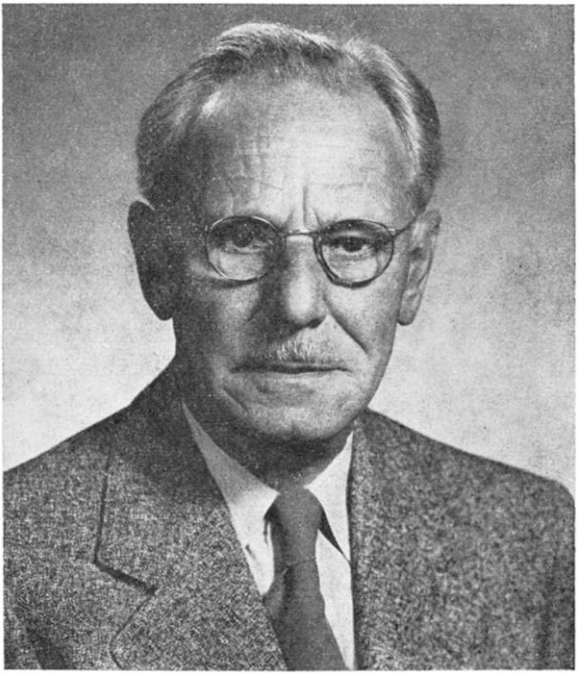

LESLIE SPIER
1893–1961

INTRODUCTION

LESLIE SPIER was born in New York City, December 13, 1893, one of four children of Simon P. Spier and Bertha Adler Spier. His formative years were spent in this urban environment. Like many other anthropologists of that period, his undergraduate training was in an area other than anthropology. He received a Bachelor of Science degree in engineering from the College of the City of New York in 1915. By this time his interest in anthropology had already developed, and he entered Columbia University to study under Boas, completing his doctorate in 1920.

His career as a professional anthropologist, however, antedated either degree. While his first position was that of Junior Engineering Assistant to the Public Service Commission of the State of New York, which he held from 1912 to 1914, he was assigned in 1913 to the New Jersey Archaeological and Geological Survey as Assistant Anthropologist. These researches in archaeology and subsequent ones during 1914 and 1915 in New Jersey, Delaware, and New York resulted in a series of papers on eastern archaeology, the most famous of which, on the Trenton Argillite Culture, appeared in 1918.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This obituary was assigned shortly after Dr. Spier's death. The present authors—Harry Basehart and W. W. Hill are not responsible for the long delay.

From 1916–1920, while still a graduate student, he served as Assistant Anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History. This appointment was to be crucial in determining Spier's eventual interest in the field of anthropology. In the early portion of this interval he remained primarily concerned with archaeology and with problems of physical anthropology. However, as time went on he turned more and more to ethnology; when he completed his Ph.D. in 1920 he was thoroughly committed to this area where he was to make his major contributions. However, his interest in the entire field of anthropology continued and was abundantly demonstrated by his later publications, editorial contributions, and teaching.

Teaching Career

A not inconsiderable influence of Leslie Spier on the general field of anthropology derived from his teaching. His teaching career began in 1920 and continued until his retirement in 1955. His influence upon students was considerably enhanced by his association with a number of institutions throughout his lifetime. While his tenure was longest at the University of Washington (1920–1929), Yale University (1933–1939), and the University of New Mexico (1939–1955), he also taught at the University of Oklahoma (1927–1929), University of Chicago (1928 and 1930), and Harvard University (1939 and 1949). He taught summer sessions at Columbia University (1921, 1923, 1925 and 1932) and at the University of California (Berkeley, 1924, 1925, 1927, 1932, 1933, 1948; Los Angeles, 1947). He was Research Associate at Yale University (1932–1933) and the University of California (1960–1961). In addition, he was a member of the University of New Mexico Field Session staff at Chaco Canyon (1936, 1937, 1939 and 1941) and he directed the Laboratory of Anthropology Field Training programs among the Okanagon (1930) and Modoc (1934).

Few individuals have brought a richer or more diversified background to the classroom. Several factors serve to explain the broad range of his knowledge. Growing up as he did with American anthropology, he sought opportunities to study and do research in the various branches that later became separate specialties. His prodigious editorial work kept him abreast on any and all subjects. His knowledge of world ethnology was phenomenal.

His favorite courses in ethnology included those on California, the Basin and Plateau, the Plains, Southwest, Old World, and, surprisingly enough, Africa. His courses were organized in terms of his methodological approach as exemplified in his publications, i.e., use of empirical data, concern with cultural distributions, emphasis on cultural history, and analysis of cultural processes and growth.

His breadth of interest was illustrated in a series of topical courses which included Anthropological Methods, Processes of Culture Change, Kinship, Survey of Current Anthropology, and Perspectives in Anthropology, the latter focusing on essential concepts of the nature of culture and racial relationships, with special reference to contemporary situations and problems.

Editorial Contributions

The field of anthropology owes Leslie Spier a tremendous debt for his contributions in the area of editorial work and in originating publication media. For a period of 36 years (1925–1961) a considerable portion of his energy was absorbed in these pursuits. His editorship covered a number of journals, monograph series, and special volumes: The University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 1925–1931; American Anthropologist and Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, 1934–1938; General Series in Anthropology, 1935–1961; Yale University Papers in Anthropology, 1936–1938; Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, 1938–1944; Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Honor of Edward Sapir, 1941; University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, 1944–1961; and the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 1944–1961. His editorial work was characterized by the meticulous attention to detail typical of his research.

He was an ardent advocate of recording the results of research for the benefit and use of scholars. That he succeeded in this ambition is manifested by the various publication media which he initiated: The University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, the General Series in Anthropology, the University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, and the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. He also played a major role in establishing the Yale University Publications in Anthropology and the Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund. While it is not generally known, it was his suggestion which led to the founding of American Antiquity.

Spier's dedication to the general field of anthropology was expressed with special clarity in his editorial activities. In the various Journals he edited, contributions representing the entire gamut of anthropological research were selected for publication. A significant symbol of his conviction of the essential unity of the discipline was his choice of the sub-title for the masthead of the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology: "Published . . . in the interest of general anthropology."

Field Research and Publications in Ethnology

The major portion of the data upon which Leslie Spier's ethnological contributions were based was derived from field investigation. From 1916 through 1935, Spier spent at least a part of nearly every year engaged in field research. Few individuals have worked with as many or as diverse American Indian cultures. These included: Zuni, 1916; Havasupai, 1918, 1919, 1921; Kiowa, Wichita, and Caddo, 1919; Diegueno, 1920; Salish, 1921–1923; Wishram, 1924–1925; Klamath, 1925, 1926, 1935; Maricopa, 1929–1932; Okanagon, 1930; Mohave, 1931–1932; Modoc, 1934.

Among his monographic contributions, the publication of Havasupai Ethnography in 1928 set a standard of thoroughness and meticulousness which served as a goal for later students. This was recognized at the time by Forde

(1930:556) who said, "Havasupai Ethnography is a model of field study and strengthens the high tradition of American ethnography." Service, who worked with the Havasupai 26 years later, reaffirmed Forde's evaluation, stating: ". . . Spier's ethnography is still accurately descriptive of the Havasupai, except for the few modern changes to be discussed in this paper. Aside from my interpretations as to the meaning of these more recent data, I have added nothing which was not already discussed by Spier in his monograph" (Service 1947:360). The same comments could be made of his subsequent reports, Klamath Ethnography (1930) and Yuman Tribes of the Gila River (1933).

Spier's monographs went beyond mere description. Most were rich in historical data, and they furnished historical perspective and important implications concerning diffusion and change. Some incorporated distributional and comparative sections. This was an essential part of Leslie Spier's approach: through limited comparisons he attempted to place a culture in the context of surrounding cultures. This procedure is best exemplified in Havasupai Ethnography, an incredibly detailed effort, and in Klamath Ethnography; but it is also present in Yuman Tribes and in a later paper, Cultural Relations of the Gila River and Lower Colorado Tribes (1936).

While Leslie Spier's monographic contributions were substantial, his legacy to the profession in the general area of ethnology was even greater. Viewed in terms of the anthropological climate of the time, the writings represented important advances in thought and methodology which were to have lasting effect.

DISTRIBUTIONAL AND HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE

Characteristic features of Spier's approach to the study of culture are best delineated by a review of certain of his empirical studies. There is, indeed, no other clear guide to his cultural perspective, as he was not addicted to theoretical pronouncements.

For heuristic purposes, it is useful to begin with a discussion of Spier's concern with cultural distributions and culture history. This early interest of the investigator is noteworthy on several counts: (1) it claimed his attention throughout his career as an indispensable background for understanding ethnologic problems; (2) it illustrated admirably the development of his thinking with respect to what constituted valid inferences from ethnological data. The following contributions are particularly illuminating: the Sun Dance monograph (1921), the paper outlining the cultural position of the Havasupai (1929b) and the Gila River and Lower Colorado tribes (1936), and the Prophet Dance monograph (1935).

The distribution of cultural phenomena fascinated Spier from the period of his earliest ethnographic studies. He viewed every culture as rooted in time, and consequently was disposed to value procedures which promised historical insight. To anthropologists of the time, the analysis of the areal distribution of cultural features appeared to offer a method for the study of culture history where historical records were lacking. Initially, Spier seized this possibility with some en-

thusiasm and, in the Sun Dance monograph, produced one of the most painstakingly documented historical reconstructions of the period. Of his many-sided contributions to anthropology, probably the trait distribution portion of this monograph has received the most attention. The historical reconstruction of the Sun Dance resulting from this (and supported by other, less frequently cited, analyses in the same monograph) was utilized by Wissler (1926:82–90) to document the age-area hypothesis, by Dixon (1928:167–176) in his critique of assumptions of uniformity of diffusion, by Clements (1931:211–227) and Kroeber and Driver (1932:226–236) in a revival of statistical procedures, and by Bennett (1944:162–181) to illustrate the development of ethnological theory.

The reconstruction of Sun Dance history was based upon the analysis of two types of data: (1) the distribution of "procedural" traits, that is, the variable series of activities and material items associated with the dance; (2) descriptive comparison of the organization of the dance specifying the individuals or social groups responsible for initiating the ceremony. The core of the historical portion of the monograph is found in the examination of those procedural elements which have discontinuous distributions among the tribes. In Spier's treatment these were the criterial features for history, as neither traits common to all tribes nor elements peculiar to particular tribes could provide guidelines for historical inferences.

The distribution of traits was depicted in a series of tables, in turn summarized in a tabulation of the number of traits each tribe shared with every other. As Spier indicated, the approach was a mechanical one, with no more weight assigned to major complexes than to minor traits. Nevertheless, the tabulation demonstrated that tribes of the central Plains (particularly Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala) had the greatest number of shared traits and comprised the probable center for diffusion.

To balance the counting of traits, Spier pursued the historical problem through a comparison of the mode of organization of the ceremony among various tribes. In these brief descriptive accounts the focus of interest was on the manner in which the dance was initiated and on the characteristics of the personnel who were required or permitted to participate. Analysis of the data yielded a classification based upon patterns of leadership: Spier emphasized the distinction between tribes which vested leadership in individuals and those where ceremonial control was allotted to fraternities. Distributional evidence indicated that individual leadership was the older pattern, typical of the culturally peripheral tribes, whereas fraternities were associated with central groups. Further, internal evidence suggested that individual organization was also a basic element in the fraternal type and supported the inference as to the temporal priority of the former. The analysis, as well, confirmed the historical conclusions which resulted from the trait distribution study.

But Spier was not content to rest his historical argument at this point. Believing that the evidence had not been exhausted, he raised questions as to the

original form of the dance and the sources from which particular tribes had borrowed the ceremony.

Delineation of the basic pattern of the performance rested upon the assessment of the importance of the torture feature as compared with the pole-enclosure complex. The distribution of the former trait, centering on the Dakota and Village tribes, did not coincide with the pattern for other Sun Dance traits and consequently was regarded as a secondary feature.

Comparisons of the form of the dances in conjunction with known or inferred historical relations, especially among the peripheral tribes, made it possible to assign sources for borrowing in the majority of cases. Spier argued that the tribes which showed no indications of borrowing were the most likely to have originated the ceremony; of these, evidence favored the Cheyenne and Arapaho as innovators.

In the years following the publication of the Sun Dance monograph Spier became increasingly distressed by his colleagues' use of distributional data for historical reconstruction (Spier, 1929a:140–145). Ultimately his views were expressed in one of his most outspoken papers—the analysis of the cultural position of the Havasupai—in which he sharply criticized both Kroeber's argument for the antiquity of girls' puberty rites in California and his own Sun Dance reconstruction (Spier, 1929b:213–222). He did not disavow culture history in principle, but advocated limited inferences of modest scope. A statement of distribution, he maintained, *was* a statement of culture history; for example, the continuous distribution of girls' rites in western North America answers ". . . the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites . . . What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom" (Spier 1929b:219).

Recognizing that such austere statements would have limited appeal to his colleagues, Spier suggested that legitimate culture history might take the form of statements which specified the original base from which a given culture had specialized. The assessment of the cultural position of the Havasupai furnished an illustration: the basic affiliation of this tribe was with an undifferentiated Great Basin culture, represented also in western Arizona by the Yavapai and Walapai. Against this background of shared traits the Havasupai developed agricultural specializations fostered by a fortunate ecological niche, as well as special ritual phrasings reflecting Navaho or Hopi contact.

The formulation of historical conclusions of restricted compass continued to be one focus of Spier's approach, as evidenced by his 1936 paper on cultural relations of the Gila and Colorado River tribes. Examining cultural distributions in this region, he offered a re-evaluation of Pima-Papago and Yuman connections, suggesting linkages between Piman culture and that of Yuman speakers, in opposition to previous hypotheses which allied the former with upland Arizona peoples.

The Prophet Dance monograph of 1935 further manifested Spier's mature reflections on culture history. With exemplary control of comparative ethno-

graphic and historical materials, he set himself the task of tracing antecedents of the Ghost Dance in an aboriginal complex of belief and practice in the Northwest which he dubbed the Prophet Dance. Demonstrating close parallels in the dogma of the two religious movements, Spier adduced evidence for the antiquity of the Prophet Dance in the Plateau and assessed the case for continuous distribution of the phenomena to the Paviotso region, reputedly the source of the Ghost Dance. The data indicated that the Paviotso were included in the area of probable diffusion of the aboriginal dance complex, which thus constituted the basic pattern for the later Ghost Dances.

The historical vicissitudes of the Prophet Dance were a subsidiary theme which engaged Spier's attention: he traced an early Christianized version of the dance to the influence of a small band of Catholic Iroquois living among the Flathead and showed that the Smohalla cult and Shaker church probably derived from older forms of belief and ritual typical of the area. The study attested the author's devoted attention to detail, scrupulous regard for evidence, and concern for the legitimacy of inferences from his sources.

CULTURE PROCESSES AND CULTURE GROWTH

Spier's initial interest in historical reconstruction and his later dissatisfaction with this mode of analysis appear to be products of his intense preoccupation with empirical phenomena. As he devoted himself to the understanding of the many-stranded texture of culture, he became convinced that the ethnologist could do justice to this intricate fabric through studying the processes of culture growth. But he was as opposed to generalizations on a grand scale with respect to these problems as he was to inferred histories of similar scope.

The problems and concepts which Spier found of interest, and which he had a part in formulating, were related to certain assumptions about the nature of culture shared by the majority of his contemporaries. As he remarked of the Havasupai:

> . . . a group are in all probability not the originators of more than a fraction of their culture . . . yet Havasupai culture is no more identical with that of their neighbors than the physiognomy of two individuals in a closely inbred group. Its individuality lies in the final form and combination with which they have stamped the common traits (1929b:220).

The investigation of culture growth, then, required analysis of shared cultural features and of the unique pattern developed by a culture in recasting these features. American anthropologists of the 20's and 30's felt that inquiries into processes of diffusion offered a solution to both aspects of this problem.

Again, the Sun Dance and Havasupai papers document Spier's procedures for the examination of problems of diffusion and culture growth. As in all of his work, the primary reference was to a specific body of data; in consequence it sometimes appeared that he was uninterested in general assertions of any kind. But while he was chary of generalization, the Sun Dance monograph contained a number of statements proposing or assessing concepts which arose in the context of the empirical materials.

Spier was impressed by the phenomenon of *leveling,* a notion which has received less attention than it deserves and which he used to describe the widespread uniformity in features of the Sun Dance throughout the Plains area. Particular tribes, he thought, developed specializations of their own, but over time these cultural peaks were reduced to a common plane by the constant process of cultural interchange in the region.

Emphasis on the concepts of assimilation and selectivity linked problems of diffusion with pattern integration. Spier noted, for example, that borrowing was neither random nor without change in the borrowed elements; selection had favored material objects and procedures, but these were then reorganized to fit with pre-existing patterns. Even more were foreign ideas reduced to the tribal patterns. Nonetheless, the determinants of selection in every instance were to be sought in "the specific conditions under which traits were transmitted, elaborated, and assimilated" (Spier 1921:511). Whether a trait, invented or borrowed, was accepted ("socialized") by the group could not be predicted: it was a function of the circumstances of a particular historical context.

The role of the innovator, as perceived through the Sun Dance materials, was a somewhat limited one. Cultural changes resulted from the activity of individuals, but the modifications they introduced were seldom profoundly creative. The innovator was constrained by the patterns of the culture he shared with his fellows. But this culturally determined brake on originality was a major asset in the "socialization" of innovations, facilitating the acceptance of novelties cast in a familiar idiom.

While stressing the point that specific historical features strongly condition culture growth, Spier isolated a different type of variable—the "center of interest" of a culture—as significantly influencing the process. Clearly anticipating the concept of "culture focus" stressed by Herskovits (1948:542–560), Spier considered the presence or absence of this factor as conditioning the extent of variation in the Sun Dance, and hence, its elaboration. The "centering of interest in the Sun Dance," he wrote, ". . . has undoubtedly been one of the potent factors in its growth" (Spier 1921:520).

The unique phrasing which a particular culture accorded its components in the course of culture growth received further attention in the Havasupai study. Here the concern was not with the delineation of a total culture pattern distinctive of the Havasupai but with the particular conditions which were responsible for individual patterns. Thus Havasupai women's dress represented the processes of "combination and duplication" which were to be expected in cultures located in an area of "mingled distributions." Male processing of skins, including the manufacture of clothing, illustrated the "transfer of a technique": the Pueblo pattern of men as clothing makers extended to a different material. The familiar process of assimilation to existing patterns explained the peculiar feature of individual ownership of fruit trees without regard to the ownership of the land on which they stood; Havasupai notions of ownership applied to the *produce* of a field rather than to the land itself (Spier 1929b:213–222).

For Spier, statements of the type illustrated above illuminated processes of culture growth and provided understanding of the individuality of a culture. They were typical of his approach to ethnology in their immediate linkage to particular empirical materials, the reference to cultural distribution, and the feeling for culture as a process fixed in time. Presumably the study of culture growth in the manner adumbrated in the Havasupai paper constituted Spier's prescription for a rigorous methodology in ethnology. Whether he intended ultimate cross-cultural comparison and generalization is not apparent from his statements, but the processes he found in Havasupai culture growth could hardly be without analogs elsewhere. By a kind of paradox, Spier's demonstration of the uniqueness of patterns peculiar to a culture opened a path (still relatively unexplored) toward the comparative analysis of patterns of culture growth.

KINSHIP STUDIES

Another interest which emerged early in Spier's career and continued to preoccupy him throughout his life was in the area of kinship. The seminal contribution of Lewis Henry Morgan in delineating the study of kinship terminology as a field of ethnologic inquiry made little impact on American scholars in the period following publication of the redoubtable *Systems* (Morgan 1871). Indeed, in deploring the "inadequate and conflicting data" at hand for a comparative investigation of Algonkian relationship terms, Spier attributed the paucity of information to the negative influence of *Systems,* which contained ". . . palpable errors, apparent contradictions, and frequent omissions, is presented in an atrocious form, such that it discouraged subsequent research in this field" (Spier 1915:603).

The 1915 paper, "Blackfoot Relationship Terms," initiated a program of comparative research which culminated in the publication of the monograph on kinship distributions in North America (Spier 1925:69–88). This latter study required the processing of an enormous volume of published and manuscript materials and resulted in a classification of terminological systems which for many years has been a standard reference for students of kinship. Spier described his procedures as empirical, and regarded the classification itself as representing differences at a descriptive rather than fundamental level. Thus, he did not employ identical differentiating criteria in defining the eight types of kinship terminologies recognized for the North American Indians. Nonetheless, in emphasizing the pattern of terms in Ego's generation, and particularly the designation of cross-cousins, he seized upon features which have proved to be of major utility for the development of kinship typology.

Among American scholars of their generation, Spier and Lowie were primarily responsible for maintaining a concern for problems of kinship. Spier's interests were primarily concentrated on the description and comparison of terminological patterns; with rare exceptions the systematic analysis of social organization did not appear to exercise his imagination. However, his ethnographic re-

ports testify to his familiarity with proposed linkages between kinship terms and features of social organization, though he usually confined himself to brief remarks noting the consistency or lack of consistency between the two patterns. He devoted little attention to the ramifications of kinship behavior, and was content with inquiries into the presence or absence of formal, stereotyped, kinship usages.

It is of interest that one of Spier's most uncharacteristic contributions involved a problem in the evolution of social organization; the brief, but incisive, "A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization" (1922:487–489). In this paper, which has been accorded considerable attention in the literature, he points out that accentuation of features present among the bilateral Havasupai (patrilocality and patrilineal inheritance), together with the extension of kin reckoning in the paternal line, could give rise to full-fledged patrilineal organization.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Spier's formative years under the tutelage of Boas left him with the strong conviction that anthropological inquiries must be guided by the canons of scientific method and the equally strong conviction that the understanding of culture depended upon an inquiry into its historical antecedents. From these perspectives follow his views on anthropology as a discipline and on the nature of culture.

The conception of scientific method fostered by Boas and Spier stressed rigorous empiricism, induction, objectivity, and extreme caution in interpretation. In this conception, theory was equated with an anthropological stance that conspicuously failed to exhibit these necessary characteristics of method; that, indeed, to Boas and Spier had made the field a secure refuge for all varieties of speculation buttressed by anthropological fact in the service of preconceived notions. The corrective for adventitious formulations consisted in first hand, disinterested inquiry yielding an accumulation of carefully attested facts. There was no pressing need for broad generalizations from these data; while in principle the possibility of developing laws of culture was not denied, the mandate was to gather data. Eventually, comparative studies might unveil uniformities in culture processes and growth.

The anthropological perspective Spier achieved from years of disciplined empirical research is expressed most clearly in the few occasional papers he was induced to prepare. One of the most important of these, "Some Aspects of the Nature of Culture," was presented as the First Annual Research lecture at the University of New Mexico in 1954 (Spier 1954:1–21). He took this opportunity to reflect upon "problems and fields of inquiry" in the study of culture; the lecture summarized his conception of the crucial aspects of culture, the vital core-concept of anthropology for Spier. This paper, taken with his tribute to Boas (1959:146–155)—in large part the central elements of the legacy ascribed to Boas apply as well to Spier—provide a charter for reviewing his assessment of the contributions of a half-century of anthropological research.

The solutions which Spier provided for three major problems molded his view of the nature of culture. Phrased as questions these problems were: (1) What is the role of the individual in culture? (2) What role can be assigned to directional as opposed to accidental factors in the development of culture? (3) What is the nature of cultural integration?

Spier was forcefully impressed by the overwhelming extent of the determination of human behavior by culture. As he remarked of Boas (Spier, 1959:146):

> . . . social tradition . . . was by far the more potent determinant of a man's thought and behavior. This was the compelling idea of his life's work: the complete molding of every human expression—inner thought and external behavior—by social conditioning.

The individual is not aware of this potent directive for behavior because it is largely "unformulated and unconscious," but it guides motor habits, influences physiological functions, invades the privacy of the human mind and informs " 'the stuff that dreams are made of' "; action and thought are controlled by unconscious directives, as in our own concern with time, while linguistic structures mold logical patterns and ideals (Spier 1954:3–7). Culture did not make the individual an automaton, however, as there was scope for imagination, ingenuity, and differences in interests and values. But Spier was only minimally concerned with defining the parameters of this individuality; on the one hand, he was convinced that, by and large, man was uninventive, with a "strong tendency to let precedents prevail" (1954:14) and, on the other, that analyses of the individual tended to be confounded with studies of personality, which were outside the proper province of anthropology. The attention of the investigator necessarily shifts from group to individual, but the object of inquiry is *"individuals as members of groups"* (1954:16, Italics ours). Thus we return again to the potency of cultural conditioning in structuring modes of individual behavior.

On the question of directional trends in culture, Spier's position was forthright; culture is historically determined, its content the product of the accretion of traits from elsewhere; no type of regular developmental sequence can be discerned. In a polemical formulation of this viewpoint, Spier emphasized the accidental character of the amalgam resulting from diffusion and given unity by "secondary reinterpretation":

> . . . the majority of anthropologists have come to view every culture as a congeries of disconnected traits, associated only by reason of a series of historic accidents, the elements being functionally unrelated, but believed to be related by the bearers of that culture because of the interpretation the traits have undergone (Spier 1931:455).

He concluded that "the known history of culture traits establishes the fact of their diversity of origins and directions of development" (Spier, 1931:457). This maximization of the rubrics of historic accident and secondary reinterpretation reduces culture to that "planless hodge-podge, that thing of shreds and patches" earlier conceptualized by Lowie (1920:441); indeed, culture in the sense of an integrated unity exists only in the interpretations and rationalizations of its participants.

There is as well an additional source of accident, of unpredictability, in cul-

tural development introduced by man's propensity, as an inquisitive primate, to indulge in playful activity and experimentation. This activity, surplus to the needs of biological adaptation, contributes to the internal elaboration of culture (Spier 1954:9), presumably in a manner analogous to the historical accidents that introduce external elements. But play itself, of course, is culturally conditioned; the innovations resulting from partly random behavior of this type should not be exaggerated.

The empiricism and caution typical of Spier's approach did not permit him to maintain the extremism of the shreds-and-patches view for long, although both external and internal varieties of accident continued to play a part in his thought. He reaffirmed his conviction that culture was historically determined, but also turned his attention to the problems of cultural integration and patterning which had engaged his interest in earlier empirical studies.

Integration and culture growth or elaboration were intimately intertwined in Spier's presentation of his views on patterning. He distinguished between a repetitive pattern which "makes for culture elaboration merely by the duplication of units" (1954:13), and association or assimilation patterns providing for the reworking and integration of foreign elements. Presumably, the analysis of these patterns relating to the internal and external problems of culture would lead to an understanding of principles of integration. However, Spier offered no explicit guide to the empirical use of the concepts; he turned instead to comments on contemporary proposals for dealing with them. He was never convinced of the utility of the concept of system as exemplified in the work of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, nor was he impressed by functionalist accounts of integration. Benedict's configurations, as well as other endeavors to characterize culture wholes by generalizations about the ethos of a people, were rejected as too subjective. Of these various approaches, in Spier's judgement only Opler's notion of themes was sufficiently objective to afford promise as a research tool in this difficult area of inquiry. What directions Spier's own investigations might have taken is problematic; perhaps a study of the relationship between conscious and unconscious factors in different segments of culture, which he suggested as a corrective to intuitive assessments of culturally determined personalities (1954:18–19).

In spite of reservations concerning contemporary methods of anthropological research (including skepticism as to the value of statistical analyses of culture) Spier concluded his research lecture on an optimistic note. Remarking on the feature of order in culture growth (order, "in the sense that new forms unfold from antecedent states without discontinuity,") he thought the anthropologist might permit himself modest predictions with respect to the form of new developments (Spier 1954:20). Further, the presence of a universal culture pattern in conjunction with culture areas provide bases for prediction where a spatial dimension is concerned, so that it might be possible to divine the content, form, and interrelationships for an undescribed group if knowledge of adjacent peoples is at hand.

In conclusion a note of the caution so typical of Spier's total approach to culture should be interjected. He wrote of Boas (1959:148):

> Whether universals could be phrased with respect to processes, forms, and interrelations (functions) was a matter to be approached with caution—and to the extent that we are likeminded, that caution, too, is a heritage.

PROFESSIONAL RECOGNITION

Leslie Spier was never a gregarious individual; he eschewed anthropological politics and publicity in general. In spite of this he continued to receive increasing recognition for his contributions from colleagues and from scholars in related fields. He was awarded the Cutting Travelling Fellowship by Columbia University in 1919 and a National Research Council Fellowship in 1923.

He became a member of the National Academy of Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society in 1946, a Fellow of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1953, of the California Academy of Science in 1955, and an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1960. He received the Townsend Harris Medal ("for notable achievement") in 1946 and the Viking Fund Medal and Award in 1960.

In addition to the above organizations, he was affiliated with a number of other learned societies. These included the American Anthropological Association of which he was president in 1943 and Editor of the American Anthropologist from 1934–38; the American Association for the Advancement of Science, where he served as vice-president (Section H) in 1943 and 1946; the Andean Institute; the Society for American Folklore; the National Research Council (Division of Anthropology and Psychology, 1934–1937); and Sigma Xi.

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NOTE

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