

OBITUARIES



Roy D'Andrade. (Photograph courtesy of Nina D'Andrade)

Roy Goodwin D'Andrade (1931–2016)

Roy D'Andrade, a cultural anthropologist, a founder of cognitive anthropology and cognitive science, and one of the leading scholars of his generation, died surrounded by family at his home in El Cerrito, California, on October 20, 2016. He was born in 1931 and raised in Metuchen, New Jersey. (He sometimes said that people born in New Jersey had a native commonsense that eluded many others.) After high school, he served in the US Army, a commitment of which he always remained proud. Roy went to college at the University of Connecticut, where he met Melford Spiro, who became first a mentor and then a lifetime colleague and friend. From the University of Connecticut, he went to Harvard's Department of Social Relations in 1957, where he worked with John Whiting and the large sociable team that surrounded Bea and John. There, Roy was part of a larger project investigating cross-sex identification. Some of the findings were published later in a special issue of *Ethos* in honor of John Whiting (D'Andrade 1973). He took his PhD in 1962 and moved to his first academic position at Stanford University. In 1969 he left Stanford for Rutgers University to become chair of the department. One year later, he joined the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego, in beautiful La Jolla. Spiro

[Correction added on 30 Oct 2017, after first online publication: The last name for Robert LeVine and the affiliation American Academy of Arts and Sciences have been corrected.]

had been recruited there to start a department emphasizing psychological anthropology, and Roy became one of his first hires. He would remain at UCSD until he retired in 2003, chairing the department repeatedly. Afterwards, he returned to the University of Connecticut, where he continued to teach, research, and mentor graduate students until 2008.

Unlike most anthropologists, Roy was not a fieldworker. In part, this was due to terrible luck. At Harvard he spent two summers working in Chiapas, but his major fieldwork took place after he began at Stanford when Bob LeVine invited him to participate in a joint project on child development in Nigeria. The times were unsettled; the Biafran war would soon unleash its horrors. In the northern area where Roy had taken his young family, gangs roamed university faculty housing looking for Igbo servants to kill. Roy faced down thugs on his doorstep, his wife, daughter, and servants hidden in the back rooms. He refused entry to the gang, and his servants survived. Yet the experience harrowed him. He saw other people die. He drove his family to Ghana where he stayed on to do the work, but he published very little about his observations.

Intellectual temperament also played a role. Roy was a brilliant analytic thinker. He loved to read ethnographies—he seemed to read one after the other, cover to cover—but when he wrote, he wanted the precision of philosophical analysis and quantifiable coding. Many of his early papers were about the structure and meaning of kin terms (e.g., Romney and D'Andrade 1964). He was more comfortable working with other scholars' ethnographic work than with his own. He wrote his first published paper as an undergraduate and coauthored it with Spiro: "A Cross Cultural Study of Some Supernatural Beliefs" (Spiro and D'Andrade 1958). It is a remarkable document, testimony to a vanished world. The authors list ten psychoanalytically inspired hypotheses, each justified by a trenchant rationale, each tested against the Human Relations Area Files field materials, which they had coded, quantified, and summarized in tables. They concluded that despite the complexities and limitations of this kind of analysis, what they saw persuaded them that the relationship between child-rearing patterns and the character of local spirits—whether the gods were lovingly nurturant or punishingly mean—was not arbitrary.

Roy remained fascinated by what anthropologists did in the field. One of his most famous papers, "The Cultural Part of Cognition" (1981), was published in the new journal *Cognitive Science*. What role should anthropology play in cognitive science, it asked? Part of the answer, of course, was

that culture provides the content of all that humans learn; it is “a very large pool of information passed along from generation to generation.” The startling story he told was about what fieldworkers see about the nature of human learning—that it is often unspecified, learned through a slow process of guided discovery, and that a small amount of guiding can have a large effect on the efficacy of the learning. “People are very good at discovering what they must learn under conditions of informally guided discovery, and not so good when they must learn entirely on their own,” he wrote. That is what fieldworkers see, he argued, and it suggests that human learning is in fact not very much like the way computers learn—an important point for researchers then smitten with the artificial-intelligence model of human cognition.

In that paper, which leans so respectfully on the ethnography of John Roberts, Floyd Lounsbury, Anthony Wallace, Eleanor Rosch, Jean Lave, and others, one can see the themes of the work for which Roy would become so well known. How do people learn to do something when they are not taught specific rules? How does a child “learn” to eat ice cream by smushing it into a soupy consistency and licking off the spoon partway—and to do that every time ice cream is eaten? How do people name their relations—and what are the constraints on those practices that hold across groups? To be sure, the paper does not reflect all that Roy worked on and would accomplish. Roy liked to tinker with formal models, and he published on color as well as on kinship structure (e.g., D’Andrade and Egan 1974). He liked to think about statistical analyses, especially cluster analyses of different kinds. He also had an enduring interest in institutions, probably the result of his encounter with the ideas of Talcott Parsons at Harvard. But in the *Cognitive Science* paper, he grappled with the way humans learn from each other, and his ideas about the process were deeply productive.

By the 1980s anthropology was changing. In 1983 Clifford Geertz delivered the distinguished lecture at the American Anthropological Association, “Anti Anti-Relativism” (1984), that singled Mel Spiro out for his wrong-headed search for a shared human nature. In “Thick Description” (1973), Geertz had delivered a diatribe against the view that culture had anything to do with psychology. The paper embodied a turn in the field so abrupt that it would turn even against the ethnographic ethos that Geertz embodied. Culture and personality—the kind of work represented by Roy’s first paper—had been in trouble ever since Geoffrey Gorer and John Rickman’s *The People of Great Russia* (1950) had attributed the willingness to tolerate Stalin and the passionate literature of Dostoyevsky to Russian swaddling practices. But one over-bold book does not explain the intense ambivalence about psychoanalysis and even about examining the human psyche at all that then emerged in anthropology. Post-1960s anthropology ushered in an intense guilt about replicating colonial power dynamics in scholarly practice, and psychologically informed inquiry, focused as it was on the intimate and the private, seemed the most egregious of unmerited intrusions. Foucault began to dominate anthropology.

Anthropologists began to diagnose power asymmetries and to doubt their own capacity to observe.

In 1995 Roy published a paper in *Current Anthropology*, “Moral Models in Anthropology,” that argued that anthropologists were more interested in asserting moral stances than in developing generalizable knowledge. It happened to cross the editor’s desk around the same time as a submission from Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1995) that argued that anthropology’s core mission was to witness and speak out against poverty and pain. The editor published them as a debate. Many readers engaged.

Meanwhile, the study of cognition was also changing. The new view of the mind built by cognitive science—a view in which implicit models, schemas, and networks would replace propositions and rule-governed categories—would sweep across psychology, changing it as profoundly as poststructuralism had changed anthropology. Gone was a model of the mind driven by clear-cut coherent beliefs—the kind of model of the mind that had undergirded the rationality debates of the 1970s and 1980s, the kind of model that imagined people acting because they believed something in particular that could be specified (see Gardner 1987). In its place emerged a sense of a person interacting with a changing environment, acting on the basis of un verbalized intuitions, constantly formulating and reformulating partial models of imperfectly observed events. With cognitive science, the mind lost its philosophical orderliness and became an intricate puzzle.

Roy was in the center of this revolution, which began in part at UCSD with a famous conference in 1979 (it was the founding meeting of the Cognitive Science Society) and a new Department of Cognitive Science—the second in the country—in 1986 (MIT had the first). In the 1970s, when UCSD was still a small and nascent institution on the bluffs overlooking the sea, Roy met regularly in a reading group with Don Norman, Michael Cole, Aaron Cicourel, David Laitin, and others. That group set out to rethink the social sciences in the light of cognitive science. D’Andrade’s part in this was to insist that culture needed to be understood differently. Clyde Kluckhohn had defined culture as everything-that-is-learned-and-transmitted (Geertz had called this a “conceptual morass”). Talcott Parsons had identified culture as shared symbols but not behavior. Roy, by contrast, would begin to argue that culture should be understood as shared “schemas”—often implicit, sometimes nonlinguistic. He would go on to develop a view about the way those shared schemas could motivate behavior (cf. D’Andrade 1987).

It was Roy’s student Naomi Quinn who would come up with the name for these schemas that would stick: they would be called “cultural models” (cf. Holland and Quinn 1987). D’Andrade understood these schemas as internal mental structures activated by encounters with the world and partially organized into complex hierarchies rather than symbols that interpreted the world and so lay like a veil between the knower and the known. People were not handed

these schemas by some abstract external institution. Roy took people to be all the time interpreting, making sense of, and reacting to events in the world, often with little guidance and no structured didactic education. To be human was to learn in that unspecified way: to draw one's own imperfect inferences and to change those inferences often.

From this perspective, culture became more about the way experience is interpreted and internalized through social interactions rather than a set of taught rules that people simply absorb from the group. Claudia Strauss called that last idea the "fax" theory of culture (Strauss and Quinn 1997). Schank and Abelson's (1977) famous account of a restaurant "script" became an example Roy often cited. When you go to a restaurant, you more or less expect events to take place in a certain sequence. This is not to say that you know that these events will occur in that sequence or even that you would articulate the sequence as a rule. Yet you would be confused if the waiter brought you the chocolate cake before your pasta. The term "cultural models" came to signal the everyday knowledge people have of the world, the way we do things here, organized neither as propositions nor as symbols but as implicit expectations. These schemas were not random knowledge; they drove behavior. This new account of culture was a more intellectually coherent model of how people learn than anthropologists had previously presented.

None of this captures the soul of the man. Roy D'Andrade was brilliant, charismatic, difficult, moody, and intensely alive. His students loved him. He was a remarkably generous and constructive reader. He was one of the best conversational partners that those who knew him ever had. He was deeply interested in people and what they thought and why. To go out to dinner with him after a talk was a memorable experience. He would set out to understand what the speaker had meant to say. He could unwind the thread of an argument like a weaver unraveling a tapestry to figure out how it was made, and then he would stitch it back together with better lines and sharper colors. He had a startling gift for aphorism. Even frustrated with the field as he knew it, he called anthropologists a group of "forward fumlbers." We might get confused and bewildered, he said. We might get so excited that we would pile up in some corner of the field and not even notice that the ball had gone somewhere else. But, eventually, one of us would catch it—and as a team, we more or less kept the ball moving in the right direction. Yet Roy never wrote down most of what he said about people and their ways because he never thought of himself as doing fieldwork. Still, he was among the most insightful interviewers I have ever met, and he could usually give a better accounting of a social interaction than the gifted fieldworkers among us.

What he did write down was sufficient to establish him as a great scholar and a deep thinker who articulated the ideas many of us use as fundamental theory. He was elected

to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1990 and to the National Academy of Sciences in 1998. He received an honorary degree from the University of Chicago in 2005 and the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Society for Psychological Anthropology that same year.

Those of us who knew him miss him deeply.

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Sandi Morgen, 2013. (Photograph by Carol Stack)

Sandra Lynn Morgen (1950–2016)

Sandra Morgen, known to her friends, colleagues, and students as Sandi, helped to shape feminist anthropology in the past four decades. Through her research and teaching in women's studies, anthropology, and sociology, primarily at the University of Oregon, she pursued an activist, collaborative approach to critical social issues such as health care, welfare reform, and tax policy that impacted the lives of women in the United States. She passed away on September 27, 2016, after living three-and-a-half years with ovarian cancer.

Sandi was an innovative researcher and teacher, an astute theorist, an engaging speaker, and a leader who took feminist anthropology in new directions. Her enthusiasm and energy were contagious. She motivated many to join her in creating new organizations and projects, always working collaboratively and with a commitment to activist anthropology. Her research often anticipated important trends: examining issues of women's health care, studying the impact of welfare reform on low-income women, seeing taxation policy as a women's issue, and exploring the impact of right-wing social movements (including the Tea Party) long before the election of Donald Trump. Her research was intersectional since its inception, interrogating the interaction of gender, race, class, and sexuality in each of the areas she chose to study. Central to her insightful analyses and efforts to forge change were also the role of state and economic policy on the lives of working-class and minority women.

Sandi was born on March 31, 1950, in Cleveland, Ohio. Her parents were Robert O. Morgen and Sadye (Mickey) Block Morgen. She spent her early years in Montreal where her father taught at the McGill University School of Medicine. When her father took a position at Baylor Medical School, she moved to Houston with her parents, her sisters Barbara and Betsy, and her brother Richard. In 1968 Sandi graduated from Bellaire High, where she was a championship debater. She entered undergraduate studies at

Northwestern University and spent a year studying abroad in Israel. In 1972 she received her BA from the Honors College at the University of Texas. She developed an interest in cultural anthropology in the early 1970s; after reading the work of James Peacock, she decided to apply to the graduate program in anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

At UNC her mentors were James Peacock, Dorothy Holland, Carol Stack, and Terry Evans. She received her MA in 1975 and completed her PhD in 1982. Her dissertation research pioneered collaborative, activist feminist research thirty years before it became a well-respected approach to ethnographic fieldwork. She conducted research and volunteered at a women's health center in southern New England at the height of feminist attempts to provide women-centered reproductive care that offered an alternative to male-dominated gynecological services. The center operated as a collective and faced a number of challenges, such as being forced into a top-down structure and working out class/race divisions exposed by attempts to incorporate working-class and minority women into the staff. Sandi's own collaboration with her subjects and her involvement in day-to-day decision making and service provision allowed her to observe the difficulties of maintaining a collaborative structure, resistant to co-optation, over time. These issues were explored in some of her first published articles (Morgen 1986, 1988, 1990a, 1990b), several in well-recognized collections.

In 1978, during doctoral fieldwork, she met the poet Robert Hill Long. They married in 1980 and had two children: Seth, now a Portland winemaker, and Sarah, now a Manhattan public-relations executive. Sandi was a devoted mother, and her children were at the center of her life, which radiated outward to many diverse friendships and collegial relationships cultivated across the country. Sandi was also a talented writer of prose and poetry, and intended to spend her retirement polishing and publishing the best poems and essays, but, regrettably, she did not live out that vision.

Sandi began her academic career as a project director for the Duke-UNC Women's Research Center (1982–85), where she worked closely with William Chafe, but then moved on to become an assistant professor in the Department of Women's Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (1986–91). It was during these years that she became involved in organizations, journals, and edited collections that helped shape women's studies and feminist anthropology. Along with several colleagues, she helped found the Association for Feminist Anthropology (AFA), a section of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), and served on the board of *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, a premier feminist journal. She worked with Ann Bookman to publish an influential interdisciplinary collection of articles focusing on working-class women and women of color, *Women and the Politics of Empowerment* (Bookman and Morgen 1988). Later in her career she coauthored the collection *Engendering Rationalities* with Nancy

Tuana (2001), coedited *Work, Welfare, Politics: Confronting Poverty in the Wake of Welfare Reform* with Frances Fox Piven, Joan Acker and Margaret Hallock (2002), and published an edited collection, *Rethinking Security: Gender, Race, and Militarization*, with Barbara Sutton and Julie Novkov (2008).

One of her most important collaborative efforts was her leadership in putting together a three-year project (1987–90), initiated through the AFA, to bring feminist anthropology into mainstream teaching in anthropology. The result was the collection of essays, *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching* (1989), a comprehensive introduction to the development of feminist anthropological theory reaching back thirty-five years to periods when research on women had been largely overlooked. The book was published by the AAA and distributed to every anthropology department affiliated with the AAA. Sandi was the PI for a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE) of the Department of Education. She recruited authors for each of the chapters that could be used to develop courses that included feminist perspectives on research in various regions of the world (for example, Latin America, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa) and various aspects of anthropology (for example, hominid evolution, technology, sexuality, applied anthropology, archaeology, and language). A group of younger scholars tested out the chapters in their own classes. As part of the same project, Sandi recruited feminist anthropologists and textbook writers to bring the issues of women and gender more comprehensively into their textbooks. Sandi's collaborative and inclusive leadership and energy were apparent at each step in the production of both the collection and textbook revisions.

In 1991 the University of Oregon became her academic home, with a short stint between 2006 and 2008 as a professor of women's studies at Pennsylvania State University. For fifteen years she was associate and then full professor of sociology, then moved her appointment to the Department of Anthropology from 2003 to 2006. She was also director of the Center for the Studies of Women in Society (CSWS), a position that led her in the direction of new research on welfare reform, gender and militarization, and social justice. As director of CSWS, Sandi worked with faculty to organize a series of Research Interest Groups, which pulled dozens of faculty and graduate students into conversation across disciplines and resulted in conferences and edited collections. After two years at Penn State in the Department of Women's Studies, she returned to Oregon as a professor of anthropology between 2008 and 2014. In the same era, she was associate dean of the graduate school (2008–2014) and vice provost for graduate studies (2010–2014).

During the 1990s, Sandi expanded her research on women's efforts to transform reproductive health. She took a nationwide perspective, interviewing national leaders and local staff of women's clinics. Her book, *Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement in the United States, 1969–1990* (2002), is a critical historiography that exam-

ines the ways women's activism challenged the institutions that controlled reproductive health (the state, organized medicine, and political parties). In the project, she extended her earlier dissertation research with additional case material from women's clinics, further exploring the internal political struggles within feminist organizations, particularly over race and class. In 2004 *Into Our Own Hands* won the Eileen Basker Prize in Gender and Health, the high-profile book award from the Society for Medical Anthropology.

Sandi was one of the first feminist anthropologists to take her research and push for changes in concrete policies, as is evident from her research on welfare reform, tax policy, and social movements surrounding tax policy. As part of a collaborative team, Sandi worked with Joan Acker and Jill Weigt (and other team members) on the impact of TANF, the new welfare program that was initiated in 1996 by President Bill Clinton "to end welfare as we know it." Sandi's research team was funded by the Adult and Family Services of the Oregon Department of Human Resources between 1998 and 2000. They interviewed women who had entered the labor force and no longer received monthly TANF payments, although they did receive some subsidies for childcare, transportation, and housing. These women still struggled to make ends meet, and many lost jobs due to transportation difficulties or childcare responsibilities (Morgen, Acker, and Weigt 2010). They also interviewed many women who administered the TANF program and were social workers. After giving their report to the Department of Human Service (Morgen with Acker, Barry et al. 2001; Morgen with Acker, Health et al. 2001), they wrote brief "cameo" reports on issues to legislators, widely publicized their results in the local press, and testified at legislative hearings. They worked with friendly legislators and community groups to try to change Oregon welfare policy, a slow process. Their book, *Stretched Thin*, outlined a more comprehensive set of policies that would give mothers a route out of poverty (a living wage, medical care, and affordable public education).

Working with the National Council for Research on Women, Sandi and Mimi Abramovitz identified taxes as a women's issue (Abramovitz and Morgen 2006). Analyzing the right-wing attempts in Oregon to cut taxes, Sandi documented how anti-tax organizations used Oregon's referendum policies to push tax cuts or undermine attempts to raise taxes, frequently by invoking an "overtaxed" hardworking taxpayer who ended up unknowingly supporting welfare recipients, "illegal aliens," "tax-and-spend" politicians, and greedy unionized public employees. Sandi's research demonstrated that anti-tax politics have played a prominent and powerful role in the erosion of the liberal Keynesian consensus.

In 2008 Barack Obama was elected the first African American president of the United States, and in 2009 the Tea Party emerged to challenge his presidency. Sandi and her research team began to study the Tea Party, finding much the same ideology among this movement as among the

anti-tax activists, but the Tea Party movement brought with it new national funding sources. Their interviews, participant observations, and analyses of Oregon's anti-tax history helped "connect the dots" between early efforts to change tax policy, the influence of out-of-state funding, and the emergence of the Tea Party (Morgen and Erickson, forthcoming). Sandi's research in this area was anticipatory and innovative, and will hopefully guide others in understanding the relationship between social movements (both conservative and progressive), their ideologies, and government policy as they emerge and shift in the next decades.

As a warm and enthusiastic teacher, Sandi taught a wide variety of courses on gender, race, class, and policy over her career, including undergraduate courses like *Women and the Politics of Health, Women and the State, and Anthropology of the United States*. Her classes, which included both graduate and undergraduate students, ranged from a course on Human Security and Global Capitalism to classes on Women and Healthcare and Globalization and Poverty. Her graduate seminars included topics such as Writing Ethnography; Gender, Race and Class; and Feminist Research Methods. In her last years, when she held administrative positions, she continued to teach, offering a large course on inequality in the United States that always earned her strong teaching evaluations. All of Sandi's classes provided deep foundations in political economy and feminism. She was an engaging and personable lecturer and facilitated lively class discussions and collaborative group work in her classes. She was a generous graduate mentor who guided her students with kindness and rigor. If their work did not meet her laudable standards, they did it again, with constructive criticism.

For those students who worked closely with her on research projects, she taught them political economy and trained them in participant observation, taking field notes, and conducting interviews. She always cared what graduate students thought about the data they collected. She took some of her graduate students to the coast for analysis and writing retreats. Sandi relished introducing graduate students to colleagues and friends at other universities. She brought people together everywhere she went. Over her career at the University of Oregon, she chaired or co-chaired the dissertation committees of seven sociology graduate students and six anthropology graduate students. She served on fourteen additional dissertation committees and either chaired or was on the comprehensive exam committees of twenty-three students.

Sandi was widely acknowledged for her leadership and dedicated efforts on behalf of the organizations and institutions she served. In 2003 Sandi's unique career-long contributions to North American anthropology were recognized by the Society for North American Anthropology when they gave her their award for Outstanding Contributions to the Field of Anthropology of the U.S. Six months later, the National Council for Research on Women selected her for a Women Who Make a Difference Award, given to high-profile women who have had a major impact on women's

lives nationally and internationally. In 2006 the AAA and the Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology (COSWA) gave her the Squeaky Wheel Award for Dedication to Achieving Greater Gender Parity of Women in Anthropology. At the end of her career, in 2015, the University of Oregon recognized her four decades of research across a wide number of critical issues by giving her the UO Research Excellence Outstanding Career Award.

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Anthony F. C. Wallace. From the AAA Presidential Wall. (Photograph courtesy of the American Anthropological Association)

Anthony F. C. Wallace (1923–2015)

Anthony ("Tony") Francis Clarke Wallace died on October 5, 2015, in Ridley Park, Pennsylvania. Tony Wallace obtained all of his professional degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, receiving the doctorate in anthropology in 1950. He remained in Philadelphia throughout his career, at Penn and at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute. His work bridged the overlapping fields of psychology and history (including both ethnohistory and historical anthropology). He was a perceptive ethnographer and archivist of contemporary and historic Indigenous populations and a theorist of note in testing the relationship between individual and culture, devising empirical methods

for the study of memory and cognition, and searching for universal principles of value and meaning. An able administrator, he served as AAA president in 1971–1972.

Wallace explored anthropological and public discourses as superficially diverse as Native American ethnohistory, historical anthropology, culture change and technology, bi-cultural evolution, psychological anthropology, warfare, religion, and kinship. These diverse perspectives coalesced in a single lifelong ethical preoccupation with creating a better world through rigorous investigation and reflection upon the ongoing implications of past and contemporary events and the personalities creating them. Science and humanism, ethnography and archive, application and theory marched apace in his lucid, thoughtful prose. Although colleagues often know only parts of his work, in his own eyes these diverse topics followed a trajectory without perceived contradiction of emergent and overlapping questions and contingent answers (personal communication, R. Darnell).

Tony Wallace was born on April 15, 1923, in Toronto, Canada, and retained a lifelong temperamental affinity to the country of his birth. He grew up in Annville, Pennsylvania, near Lebanon Valley College, where his father, Paul A. W. Wallace, taught history and literature with forays into Native American traditions and histories, especially Delaware and Iroquois. Young Tony was his father's assistant and eventual colleague in these ventures, and later acknowledged this family legacy as his lodestone and single most important career influence. His mother, Dorothy Eleanor Clarke, was British. He had one brother, David. Tony entered Lebanon Valley College in 1941 to study history and physics but soon enlisted. After a year's Army Specialized Training in electrical engineering, he served with the 14th Army Division in Germany and participated in the liberation of Dachau, an experience that made an indelible impression on him of the horrors of war.

After the war, he returned to the University of Pennsylvania where he finished his BA in history in 1948, switching to anthropology for his MA in 1949 and PhD in 1950. He had married Elizabeth Shillot and the couple had two sons, Daniel and Anthony Jr., by the time he completed the doctorate. His mentors, Frank Speck and Speck's former student, A. Irving Hallowell, were building a Boasian four-field department emphasizing the ethnographic study of Native Americans, especially in New England and southern Canada. Wallace's MA research produced his first published book, a psychobiography of eighteenth-century Delaware chief Teedyuskung (1949). His dissertation research, based on two summers among the Tuscarora, sought a rigorous scientific method to measure degree of "acculturation" based on Rorschach profiles then considered a culture-free research tool (Wallace 1952). Following the lead of Cora DuBois, Wallace moved from a monolithic view of the relation between culture and personality to a more empirical "modal personality type" that located intracultural variability at a given time and place as cultural norm with standard deviations. Tuscarora profiles varied in intensity of the patterns found in the most

conservative and isolated communities but the continuity of traditional patterns was remarkably consistent, thus demonstrating the inadequacy of the binary acculturation model.

Wallace would develop these ideas more fully in *Culture and Personality* (1961), distinguishing an essentialist “replication of uniformity” or basic personality type shared by all culture members and transmitted as a whole from the more precise and dynamic “organization of difference.” He developed the concept of “mazeway,” each individual’s personal amalgam of experience and temperament forming a unique integration of potentials drawn from the cultural environment. Individuals varied in degree of consciousness of their own behavioral patterns. Consequences for the culture as a whole also varied considerably. In a festschrift for Hallowell, for example, Wallace described the complexity of what he had to know to drive to work (Wallace 1965). Cognitive “nonsharing” was critical at both individual and cultural levels.

Seminal papers on mazeway resynthesis (1956a) and disintegration (1957) characteristically combined Native American and mainstream North American exemplars of resynthesis after cultural trauma. Wallace identified the “revitalization movement” (1956b) led by Seneca prophet Handsome Lake in an ethnohistoric foray into the potential of religion for cognitive transformation later elaborated in *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca Nation* (1970). Two North American community studies contrasted the successful integration of a Pennsylvania mill town in *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (1978) with a failed industrial experiment in *St. Clair: A Nineteenth-Century Coal Town’s Experience with a Disaster-Prone Industry* (1987). When *Rockdale* won the Bancroft Prize for American History, Tony, with characteristic modesty, wryly admitted he had never heard of the prize until he won it (personal communication, R. Darnell); *St. Clair* won the Dexter Prize from the Society for the History of Technology. Several important essays generalizing the “social context of innovation” appeared separately (Wallace 1982).

Despite other opportunities, Wallace chose to spend his entire career in or around Philadelphia. He lectured in sociology at Penn from 1948 to 1955. After completing his doctorate, he worked at various projects in applied anthropology. As a researcher for the Indian Claims Commission, his analysis for the Fox-Sauk explored the traumatic legacy of the Black Hawk War and dovetailed with his disaster-preparedness study of a recent tornado in Worcester, Massachusetts, to reveal general conditions of community and individual responses to disaster. From 1955 to 1980, Wallace served as senior research associate at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute (EPPI). He underwent training analysis at the Philadelphia Psychoanalytic Institute. From 1955 to 1960, he also served as visiting associate professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. He became director of clinical research at EPPI in 1960–61, but resigned to become professor and chair of anthropology at

the University of Pennsylvania, a position he held for the next decade. There, he proved himself a gifted administrator and spearheaded the construction of an academic wing for the Penn Museum.

Wallace’s search for an empirical method that could also capture what Boas called “the native point of view” led him to distinguish “structural” and “psychological” adequacy of alternative analyses of kinship terms. He emphasized the cognitive nature of semantic systems and their psychological reality for individuals. Religion shared with such formal systems what he understood to be a universal tendency toward cognitive integration (Urban 2016, 11). *Religion: An Anthropological View* (1966), a creative and underappreciated reflection, developed this position in comparative terms (Darnell 2002). Cognition, for Wallace, was a biocultural phenomenon. His work at EPPI facilitated studies of Arctic hysteria, schizophrenia, prophetic experience, and nutritional deficiency, demonstrating how factors of history, environment, and cultural values mediate the expression of biological inheritance. During my own graduate years at Penn (1965–1969), he was the only cultural anthropologist to raise integrations of culture and biology.

Amid the turmoil of the 1960s, Tony and Betty adopted four more children, two Vietnamese-born (Samuel and Sun-Ai) and two Native American (Cheryl and Joseph). Honors began to accumulate. He was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1969 and to the American Academy of Sciences in 1973. In 1971–72 he served as president of the American Anthropological Association, a compromise candidate who attempted to mediate the polarization of traditional scholarship versus activism (epitomized by American engagement with counterinsurgency movements in Latin America and Southeast Asia) and to preserve a space within the AAA for rational debate across these divides. His presidency also oversaw reorganization into the interest groups that later became “sections,” which acknowledged the increasing specialization of the discipline.

After his retirement as university professor emeritus in 1988, Wallace’s work reflected on the meaning of his six-decade career and returned to Native American exemplars, this time emphasizing the unequal power relations that had devastated tribal communities. *The Long Bitter Trail* (1993) traced the ignoble legacy of Cherokee removal under Andrew Jackson. *Jefferson and the Indians* (1999) presented a poignant portrait of the idealistic spokesman for the new American republic whose ambivalent vision left no room for the First Peoples. That such an alternative vision was possible emerged in Wallace’s final book, *Tuscarora: A History* (2012). After Betty’s death in 2003, Tony returned to Tuscarora, the site of his first fieldwork, and lived there for the next decade, participating in a local history group, portraying the community as contemporary Tuscarora members saw their own emerging future within (post)modernity, and apologizing for the patronizing objectification of his early work, by implication indicting the systemic

consequences of the discipline's methodologies, however well-intentioned. His Tuscarora colleagues Wendy and Jim Bissell and Deborah Holler are part of the family he leaves behind. Among his academic progeny, Raymond Fogelson, Robert S. Grumet, Sol Katz, and Regna Darnell are particularly salient.

A final reflexive tendril returned to the troubled topic of war, a longtime preoccupation now writ large. The final manuscript remains unpublished, but part of the introduction will appear in *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 12 in 2018. Wallace weaves together the strands of his own World War II experience with his reflections on Iroquois warfare, again characteristically seeking a universal cognitive model of human sociality. Wallace was a hedgehog, returning to and deepening his analyses of a few recurrent themes, a self-contained scholar who did not follow academic fads. He was most comfortable with the suprapersonal perspective of archival documents that also simplified ethical issues around invasion of privacy (Grumet 1998, 109). His seminal theoretical papers eventually produced books giving fuller evidence and comparative reflection. Robert S. Grumet has edited a selection of these papers (Wallace 2003, 2004) that conveys the broad range of subjects that engaged his curiosity. His work instantiated the "useful knowledge" envisioned by Benjamin Franklin when founding the American Philosophical Society in 1743. This oeuvre stands as a monumental achievement of Wallace's generation and anthropology's legacy.

Wallace donated his personal papers to the American Philosophical Society and organized the Wallace Family Papers there, incorporating with his own the papers of Tony's father, Paul A. Wallace, and grandfather, Francis Hurston Wallace.

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