would be the historic meaning of the data, the traits, of those nonexpanding cultures which either still exist or which contributed to making the conditions of the present. This is the kind of data often studied by culturologists. Relative to formulations, it would, more so than in the past, appear rather tenuous they would help us to understand the past history of the traits which still survive. The formulations themselves don't meet a present need of a theoretical nature; they would not explain the regularities of present cultural data.

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[61] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

would be of present use only in that they help explain the present data, which still needs to be generalized upon. The purpose of this paper is to examine generalizations with present applicability, so let us return to the subject in hand.

Is there justification for saying that the regular interrelationships once existing between coat skirt and waistcoat skirt indicate cause and effect? And if they do, wouldn't it be difficult to see which was which? Perhaps it would be better to follow Boas's example and see all historic phenomena as partly cause and partly effect.[82]

Furthermore, if it could be demonstrated that interrelationships ever ceased to exist, perhaps it would be better to follow Kluckhohn's advice and to say that they once expressed "mutual dependence" or "conditioning."[83] It seems best, therefore, to use the term "cause" sparingly.

I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The foregoing study of changes in the French male costume of the court circles of eighteenth century France has attempted to present an historical reconstruction of these changes. The reconstruction was first accomplished by

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[82] F. Boas, "The Methods of Ethnology," p. 285.

[83] C. Kluckhohn, "Reflections on the Kulturkreislehre," p. 171, fn. 40.

would be of present use only in that they help explain the present data, which still needs to be generalized upon. The purpose of this paper is to examine generalizations with present applicability, so let us return to our subject in mind.

Is there justification for saying that the regular interrelationship once existing between most entire and relatedness exists implicate cause and effect? And if they do, wouldn't it be difficult to see which was which? Perhaps it would be better to follow Rosie's example and use all historic phenomena as purely cause and partly effect.[2]

Furthermore, if it could be demonstrated that interrelationships even ceased to exist, perhaps it would be better to follow Kluckhohn's advice and to say that they once experienced "mutual dependence and conditioning."[3] It seems best, therefore, to use the term "cause" loosely.

I. SUMMARY OF WORKING

The long-term study of emergency-room nurses nostume of the work duties of attendent nurses, demonstrated to present and recent reorganization of these changes. The reorganization was first accomplished by

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[2] F. Boas, "The Methods of Ethnology," p. 633.

[3] C. Kluckhohn, "Reflections on the Anthropological Study of Man," p. 1111, fn. 6.

studying material form alone. The reliability of this reconstruction was then checked by references to documentary material.

It has been shown that this type of reconstruction may be reliable. It has been further shown that this type of reconstruction may have implications for generalized anthropological theories about cultural processes. The present study indicates that a culture may have permissible alternatives and variants, and that alternatives may exist within the variants themselves. It indicates that generalizations about historic trends must be based upon more than merely observing accurately the trends of a particular period of time. It indicates that the unit of culture is that smallest trait or complex which has significance for the problems involved in the particular study being undertaken. It indicates that items of culture may at times have significance without considering the whole context to which they belong, but that they usually have more significance when studied in at least a partial context. It indicates that the anthropologist, when he encounters historic accident, should concentrate more upon the reactions to the accident than upon the accident itself. It indicates that much of historic change and much of the cyclical nature of cultural development may be explained as demonstrations of the selection of the alternatives that are possible within the prescriptions

studying material items alone. The reliability of this reconstruction was then checked by references to nonmaterial material.

It has been shown that this type of reconstruction may be reliable. It has been further shown that this type of reconstruction may have implications for generalized culture-ological theories about cultural processes. The present study indicates that a culture may have particular alterna-tives and variants, and that alternatives may exist within the variants themselves. It indicates that generalizations about historic trends must be based upon more than merely observing secondarily the trends of a particular period of time. It indicates that the unit of analysis in diachronic trait or complex units has significance for the problems involved in the particular study being undertaken. It indi-cates that items of culture may at times have significance without considering the whole complex to which they belong, but that they usually have more significance when studied at least a partial context. It indicates that the culture-ological, when he encounters historic evidence, should concentrate more upon the relations of the material item upon the material itself. It indicates that such relations change and much of the cultural nature of cultural develop-ment can be explained as combinations of the selection of the alternatives that are possible within the presuppositions

of physical and cultural limitations. And the study indicates that the anthropologist should apply the term "cause" only with great care.

It seems justifiable to state, in conclusion, that historical reconstructions of particular situations and particular changes in time can contribute sufficiently to insight into culture to warrant their being undertaken.

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