Humanities

Long Live Rotary!

Last, he stuck in his lapel the Boosters' Club button. With the conciseness of great art the button displayed two words: "Boosters—Pep!" It made Babbitt feel loyal and important. It associated him with Good Fellows, with men who were nice and human, and important in business. It was his V.C., his Legion of Honor ribbon, his Phi Beta Kappa key.

—Babbitt

If there had been no Sinclair Lewis, it might have been necessary for the Boosters to invent him. Getting a kick out of one's fellow man's pretensions, his attempts to distill distinction from a lackluster life by electing Grand High Panjandrums and Keepers of the Inner Shrine from the ranks of sashweight salesmen, is probably deeply rooted in the human drive for survival. One's work may be unsatisfactory, one's spouse an ogre, one's income shaky and one's children barbarians who successfully resist all civilizing processes; but as long as one can discern another human being who is either a) worse off, or b) making a bigger ass of himself, one can summon the courage to Go On.

The other side of the coin is that if there had been no Boosters—or Rotary or Elk or Knights of Columbus —it might have been necessary for society to invent *them*—which, of course, is precisely what society did. Beyond providing their members with a vehicle for solemn or sophomoric fellowship, these unnumbered fraternities and sororities sometimes perform a service essential to society at large.

Groups such as the Boosters are known in sociological parlance as "voluntary associations". That is, one is not committed to them by birth. One joins them out of a sense of community, of shared interests and concerns—but freely. These associations have an honorable history, stemming not only from a craving for the right-sized pond in which one can be a notable frog, but also from the need to learn how to survive in a world that somebody else made.

That world is The City, a somewhat unnatural and uncomfortable concentration of human beings. For all their obvious attractions, cities create problems: many people living in a small space; many jobs, some of them nasty, to be performed; and no central authority to guide the troubled neophyte to work or shelter. For all their obvious problems, on the other hand, cities create opportunities. Urbanization may fairly be described as the process of minimizing the problems and maximizing the opportunities. Voluntary associations are an important part of the process.

Dr. Noel Chrisman, assistant professor of anthropology at Pomona College, has been studying voluntary associations for nearly a decade now. For his doctoral dissertation at Berkeley, he investigated the process by which Danish immigrants adapted themselves to American urban life in San Francisco and Oakland.

The particular group that Chrisman studied had emigrated here during the approximate period 1890-1915. His mode of investigating was the modern anthropological approach of "participant observation": don't just look at the natives, count heads, and track marriages—move in with them. Share their life, become a part of it. For this purpose, Chrisman joined a Danish ethnic association, soon became recording secretary, and mastered the peculiar phrasings that the group preferred its minutes to be rendered in. "The results of the ballotation" is one he learned to use without flinching.

But by joining in with a will, Chrisman learned at first hand the force of the abstract formulations that sociologists and anthropologists use to characterize urban life *vs.* rural or folk life. One of the most important contrasts is that between the "multiplex" character of folk or rural social relationships and the "uniplex" or "single-stranded" character of many urban bonds.

Uniplex Urban Bonds

In a society characterized by multiplex ties, people have contact with each other for long periods of time. Youngsters grow up together, know each other's parents, and in time each other's spouses, children, and even grandchildren. Further, they know each other in all the facets of their lives: not only economic—as buyers and sellers, or as farmers with common interests—but also parental, religious, political.

In the uniplex or single-stranded bonds of urban society, by contrast, most relationships are fragmented both in time and by function. People are neighbors for two or three years, then one family moves away to another neighborhood or another city. Further, most city residents encounter others in only one facet of their lives: as neighbors *or* as fellow workers *or* as members of a social organization *or* as

buyer and seller. The social integration of the rural or folk community is pulled apart in the city, and human associations are parceled out in pigeon-holes.

Many sociologists, citing this disintegration, have claimed that the loss of the rural society's full associations makes cities inhospitable to individuals. Psychologists have pondered it: what do children lose when their parents' mobility deprives them of periodic contact with the whole familial string of grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins—associations that confer a sense of continuity and help a youngster explore the nature and diversity of adulthood? And some anthropologists, following Oscar Lewis, have wondered whether it is possible to create "rural-looking", small societies within the larger one.

The educated urban professional or white-collar worker learns to create new social networks to replace those he left behind. The blue-collar worker, more restricted by education, income, and flexibility of outlook from seeking unfamiliar associations, has a tougher time. But the unskilled migrant to the city has the worst time of all. He has often left a life which, for all its deficiencies, offered a full range of human associations to buoy him up from childhood to old age. If he was the victim of poverty, obsolescence, or injustice, at least he knew others in the same boat. Going from a rural environment to an urban one, he usually remains the victim of poverty and discrimination—but this time, though many others share his lot, he does not know them. Worst of all, there is nobody to show him the ropes: to explain what kinds of jobs are available, how to seek them, how to realize that vision of a slightly better future that brought him to the city in the first place.

Voluntary Associations

Voluntary associations perform these functions—and sometimes, as Chrisman learned, in unconsciously sophisticated ways. In contemporary Africa, for example, natives migrating from tribal areas to the cities frequently form societies for a number of formal purposes: savings societies collecting a shilling each week or month from the members so that when one of them needs capital for a business enterprise. it will be available—from people of his own tribe who can gauge his capacities more sympathetically than an established bank; burial societies, collecting small dues much in the manner of insurance premiums; mutual benefit societies whose members keep an eye out for job vacancies and develop a grapevine that guides the new migrant to opportunity in a strange and often frightening environment.

But the ingenuity of these societies is better demonstrated in their full social function, in the precise characteristics that amuse observers. In one African group, for example, Chrisman found that—along with the usual president, several vice presidents, a secretary and treasurer, etc.—one member would be designated the "doctor" and another the "nurse". Neither had any medical knowledge, let alone credentials.

"It looks absurd," Chrisman comments, "but this multiplicity of offices performs an important human function. First, it confers prestige on people who are on the bottom rung of the social ladder. Second, it enables them to rehearse the bureaucratic roles one finds in the city, and in a non-threatening way. There are no outsiders to ridicule them, nobody to criticize their imperfect performance. Everybody here *belongs,* and even though there are standards of performance, they are applied by peers who share a familiar background."

Two years ago, as part of his general interest in the process of urbanization, Chrisman wondered whether there might be similarities between modern voluntary associations and those that existed in other times when migrants had to be urbanized. He asked the National Endowment for the Humanities for a semester off to investigate the question at a specific time, in a specific place: medieval towns in northern Europe. For this purpose he was awarded a Summer Stipend by the Fellowship Division of NEH.

Chrisman's project was unusual for an anthropologist in that there were no live, medieval townsmen for him to move in on. These people could only be known historically, and with the limited time available to a junior scholar (he was 30), mainly through secondary sources. But he thought the inquiry might improve both his teaching and his continuing investigation of the modern urbanization process.

As a starting point, he needed a group of newcomers that resembled today's rural migrants in their lack of acceptance by the larger society.

Medieval Merchants

He found one: merchants. Today the people who keep stores, who translate the Gross National Product into $4.95 realities, are regarded as bastions of the social order. About 800 AD., however, merchants were regarded as the pariahs of society, threats to tradition and stability. Some were runaway serfs, some the younger sons of nobles cut off by the laws of primogeniture from any hope of inherited wealth. They saw in entrepreneurship the possibility of a life that was not entirely defined by birth or relation to the land.

The special habits of the merchant caused him to be separated from the social structure of his day. First, he traveled—all over Europe and North Africa, to the lands on both sides of the Mediterranean. He discovered new ideas and new truths and became discontented with the old ways. Second, because he was always on the move, he could not be claimed by the noble for military service or required—like the serf—to deliver a portion of his produce in exchange for protection. Third, he was outside the law, which varied from manor to manor. Not asking the protection of any lord, he could avoid arbitrary rules. While the burghers who lived within the manor walls had struggled to obtain concessions, the merchants sought rules that would be the same wherever they set up their bazaars.

Gradually the nobles and merchants came to need each other: manor fields started producing surpluses, requiring mercantile skills to distribute their products;

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Athens: Why Bother?

The last great topography of ancient Athens—a detailed study of the city's natural setting plus the buildings on it—was published in 1931 by the German scholar Judeich. Since then, the Agora, the city's civic center, has been found by archaeologists. So have the Academy (the gymnasium where Plato taught), the city's walls, and many other sites unknown to Judeich. The present regime in Greece is embarked on an ambitious building program; almost every time it digs a foundation, it strikes more of the city's history. Since 1931, at least 1,000 items of scholarship relating to Athens have been published.

It's time for someone to put it all together, and Dr. Stephen Glass, assistant professor of classics and classical archaeology at Pitzer College, has accepted a publisher's invitation to do so. In the small community of his discipline, Glass's intention is frequently interpreted not as laudable ambition but as insufferable cheek.

"Frankly, I'm scared at the enormity of the job," he says. "There's so much to master, and everybody in the field will be waiting to see what I produce. But I decided to go ahead and try."

To help Glass go ahead and try, NEH, by way of a Younger Humanist Fellowship, supported him for a year in Athens. "If you're not there, you're totally dependent on publications—and those often lag years behind the actual work. On disputed matters, there's no way to test a hypothesis except by walking out there and looking at a site."

Other human beings are important, too. Sometimes the Greek workmen employed as diggers are the only source of precise information on where a fragment was found. Discussions with other archaeologists are vital: "You've got to have access to the people who are doing it. The worst intellectual position is a place where there's no one to cushion your ideas, to bounce them back."

Granting the importance to Glass's project of being in Athens, one may still question the value of the project itself. Is an Athenian topography an intellectual enterprise deserving Federal support—or a personal hobby-horse that anyone should be free to ride as long as he pays for his own trip?

The life and death of cities, and particularly that of Athens, Glass argues, is intrinsically interesting. He feels there is a danger in pleading for its study an ersatz "relevance" to modern urban problems. Easy comparisons confuse more issues than they illuminate, for in addition to being a city, Athens was also a state, a small but powerful nation that confronted military and diplomatic as well as municipal challenges.

For all that, Athens was one of the great cities of antiquity. By going back to it, one can probe "what drives man to enclose himself as he does, and how he proposes to maintain himself and his equanimity in such unnatural proximity to his fellows." One wants to know, says Glass, paraphrasing urban planner K. A. Doxiadis, why man accepts the evils of the city and what he proposes to do about them.

By studying the distant past, when cities were still an innovation, one can hope to trace man's efforts to deal with urbanization before tradition offered any guide. How did the city grow, how did it defend itself, what did it do with its young, its sick, its dead? What were its conspicuous successes? Its conspicuous failures?

All these questions are of practical as well as intellectual interest, for while Athens' (or Sparta's or Corinth's) answers will not solve modern urban problems, they do offer suggestions. "History does *not* repeat itself," Glass insists. "Nevertheless it sensitizes one to the diverse responses that other people have made in other times. It makes one aware of options."

Many of those options, those rejected as well as those chosen, are recorded in the literature produced by the citizens of Athens. Many, however, can only be read in its stones. Glass hopes to extend the narrative that Judeich began. □

Tammany Tiger

If proof were needed that pride goeth before a fall, 1871 offered it. Early that year, the Tammany Democrats swept New York City's elections by a margin so wide that it led Thomas Nast to create an enduring political symbol: a tiger licking its chops, around its neck a sign reading: "For Republican Lamb, Inquire Within." By the end of the year, however, investigators headed by anti-Tammany Democrat Samuel Tilden had convicted William Marcy Tweed and his cronies of swindling the city of millions of dollars in unnecessary public works. His world crumbling around him, jail facing him, Boss Tweed ran for Spain. A coalition of Republicans and reform Democrats came back with a vengeance in 1873, and it appeared that Tammany had hurrahed its last.

Not so. Between 1873 and 1935, the year Fiorello LaGuardia was reelected, not a single reform mayor was elected for more than one term. Displaying a remarkable instinct for survival, the Tammany Tiger kept putting its men into office for much of the next 60

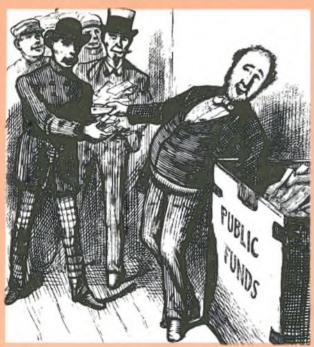years after the scandal of 1871.

With a Research grant from NEH Dr. Samuel T. McSeveney, assistant professor of history at Brooklyn College, is exploring the period from 1873 to 1898—when New York City took its present shape—to find out why. His tentative answer is a blend of pork barrel, corruption, and ethnic politics.

But there's more to it than cynicism and the Christmas turkey, McSeveney says: Tammany also served important human needs in a city where immigrant Irish, Jews, and Italians were struggling to wrest dollars and dignity from the old-stock, native-born residents.

The fight raged over many battlegrounds, from liquor to Irish nationalism to education. The education issue united Jews and Irish. Old-stock and most German voters wanted the schools centralized under city-wide control, with all staff professionally certified and responsible to the mayor. They also wanted a curriculum that would sever immigrant children from their religious and ethnic traditions and thus "Americanize" them.

Tammany, on the other hand, recognizing the importance of Old World ties to its constituency, responded in what McSeveney calls "a perhaps inefficient but very human way": it supported decentralized control down to the ward level so that, whatever old-stock parents chose for their children, the ethnics could put their own teachers into neighborhood classrooms.

After Tweed's downfall, the Irish rose to control Tammany. They had supplied much of the electoral muscle since the 1850's, but the best jobs and contracts went to non-Irish. Now McSeveney is analyzing

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"'I stick my fist in as far as it will go, and pull out as full as it will hold. I stick to my friends. That's me!' There you have Tweed self-painted to the life." Woodcut 1874.

"change and continuity in patterns of recruitment and advancement within municipal departments (police, fire, sanitation) and within Tammany itself" to trace the shift of control.

Virtually all the urban political machines are gone, their functions of maintaining informal systems of welfare, employment, and advocacy taken over by formal, governmental systems. But the long and mainly successful history of the Sons of Saint Tammany—named for a Delaware Indian chief famed for his wisdom—is an important chapter in the creation of the American city, and McSeveney's part has not been told before.

New Fields for Social Ethics

Along with many other graduate faculties, that of the University of Southern California's School of Religion felt itself facing a placement problem. Beyond the practical question—will there be enough teaching positions to go around?—Director John B. Orr asked himself a more creative one: could social ethics, the focus of the School's graduate program, prove its worth in other professions?

Orr thought so, and with NEH support developed a summer · institute in "Values and Alternative Urban Futures" that blended ethical theory with the literature and methodologies of futurism. Both were applied to a specific urban problem with moral and political overtones: school integration in a district near Los Angeles.

After a year's experience with an integration plan that involved busing—unpopular with both blacks and whites—the district wanted to integrate more schools, but also to explore alternatives. The problem fit in well with Orr's project.

First, it gave students the chance to analyze value-positions that affect politics. It also offered them training in futurism: what will happen to the community, to educational quality, to racial relations if the present integration plan continues? Finally, the type of forecasting was appropriate to the humanities: where most "futurism" has been concerned with technology or physical resources, the Institute was concerned with projecting future human behavior on the basis of present value-positions.

For its methodology, the Institute adapted the "Delphi" technique developed by the Rand Corporation. Delphi is essentially a process of working toward consensus among experts by asking their opinions about the future; in successive rounds of questioning, each is invited to modify extreme positions in light of those taken by others. They are also invited to suggest alternatives to present policies or procedures. To eliminate personality factors that can impede free expression at public meetings, the process is conducted individually and anonymously.

The Institute study revealed that hostility to busing was much deeper than anticipated. It also suggested how the system's desegregation plan could be modified to win more support, and stressed areas in which school officials should improve their own performance.

political relations between Christian and Islamic nations eased, permitting freer passage of a greater variety of goods; and money came to be used in place of barter in certain transactions. The merchants came in from the outside and became the center of the evolving economic system. They were able to settle down at the crossroads in regions of their choice and deal wholesale with other merchants in an extended line of trade. They settled down in cities like Paris, Orleans, Troyes, Bruges, Ghent, York, Lincoln, London, Bristol—some of which had been ecclesiastical in nature—giving them a new secular importance; sometimes the merchants began the nucleus for new cities.

Yet the merchants' relationship to the rest of medieval society was fuzzy and in some respects unsatisfying. As rebels who had left family and friends behind, they lacked the full range of human ties that both nobles and commoners enjoyed. Though their function was accepted, they were not: the nobles were impossibly above them in station, the vassals and serfs unacceptably below. The mechants needed to create a small society within the larger in which their associations with other human beings would not be solely economic.

The answer was the merchants' guild. Llike the mutual aid societies in present-day Africa, the guilds had both instrumental and social functions.

On the instrumental side, they were occupational mechanisms that united men of the same class for mutual benefit. They also brought in newcomers, enlisting promising young migrants to the city as apprentices, instructing them in their trade, and furnishing them with capital when it was time to strike out on their own.

On the social side, the guilds catered to the full range of human needs. Each had its own patron saint, uniting the members in religious observances that shared the larger society's Christianity yet distinguished the members with an approved, "he's-*our*-saint" partisanship. The guilds fostered necessary family relationships, providing fathers with desirable sons-in-law, mothers with socially acceptable friends, and children with surrogate grandfathers.

"Morning Speeches"

And the guilds had parties that would shame the most rowdy, modern-day, American convention. In England, for example, most guilds held *morgenspreche*—"morning speeches"—about four times a year. These were compulsory meetings at which guild affairs were handled, new rules made, and common prayers said. Business out of the way, the members devoted themselves to conviviality.

"These things were real feasts, so expensive that the member sponsoring it might spend himself into bankruptcy," Chrisman says. "The other members didn't have just a couple of drinks and lunch—they got *smashed!*"

About the middle of the 14th century, plague and economic reverses slowed the pace of medieval ex-

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Craft guildsmen at work on a medieval cathedral, with merchant guilds in background. Sixteenth century manuscript.

pansiveness after a period of great growth, and the guilds changed dramatically. The original, generalized merchants' guilds gave way to specialized trade guilds. Where the merchants' guilds had been open to all comers, the trade guilds instituted kinship restrictions: no boy could become an apprentice cobbler or tailor or butcher unless his father had been one. As it had been before the advent of the merchants, northern Europe reverted to a static social system in which one's fortunes were largely determined by birth.

But the guilds had done their work. They had introduced a new class into society, protecting rebels against the animosity of the established castes and swelling the ranks of the innovative merchants by training youngsters in occupations closed to their fathers. Merchants were accepted; their daughters married the sons of nobles, because their daughters could bring as dowry what few noble-born girls could: gold. A group born of misfits and malcontents had fought and bought its way into respectability—and learned, in its turn, to exclude new aspirants to social position.

It's doubtful that today's Boosters—or Rotary or Elk or whatever—fulfill the function that the guilds did in their best, greenest days. Most contemporary business-and-conviviality associations seem devoted to

The city as a form of social organization was probably first established 5,000 years ago, although agricultural villages began nearly 7,000 years ago. As they developed over the centuries, cities have given coherence and direction to society, functioning as military fortresses, religious centers, and markets. The character of American politics and culture has been heavily influenced by cities, especially in the nineteenth century when a great increase in urban population, caused by migrations from abroad and from the American farm, and the introduction of large-scale manufacturing, began a process leading to many of the problems which collectively comprise today's "urban crisis."

This reading list has been selected to provide a broad introduction to urban history, with emphasis on the history of American cities. Several of the books furnish a general view of the subject, but the selections are also designed to supply specific material on individual cities and particular dimensions of the urban experience.

The list was prepared by a panel under the sponsorship of the Urban Studies Center of The University of Toledo. Panelists were Charles N. Glaab (chairman), Professor of History, The University of Toledo; Zane Miller, Associate Professor of History, University of Cincinnati; Dwight W. Hoover, Professor of History, Ball State University; and Allen L. Dickes, graduate student in History, The University of Toledo.

Good Reading

THE CITY IN HISTORY: ITS ORIGINS, ITS TRANSFORMATIONS, AND ITS PROSPECTS. Lewis Mumford. *New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961. 576 pp. Available in paperback.*

One of our foremost humanistic scholars and spokesmen, Mumford uses architecture and technology as means to analyze the course of man's development. This work, which yields in the end a pessimistic view of the fate of urban society, provides a panoramic view of the evolution of the city in the Western world from neolithic agricultural village to contemporary megalopolis. Although the book is sometimes difficult and ponderous, it is nearly always stimulating and often poetic. The historical documentation is extensive and the volume is handsomely illustrated. The fifty-five page bibliography, which annotates particularly significant works, furnishes an invaluable aid to those who wish to read further.

THE ECONOMY OF CITIES. Jane Jacobs. *New York: Random House, 1969. 268 pp. Available in paperback.*

Jane Jacobs' analysis provides an interesting contrast to the anti-urbanism of Lewis Mumford. She argues that cities, since their earliest beginnings, have provided the foundation for both agricultural and commercial economies and have been the force stimulating the growth of civilization. Although critics have questioned the soundness of many of Miss Jacobs' theories of urban growth, she is a strong and articulate defender of an urban pattern of life.

VICTORIAN CITIES. Asa Briggs. *New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963. 424 pp. Available in paperback.*

Through an examination of five English cities, from the 1830's to the turn of the twentieth century, this brilliantly written study explores the attempts of the people of the Victorian Age to accommodate to the industrial city. Briggs emphasizes the contradictory sentiments people felt toward the triumphs and problems of rapid urbanization. His work is strengthened by comparisons with cities in the United States and Australia, and his general discussions place the history of English cities in a world context. This is a model study in urban history.

AMERICAN CITIES IN THE GROWTH OF THE NATION. Constance McLaughlin Green. *London: The Athlone Press, 1957. 258 pp. Available in paperback.*

Mrs. Green, who is perhaps our best-known biographer of individual American cities, does not provide a synthesis of American urban history as the title of this work might indicate, but she does furnish colorful, well written sketch histories of sixteen American cities which were founded and grew to maturity at various periods of the nation's development. Mrs. Green argues that cities were a dynamic force in pushing forward the frontier and in the development of American civilization.

A HISTORY OF URBAN AMERICA. Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown. *New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967. 328 pp. Available in paperback.*

This book represented an initial attempt to synthesize available scholarship in our nation's urban history and has not yet been superseded by a later account. The authors stress the significance of the American city as the cradle for independence, the focus of frontier growth, the nursery of enterprise, and the matrix of governmental and political change. The work, which emphasizes cities in the nineteenth century and does not extend beyond the Second World War, is particularly interesting in its examination of ideas concerning the city and the meaning of urban life in America.

CITIES IN THE WILDERNESS. Carl Bridenbaugh. *New York: The Ronald Press, 1938. 500 pp. Available in paperback.*

Carl Bridenbaugh, a pioneer in the writing of American urban history, traces the history of the five largest colonial cities and demonstrates that an urban society emerged with the first settlements on the North American continent. The early cities were the centers for a commercial civilization; they provided political leadership, and within them originated important social movements and intellectual activities. In addition to indicating the significance of colonial cities, the author presents a fascinating detailed account of life in colonial America.

THE URBAN FRONTIER: THE RISE OF WESTERN CITIES. 1790-1830. Richard C. Wade. *Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. 362 pp. Available in paperback.*

This original and influential study examines the history of the early development of five river cities: Pittsburgh, Lexington, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. Wade advances an original thesis that has influenced much subsequent writing in American urban history: that the founding and growth of cities played a vital part in the settlement of the American frontier. He contends that the cities "spearheaded" the frontier movement instead of following behind the line of advancing settlement. The work contains much fascinating detail on social life, politics, business and culture in the early cities of the West.

THE TWEED RING. Alexander B. Callow. *New York: Oxford University Press, 1966. 351 pp. Available in paperback.*

The city boss and his machine have long been a part of the politics and government of cities. William Tweed of New York was one of the most colorful and corrupt of the nineteenth-century bosses. In this careful narrative of the history of the Tweed Ring, the author shows how Tweed used diverse groups in the community to gain control of New York and then stole from those who gave him power. Although some have questioned Callow's assertion that Tweed was a prototype of a modern political boss, this well-written study provides an excellent introduction to the history of American urban politics.

BOSTON'S IMMIGRANTS. Oscar Handlin. *Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. 382 pp. Available in paperback.*

This important work changed the established view of the position of the immigrant in American cities. Instead of being welcomed, the millions of nineteenth-century immigrants who fled Europe encountered a hostile environment that forced them to organize life within their own communities. The Irish community of Boston, in particular, eventually forced the city to respond to problems of congestion, housing, and sanitation. In addition to reinterpreting a significant topic, Handlin supplies a vivid, sympathetic account of the life of the poor in 19th century American cities.

HARLEM: THE MAKING OF A GHETTO. Gilbert Osofsky. *New York: Harper and Row, 1966. 259 pp. Available in paperback.*

Racial unrest and concern with urban problems have fostered a number of studies of the history of the Negro in the city of which this work is a representative and valuable example. Osofsky carefully documents the movement of Black New Yorkers from various districts of the city and eventually to Harlem. He explains carefully and soberly the process by which an area becomes a ghetto, the character of the institutions of the ghetto and its enduring nature. Osofsky's work furnishes valuable historical insight into one of our most serious contemporary urban problems.

Suggestions for Discussion

1. Throughout much of human history the city has been a force in the growth and development of society and has been closely associated with the idea of civilization itself. Yet many have seen the city as a source of evil and the cause of basic problems in society. What elements inherent in cities account for this attraction and repulsion? How do we explain the contradictions, ambiguities, and contrasts in attitudes of people toward the city?

2. The American political boss and political machine have been viewed as sources of dishonesty and corruption in American politics. Yet historians have argued that these institutions were a response to the conditions of American life and often performed valuable functions, especially for minority groups. To what extent did (or does) the "machine" represent a threat to American representative government or a reasonable device for dealing with the complexities and realities of urban life?

3. Throughout our history European immigrants, the rural poor and Southern Negroes have migrated to American cities in search of opportunity. To what extent did the city actually provide a means by which people could rise from poverty and escape discriminatory practices? What changes in this role of the city as a place to advance in life occurred in the twentieth century?

4. The late nineteenth century has been described as the golden age of cities in the United States and Western Europe. How valid is this description?

5. Political leaders, newspapers, magazines, and television inform us that the American city is in a state of crisis. How does the present urban crisis differ from earlier ones? Are present problems the result of a continuing crisis of the city? ☐

(ROTARY, Continued from page 5)

perpetuating the status quo, to sanctioning economic achievement rather than offering a channel to it. Poor whites, blacks, American Indians, the Spanish-surnamed will probably have to rely on their own voluntary associations to guide them through urbanization.

But the lesson of the voluntary associations—from the cobblers getting drunk together to the Danes awaiting the results of the ballotation to the transplanted African tribesmen electing a nurse—is that we all need a button to stick in our lapels, a Victoria Cross, a Legion of Honor ribbon, a Phi Beta Kappa key. With only a few decades to assert to the world that each of us once lived and differed from everybody else, we all fear futility, we all seek purpose; it is notable that after castigating his Booster's pretensions for 316 pages, Sinclair Lewis spent the last three making Babbitt a hero.

While other anthropologists make plans to move in on natives in Australia, Africa, or Tierra del Fuego, Chrisman hopes to continue his study of urbanization by moving in with another group of natives in the American city. He has applied for membership in the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. □

(ETHICS, Continued from page 4)

The Institute gave students an inside look at the values that shape public attitudes in a controversial situation. In addition, the project suggested curricular and career alternatives to USC.

One Institute graduate has joined the staff of a community-planning organization. Another has become intern at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, analyzing the value-biases that underlie urban planning. And a local police department has expressed interest in having USC students do a futures study aimed at improving police-community relations.

USC's departments of English, Spanish, Philosophy, Comparative Literature, and Linguistics are all exploring curricular revisions that will prepare their graduates for other pursuits as well as teaching. Specific possibilities include re-thinking humanities education in relation to gerontology and training linguists in test-design to overcome the "cultural bias" implicit in the IQ and other instruments.

Whatever its effect on Los Angeles, it appears that Orr's Institute has stimulated a search for new alternatives in education that will notably affect the future of the humanities at the University of Southern California.