

THE PARADOX OF HALLOWE'EN: MASKED PERFORMANCE AND
ANXIETY IN A NORTH AMERICAN RITUAL

ACCEPTED

by

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to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

Hallowe'en is a currently widespread North American festival that was elaborated in the 19th and early 20th century by Irish and Scottish immigrants. It takes place on the night of October 31st when youthful mummers, enveloped in a special aura of intense social anxiety, journey from house to house begging candy. It now includes school parties, late night adult celebrations, youthful disruption of the peace, and is also perceived as particularly threatening to the safety of children. This myth is largely sustained by the popular media. All participants, almost without exception, are disguised. As a topic of anthropological research it provides us with the classic scenario; many of the reasons for its existence are completely unknown and its importance considerably downplayed by a public who, nonetheless, enthusiastically and anxiously celebrates its passage.

Data was collected over a period of two Hallowe'ens (1982-1983). Interpretation of the results relied on communication theory: an appreciation of the inversive nature of thought and metaphor and its communicative extension into sign, symbol and deed. The results are understood in this thesis from diachronic and synchronic

perspectives, so a considerable portion of the text relates to the festival's origins, both remote and more recent. The linkage of history to symbolic analysis is intended to show how meaning and interpretation are transmitted over generations and how this creates subsequent sequences of meaningful encounters between generations.

The conclusions reached are that Hallowe'en is now, and has long been, a night of the year in which society and its members "review" an ongoing state of perceived "reality". This involves the reproduction of social roles, social control, and epistemological constructions. A socially agreed upon reality is a nebulous construct, always a little beyond our grasp, always fading, blending and being re-synthesized. Hallowe'en is an exercise in its reconstruction.

In conclusion, some suggestions are made regarding directions for further research. Since very little in any depth has ever been written on the subject the possibilities are considerable.

Examiners



(Peter H. Stephenson)



(N. Ross Crumrine)



(Janet Beaven Bavelas)



(Penny Parry)

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Finally I must acknowledge with gratitude the burden this work has placed upon my family, my husband John and my daughters Leah and Jessie. They have put up with my absence, tolerated the tension and listened to years of seemingly endless speculation. Their relief over its completion must be even greater than my own.

for Professor Bernard B. Kinsey
and Mr. Eric Earnshaw

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

SUBJECT MATTER

In August of 1982 a fellow graduate student, Mr. Brian Horne, and I sat mutually bemoaning our respective research projects. "Change it entirely and do yours on Hallowe'en," he exclaimed. Brian had collected a number of newspaper articles on Hallowe'en in Victoria going back into the last century and was extremely interested in the festival. I remember the excitement I felt when it rapidly dawned on me that this ritual was active, alive, part of my own way of life and had never been studied in any detail before. As do many students, I attempted to take on far more than I could ever hope to manage successfully, but the results have been fascinating. Inconclusive though they are, I hope others will continue where I have left off.

HALLOWE'EN IN VICTORIA

Preparations

In Victoria, the first week of October issues in the initial stages of Hallowe'en's commercial activity. Costume and joke shops where disguises of one sort or another can be either purchased or rented, are opened to the public or at least cleaned and "spruced up". Pharmacies and supermarkets begin to display Hallowe'en packaged candy. By mid month

recreation centres, supermarkets, department stores and malls are dressed up in festive attire: usually a decorative mixture of a ghostly nether realm and a bountiful harvest. Candy sales are increasingly promoted in most shops selling edible items.

In their homes children, adolescents and adults mull over an almost infinite variety of potential costumes. By mid-month most choices have been made and the prospective celebrants have become concerned now with the bits and pieces of the costumes' configuration. Mothers and fathers plan carefully sewn disguises, resort to "thrown together" affairs or sometimes prefer just not to think about the problem at all. The latter option becomes less feasible as the festival's promotional activity becomes daily more frantic and children clamor for a new identity to wear on Hallowe'en night.

Schools, already plastered in leafy attire, add "cut out" paper ghosts, goblins, skeletons, witches and pumpkins to their walls. Concern for Hallowe'en safety is written and broadcast everywhere. The children are warned that they run the risk of being consumed by a monster, run over by a truck, are in risk of breaking a leg on ill-lit steps, that they will suffer the torture of tooth decay as a consequence of their sugary rewards and that last, but certainly not least, they run the risk of being fed a poisoned apple by

some neighbour in a hag's costume, offered at a nearby front door. Adding a certain terrifying sobriety to these warnings police appear in the schools in the week before the 31st. They warn the little ones to behave, but also to watch out for the misbehaviour of others, both adult and child. Parents are admonished to watch out for the little ones.

Hallowe'en:the day

Many elementary and even secondary schools have parties during the day on the 31st and some children also go home early. In the community at large much is more or less as usual: barring the block long queues winding away from costume shops that are doing a frenzied last few hours of business.

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In many homes candles are lit and pumpkins carved as the hour before dusk fades away. Pumpkins are put in windows, on pathways and in doorways. If parties are planned the decorations tend to be far more elaborate: intricate string spider webs, squashy ghosts in closets, and imitation blood on walls, etc.

Small children are helped into their costumes, provided with some sort of large bag and taken out "trick or treating" in the dark. They knock at the neighbourhood doors and thrusting out their bags demand a treat (candy),

threatening a trick if the treat is not forthcoming.¹

Seldom today are children sent out on their own. Often a parent will drive them to a particularly lucrative looking block of houses and wait. By seven o'clock the first wave of little ones has returned home and the second wave of pre-adolescents is still abroad. These older children tend to remain in groups. Sometimes they are accompanied by an adult, sometimes not. If not they are often robbed of their loot by children still larger. Between 9 o'clock and midnight the occasional relatively unwelcome University student appears at the door, bag in hand. Finally there is quiet, but for the gay lights and loud laughter of the party across the road.

Masquerade parties take place for every age group although they are more commonly attended by adolescents and adults. They are currently very popular in Victoria and many secondary schools have parties on Hallowe'en night. Frequently adults and teenagers get together to dress. There is much laughter and, for the adults, pre-party drinking. The party host, or the participants themselves, usually supply great quantities of food and drink and appropriate Hallowe'en decoration. There is tremendous gaiety and considerable drunkenness on Hallowe'en for many younger adults.

Dr. Janet Beavin Bavelas, and the late Gregory Bateson, whose ideas concerning communication, expressed in "Pragmatics..." and "Ecology of Mind", etc., respectively, form major cornerstones in the following work and in my own special interest in the anthropology of communication. I am also grateful to Dr. Beavin Bavelas for her interest in being on my committee, and for her helpful advice when I ran aground with the school board, all further research with children then seeming impossible.

Very special thanks is expressed to Mrs. Lucille Donnelly whose incredibly generous attempts to master the frustrations of the computer helped me to rapidly get my ideas on paper. I thank my good friend Brian Horne, as well, for suggesting the topic of this thesis in the beginning, a topic that so much satisfied my craving to study something which is an active part of Canadian life. Help from Dale Walde and Norm Easton when I was stuck on the "machine" cannot be overlooked, nor the generously tolerated theft of Jim Davies' desk: all fellow graduate students.

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assistance this research would not have been possible: Deputy Chief Wyatt of the Esquimalt Police, Inspector Colter of the Saanich Police, Staff Sergeant Bob Newton of the Victoria Police, Mrs. Wilmot, Principal of Norfolk House, Mrs. Sendall, Principal of St. Margaret's School, Mrs. Mackelroy of St. Michael's School and, in particular, Mr. Keith Walker, Assistant Principal of Glenlyon School.

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In recent years the film industries have produced and shown films such as Hallowe'en I and Hallowe'en II. These depict various Hallowe'en gaities that abruptly and mythically go horribly awry.

Vandalism occurs although its incidence and seriousness in no way corresponds to its prior anticipation and description by the media. The most common occurrences are smashed pumpkins, soaped car windows, flattened tires and the throwing of eggs at such moving vehicles as police cars, school buses, taxis and estate "luxury cars."

Summary

From this description of the festival's activities in Victoria in the 1980's, it becomes apparent that Hallowe'en is 1) a highly lucrative commercial enterprise, 2) participated in by a very large percentage of the population at large, particularly children, and 3) its main focus is the disguise (typically a mask), ensconced within a web of extremely ancient symbolic elements that to most of the participants have no meaning other than that they are part of Hallowe'en. Most adolescents and adults appear to regard the festival as something of a joke and nuisance and yet paradoxically would never dream of giving it up. Its ancient symbolic content suggests that its roots wind deep into our past; its popular and commercial nature make it very much an active part of our present. In the following pages I will

briefly discuss my research and this thesis' intention to intertwine that past with this present.

ACQUISITION OF DATA

In the fall of 1982 Brian Horne and I surveyed approximately 80 University students and 70 school children from two private Victoria schools. We scoured the newspapers in October for articles on Hallowe'en. I went to the Saanich and Fairfield communities' Silver Threads Society and taped numerous interviews with elderly individuals who discussed Hallowe'ens long passed. Mr. Horne interviewed the constable in charge of statistics for the police department of the City of Victoria. We also obtained a photographic record of 217 costumed individuals, taken in schools, classrooms, recreation centres, malls, supermarkets and at parties.

In the following year I added to the photographic record and surveyed more University students. I obtained the kind cooperation of three schools in Victoria and surveyed 272 more children in grades 3,6 and 9, half of whom were male and half female. I went to the Saanich, Victoria, Esquimalt and Colwood police and spoke to a number of officers. In the previous summer I had spent four weeks in the University library researching newspaper articles for October and November across Canada. These dated back in some instances to 1840, but no earlier. The following pages examine

Hallowe'en, from its very ancient Celtic appearance to its modern presence in North America in the 1980's.

SUMMARY OF TEXT

Chapter II

In Chapter II I discuss the ancient Celtic culture from which many elements of Hallowe'en are derived. The emphases to be made here concern the transitory nature of the festival's beginning. Occurring on October 31st the new year ritual of Samhain bridged a calendrical alternation between summer's end and the beginning of winter. Being a period in between, October the 31st was given over to the worship of life and its fruition, death and winter's cold, and the movement of the former into the latter. Oppositions were re-synthesized; death walked abroad and was worshiped by the living. Cultural structures were reversed and the symbolic iconography of their communicative intent have come down to us through the centuries. Roman Catholic and later Protestant incorporation of these elements suggest their profoundly powerful content. On October the 31st, in the 1980's, in Victoria, cultural structure and social norms continue to be reversed in a most interesting continuation of this same theme of death among the living celebrants.

Chapter III

Chapter III is devoted to the social conditions underlying Hallowe'en's development in the last century in North America. At this time cultural structure changed dramatically and new social, economic and demographic factors lent themselves well to the development of a rite of inversion. This rite became Hallowe'en as we know it today. Its ancient communicative iconography and, in particular, its myth, resurfaced and with it new and annually transient behaviour.

Chapter IV

My local research is described in Chapter IV. Our cultural and social structures are radically different from Celtic Britain and Ireland but newspaper research, surveys, interviews and costume data suggest strongly that the ancient myth of the inversive nature of the festival of Samhain is here as powerful as ever it was before. The symbolic content of the festival, conveying the latter, is also remarkably enduring. The reasons for this are addressed in the following pages.

Chapter V

In Chapter V I have taken some conceptual ideas concerning metaphor, communication and ritual and have applied them to the Hallowe'en data. I find that Hallowe'en

is an annual rite of passage for children and a rite of reversal with elements of intensification for all.

A rite of reversal is a ritual predominated by the symbolic expression of a negative image of a normative relationship. This inversion is particularly fundamental to thought and its communication among human beings for we are specifically symbol-using animals. As such nearly all experience is imbued with symbolic content and thus, consequently, the negative image, which here is generally implicit. In rites of reversal this negative image is made temporarily explicit. Rites of passage celebrate the changes in an individual's social life as sets of roles are sloughed off and adopted. As such they celebrate both a beginning and an end, and thus usually make copious use of ritualized inversion. Rites of intensification celebrate the productive passage of the seasons and likewise utilize the negative.

My research suggests that ritual inversion heightens awareness and encourages questioning, re-examination, decision making and consequently the learning of new roles.

Chapter VI

In Chapter VI I show how all the elements from ancient Ireland to the present combine in a pattern of development. Cultural structure and social conditions and activities

always change. But this change or movement sifts about an inner core of myth that seems immutable; that is that October 31st is a night of the year in limbo, a night neither here nor there, a "non-place" where novelty and new roles are born.

CONCLUSION

Hallowe'en appears to be a dramatically special social performance, powerfully directed at informing us all what cultural reality really is. This reality is a production involving individuals and relationships: thus Hallowe'en concerns itself with roles, the only way the latter two can be defined.

Thought seems to proceed in metaphorical shifts: we think of things in terms of other things. Roles are learned throughout a lifetime and are reconsidered in a metaphorical pattern analogous to the thought process. Ritual then is a powerful mode for the communication of their relationship. Interestingly, rituals such as Hallowe'en provide certain physiological and physical conditions (see Chapter V: Cohen, Berlyne, Turner, Wallace) highly conducive to the rapid new learning of such roles.

Thus Hallowe'en's ancient myth of social inversion descends to us through the centuries: as a night when the dead rise and walk abroad and as an annual occasion for the

occurrence of all things that ought not to be. At a societal level we believe this: goodies will be contaminated and extra men are put on the police force. At an individual level we do also: we fear the "kook" waiting in the doorway with the proverbial poisoned apple. In entering the fairy tale anti-world of Hallowe'en's ritualized inversion, we clarify our view of its antithesis, the normal realm we have temporarily put aside. Similarly, the child is sent out into a realm different in degree and kind from home and school. Here the realities of daylight hours are clarified and a model for proper role performance practiced and rewarded. In metaphorical fashion, for adult and child, and the society they constitute and reproduce, somewhere between both extremes new light is shed. Somewhere between the matrix of convention and the husk of spontaneous novelty a seed of emergent potential is sewn.

FOOTNOTES

1. The "trick", as will be discussed later, is a term that is confusing to many. At least fifty percent of the time it means a performance given for which the reward will be a treat.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS

Severed sacred heads, venerated and sacrificial animals, the cult of heros and the worship of the dead, reverence for nature in all her moods, gods and goddesses of every kind with their chancy, touchy, powers over mankind, all these are to be found in wild, chaotic profusion in the magic...world of our common past.

(Ross 1981:211)

In Celtic myth, during a period of conflict between natural powers (bloom and blight, fruition and failure, summer and winter) the gods were understood to be particularly hostile and dangerous. They went out amongst the living, played cruel tricks and opposed each other (Ross 1981). In the Celtic and perhaps pre-celtic British Isles the new year celebration of Samhain bridged such a conflict. Marking summer's end and the beginning of winter, the night of October the 31st was given over to the worship of the earth and her bounty, life and its leave-taking and death and winter's cold. Caesar tells us that the god of death had particular significance to the Celt; he was implored for mercy, and his subjects, the dead, were worshiped (Ainsworth 1980). Hallowe'en is almost certainly a surviving constellation of elements from this period. As in ancient times when the dead rose and gods walked among men, so now do the spirits of the dead and the evil anti-social forces

of immorality and the macabre. In the following pages I will describe the changing pagan and Christian world of which this festival was originally a part.

Information and postulation concerning celtic and pre-celtic life and ritual can be gleaned from a variety of disciplines. Early Irish myth and literature has in some cases been convincingly substantiated by archaeological finds such as the excavations at Emain Macha, near Armagh town in northern Ireland (Ross 1981:208-211). Experimental archaeology such as at the Butser Ancient Farm Research Project in southern England (P. Reynolds 1981:79-93), linguistic analysis (Ternes 1981; Wagner 1981), mythological analysis (Campbell 1981), the work of art historians and on the spot commentaries by Romans such as Caesar in 55 B.C., Tacitus and others, provide us with a wealth of information.

THE CELTS

Origins

The Celts¹ appear (in archaeological record) between northeastern France and Bohemia by at least the 8th century B.C. With the opening of the Alpine Passes in the 6th century trade and commerce with the south brought them to the attention of the then "civilized" worlds. They were a stratified society, the aristocracy of which lived in substantial fortified residences, and, significantly, they

seem to have regarded their women as equal to men². By the 5th century they appear heavily armed and mobile, moving south into Italy (threatening Rome in 387 B.C.), on into central Europe and the Carpathian Basin, the Balkins, Greece, and to the west into what is now northern, western and southern France. Referred to as Gauls by the Romans they were both admired and feared. Constant movement created smaller, increasingly impermanent settlements, although an aristocratic and sedentary class held on in Germany, perhaps through control of iron deposits. In the 3rd century B.C., at the height of their power, they crossed the channel into Britain (Filip 1981). From Finistere on the Atlantic to the Black Sea, and from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, their domination and technological superiority was at this time complete.³ In the first century B.C. they fell to Rome, probably because of the latter's organizational skills and their own tribal social structure and territorial over-extension. Celtic Ireland and Scotland however never became part of the Roman Empire, nor were they conquered by the Anglo-Normans of the 12th century A.D. Here Celtic civilization flourished, enhanced by Christianity, for the following 1500 years (Filip 1981; Reynolds 1981).⁴

Pre-celtic substratum

It is apposite here to mention that while Celtic culture

entered the British Isles in the third century B.C., Ireland had been occupied by a Mesolithic people since at least 7,000 B.C. Around 4,000 B.C. an influx of new groups brought to Ireland farming, new religious beliefs and a cult of the dead involving the construction of megalithic tombs (Eogan 1981:95-117).⁵ Celtic culture thus became an overlay on ways of life long in prior existence. Much of what I shall discuss as "Celtic" in the following pages may be simply pre-celtic practice, that has been adopted and changed.

Society

By the first century B.C. perhaps as many as four million people populated Britain (P.J. Reynolds 1981).⁶ Caesar describes large numbers of buildings in southern England and evidence from areal photographs suggests a dense population with settlements (isolated holdings) every kilometre or less. Along with agriculture, sheep were raised for their wool, cattle for their meat and milk, fowl as pets and plantations of trees for the purpose of house building. Seed grain was stored in huge pits, over what Tacitus described as a "foedum" (filthy) winter, for shipment in the spring (along with leather, hunting dogs, slaves and iron implements) to the continent.

Celtic society was organized in a hierarchical system of individual autonomous units; there were kings, tribal

chiefdoms, warriors, the aes dana (the men of special gifts: druids, bards, doctors, historians) and the ordinary freemen. In spite of this tribal structure, celtic military skill and expertise were attested to by Caesar in his diaries during abortive Roman expeditions in 55 and 54 B.C. (P. Reynolds 1981:79).⁷

Philosophy and art

Individual freedom was revered by the Celts who revelled in self-glory. For them, order in the universe had its own internal growth, not perceived by the Romans (nor later Roman Christians) who fought to impose it in organized fashion from without.⁸ Celtic art, in expressing this, concentrated meaning; it flowed out from a centre, used stylized features, and was ambiguous. Celtic aesthetics avoided bounds, finding common spiritual unity in man and all nature. Campbell (1981:7) illustrates this world view well:

...Eternity in Time: which is where we all are, actually, if we but knew. For is not the natural world renewing itself all around us continually? It is only in holding onto the idea of ourselves who are to die...that we are blinded to this.

In Celtic philosophy opposites are divisive and destructive in their boundedness.

For any deity named, defined,
 personified and with qualities...is by
 such definition bounded. God's
 opposite, Satan, is thus inevitably his
 fellow.

(Campbell 1981:7)

It is the Middle Way that is to be followed, the mystical path to transcendence of knowledge and of mere bounded being. In one version of the legend of the Holy Grail, the "Neutral Angels" (who, during the War in Heaven, sided neither with Lucifer nor with God) bring the miraculous vessel from heaven to earth. Between the claims of the ultimate pair-of-opposites they have held steady⁹ and so in a sense represent what has been called this middle path. The Grail, symbol of transcendence, is deposited in the blessed islands of the golden apples and immortal life: the Avalon (Apple Land) of Arthurian legend.¹⁰ Campbell (1981:21) writes:

The Middle Way, that is to say, is not an easy way, and may require of its traveler indifference to the opinion, not only of the world, but also even of its God;..."Man's last and highest leavetaking is the leaving of God for God" (the mystic Eckhart). The God named and supposed to be known, together with his opposite, the Devil, is to be left behind in the passage by the Middle Way to the tree by the well, where the white birds merrily sing.

Belief system

The seasons, and not months, were the ancient primary subdivisions of the year and Celtic time was reckoned seasonally based on a solar cycle (Danaher 1981).¹¹

Four major festivals marked the beginning of these seasons: Imbolc (February 1st), Bealtaine (May 1st), Lunasa (August 1st) and Samhain (November 1st).¹² Each season was of nearly equivalent duration: 92 - 92 - 92 - and 89 days respectively. Common features equated each with all.

- 1) Each was a calendar landmark as the first day of a season.
- 2) Each was thought to bring a change in weather conditions.
- 3) Each marked an important change in work conditions.
- 4) Each include ceremonies designed to protect and bless.
- 5) Each was a time for fairs, assemblies, payment of rent, rural contracts, etc.
- 6) In all, divination of the future was practiced.
- 7) Bonfires were lit (except Imbolc).
- 8) Each included festivities with fruit and flowers appropriate to the season.
- 9) Mumming with masks occurred from house to house.
- 10) Supernatural forces and beings were active.

(Danaher 1981)

Thus in a complete sense each festival marked a beginning

and an end, a transition, a breakdown of routine and barriers, a man-made and anxiety ridden punctuation of time in the eternity of the climatic cycle. And it is also probable that these festivals or equivalents were of immense antiquity, coming into being whenever, in the depths of our past, humanity felt the need to exert its influence, so to speak, on the passage of natural events.

Passage tombs (large mound structures) and an elaborate cult of the dead possibly originating in Brittany spread to Ireland in the 5th or 4th millenia B.C.¹³ By the time of the Celtic occupation of Britain these ancient monuments, withdrawn into myth and legend, became the abode of superhuman heroes of old. With Christianity the heroes, now diminished in size, became fairies.¹⁴

Roman accounts suggest ritual precincts were of various types; most commonly mentioned are sacred groves of oak or beech.¹⁵ Sacred sites included springs, wells and open stretches of water. Masks appear as an important part of the rituals. Usually made of bronze, they were fixed to wooden pillars in the sacred places, and it was in these sacred spots that the Romans found great treasures of gold and silver. Ritual cauldrons also played an important role, as did sacrifice. Human¹⁶, animal (particularly dogs) and artifactual sacrifices were made in the groves, in bogs (Glob 1969), in pits, wells, lakes and off cliffs (the

island of Anglesey off the west coast of Wales). In an evolved symbolism particular tribal gods often acquired special and widespread standing--in particular the horse goddess (detailed in subsequent pages) (Filip 1981).

There is considerable disagreement as to whether an organized priesthood or philosopher class existed in the Celtic Isles (Chadwick 1966; Ross 1981; Wright 1924). Hull's description of their activities (1908) and that of Ross of their appearance (1981) would suggest rather that they were a particularly powerful class of shaman. But Reynolds holds that:

The documentary sources also tell us of the Druids, the scholar-priest class, and of how it was common practice for the Celtic scholars of Europe to come to Britain for the finest training available, a reference to whose authority is borne out by the ferocity with which the Romans sought to eradicate the Druid class, culminating in their mass slaughter on the shores of Anglesey in 60 A.D.¹⁷

(P. Reynolds 1981:79)

It is impossible to know, but whatever their precise role, their beliefs probably pre-date Celtic occupation.¹⁸

Gods and goddesses often appeared in triplicate manifestation and occasionally they achieved widespread recognition. Of special interest was Cernunnos, the horned god: venerable, benign, god of commercial prosperity, lord

of the woods. Also important was the horse goddess, revered in Ireland as Macha, in Britain as Epona and in Wales as Rhiannon. Celts were deeply concerned with female power,¹⁹ combining in them a fascination for the interplay between nature and the supernatural. This was paralleled in their society where women enjoyed significant power.²⁰

They envisaged a life after death in which the souls of the newly departed existed in the bodies of lower animals for a year. On the eve of November the first, Samhain Lord of the dead, released them from their confinement and led them to heaven where life was much the same as on earth, only happier (L. Reynolds 1981; Linton 1950).

Symbolic elements

Fire, earth and water, as well as the sun, were of ritual importance. The dog was a revered and sacrificial animal, its remains commonly appearing in ritual pits all over Britain (Ross 1981:211). The concept of the cat as being a sinister and magical creature is extremely ancient (Linton 1950), and the boar in northwestern Europe held a special ritual importance in religious and military life (appearing often on emblems or standards) (Filip 1981). Along with the goat all four of these animals in much later times became witches' familiars, retaining the ancient concept of the movement of men's souls into animal form. Female symbolism was multifaceted and pervasive. Its manifestations

concerned sexuality, fecundity, sovereignty²¹ and war. Moreover, goddesses often had zoomorphic or ornithomorphic characteristics (i.e. alternation between hag, young girl, grey or white crow, raven and boar). Most of these religious beliefs were later held to be deeply antithetical to Christian belief.

THE CELTIC CHURCH

The difficulty, of course, is that the heritage sought for is that of a beginning--which, as a beginning, is shrouded in mystery, continuing in mystery and ending in mystery...One gets the sense, indeed, trying to unravel the different strands of scholarship, legend and archaeology, of entering into relation with a moment in history in which the spiritual is so close and clearly involved with the phenomenal that all one's usual means of understanding are wanting.

(Bamford 1981:169)

The beginning

It is unknown when and how Christianity first arrived in the Celtic Isles. It seems always to have been there. Legend repeatedly associates saga with saint, and legend also has it

...that Paradise, before the Fall and Lucifer's temptation, had made a part of the world its own (Ireland).

(Bamford 1981:171)

So legend is emphatic that there was no Christian beginning.

Yet, Gildas, in the sixth century, wrote:

...these islands received the beams of light... in the latter part of the reign of Tiberius Caesar...

(Bamford 1981:171)

Tiberius, though, died in 37 A.D. It is also possible that it entered gently with trade via Glastonbury by the second century A.D.,²² without Roman assistance.

Establishment and decline

Early Irish Christianity was something very different from the following Roman catholicism and the variety brought in still later from Norman England at the time of the conquest by Henry II in 1171 A.D.

St.Patrick, born in Scotland or Wales in 387 A.D.²³ was responsible for significant numbers of early conversions and his success here was due to his willingness to accept indigenous traditions and to adapt his teaching to them (Bamford 1981).

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that many of the earliest Irish monks had been Druids and fili, or bards, before their conversions, and they carried on in their Christianity something of the momentum of their earlier sense of a common spiritual ground to be recognized, in silent wonder, in themselves and in the natural world, all about.

(Campbell 1981;8)

The traditional Celtic philosophy of the proximity of heaven and earth, of human and divine in nature was enhanced and embraced by the manner of his teachings and he seems to have established a church in perfect conformity with Irish spirituality. But there were differences between the Roman and Celtic churches, differences that eventually cost the latter its continued power. Indeed, these differences lay in Patrick's very success. The overall ethos of the Celtic church, rising from its tribal and rural background (in an absolute sense, there being no villages of significant size, no state, nation or kind, only isolated autonomous tribal holdings) created an independence in organizational habits that became a real bone of contention.²⁴ This independence threatened the growing organizational power of the Roman church. In 597 A.D., the year of Augustine's arrival, it ceased to exist, but for a millennium afterwards its legacy of philosopher and hermit mystic thrived in its stead.

THE ROMAN CHURCH

Roman power came to an official end in 409 A.D. With Scots and Picts raiding from the north, mercenaries from the scandinavian and northwestern coast of Europe (Angles, Saxons and Jutes) were invited in by indigenous groups as a supplementary force. Paid in land they remained and by the end of the sixth century a new and distinctive Anglo-Saxon England had emerged: a conglomeration of local feuding

kingdoms (Savage 1982).

Incorporation

In this milieu Roman Catholic power waxed and waned, for missionary work depended in large part on the support of local strong and receptive monarchs. The pragmatic solution of inclusion of pagan beliefs, rather than abolishment, was a well understood necessity. In a letter to Abbot Mellitus, with instructions for Augustine, first Archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Gregory the Great wrote that:

...the temples of the idols in the nation ought not to be destroyed but that the idols should. That the sacrifice of oxen in pagan worship should be allowed to continue, but that this should be done in honour of the saints and sacred relics.

(Linton 1950)

The long drawn out struggle with paganism seems not to have come to an end until the seventh century when the Druids (and thus the organization) were finally displaced. "From this time on there existed a workable 'modus vivendi' which guaranteed the formal primacy of the Church without compelling people to choose between Catholic teaching and the vast body of pagan tradition" (MacCana 1981:149). Pagan powers were canalized into Christian powers, and many of the lesser gods and goddesses were made official saints. In 834 A.D. November 1st was established by Pope Gregory as All

Saints' Day, and two centuries later, All Souls' Day, on November 2nd. Without accident, both Holy days closely coincided with the Celtic New Year and popular pagan notions of roaming spirits, death and resurrection.

This policy of incorporation was thus a pragmatic expedient for the Church. Its relatively easy-going tolerance must be related, to some extent, to the fact that as an organized competitor paganism offered no real nor perceived threat. I would suggest further that there existed no European political force in the first millennium A.D. that was capable of crossing the papacy's power. Christian theology was in all places a varying imposition on ancient pagan notions. Certain clerics did criticize local practice, but their grumbling seems to have been limited to paper. Augustine, for example, claimed that the dead went straight to the otherworld without the assistance of the living. He took a dim view of the drunken parties and feasts held at gravesides for the consolation and refreshment of the dead. Others took the same position regarding similar festivities on the feast days of martyrs and on Holy days for the dead, such as All Saints' and All Souls' Day.

Exclusion

By the twelfth century the wealthy and heavily bureaucratized church had for some time been embroiled in

European political matters. While hundreds of cathedrals were erected in honour of God, Pope Innocent III, in the same God's honour, slaughtered thousands of innocent men, women and children in what came to be called the Albigensian Crusade. The Knights Templar, an organization formed in 1118, took upon itself the role of protector of Christendom, and immediately made such a lucrative business of this that its strength quickly grew to exceed the control of any monarch or pope. Europe became enmeshed in a struggle for power never before seen. For economic reasons and political ends people were forced to profess beliefs they did not hold. The various aristocracies and the papacy, richer, more competitive, mobile and ethically looser than in previous centuries, were, correlationally, increasingly insecure and concerned with deviance from their own conventional modes (Campbell 1981). During the Inquisition Catholic paranoia reached crescendo proportions and millions of persons seen as unconventionally peripheral to society were slaughtered: jews, heretics and witches were the commonest victims. It is also scarcely surprising to find that many, if not most, witches were lower class women.²⁵

...the women, as we have seen, were the bearers of very old traditions of custom and belief that were deeply antagonistic to the puritanical (and essentially "father-figure") church.

(Henderson 1981:262)

It is shocking and sobering to contemplate that during the Renaissance, when learning flourished and experimental science was born, the laws against witch-hunting forged during the Dark Ages were forgotten, and former "ignorance" about witches was "corrected" by fresh theological and scientific insights. When the Malleus was published in 1486,²⁶ it carried on its title page the epigraph: "To disbelieve in witchcraft is the greatest of heresies." And as a doctor of the Sorbonne wrote in 1609, the witches' sabbat was an "objective fact, disbelieved only by those of unsound mind."...Men in power do not exhort their subjects to accept ideas they believe already ...we may infer that the subjects lack faith or are beset by doubt.

(Szasz 1970:114)

While Protestant dissension was largely a reaction to Church corruption, its own record of tolerance was hardly more benevolent. Wolf writes that:

In medieval Catholic²⁷ Christianity God and the devil, order and disorder, regularity and accident, divine spirit and gargoyle, had been in intimate communication with each other. The burgeoning Protestant world banished the disorderly, accidental and irrational in the interests of orderliness, predictability and rationality.

(Wolf 1964)

While local festivals of license, disorder and rule-breaking (such as Christmas mumming, saturnalia-derived festivities, and All Hallows' Eve) had long been ineffectually condemned as anti-social and pagan by the Catholics, they became

particularly disliked by Protestant groups. The "Boy Bishop" was forbidden in Basle in 1413 and in England by Henry VIII in 1542. The town council of New Amsterdam passed a law against Christmas impersonations; the Duke of Mecklenburg issued his edict against such mumming in 1681, and in 1739 the Elector of Prussia expressed his displeasure with such masked disorder (Wolf 1964:148).

In the long history of mumming in Great Britain and America, and probably elsewhere, a common pattern is evident: the rowdiness and dangerous behaviour of the disguised mummers has been met by repeated civic bans on the practice.

(Halpert 1969:51)

It is important to note here that the Protestant intolerance for license and disorder would become magnified in the cloistered embryonic colonies of the New World.

Recently, Szasz suggests that modern psychiatry, a new variation on the old theme of ostracism, developed as the persecution of witches declined.²⁸

...it happened because of the transformation of a religious ideology into a scientific one: medicine replaced theology; the alienist, the inquisitor; and the insane the witch. The result was the substitution of a medical mass-movement for a religious one....

(Szasz 1970:111)

...the effect...is the debasement, as

insane, of millions of innocent men, women and children; the exoneration from responsibility... the exaltation...of the psychiatrist--the sole possessor of an "enlightened" and "scientific" understanding of witchcraft and of the medical methods required for the control of the public health hazards posed by human differences....The end of one ideology is thus the beginning of another....²⁹

(Szasz 1970:110)

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have outlined the history of the Celtic people, their philosophy of life, religious ideas, festivals, and Church. Their independence, persistent individualism, and mystical philosophy, not to mention their women's social status, combined in antithesis to most Roman Catholic teaching. The latter proved to be more tolerant than the Protestants however, and I believe this to be at least one reason why the festival never survived with much popularity in Protestant England, Holland, nor Scandinavia.³⁰ The Dutch, Swedes and Danish retained similar ideas at other times of the year, as did , for example, the English who still celebrate Bealtaine or May Day. But in Catholic Scotland and Ireland the festival of Samhain remained the more popular. Its immigration to North America and resurrection in the mid-19th century will be discussed in the next chapter with specific societal pressures in mind. But it is important to think of its revival in terms

of a broader scheme as well. The United States and Canada were predominantly Protestant by the 1850's and took a dim view of such disorderly rites. Pockets of festivals of reversal had appeared in parts of the country at Christmas and the New Year (Halpert 1969). Hallowe'en, a recent memory in the minds of newly arrived Scots and Irish, might have been the logical occasion for these Celtic newcomers' rebellious festivities.

While the following chapter will discuss the social developments in North America that led to the Hallowe'en revival, it is pertinent here to point out that many of the very ancient belief patterns surrounding the festival of Samhain were to become a part of this new festival. The ancient idea of transformation appeared in the mid. to late 19th century when youthful members of society, in abrupt role change, performed anti-social acts that would be tolerated by the authorities. The old Catholic paranoia directed at women, that had created the symbolic imagery of female witchcraft in the middle ages, would be re-introduced in costume and popular myth. Along with this would be resurrected the paranoia itself, and its need to find a scapegoat as its focus. Elements such as the harvest foods of nuts, squash or pumpkins, and the life giving and taking apple would reappear. Along with them were resurrected bonfires, witches' cat and dog familiars, the transformative power of the mask, and the new year's emphasis on fortune

telling, and an end and a beginning: respectively, death and life, age and youth, and their amalgamation in killing and sacrifice. Extraordinarily, all would be found with fundamentally similar meaning to that of centuries past. Hallowe'en's novelty would lie in its re-synthesis of these ancient elements within an utterly new environment.

FOOTNOTES

1. A term of Greek origin (Filip 1981).
2. This is much at variance with the position women were to hold in European political, social, economic, intellectual and religious affairs for the next two millennia, and was a view, as we shall see, that was greatly distrusted by the male oriented and paternal Roman Catholic Church.
3. They introduced soap to the Greeks and Romans, invented chain armour, were the first to shoe horses and to shape iron handsaws, chisels, and files. They invented seamless iron rims for their wheels, the plow-share, the rotary flour mill and a wheeled harvesting machine.
4. Celtic Ireland was eventually brought to its knees by Elizabeth the First and since then has been in cultural "retreat," but it has been a slow process (L. Reynolds 1981).
5. Prior to this there is no evidence of farming, nor of any permanent structures. The construction of megalithic tombs (4th to 3rd millenia B.C.) was a major enterprise and involved the mobilization of a large labour force. This suggests a hierarchical social organization with an aristocracy, a professional class and, above all, an economic base that produced substantial surplus.
6. This figure is based on an experimental archaeological estimate, given first century settlement densities and house capacities in the southern region of Hampshire. I am uncertain how Reynolds projected this evidence upon the country at large.
7. Each side of the Roman/Celt antagonism respected the other. The Romans admired the wildness, the technological superiority and the freedom of the Celts. The Celts in turn admired the wealth, elegance and stability of the Romans, but feared their stifling organization.
8. Roman grid-like organization conquered Britain but was never accepted by the native populations.
9. For their crime of neutrality the Roman Church would later brand them as fairies and condemn them to damnation on the day of judgement.

10. The apple, laden with weighty symbolic content, comes down to us through the millenia.
11. This four season cycle is adapted to, or derived from, an agricultural cycle that depends on climatic conditions for its continuity. These conditions only existed in a limited number of areas of Europe: N.W. France, N.W. Spain, western Britain and very markedly in Ireland. In the Celtic homeland of southern Germany, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary only a two-fold division of the year was climatically permitted. Thus it is probable that this cycle predates Celtic occupation of these northwestern areas (Danaher 1981).
12. Three of these are still known by their ancient names and a number of Irish indigenous month names are derived from them.
13. The economy of these newcomers was probably based on successful fishing as the tombs are relatively close to the sea (Eogan 1981).
14. Accounts differ as to the origin of fairies.
15. A ritual site discovered in Libenice near Koln in Bohemia in 1959 was 80 metres long and surrounded by a ditch. On one side were found a series of sacrificial pits and some stele and in the centre the grave of a woman (late 4th or 3rd century B.C.).
16. There is some question as to whether true human sacrifice actually occurred. It is conceivable that the remains found could be criminal executions (Glob 1969; Wright 1924). It is also entirely conceivable that the purposes were combined.
17. It should be noted that Europe, under Roman seige in the 2nd century B.C. probably regarded the British Isles as a sanctuary to which men of many persuasions could turn. Classical writers, writing after the fact, became increasingly sensationalistic and condemnatory (Chadwick 1966).
18. The implication here is that religious beliefs tend to be extremely conservative, impositions, at best, on previous systems.
19. "In later times when they were no longer venerated as deities, they clearly became converted into local myths, guardians of pools and wells, or the washers at the ford...or great supernatural hags haunting mountain passes...." (Ross 1981).

20. Under Brehon Law (continued to be operative in most parts of Ireland until the 17th century, although officially terminated by the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366), the rights enjoyed by women were rights to independent property ownership, easy divorce and remarriage, practitioners of arts and sciences and the right of legal legitimacy of all offspring.
21. By mating with the ruler the female (symbolizing Ireland) legitimized the reign (Ross 1981).
22. Note the legend of Joseph of Arimathea who, enroute through Provence, Aquitaine, Brittany and Cornwall, finally settled on the "Isle of Avalon" (archaeological evidence has suggested Glastonbury as the likely site), bringing with him twelve companions and the Holy Grail, the sacred vessel containing the blood and sweat of Christ. The route, legend has it, that he took is precisely that of the tin trade, and, indeed, legend has referred to him as a tin merchant (Bamford 1981:171-172).
23. Patrick, born to Christian parents, was carried off to Ireland in slavery by raiders at the age of sixteen. He remained there for approximately six years and then escaped by ship, either to Britain or Gaul. If Gaul, he might there have come into contact with the powerful beginnings of the new monasticism (Bamford 1981:173).
24. The time for the celebration of Easter varied in the two Churches. Hair styles were different. The Celtic abbot (a position tending to be inherited through the lineage of a local chiefdom) had more actual power than a bishop. Monastery members had a large lay and non-celibate family attached to them, as well as a monastic female population, and monasteries were independent organizations (Bamford 1981).
25. See Szasz concerning moral ideals and reality in sixteenth century Europe (Szasz 1970).
26. Malleus Maleficarum (The Hammer of Witches): the famous manual for witch-hunters.
27. My insert.
28. This would also gain popularity in North America.
29. There are very important analogies to be made here between this and the modern North American 20th century understanding and treatment of youth and the unconventional.

30. It is unknown whether the festival of Samhain on October 31st was ever practiced in what became Holland and Scandinavia. Peopled by Celtic groups very early it might well have been.

Chapter III

NORTH AMERICAN SECULARISM: IMMIGRATION TO 1960

The old medieval unruliness was abandoned first of all by children, last of all by the lower classes: today it remains the mark of the hooligan, of the last heir of the old vagabonds, beggars and outlaws.

(Aries 1962:328)

INTRODUCTION

North American Hallowe'en is, as mentioned, a completely secular survival of elements taken from the ancient Celtic festival of Samhain, imported by Catholics in the last century. Youth have traditionally been its chief protagonists. If we are to understand its presence today we must look at its revival and North American development in the context of 19th and early 20th century social, economic and demographic change. The following pages are devoted to this end.

ON THE LAND

In 1800 the median age of the North American population was 16 years, and approximately 80% of the population made its living by agriculture.

Infancy and youth

Infancy, a period in a child's life beginning at birth and ending at approximately 7 years of age, was characterized by complete dependency on various female members of the immediate family. Youth between 7 and 25 years were known as "small and large boys" (or girls) an epithet depending upon physical size rather than chronological age, the latter, indeed, not often being remembered. This period was characterized by what Kett terms semi-dependence (1977), an often jarring mixture of nearly complete freedom and total subordination to the hierarchical family.

In explanation, parents spaced their children, had many and frequently died before the youngest reached maturity. Children were a form of social security, unemployment insurance and provided a goodly portion of the family's annual income. For this reason parents of all classes supervised the placement of offspring outside the family after the age of seven. For poorer classes this was an economic necessity providing a cash income for the family who had little or no land, and also training for the child for a future life. For the family of means it was simply a matter of choice, a way in which they gave their children a "start in life."

Schools

Youth attended school sporadically, and disorder prevailed. Children drifted in and out of class as the seasonal pattern of work and family economies allowed. The teacher, often an outsider in the community and frequently younger than his charges, had little or no power of authority. For this reason schools were by and large disorderly places with extremely fluid populations.

Mortality

Relations and emotions within the early 19th century family were different from now. Infant mortality was extremely high, equivalent to the mortality of those over 40 years. Youthful members of society were economically vital to the families from which they came, and the home was characterized by movement of its members in and out. Family relations were hierarchically arranged, respectful and full of emotional restraint.

Where the simplest kinds of security
were absent affection lavished was
likely to be affection frustrated.

(Kett 1977:23)

Discussion

To summarize: life at the beginning of the 19th century in North America tended to be rurally based. Economic

resources were, for the vast majority, meager. Families were large when possible, in order to supplement income, and children were a potentially valuable economic asset. In conjunction with this youth were encouraged to "grow up," leave home and take jobs (that later mechanization would assume). Thus the progress from infancy to old age was both chronologically shorter and more gradual.¹

I have found no reference to Hallowe'en in any Canadian newspapers of this period. Hallowe'en is, as I shall describe in subsequent pages, a rite of reversal, of passage and of intensification. It would appear that the conditions for such rites were not yet present in the Canadian scene.

URBANIZATION

Between 1820 and 1870 the population of New York City and Philadelphia increased tenfold. The percentage of the population living on the land dropped from 80% to 55%. This period is marked by a number of related and tumultuous changes. It is also the period in which Hallowe'en first appears in the newspapers.

Casual labour

In the early century brief apprenticeships and live in youthful help were the norm. By the mid-century apprenticeship was on the decline, mechanization having begun to take over. Skilled mechanics took on youthful

assistants² only to find that in slack times employers laid off journeymen and kept on the less expensive helpers. As the latter aged they too would be replaced by their younger assistants. Preference for cheap juvenile labour grew and towards the 1880's unions sought to regulate the numbers of apprentices in various trades so as to protect older men's jobs. Management got around this by omitting the designation "apprentice" in describing these juvenile labourers, and teenage labourers were a sizable percentage of most industries' employees. Skilled craft unions at this point virtually excluded cheap youthful labour, and hitherto volunteer societies (i.e. firemen) largely populated by youthful members, became professionalized with similar intent. Quasi-legitimate forms of youthful civic involvement began to disappear.

Mechanization and class differentiation

Industrialization, having created massive casual labour concurrently limited the jobs available as mechanization grew. For the first time real differences did begin to appear in the experiences of the various economic classes of youth who left home. The "stake or headstart" that a well-to-do family could give their offspring meant a potential apprenticeship and then perhaps a delayed education. The latter became a route to a better job, and for the first time schools issued diplomas and became places

where residence was required for extended periods of time.³ This excluded poorer classes, for few families of any income bracket could forgo, for a number of years, that crucial period when the teenage income meant so much to familial resources.

Changing social expectations

In the 1850's appear the first written admonitions of the evils of the city and the first definition of the life style appropriate to urban middle class youth (written by urban middle class adults). A conflict appeared between Protestant middle class life styles emphasizing sobriety and self restraint and an emerging lower class life style valuing spontaneity, independence, gang loyalty and physical prowess. The predominant Victorian social and family ideology was Protestant and middle class. Parents could no longer afford large families and those who managed to send their children to school placed heavy emphasis on the child's repayment in obedience to the demands of school and society. Extraordinary emphasis was placed on achievement, purity and self restraint. Obedience and dependency were enforced. Independence and a willingness to strike out on one's own, seen in the 1820's and 30's as a precondition to success were by now seen as prescriptions for failure. Thus most Victorian reformers saw lower class youthful behaviour as demonstrative of failure and vice.⁴

The topic of child development

Before 1840 the youthful environment tended to be casual and unstructured rather than planned and regulated. In conjunction with economic practice, family ideology concerning child rearing practices changed. Protestant leaders of urban and commercial sectors of American society insisted that businesslike efficiency replace casual, ineffective and sporadic application of discipline in the rearing of the young. In 1841 Catherine Beecher in her Treatise on Domestic Economy sought to elevate women to the status of unchallenged custodians of the moral development of children. She was widely read and influential. Child rearing, elevated to a "sacred duty" and a "topic of passionate concern" and designated to two custodians (women and the schools) became removed from the public sphere of sisters, aunts, fathers, relatives and acquaintances. The impact of all of this was felt mainly on the seven-through-thirteen-year-olds, the older youth resisting, consequently becoming more conspicuously a "problem" and potential danger to themselves and others.

SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH

Before 1820 there existed a long period of dependency or semi-dependency--often into a man's early 20's. But between 1820 and 1920 commercial, and later industrial, opportunities made it possible for young people to achieve economic independence and adult status

at relatively early ages. During the final decades of this period--1890 to 1920--the institutions which have effectively delayed the achievement of adult status of youth since 1920 were developed.

(Kett 1977)

Cloistered seclusion

The solution to the problem of youth, the object of much 19th. century moralistic concern, was one of organization. Towards the close of the century young people's work and play were regulated into Sunday School, Grammar School (now obligatory), tennis clubs, playgrounds and the like. Youth were denied adult status because of a scarcity of roles available. They were put on hold, so to speak, cloistered, organized, and "maturity" delayed for years. Dead-end casual jobs continued to be available but the gap between these and the newer opportunities broadened. The menial job was left conspicuously inferior, quite altered from a few decades before when the sort of work performed by teenager and adult differed little. Child labour laws at the close of the century put a final seal on any extensive youthful participation in the real world.

The appearance of Hallowe'en

It is in the 1880's Hallowe'en makes its appearance across the country. In the mid-century mention is made of the festival in community newspapers. ✓

Toronto Globe and Mail Nov. 1, 1856.

All Hallow Even

Very possibly that prosaic and matter of fact personage "the schoolmaster" has succeeded in abolishing the jocund solemnities which were wont to be practiced in the "old country" on the evening of the 31st. day of October. Twenty years ago, however, the vigil of All Saints' Day was mirthfully, if not canonically, observed in the west of Scotland...Not unhopefully are we, however, that our sheet is read by many, holding with...that "ancient customs ought to be held in remembrance, even when ranking under the head of trivialities."

The Daily British Colonist , Tues.

Nove. 1, 1864.

All Hallow's Eve

Last night was the popular festival of "All Hallow's Eve" or "Hallow-e'en," well remembered doubtless by most of our readers as a time of youthful delights, and still observed in the north of Ireland, and some parts of Scotland. The occasion was passed over without special notice in this city.

By the 1880's it had obviously become established and was celebrated in two ways: the extremely popular concert and gala affair, and the less popular but tolerated practice of youthful nocturnal pranks.⁵

Edmonton Bulletin , Sat. Nov. 5, 1881.

Monday night was Hallow Eve and was duly celebrated by some of the boys who blockaded the road with carts turned upside down.

Edmonton Bulletin , Sat. Nov. 5, 1887.

A lot of revolver shooting took place on Main St. on Monday night.

The Globe (Toronto) Tues. Nov. 1, 1870.
Latest from Montreal , Oct. 31, 1870.
Hallowe'en is to be celebrated here
tomorrow, instead of tonight, by a grand
concert in St. Patrick's Hall. Rev. Dr.
Burns delivers an address.

Discussion

In my view, Hallowe'en, long an element in Protestant North American folk memory, became an active festival in response to late 19th century social and economic conditions. Participation appears to begin with teenage and pre-adolescent boys damaging property and generally creating havoc in the darkened city streets of the new urban era. This inversion of correct behaviour was tolerated by the populace at large, and allowed for a night of relief from the particular tensions and pressures youth were then experiencing for the first time in history. Thus stringent demands of virtue and obedience while being periodically achieved were likewise reinforced by the appearance of their antithesis.

Adults then, as now, attempted to channel this "unsocialized behaviour" into approved institutionalized "fun" such as concerts and parties with nut cracking and apple bobbing. Parties were commonplace for adults as well with great quantities of food, singing, harvest decorations, speeches, and dancing. The atmosphere was one of a seasonal celebration, a rite of intensification.

Masking had not yet appeared, but came later after the turn of the century: initially at parties, then in the streets.⁶ ✓

Winnipeg Free Press , Tues. Nov. 1, 1910.
Exciting Hallowe'en
 Students occupied the Empress Theatre...the police were called... students forced into the street where a stone fight ensued...Constant citizen complaints all night...Strange beings roamed the streets at will...

Halifax Herald , Manitoba Nov. 1, 1920.
 ...a few pumpkins were worn as masks by happy kids. The usual Saturday night dances were held but they were not masquerade affairs typical of Hallowe'en. (Hallowe'en this year was celebrated on a Sunday and so all dances took place on the Saturday before.)

The Globe (Toronto), Tues. Nov. 1, 1910.
Pranks in a Cemetery ,Philadelphia, Oct. 31, 1910.
 Miss Camille Walker gave a Hallowe'en party in Woodlands Cemetery. Miss Walker's father is President of the cemetery company and his mansion is in the very centre of the cemetery. Surrounding it on every side are the graves and tombstones. It was among these that the Hallowe'en party was held. Several owners of lots in the graveyard threatened to apply to the police to have the party stopped.

THE VIRTUES OF ADOLESCENCE

When social psychologists like Edgar Z. Friedenburg, Joseph Adelson and Elizabeth Douvan complained during the 1960's that a succession of noiseless simulations of adulthood had replaced

the sort of intense crises about career plans and moral values once thought to be appropriate to youth, they were merely expressing the negative effects of what had been a positive social ideal for early 20th century educators.

(Kett 1977:244)

G. Stanley Hall's Adolescence published in 1904 extolled, along with others, the virtues of adolescence, the very bud and promise of the new race. Echoing Rousseau, he viewed teenage experience as torn by dualisms which disrupted the harmony of childhood. These antithetical qualities demanded that pressures exerted on youth for adultlike behaviour be removed. In 1916 Fisher's Self-Reliance suggested that the problems of adolescence were problems of parents. Children were, in effect, to be bystanders and onlookers on the concerted solution of their "problems" by parents and counselors. No one appeared to notice that it had been youths' gradual removal from the real world for initially economic and social reasons (later to be thoroughly obscured by rationalizing ideological nonsense) that was the problem. Indeed, the problem, such as it was, was deeply hidden under decades of concerned child centred but adult oriented rhetoric. Increasing urban social stratification, unionization, child labour laws and romanticized views of childhood left youth with nothing to do, no responsibility (not even for themselves) and a nebulous, to say the least, position in society.

THE DANGERS OF ADOLESCENCE

Supervision

By the 1930's parental concerns to inculcate late 19th century obedience, self-control and stoicism in their children fell to concern over their charges' development of a free personality, and in particular, to their social development. Yet if self-control was not a part of a child's upbringing, where was it to come from? Society sought to institutionalize and impose it from without. In this it was aided by a romantic and false view of the rural past as a time when young people were firmly in their place, subordinate to the wise exercise of authority and bound tightly by emotional ties to the family. This image became a powerful motive force behind the construction of adult sponsored institutions for youth in the 1890's and early 20th century. The organizers missed all the tensions and conflicts between early 19th century age groups and ignored the wandering footloose ways of their grandfathers' past. These were significant misperceptions for they legitimized the efforts of youth workers at the beginning of the century to define the peripatetic habits and expressions of independence of youth of their time as being pathological and deviant.⁷

Victorian upper crust reformers had always seen a connection between crime and lower class independent and

mobile life styles. In the 1920's and 30's these ideas solidified as crime became associated with urban gangs. It was thought that youthful crime arose out of gang involvement and that a great deal of crime had its roots in tendencies established in childhood. Thus arose the extreme notion, between 1900 and 1940, that all youth were potential criminals and hence required close supervision. The first generation of American juvenile court legislation conferred on courts power to deal with an extraordinarily broad range of infractions--not just indictable offenses but also mere departures from decorous behaviour.

Concern

Society's concern (in the throes of two world wars) was turned in upon itself and the new generation. Hallowe'en activities at this time reflect this in an almost maudlin preoccupation for small children's happiness and safety. The festival had drawn a younger population of participants who were heavily indulged by parents overcome, it would seem, by romantic sentiment and nostalgia for past childhood and way of life that had gone forever. The child was exhorted to be thoughtful and to not destroy property.

The Globe and Mail , Oct. 31, 1940
Tonight will see the gaiety of
Hallowe'en. There may be pranks that
annoy older folks, especially during
these serious times, but let the
children have their fling...The grim
spectre of war is not haunting them, and

let's hope it never does. So if there be strange little figures trying to frighten their elders, the business of the elders should be to get properly frightened; and it won't be much trouble getting the garden gate down from the garage roof...It's a great thing now and then to give imagination free reign.

The Globe , Friday, Oct. 31, 1930.
Goblins Are Here: Spooks May Leer.
 ...that night that the kiddies have been looking forward to for so long, has come...and it is their night...let them enjoy it. And if they become just a little over anxious in their merriment, remember, you were a kid one day...but all of you little folk, remember tonight, do not go out with the "Big Fellows." They may get you into trouble. Be back home early for the goblins will get you if you don't watch out.

The mood was gentle but warnings existed aimed at potential evil doers.

The Winnipeg Free Press , Thurs. Oct. 31, 1940.
 'Tis the night of spooks....Parties will be held throughout greater Winnipeg and the streets will be crowded with weirdly garbed childrenHave all the fun you like, but refrain from doing wilful damage, is the warning of Deputy Police Chief MacIver....destruction of property will not be tolerated....

Discussion

As a rite of reversal, Hallowe'en during the 20's, 30's and 40's seems to have included parents in a new way. Through the "purity" of their little ones they indulged in

the Hallowe'en experience vicariously. Yet perhaps it is more complicated than this. During a state of war the future seemed to lie in the children. Early childhood, now thought to be a time of purity and harmony, had in fact become this. The current ideas about child development left no room for the 19th century practice of instilling harsh memories early in impressionable minds. Children led increasingly sheltered lives, their value to adults becoming one of luxury and vicarious experience rather than economic necessity. Indeed, they had become an economic burden. For the child the process of masking, leaving the light for the terror of the darkened streets filled with unidentifiable creatures, the rewards and reassurance at friends' doors and the eventual return home to warmth, light and food was an experience that strengthened their view of a world fraught with danger and a home filled with security. I would suggest that it also strengthened the dichotomy between something society had firmly established over the years since the mid 19th century. Hallowe'en, already a rite of reversal for pre-adolescents, a time of festive partying for adults, had become an annual rite of passage for small children. It was innocuous as of yet; in reality the media suggests that the real "dangers" were due to the anti-social nocturnal antics of youth.

SOCIETY THREATENED

Since the world wars there have been further changes in the Hallowe'en experience. The newspapers exhibit far greater concern over wanton destruction and wandering youth than ever before. In very recent years the concern has shifted yet again to a fear, not of youthful pranks, but, in fact, adult pranks--deadly pranks with our children, the promise of our future, the victims. But more will be said about this in the following chapters.

Halifax Chronicle Herald ,Tues. Oct. 31, 1950.

Police Prepare to Halt Vandalism
Hallowe'en Night

Hallowe'en pranksters who cause wanton destruction, will get no sympathy from city police tonight as the whole force goes on shift this evening to protect Haligonians from property damage and too boisterous revellers...calling out of extra men to augment those on duty...

The following day in the same paper...

"Hallowe'en mischief was at a minimum this year..."

The Globe and Mail , Tues. Oct. 31, 1950.

Parties in Churches, Schools, to curb
Hallowe'en Deviltry

...Police will be busy tonight too. Every available officer has been called to duty....According to Deputy Chief Mulholland, however, Toronto youngsters have been fairly good in the past few years and no serious trouble is expected.

The Daily Colonist , Tues. Oct. 31,
1950.

Horde of Weird Beings to Haunt City
Tonight

...Despite the fact that the seasonal outbreak of mischief has declined in recent years from the old traditions...municipal police departments are prepared. All available uniformed police will be on duty as well as extra "special" constables....

The common theme that one notices now, and that will continue up until the present, is the strange anxiety in the combined acknowledgement of the benign quality of Hallowe'en and harsh warning about wrongdoing.

CONCLUSION

As youthful participation in society became increasingly obscure towards the end of the last century, adolescents took to the streets on October 31st. Their nocturnal antics became an annual rite of inversion. As the adolescent was removed still further from societal participation these nocturnal activities diminished and attendance at parties grew.

Adult participation began at the turn of the century and involved festive and seasonal celebration (rites of intensification). This seemed to wane with parental involvement in children's trick or treating between the two world wars. It appears again, full blown, with masquerade, in the 1960's.

Pre-adolescent small children became involved between the world wars and their involvement rapidly took on the appearance of an annual rite of passage.

In summary, it is my contention that by the 50's the child centred, adult oriented philosophy of 20th century philosophers, social theoreticians and educators (of parents and children) had produced a level of universalism of thought, action, experience and expectation, never before seen.

One attitude which appeared to connect the new and old (early century) middle classes was child-centredness...But there were two important differences. First, the new middle class preferred the organization of activities for the child as well as for youth...Second, in contrast to the game playing of youth organizations spawned by the old middle class (designed to inculcate self-control and stoicism) the new middle class life-style sanctioned the acquisition of skills that would be useful later on...(social arts and a freer personality)...dancing and tennis rather than knot tying and Indian lore.

(Kett 1977:268)

Since the early 20th century the concern of society had been the production of a younger generation adept in social discourse, adept in communicating, adept at being conventional in thought and deed, and inept in self containment, persistence, individualism, self control and paradoxically any actual freedom in a real world. I suggest

that uniformity breeds anxiety about non-conformity and shall leave further comment until later in this thesis.⁸ What we see between 1920 and 1960 in the newspapers on October 31st is the expression of this growing concern.

FOOTNOTES

1. Much of the information in this chapter is based on Kett's Rites of Passage, a history of the adolescent in American society, and Aries' Centuries of Childhood, a history of childhood in the western world. I have assumed, I believe correctly, that a similar evolution took place in Canadian society, although possibly occurring a few years later in places. The newspaper accounts that I have read seem to substantiate Kett and Aries and to validate my assumption.
2. These were youth away from home in droves for the first time. Most had no family to stay with, only the boarding house. They were footloose, drifting and the source of an ever increasing flood of casual labour the likes of which had never been seen before.
3. Non-attendance now became regarded as deviant.
4. Reformers saw vice as addictive and thought character development determined by environment. For this reason all youthful vagrants picked up on New York City streets in the mid-century were classified as juvenile delinquents.
5. It is extremely important to make note of the fact that it is impossible to balance media accounts of the last century with police records. Indeed, it is next to impossible even fifty years ago. This being the case, the reader must recognize that accounts of violence and misdemeanor are probably exaggerated.
6. There is here considerable scope for future research.
7. See Chapter II, footnote 29, and its referent.
8. See Chapter VI, CONCLUSION.

Chapter IV

THE DATA ON MODERN HALLOWE'EN IN VICTORIA, B.C.

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1982 Brian Horne and I conducted a joint directed study project on Hallowe'en in Victoria. It was our intention to accumulate as much information as possible. At least half of the data that follows was procured at that time; the rest I have gathered by myself since.

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH

Published systematic synchronic and diachronic research on Hallowe'en is practically non-existent. The following represents both approaches. My research has resorted to availability samples solely, and future research structured by my findings is suggested to refine my tentative results. This might include a larger sample population, more controlled classificatory techniques, a survey questionnaire directed at young parents and the elderly, a more comprehensive photographic record and a detailed examination of the history and development of Hallowe'en disguises. Future research suggestions will be proposed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Newspaper research

Most current newspaper information was obtained in October and November of 1982 from the Victoria Times-Colonist. Some additional data was taken from the same months in 1980 and 1983. My historical information was acquired in six weeks around June of 1983. During this period I read newspapers from across the country, seeking to discover the festival's beginnings and to trace its progress through the decades of the late 19th and early 20th century. This information is to be found in preceding pages.

October of 1980 in Alberta is significant for the light it sheds on Canadian ambivalence towards the Hallowe'en tradition.

The Vancouver Sun , Wed. Oct. 22, 1980.
Hallowe'en's a Dirty Trick, says Mayor Hanna, Alta. (UPC)

The newly elected mayor of Hanna intends to get rid of Halloween, even if city council won't go along with him..."Hallowe'en is a national day of vandalism and destruction," says Eugene Kush, mayor of the eastern Alberta farming town. "It does nothing but put money into the pockets of merchants for selling apples and candies..."Kush said council was about to vote down his proposal Monday to ban Halloween but he "outsmarted" them by tabling the motion to four days before the annual event...If the motion doesn't pass, Kush says he will instruct local policemen to throw in jail "anybody that moves after 9:30..."The mayor says his feelings are supported by law..."The Criminal Code says anybody who practices being a witch is subject to a fine, that anybody that

comes along and says, 'Trick or Treat', is saying the legal equivalent by obtaining through menaces and threats of violence, and that anyone that goes out on the streets and begs is a common vagrant," he said.

Times-Colonist , Nov. 3, 1980.

Vandals hit Hallowe'en protester

Hanna, Alta. (CP)

Mayor Eugene Kush, who failed to ban Halloween activities, said Sunday his main-street law office received an estimated \$2,000 in property damage in two nights...Kush, elected mayor for the first time Oct. 15, had persuaded town council to declare a ban on Halloween activities as a first step towards controlling rising vandalism in this town of 2,700...But Municipal Affairs Minister Marvin Moore disallowed the declaration, saying town council has no authority to do so under provincial legislation...While the rest of the community reported nothing unusual for a Halloween night, Kush said his law office was visited by vandals in pre-dawn attacks Saturday and Sunday. A plate glass window was shattered and broken eggs littered the building.

A following article in the Times-Colonist, dated the beginning of November, mentions that Hallowe'en in Hanna was much as usual with no particularly significant cases of vandalism. Mayor Kush, it relates, stayed in his downtown office late catching up on work. No doubt he inadvertently presented himself as a target for Hallowe'en revellers' reprisal.

In 1982 (in October and early November) I found twenty five articles relating to Hallowe'en. I classified them as

follows:

- 11 - "negative"
- 1 - "educational"
- 4 - "commercial"
- 9 - "traditional"

"Negative" articles refer to tampered goodies and any danger to children. They are always specific. "Educational" refers to an alternative to the Hallowe'en experience. "Commercial" refers to arranged commercial activities such as recreational programmes and movies. "Traditional" refers to articles recounting Hallowe'en's history, tradition and recipes.

The following articles are illustrative of what I have classified as "negative."

Times-Colonist , Fri. Oct. 29, 1982.
Pill-spooked cities kill treat night
Watchful night advocated here.
Fearing deadly tricks in their children's treats, dozens of U.S. cities are cancelling Halloween doorbelling because of a spreading wave of sabotaged products showing up on store shelves...

Reports of sabotage were widespread Wednesday, almost one month after the deaths of seven people in the Chicago area who took cyanide-laced Extra Strength Tylenol. The tainted products ranged from candy corn to punch and soda...

On Wednesday, the communities of Ascencion Parish and Hammond, La., Vineland, N.C., Providence, R.I. and

Mogadore, Ohio, became the latest among at least 40 cities to ban traditional trick-or-treating...

Times-Colonist , Nov. 2, 1982.
Contamination rash spreading in U.S...

This article refers to at least five widespread incidents of contamination of food normally taken from supermarket shelves.

The Weekend Sun (Vancouver) , Sat. Oct. 30, 1982.
'Lunatic fringe' cuts Hallowe'en celebrations.

New York (AP)
Pins, razor blades and pills turned up in treats as the Halloween weekend began in the United States with frightening reports of product tampering... Spooked store owners pulled caramel apples, hot dogs, candy bars and brownies off their shelves... "Again, the adults ruin things for the children," said cartoonist Charles Schultz, whose Peanuts comic strip features the Great Pumpkin each Halloween.... Hygrade Ballpark franks were recalled in five states and the manufacturer halted production following separate findings of razor blades and a nail in Michigan... there have been 270 reports of possible product tampering and 36 "hard-core" tamperings across the United States....

Times-Colonist , Nov. 1982.
"False reports" Livonia, Mich.
Hygrade Food Products has ended a six state recall of more than one million hotdogs after determining that reports of broken razor blades found in the frankfurters were false, the company

said Monday.

Closer to home we find the following interesting articles.

Times-Colonist , Nov. 2, 1982.

Esquimalt parents find blade

Esquimalt police are investigating an incident in which a razor blade was found in an apple handed out as a Halloween treat...The blade was found by the nine-year-old child's parents before the apple was eaten...No further details were available.

Times-Colonist , Nov. 6, 1982.

Dirty Trick for Treat

We've all heard terrible stories about children getting apples with razor blades in them for Halloween. I hadn't bought enough chocolate bars , it seemed, so I put some apples in the bowl. A certain family of children came by and, to my surprise, all chose apples over Caramilk and Coffee Crisp. The evening passed normally until about midnight when my brother woke me to say that there were three policemen at the door. They showed me an apple with two pieces of razor blades in it.

The children had pointed out my house to the police and the apple certainly seemed to be one of ours. It is inconceivable that there were any pieces of razor blade in the apple when it left my house so the only plausible explanation is that the children did it as a joke or trick! Meanwhile, we're all under suspicion by the police and I'm not giving out treats next year, unless I can get protection from such warped and twisted minds.

Craig Carmichael

Tainted candy smites teacher
Saanich police say a tainted Halloween
treat showed up Tuesday...The
candy...was given to a 12-year-old
girl...Police said the girl gave the
candy to her teacher. The teacher took
a bite and suddenly became weak and
light-headed. Her heart rate increased
and her mouth and lips went numb...She
was taken to the school sick room and
quickly recovered...Police have sent the
candy to Vancouver for analysis...The
girl was unsure where she got the candy.

This article is followed in a few days by another, very
brief, without headlines, that mentions that the candy sent
to Vancouver for analysis proved to be uncontaminated.

I have not included illustrative articles of my other
classifications. "Traditional" and "commercial" seem
self-explanatory, and the article on education (dated Nov.
3, 1982 of the Times-Colonist) related how Harper Welch, an
elementary school teacher in Seattle, took his children on a
"Mexican style Day of the Dead" picnic to a local cemetery.
His intention was educational.

Newspaper articles from 1983 have the usual negative
articles about kooks and contaminated candy, vandalism and
"traditional activities." However, there is a new threat.
In the Times-Colonist of October 12th one sees the following
article.

Hospital raises satanism guard

A fear that Satanists may try to steal a baby has led to stepped-up security at Victoria General Hospital, a spokesman said Tuesday... "A call came in to maternity that there was another proposed incident similar to what happened before," said Roy Welham, assistant executive-director at the new hospital in View Royal... "We were advised that there might be an attempt made on the nursery, to the children."

In June, 1982, anonymous sources tipped police and Human Resources Ministry workers that a satanic group planned to sacrifice a newborn baby in Victoria... Hospitals in Victoria and Duncan tightened security, but no incidents were reported... security has been beefed up and two full-time commissionaires have been added... "I understand Hallowe'en is a key date for some people, some cults, so we'll keep them (the guards) until then."

Following this there were a number of articles relating to the same topic: satanism and the sacrifice of infants.

Newspapers depend upon being purchased and read for their existence and thus many rely on sensational and eye-catching articles. Hallowe'en, as an annually dramatic period of the anti-social lends itself magnificently to media exaggeration and misinterpretation. Similarly, the populace at large, given the nature of the festival, might believe anything for the Hallowe'en aura itself proclaims that anything is possible. Society and the individual seem products of their own imagination caught up annually in a circle of dramatic (ritualized) performance. In October of 1982 tylenol laced

with cyanide was found in Chicago. The news media had a field day and a public raised on the pabulum of televised violence became hysterical. This hysteria took two extremes: a rash of "copy cat" incidents, some real and many possibly imagined and, at the other extreme, cities that banned Hallowe'en and mothers who gave out pencils rather than edibles.

Surveys

In the autumn of 1982 I surveyed approximately 70 children of eight and nine years of age, asking them to rate seven Canadian festivals in terms of personal and social significance (see Figure 1). I also surveyed about 80 university students between the ages of 18 and 25, giving them a slightly altered form (see Figure 2). To the children's questionnaire I added a second sheet aimed at determining some sense of their attitude towards Hallowe'en (Figure 1a).

Children clearly indicated a difference in the ranking of personal and socially significant holidays. Adults by and large did not except for the inversion of New Year and Easter, and Hallowe'en and Valentine's Day, in the female population.

University Students (ages 17-25)

<u>Female</u>		<u>Male</u>	
<u>Personal / Social</u>		<u>Personal / Social</u>	
<u>(most important)</u>		<u>(most important)</u>	
Christmas	Christmas	Christmas	Christmas
New Year	Easter	New Year	New Year
Easter	New Year	Easter	Easter
Thanksgiving	Thanksgiving	Thanksgiving	Thanksgiving
Hallowe'en	Valentine	Hallowe'en	Hallowe'en
Valentine	Hallowe'en	Valentine	Valentine
April Fool	April Fool	April Fool	April Fool
<u>(least important)</u>		<u>(least important)</u>	

Children (ages 9-15)

<u>Personal</u>	<u>Social</u>
<u>(most important)</u>	
Christmas	Christmas
Hallowe'en	Thanksgiving
Easter	New Year
New Year	Easter
Thanksgiving	Hallowe'en
Valentine	Valentine
April Fool	April Fool
<u>(least important)</u>	

The results indicate that with age and socialization the adult learns the social importance of annual festivals and adjusts his / her personal choice to match. The child learns a relatively close approximation of the adults' socially important festivals but varies in personal choice.

I asked children to draw an appropriate symbol for each of the seven above mentioned festivals (see fig.1) and analyzed the responses to Hallowe'en as follows.

- 1) Jack-o-lantern (static, objects such as pies, candles, lanterns that appear not terribly frightening).
- 2) tricks (the word "trick" or a drawing of someone outside in an atmosphere of less fear than suggested in the following category).
- 3) fearful creatures (ghouls, goblins, intensely fear-arousing and fairytale-like motifs)
- 4) edibles.

Thirty-one of the total 70 responded with "fearful creature" symbolic images and 19 drew "edibles." Concurrently, when asked on the following page (Fig. 1a) what they liked about Hallowe'en 41 of the total said "candy". Furthermore, 48.4% of all eight year olds and 42.5% of all nine year olds perceived their own Hallowe'en costume as frightening. 84% of all eight year olds and 75% of all nine year olds perceived Hallowe'en costumes in general as frightening (see Fig. 1b).

Goodies appear the goal for eight and nine year olds on Hallowe'en night, transcended by a powerful atmosphere of fear of the unknown, the horrible, the monster and the fiend.

In October of 1983 I surveyed 73 children of approximately 8 years of age, 98 children of 11 years, 101 teenagers of 14 years and approximately 90 university students between the ages of 18 and 24 (see Figs. 3,4,5).

The results tended to substantiate the results of the previous surveys of 1982. At age eight children tend to see all costumes as scary. There is little ambivalence and, as mentioned, the Hallowe'en aura is seen as very frightening. By age 11 costumes have lost their previous impact and are "neither scary nor funny." The Hallowe'en aura by age 14 changed and about two-thirds of the male and females interviewed say they shall not wear a costume at all.¹ The anxiety our society expresses over "kooks" appears at all age levels (Figs. 3a, 4a, 5a,b). At the university level the great majority say that Hallowe'en has changed. While most women feel this is due to what I shall refer to as the "razor-blade in apple syndrome," men appear to vary widely in their reasons. Finally, at all age levels there is considerable confusion regarding the meaning of "trick" in the phrase "trick or treat." In fact, only about 25% of all university students identified it correctly. To most then

"trick" means a "performance" one must give in order to obtain candy at neighbours' houses. This is an interesting phenomenon and more will be said about it later.

There seems little doubt that Hallowe'en is a night that creates real ambivalence in small children younger than ten years. Candy is the obvious powerful goal but to achieve it they expect to brave really frightening scenarios. I suggest that at neighbours' doors there is still further anxiety if more than half of all children expect they may be asked to perform! I feel my survey indicates that children have been told about "kooks." This is not their primary concern though which is more immediate and other worldly, whereas it is (as mentioned) a primary concern among young adult females, though not males.

Interviews

In 1982 I interviewed several elderly individuals at the Saanich and Fairfield Silver Threads Centres. The information these delightful people related lent greater credibility, life and warmth to Kett's (1977) history of North American family relations. Julia's description of her childhood growing up on a farm in Quebec just before the turn of the century fits into his scheme of the mid-century. Obviously in the countryside change lingered on.

Figure 6,6a describes Hallowe'en in Glasgow, Scotland in

the early 1950's. This description is very similar to descriptions of trick or treating at the beginning of this century in Canada. Note the "party piece," transexual costumes, blackened faces, nuts, apples, coin, and cake. It is significant that at that time children were not thought of as "begging."

The following represents fragments of a conversation I had with some elderly ladies at the Fairfield Silver Threads centre here in Victoria.

Oct. 19, 1982.

...the conversation began with talk of Guy Fawk's Day (Nov. 5)...

(Bette) "You went to your friends. You didn't go around everywhere, to every door. You know...had to perform, and then you waited, and they gave you your apples...everybody got dressed up...We always had parties. You had your friends in and you always had a tub on the floor with bobbing apples. It's terrible the atmosphere now." (She refers to Glasgow and also possibly to her youth in Canada. I was uncertain.)

(Doris) "I just feel that the kids now at Hallowe'en are just like little moochers."

(Mavis) "But these days you're scared to go out the door...don't know what you're going to get."

"Do many of you simply not open the door on Hallowe'en?"

(Doris) "Oh, I think most do to the smaller children There was one little girl with a money box (UNESCO) but I wouldn't give her money and she shouted back at me 'pig'...I've seen children take money. They go up the street and open the box and buy candy. I don't think they should have those money boxes. It's a great temptation...you give them chocolate bars and they're

just thrilled. But their parents don't want them to have chocolate bars....They don't do without a thing and there's nothing for them to do to earn money or anything. They just got it...they've got to have something to do...come home from school...go in the fridge... put the T.V. on...if we got 10 cents...well we thought that was wonderful!"

Julia's mother died at the age of 36 leaving a husband and 10 children. The eldest had already died and two more were also to die shortly thereafter.

"You tell children now. They can't believe...no, we didn't go anywhere...just certain ones went to church at different times. The horse and buggy, you know, it would only take 2 children, 3 children, and Dad, you know. When Ma went we stayed at home. The big ones had to stay home with the small ones you know. I don't think we live today like we used to. We used to have a grand time, and at Christmas time...an orange at Christmas, a great potato and lump of coal...lots of excitement. They're not living today."

October 14, 1982. Bert was born in about 1903 in the Lake District of the west of England. He came to Victoria when he was nine. He and friends, a year later, tore down outhouses on Hallowe'en night. His wife knew some of the kids who at about this time hoisted a rowboat to the top of the flag pole in Beacon Hill Park. The police turned an eye, he said. No one did any harm, unlike now. Now the kids are vicious. I asked him why and he said he had no idea. Bert had had five children but four had died, the

first two in infancy of whooping cough, the third of meningitis and the fourth before his eyes in a flying accident.

October 5, 1982. Mary, born March 13, 1900, told me how "about 20 or 30 years ago" on Hallowe'en night she answered the front door draped in a sheet. Two 13 or 14 year olds were at the door. Mary grabbed one and pulled her into the house. The girl's friend ran off screaming. Mary, enormously amused at the couple's fright, let the girl go. Shortly afterward the police arrived and Mary greeted them at the door again dressed in her sheet. The police told her that they had never seen anything like it and they all had a big laugh.

At the turn of the century and a little later, and traditionally at least in Scotland (see fig.6 and 6.a), children dressed in their parents' old clothes (often of the other sex), blackened their faces and went off by themselves to neighbours' houses where they knew they would have to perform. Encouraged by their anonymity they gave their performance and were rewarded for it with baked goods, apples, nuts and coin, all very ancient symbols of social position, good health and wealth. Today, children's Hallowe'en garb is not generally that of society. Rather the costumes are goblins, witches, and clowns: unsocial and non-social beings. The fear is not so much aimed at having

to conform to social dictates in an artificially skewed social setting, but rather focused more on the anti- or unsocial forces that "lie in wait" between social centres of refuge. And even these centres, as my informants suggest, on Hallowe'en's nightly trek, are suspect. Children seem identified with the very costumes that they wear, both from the child's as well as from the adult's viewpoint. Identifying with the unsocial and begging "non-food" (antiseptic sterile wrapped commercial products) from strangers who now have to purchase it, seems a form of social reversal different in kind as well as degree from early Hallowe'ens. Furthermore begging, getting something for nothing, is unacceptable in our society and the elderly find it difficult to tolerate in children they view as having everything.

I interviewed the police in the same year: Deputy Chief Wyatt of the Esquimalt Police, Staff Sergeant Bob Newton of Victoria, Inspector Colter of Saanich and Corporal Copp of Colwood.

It was generally agreed that Hallowe'en was much quieter these days than in the past. Chief Wyatt felt this due to the influence of a Crime Prevention Community Service initiated about ten years ago. Young children, he said, have come to view police as normal people, not the removed and distant authority figures of the past. Staff Sergeant

Bob Newton felt that the influence of the media and the present social trend successfully emphasizes the danger of being out. Thus parents keep their children close to home on Hallowe'en.

No policeman could be specific about an incident concerning contamination of treats. They agreed that there might have been an incident in 1978. Chief Wyatt said that needles were found in an apple that year.² He also referred to an incident that was said to have occurred in 1980 when pieces of razor blade were reported found in an apple in Esquimalt, but the evidence was never seen. The parents supposedly disposed of the apple. They panicked, he said, when they noticed the skin of the apple had been broken. He knew of no authenticated incident of the ingestion of contaminated foodstuffs on any Hallowe'en in his memory, and he has been on the force for about thirty years.

Corporal Copp went on at some length about marauding mobs in Prince George, North Vancouver and Colwood, but he too felt things to be quieter. No other policeman mentioned this phenomenon.

The number of calls on Hallowe'en night was said to be about the same as any other night, although I was unable to obtain precise evidence of this.

The information which I gained directly from the police

conflicted radically with the media's interpretation of events on Hallowe'en night. Furthermore the police seemed to take a dim view of the latter although, as mentioned, Newton thought it had made their job easier. For the socially sanctioned protectors of society then, the media are thought to be provocatively sensationalistic and Hallowe'en is not viewed as any serious threat.

Costume

In October of 1982 I photographed approximately 165 children, ranging in age from 5 to 12 years. I also recorded 17 individuals in costume from 12 to 18 years, and in 1983, took photographs of another 59 in this age group: making 76 in total. In 1982 I also recorded 35 costumes for the 18 to 25 year age group and about 35 for the over 25 year olds. They were photographed in shopping malls, schools, at the university, at parties, at recreation centres and at supermarkets.³

In his article "The Culinary Triangle" Levi-Strauss (1966) generates an abstractly geometric model, and applying it to the logical world of language and cooking, he arrives at a set of structural and logical oppositions. Though it is a static and passive model, it nevertheless provides a simple framework for a schematic analysis of costume data, and I have used it for this reason.

All costumes were initially identified and labelled. Although one might dispute the criterion of classification it was done systematically and with consistency (see Figures 7,8,9,10). I think that any sensible differences in classification would make only very minor differences in the larger results. Of the 165 children 137 wore costumes duplicated once or more by others. Of the ages 12 to 18, 50 out of 76 had duplicated costumes; of 18 through 25 year olds, 6 out of 35, and of the over 25 year olds, only 3 out of 35. Thus individuation appears to correlate with greater age.

I divided the data into 3 sets of oppositions of which 12 charts have been provided (see Figures 12,13, and 14). Figure 11 indicates the classificatory categories and explains what they mean.

The first (Fig. 12) is an "ethical-moral" opposition in which are opposed the three categories most frequently used as children's costumes: representing the categories are the witch (w), the bunny (B), and the fairy (F). In between lie borderline cases encompassing aspects of both adjoining categories. Out of 165 children 67 chose costumes categorized as F, 38 chose the mixed B/F category and 39 the W category. Other categories were very small in comparison. Of 76, 12 through 18 year olds, the largest categories were W/F and F with 26 in each. Of 35, 18 through 25 year olds,

the largest groupings were F and W/F, 28 individuals fitting equally into each. Of 35, 25 year olds plus, 14 were F, 7 were W/F and 5 were W.

Ethical-moral opposition

Age	B	B/f	F	w/f	W	w/b	N
Children	-	38	67	-	39	-	165
12-18	-	-	26	26	-	-	76
18-25	-	-	28	28	-	-	35
25+	-	-	14	7	5	-	35

The second is a "power opposition" (Fig. 13) in which I have opposed Strength (S) to Helpless (H) and both, to Thing (T). I believe that Helpless is a form of power that is simply different in kind from Strength, it being passive rather than assertive as is the latter. Thing is a difficult and ambiguous category and I have used it for "absurd" costumes that seem not to fit either of the other categories: for example, a Rubik's Cube. Out of 165 children 89 chose S costumes. The next largest (and considerably smaller) was 20 costumes in H. Of 76 teenagers 42 chose S. Of 35, 18 through 25 year olds, 17 chose S and a smaller category, 8, chose S/H. Of 35, over 25 year olds, 23 were S costumes.

Avoidance of Social Persona

Age	P	p/a	A	n/a	N	n/p	N
Children	46	-	34	-	38	-	165
12-18	16	-	18	-	28	-	76
18-25	7	-	7	-	11	-	35
25+	8	-	7	-	13	-	35

Most costumes worn by children can be defined as culturally good (i.e. fairy costumes) and there seemed to exist only very insubstantial numbers of costumes of evil/cultural overlap (W/F). We see also that children tend to choose costumes that they perceive as strong, and that a small percentage of these are represented in the Helpless category. They have little selective interest in positive/negative types of costume roles and their costume types are repeated over and over. As age increases correlations suggest that selection changes towards more individuated, less polarized, more antisocial and absurdly objectified types of costume.

CONCLUSION

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hallowe'en and the society of which it is a part has changed considerably since its inception about a hundred years ago. The media, society's projection, probably plays a far stronger and more persuasive role in the individual's life than it did in the days before television. Hallowe'en newspaper reports on the evil in society (conflicting sharply with police accounts)

provide a focus for social anxiety and aggression at different individual levels. The media conforms marvelously to a faith we all have in our own, and others', anti-social and "evil" tendencies. This being the case, there will likely always be individuals who will willingly act out the social myth...who will lace the popcorn with rat poison or suspect and accuse others of doing so.

Parties on Hallowe'en (so we believe) keep the trouble-makers off the streets. The media said so in 1900 and still does. Adult parties are becoming increasingly common these days and the types of costumes worn depict largely powerful, unsocial and negative roles.

At an individual level Hallowe'en is a time when small children venture out of the social realm. Social roles are as yet not fully identified. Their often purchased costumes or masks are of another world, a one they have to deal with and a one with which they seem to be identified (by adults). They choose strong and often "good" role models and fear the otherworldly horror. Their goal is mass produced candy and one might speculate that they appreciate their own lighted home more on their return than they do the rest of the year when goblins and ghouls "are supposed" to remain hidden. In a sense then for the child the Hallowe'en trek is an annual rite of passage, a step beyond culture's bounds so as to look back more clearly.

The teenager, for decades perceived as one of society's specific "problems" (refer to Chapter 3), is expected to create havoc on October 31. Some do, but the expectation greatly exceeds the actuality. Most seem not sure what to do. By and large, in imitation of their parents (and prodded on by the latter's belief that parties will keep them out of trouble) they go to parties in costume. The roles chosen have become more negative socially than the child's. The appearance is one of imitation of adult status. Marauding hordes of teenagers ("waiting for something to happen") are part of the Hallowe'en fantasy. Whether this fantasy is real or not, teenagers are condemned for it.

The adult reads the newspapers, watches television and believes in the publicized Hallowe'en myth. She⁴ takes her children trick or treating, or begging we could call it, since I have not come across anyone who repays the treat with trick.⁵ In acting an accomplice she is participating in her children's antisocial activity for one does not take something for nothing in our society. Realizing this she expects retribution, contamination of foodstuffs and indeed is told to expect it. So she, in turn, hands out non-edibles, encourages her teenagers to go to parties, sometimes holds parties for her little ones to avoid the unpleasantness of razor blades in apples, and later on, goes to parties herself typically dressed as a witch. Witches,

we all learn, steal and eat babies, and have done so (most antisocially), ever since the paternalistic Catholic priesthood condemned the female's role in Celtic society over 1500 years ago.

Footnotes

1. This conflicts with my photographic data on teenager costumes. Probably it simply indicates that unless there is a party to go to 14 year olds are no longer dressing in costume for trick or treating.
2. The Times-Colonist makes reference to this in October of 1979 but I have been able to find no reference to it at all in November of 1978 when it is supposed to have happened.
3. A more comprehensive photographic record of costumes in all age groups taken at one night's Hallowe'en would lend itself well to further analysis.
4. Reference is here made to the adult in the feminine gender. This is done solely to simplify the prose of this particular paragraph.
5. "Trick" is commonly thought to mean "performance." See Stone's article on the "trick" in "trick or treat" (1950).

Chapter V

HALLOWE'EN: RITUAL AS COMMUNICATION

INTRODUCTION

...he was going on, when his eye happened to fall upon Alice: he turned around instantly, and stood for some time looking at her with an air of the deepest disgust.

"What-is-this?" he said at last.

"This is a child!" Haigha replied eagerly, coming in front of Alice to introduce her...

"I always thought they were fabulous monsters!" said the Unicorn. "Is it alive?"

"It can talk," said Haigha...

"Do you know (said Alice), I always thought Unicorns were fabulous monsters, too!"

"Well, now that we have seen each other," said the Unicorn, "if you'll believe in me, I'll believe in you. Is that a bargain?"

"Yes, if you like," said Alice.

Alice in Wonderland and
Through the Looking
Glass

by Lewis Carroll

In Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland, the child Alice steps beyond the bounds of this world into a misty dream realm where all things have potential. It is here that "order" or "reality," as she has understood it, gains greater significance.

Of anthropological fieldwork, Boas wrote:

The only means that will set us free is to sink into a new life, into an

understanding of a thought, of a feeling, of a form of behaviour that has not grown from the soil of our civilization, but rather has had its sources in another cultural tradition.

(As quoted by Goldman 1975:9)

This "new life" approximates the framed context of ritual; by crossing the bounds and moving outside, we hope to gain the freedom of self knowledge. Rituals such as Hallowe'en are repetitive actions participated in by members of a group who cross an illusionary boundary between one frame of reference into its perceived antithesis.¹ Levi-Strauss puts it this way:

...thought, merely by being thought, creates an ever-increasing gap between the intellect and life. Ritual is not a reaction to life; it is a reaction to what thought has made of life. It is not a direct response to the world, or even to the experience of the world; it is a response to the way man thinks of the world.

(Levi-Strauss 1981:681)

Order and its disintegration, respectability and license, assemble in a metaphorical fog of harmony and new potential. In Wonderland all things are possible.

But lurking beneath all of this is the ultimate danger we will encounter ourselves making it all up: our conceptions of life, morality, beauty and society. A shifting and contrived reality seems fundamentally difficult to

comprehend and so ritual, an obviously contrived form of social contact, discourages questioning and promotes belief. Thus the metaphorical process, which is intrinsic to this and fundamental to thought and language must be examined briefly. The following few pages will be devoted to this discussion.

THE METAPHORICAL FOUNDATION OF THOUGHT

In language

Metaphor is a "category mistake," an amplification and subsequent reduction in classificatory redundancy. Two (or more) concepts are brought together with the resultant collapse of their polysemic duality. The significations remain, plus one that rescues the whole with new meaning.² These concepts are named. In essence, the linguistic process is a negation "for the word for the thing is not the thing itself" (Babcock 1978:13). We understand "what is" by reference to it by "what it is not."

In icon

During that "moment of seeing," when the whole is rescued with new meaning, the object of reference may move from a "sign" (language) to an "icon" in a fusion of meaning and image. It is thus externalized and becomes an object unto itself, a symbol. With age symbols often acquire complex assortments of points of reference. Take, for example, the

apple, to be mentioned shortly.

In myth

A similar form of process appears in the coagulation of myth or legend. Multitudinous currents of elemental ideas concerning the world constitute a "social script" and under certain circumstances these combine to create new meaning (Degh and Vazsonyi 1983). They either remain or disintegrate, but in remaining they become re-absorbed by the "social script,"³ attaining, like their procreators, some measure of factual validity as a product of their use.

Within and outside society

At a societal level "social scripts," generated in metaphorical juxtaposition, constitute a common sense analogy of the world and its meaning.⁴ Where world views end (at social boundaries) and others begin, metaphorical meaning, comprehension and usually communication break down. The outsider, his ideas and behaviour translated into our world view, is perceived as unthinkably different. Levi-Strauss suggests that the symbolic imagery with which we define ourselves is here turned on its head. The "other," not "us" becomes defined metaphorically as our negation.⁵

Discussion

The pertinence of the foregoing brief definitions is that we think of things in terms of other things. From the root of "simple" meaning to the generalized world view, understanding lies somewhere between the polarization of two or more significations. It is in the "Middle Way," to quote the ancient Celtic philosophers, wherein it lies.

While language appears to change considerably over time, symbols hang on with greater tenacity for the named essence becomes affixed to a permanent object. The Hallowe'en symbolic apple for instance: symbol of the fruition of life and its bounty, and also, conversely, within the Christian church, of socialization, ostracism, mortality and death, stretches back into distant antiquity. The witch figure: symbol of evil, corruption, death and great power is the positive Celtic goddess who in the dark ages is negatively labelled as such by a paternal catholic church. Note that we do not find or suspect bananas injected with rat poison on Hallowe'en today. Rather it is the ancient symbol of the apple with the razor blade inserted within (modern version of the ancient killing instrument, the knife), that is said to appear, but rarely, if ever, actually does. Killing results in death, another powerful symbol in itself. For death is a form of reversal: a return to the earth and the dust, whence we came. The mask is perhaps the greatest and

oldest of the festival's symbols. Once affixed to trees in sacred Celtic groves they are still in widespread use on Hallowe'en night. A symbol of transmutation, social identity, society, and birth and death, it may reach deeply into the unconscious psyche. Other popular Hallowe'en symbols such as the pumpkin, the candle, the fairy, the cat and the broomstick are of great antiquity and hence have accumulated numerous meaningful points of reference over the centuries. The child too, symbol of new life and the future, is also historically associated with the dead and the unsocialized (Finucane 1982; Sautman 1982; Turner 1979). Thus on October 31st we are greeted by a plethora of symbols all fusing complex meaning into single objects.

In similar fashion multitudinous elemental ideas concerning the world fuse into a united view. This view is believed and becomes "reality." An example is the media's promotion, and the populace's belief, in the razor blade in apple syndrome, or contaminated candy. This is a manifestation of the kernel Hallowe'en myth of an inverted and anti-social world of horror and killing. As it grows dark even the trees are imagined to wield knives in gnarled old hands.

Juxtaposed elements of our comprehension of life create a certain understanding of a higher order. Here we define all those ideas and individuals we have perceived as peripheral

to this as being our antithesis or negation and as such we believe them to commit all the reprehensible and inhuman deeds thereby associated. Mythically Hallowe'en is the night when all these shadowy individuals appear.

METAPHOR IN COMMUNICATION

The participants of a world view are involved in a relationship, the external vehicle for which is communication.

...we like to test or verify the
correctness of our view of our
relationship, to others...

(Bateson 1972:132)

There are two basic modes of communication of meaning, with the possible exception of a third: digital, analogic (Watzlawick et al. 1967) and possibly ostension (Degh and Vazsonyi 1983). The former is characterized by language, the next by non-verbal behavioural expression and the last by "signless" action.

In language

Digital information involves the choice and use of arbitrary signs for the designation of things. As such it allows room for misrepresentation⁶ and this lessens its importance in the conveyance of relational information.

In analogue

Analogic communication, however, leaves little room for deception. A relationship is acted out. Commonly used among animals and humans in the conveyance of relational information, it has its roots in archaic periods of evolution.⁷ Its extremely powerful nature is demonstrated in its use by animals and men in the signaling of negation.⁸ Here the metaphorical action is proposed, and then not carried to its conclusion.

In ritual

Watzlawick et al. suggest:

...ritual may be the intermediary process between analogic and digital communication, simulating the message material but in a repetitive and stylized manner that hangs between analogue and symbol.

(1967:104)

Witness the young dog that has just moved into a new neighborhood. He throws himself on his back, exposing his jugular vein, which is taken in the mouth of his older opponent and held briefly. The message conveyed by the younger dog is that he accepts a subservient position; the message of the older dog, that he will not hurt the other in spite of his dominant role. On Hallowe'en night youth have traditionally taken to the streets in a symbolic inversion

of social order. This is what we could accomplish if we are not properly socialized and rewarded, the message relates, but only for the evening. Roles are in this way established. As ritual becomes canonized it increasingly hangs towards the symbolic or digital mode and thus interestingly becomes less emotionally powerful.

Through ostension

Degh and Vazsonyi (1983) suggest a third communicative mode: ostension, a term derived from semiotics. It is a type of communication in which the reality itself functions in the role of a message.⁹ As such it is presentative rather than representative and of extremely powerful emotional impact.

Discussion

The language of Hallowe'en, as seen in the newspapers, surveys and interview of the previous chapter, carries two radically conflicting messages. One suggests that it is a time for good fun, for innocuous jokes and plenty of good cheer and food. The more powerful argues that the elderly are frightened, that the streets and their occupants are dangerous, that there are anti-social "kooks" abroad and malicious child killing householders everywhere. It states that even the children are dangerous and that nothing on this particular night is sacred. Both these conflicting

messages appear in the media and the second is worked for all its worth. For the understanding of the myth is such that this must be the real truth.

At Hallowe'en the directed and non-illusory quality of analogic and ostensive communication clearly underwrites the symbolic information that is presented linguistically. While the media and word of mouth use language to conjure up anxiety and fear it is the action of analogue and ostension that leaves us in no doubt. My elderly informants see the children open the UNICEF boxes, hear the little girl say "pig" and are afraid of being knocked down on their doorstep. We all see before our eyes the smashed glass, soaped windows, hidden faces, begging children and imagine, if not see, the jagged razor in the apple.

In 1982 the contaminated "tylenol" capsule was an instance of an individual acting out the annual October "killing" myth through ostensive action. The subsequent rash of contaminated foodstuffs (some were real, although not as many as the media would have us believe) were "copycat" ostensive actions. They made the Hallowe'en myth of killing and death a reality impossible to deny.

RITUAL

Social life proceeds down through the centuries and hours, always existing somewhere between the imaginary

extremes of absolute order, and absolute chaos, conflict and improvisation. Neither the one nor the other ever completely takes over, and as Victor Turner suggests, there is an endless tension between the two (1969:112, 203;1977;1983). Collective ritual can be seen as a particularly dramatic attempt to bring some control to this process. It belongs to the more structured side of social behaviour and is also, affectively, an attempt to structure the way people think about that behaviour.

The concept

Ritual's enormously powerful mode for the transference of complex emotional information can hardly be over emphasized. Its form varies immensely: from so-called rituals of intensification, rebellion or inversion, passage and junction, to all the rituals of individual action that tend to capture the imagination of psychologists. But the looseness of a definitive concept of ritual has been, and is, a serious obstacle to its investigation.¹⁰ It has been conventionally understood to be "formal behaviour for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers" (Turner 1967:19): but this is a definition very nearly worthless in its generality.¹¹ Perhaps the only recourse, suggests Goody (1977:25-35), is to retranslate the term whenever it is used, to re-define the elements of formality and

repetitiveness, to analyze the small behaviours, to tread softly in the area of meaning (for this changes and is often not understood by the participants) and to observe the potential function under changing rather than static conditions. In the following pages I have attempted to follow Goody's advice.

The structure

Van Gennep's subsets of separation, transition and reincorporation apply to most ritual phenomena.¹² Usually one phase of the process dominates, obscuring, but not obliterating, the others. Thus at Hallowe'en the subset of transition predominates in all its liminality.¹³ Taken as a whole Hallowe'en's formal properties (as with all collective ritual) mimic its message (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:7-8).

These are:

- 1) Repetition: either of occasion, content or form, or any combination of these. Thus Hallowe'en is an annually recurring event in which all participants repeat similar activities and there exists an abundance of repetitious symbolic elements.
- 2) Acting: a basic quality of ritual being that it is not an essentially spontaneous activity, but rather most, if not all of it, is self-consciously "acted" like a part in a play. Further this usually involves doing something, not only saying or thinking something.

Hallowe'en is planned weeks in advance. Costumes are chosen and the new roles on the night, acted out.

- 3) "Special" behaviour or stylization: actions or symbols used are extraordinary themselves, or ordinary ones are used in an unusual way, a way that calls attention to them and sets them apart from other, mundane uses. Bizarre symbolic representations jolt the participant into a heightened state of attention.
- 4) Order: collective ritual is by definition an organized event. It may contain within it moments of, or elements of chaos and spontaneity, but these are in prescribed times and places. Order is the dominant mode and is often quite exaggeratedly precise, often the very thing that sets it apart. On Hallowe'en, children go out trick or treating at dusk, preparations having begun long before. Adult parties, likewise, are planned, in prescribed places and at a certain time.
- 5) Evocative presentational style; staging: that is intended to produce an attentive state of mind, greater commitment through manipulations of symbols and sensory stimuli, and a feeling of "flow." The Hallowe'en masking process, as will be mentioned later, produces a certain degree of stimulus deprivation. Correlationally, bizarre juxtaposed symbols place the participants in a heightened conscious state.
- 6) The "collective dimension" has a social meaning. Its

very occurrence contains a social message. On Hallowe'en a very large percentage of the population participate on this new stage, thus the scene is socially approved.

In powerful persuasive synchrony, structure and metaphoric communicative content blend into one.

The sacred

Order as used in ritual suggests a connection of elements, which in turn implies their meaningful relationship. Their repetition denotes predictability and continuity.¹⁴ Set against an illusionary "void of chaos" rituals such as Hallowe'en are self-consciously ordered special productions. Their presentational style and content is of such a nature as to be separate from standards of truth and falsity. As such they are inherently unquestionable and herein lies their often sacred nature.

Time

Leach (1979) writes that all aspects of the notion of time are derived from two basic experiences. One, that certain phenomena of nature repeat themselves and two, that the process of life is irreversible. Within the oppositions of life/death, day/night, "time" is conceived as that "thing" that oscillates between. Changes in an individual's life involve new roles; changes in the temporal round

involve alternations in weather and consequent variations in cultural performance. As a self-conscious cultural performance Hallowe'en orders these periods in between, creating "time" by creating social intervals, yet creating an interlude that is the inverse of the assumed world.

Discussion

On October 31st we step into a new realm, differently yet logically ordered, where a new reality actually takes over. The Hallowe'en ritual is analogous to an extraordinary staged, annually repeated, special production. Internal elements such as the appearance of pumpkins, candles and witches, combined with the endless retelling of the "killing" myth and the donning of masks are repetitive ingredients not to be quickly, if ever, forgotten. Spontaneity is at a minimum as activities are usually planned long in advance. The media forecasts the event weeks before and police departments are ostensibly ready. Adults decide upon parties and both children and adults dwell on costumes for weeks. Disguise necessitates a certain degree of stimulus deprivation, special behaviour and an attentive state of mind. Individuals collectively clothed in new identities are less self-conscious and the more so because these new identities don't have to be "thought" out, only acted out. We have here massive controlled drama on an unprecedented scale. Society is

temporarily caught up in a new structure. As such it has moved beyond the norm in terms of any point of reference. Nothing is as it is, except for the new stage. The liminal and peripheries are reached in structured order by all. This very order lends credence to the Hallowe'en myth of fear and horror. To doubt the latter becomes sacrilegious for a newly structured reality now exists.

Furthermore, on the Sunday before Hallowe'en the clocks are put back one hour, night is lengthened and people are more preoccupied than usual with the time. October 31st represents the alteration in the ticking of the clock, a period in which an obvious calendrical change has occurred. The festival's form and content dictates that while candles and pumpkins will glow in windows with familiar warmth and orderliness, outside time has stopped and a new order of morality reigns. So, on the peak of time's alteration a boundary is crossed by all, between the known and manufactured earthly time and a hiatus...a gap. Here society exists masked, with roles, identities and expectations radically altered.

THE MASK

The nature of the mask

The mask is an integral part of the Hallowe'en experience. The following is an examination of its nature,

both for the individual and society.

The ancient Greek word for mask is *prosopon* (face), while the Latin word is *persona* (mask), literally, the mask over the face through which the actor sounds forth (Eliade 1964:520). Interestingly, the Oxford English Dictionary says that the relatively more recent word "mask" may be related to an old English word meaning ghost or spectre. The common denominator seems to be the image of a new reality through which the soul¹⁵ looks out.

Masking and social identity

Masks appear to alter social identity and influence behaviour. Certainly societal controls suggest a firm belief in this (Honigmann 1977). Historically, regulations have long been drawn up to control what happens on occasions of public masking.¹⁶ Their potency seems not to lie in anonymity as there are numerous examples of masking events in which the masquerades are known, or would be held accountable (Honigmann 1977).

Their potency probably lies in the way they restrict the range of human expression emanating from the actor's face, thus interrupting the normal flow of communication. The face has particular social significance being the part of the anatomy long believed to communicate personal feelings and attitudes. Levi-Strauss suggests that it is the

socialized part of the human anatomy, socialized by being uncovered and modified in minor ways according to cultural dictates (Honigmann 1977). Scheibe writes that:

The face is the mask or the persona, and it is so powerful a device for communication that it is impossible for any face to convey nothing at all.¹⁷

(Scheibe 1979:72)

At the very least it maintains some sense of enigma.¹⁸ As such it is the singular most important locus of the mask.

William James believed that an individual could come to believe in a state of reality (not previously acceptable) by acting as if it were true. The repetition of this exercise would convince the initial sceptic. Contemporary research on cognitive dissonance has produced evidence that this is to some extent true.¹⁹ A great deal of research suggests that persons conform to imposed or self-imposed fiction. Humans (Scheibe 1979, and Thomas Mann²⁰) fashion their identities out of available social roles. Roles are tried on and when, like clothing, they appear to fit, the game becomes real. What we do not know is the demonstrable range of this process. Reality and appearance seem not merely linked but one and the same. Reality is appearance which is coincidentally the dominant metaphor for social identity. It is always clothed and if the clothes are changed (or the face re-painted) the new image is the new reality (and

social identity). As social identity changes in metaphorical shifts, a certain "aspect," as in the construction of time, becomes identified as existing and moving behind the scenes. We contrive a separate reality concerning the individual behind the mask, a new identity of the imagination.

By creating new social identities masks provide protection for those who cross boundaries and break taboos. In fact, masks appear to become associated with the breaking of taboo (Makarius 1983:195-203).²¹ Associated with danger, violators of taboo come to be feared as a source of danger to others (Douglas 1979).²² This is frequently legitimate. The taboo breaker, inoculated with his new social identity, to a greater or lesser extent plays the role.

As darkness falls on Hallowe'en night the child pulls on his²³ long planned new identity. As the fairy mask is settled into place the child (and several million like him) slips like Alice through the looking glass. A transition (if transitory) has occurred that both provides the protection for, and is the goal, of the ordeal he has to undertake. For children on Hallowe'en night are trying on, and in the process, learning, new social identities, often for the first time in their lives. As my research indicates, most of these are strong and culturally good role models. As such the new identity provides protection in the

unfamiliar black night through which they must trek to gather in their deserved reward.

The adult slips on a new and powerfully negative social identity. While the child absorbs a new positive social identity, the adult throws it off. Boundaries are crossed, as with the child, but the social identities chosen by the adult belong to the darkened anti-world through which the child wanders.

The night sets a new long planned and well ordered stage with new personalities, new roles and new symbolic references. Masks allow the participants to become an integral part of this new stage through action, and the latter itself in cyclical fashion provides belief. The child is rewarded with the sticky substance of symbolic food, which is itself a symbol for life and the future. They have performed well; they will survive in the world of organized roles. The adult in discarding a conventional role is aware that the role adaptation his or her fellows pursue vary enormously in degree of action. On Hallowe'en newly acquired personality types range from home-bound fathers in pig suits to individuals whose mind, not body, have put on disguise. These latter inject poison into the symbolic food we feed the little ones. Their's is the ultimate reversal for the poisoned candy or the razor in the apple is the corruption of symbolic life itself and if

effective the death of our very real future. This is the Hallowe'en myth carried to its terrifying conclusion.

Masking, social identity and learning

It is perhaps obvious at this point to ask why we have an annual night of ritualized inversion. Why are millions of children across the continent dressed up and sent out into the dark simultaneously? The reasons for, and effects of, ritual role adoption in rites of passage, intensification and reversal have never been given adequate attention, particularly in the case of Hallowe'en. It would appear though that it may play an important part in new learning.

Cohen (1964:48) states as a provisional hypothesis that

...the critical period for any specific sort of learning is that time when maximum capacities--sensory, motor, and motivational, as well as psychological ones--are first present...

At about the age of eight years, he says, the child undergoes certain biochemical and hormonal changes commonly referred to as "latency." They give rise to no immediate physical change but lead in several years to observable secondary sexual characteristics. He notes that these physiological occurrences result in behavioural changes relating to sexual interest and frequently coincide with specific cultural practices that in regulating this, attempt to broaden the child's social horizons. The nuclear family

is not the entire world; the child must be made aware of the others with which he will have to cooperate in future life.

Historically, both in Europe and North America, children of all classes were commonly sent from home at about the age of six or seven. The reasons were often different but the practice tended to be the same. Cross culturally, patterns of "adoption" are common, as is also the custom of boys and girls leaving home to live in the community "man's house" or "women's house." Certainly the thrusting of the child out into the world, between the ages of six and nine, seems to be more or less the norm. Furthermore, at the beginning of this century it became standardized and obligatory with the instatement of schools. At present we appear to thrust our children out into the world several years prior to the occurrence of Cohen's physiological changes. This may have less to do with the validity of his argument and more to do with current economic conditions, social change (role of women) and the fact that in our society child bearing has become a luxury rather than an economic necessity. Suffice it to say that the socialization process begins early. Children learn to identify with their peer group before they are six years old, less so, but concurrently, they learn to deal with the "other" adults.

Hallowe'en represents an annual rite of passage for small children during these crucial years. Their costumes, as

mentioned, reflect their need to conform and usually depict good cultural roles duplicated in highly redundant symbolic form. On Hallowe'en night, thoroughly frightened, they are actually thrust out of the home. They congregate on the streets and sidewalks, in groups, often accompanied by several dotingly protective parents. The groups, sometimes simply a nuclear family, but often several parents and children together, circulate about a neighborhood. Here we have children (in a period of physical "latency") assuming the transient reality of the new stage, trying on and conforming to new identity types, and crossing the dangerous bounds of taboo, both by stepping into the unfamiliar dark and by merely putting on a new face. Individually, and yet together, they brave the consequent dangers (that one must not forget, even adults view as such), undergo the scrutiny of strangers and emerge at the end rewarded in their original reality (i.e. the mask is removed and candy is accepted).

Victor Turner (1969:14) sees ritualized role change as having strong socialization functions. He suggests that in the metaphorical process of seeing the bizarre and the normal, a clearer idea of each and their relation is obtained. I have already made a similar point in regard to the child's role adoption on Hallowe'en.

As a rite of passage Hallowe'en briefly isolates the

child in a new self-appointed identity. Standing in front of a mirror he watches as his elder sibling or parent changes his appearance with paint. Or perhaps the transformation is rapidly accomplished with a mask. The doorbell rings and several strange green and grey shapes, one with a tail, another with large red eyes and horns, lumber about in the dim light. There are muffled voices and they disappear. Outside all is black. The child is acutely aware of himself and his mask. The tree outside the gate, normally noiseless, now rustles menacingly. Each sound is magnified. His heart thumps. The neighbour's house is strangely inviting, warm, almost festive, and the "grown-ups" seem particularly friendly. They don't know who he is and make comments upon his new identity. Very occasionally he might be asked to sing a song or perform in some way. Finally the long awaited reward of candy is dropped in his bag. At home with his mask off, and surrounded by a pile of sugary gifts, he is himself again, but briefly, out in the dark he has participated in and clearly seen the world in dimension.

The adult and teenager too step into the active role of a new personality. These are chosen reflecting the individual's wish to be aggressively different. Costumes are duplicated only infrequently and are usually of negative social role. Reality shifts to a new order as costumes are donned. Parties are nearly always indoors and confined

within walls and it is here that the individuals in their altered tabooed states congregate. It is here, society has told us (since adults first emerged in costume in this country at the turn of the century) that so many indeterminate types can be rendered relatively harmless. Out in the streets the stage set is less brilliantly lit. At the party the disguised individual assumes the motions of the gangster he or she has become. A cycle of response is indicated for he feels and acts differently and his audience perceives him as such. Normal social inhibitions in an abnormal social setting break down.²⁴ Here, confined within walls, the bounds between the bizarre and the normal are defined but muted. Out in the street they are more sharply drawn. But in each case the one lends greater clarity to the other, and in metaphorical fashion somewhere in between a third dimension of socially recognized experience is acknowledged. Analogously, on our party-goer's way home a gate he has never noticed before has been nailed to someone's front door. He notices in passing that the colour is green; the door is red, the house is two stories and there is a fern in the window. He has never seen the house before and now he won't ever forget. He notes how far from his own it is, who might live there and that they have children who might play with his, as there's a swing in the garden.

Even before Turner, Daniel Berlyne (1966a and 1966b) and other psychologists suggested that perceptual conflicts stimulate curiosity and heighten awareness. This latter state, they say, seems to help humans and animals to learn.

...Jean Piaget...believes that "disequilibrium," or discomfort arising from inconsistency and lack of certainty in judgement, is the main force pushing the child toward mature, logical ways of organizing thoughts and perceptions....There are indications that learning motivated by curiosity can give rise...to particularly rapid and lasting acquisition of knowledge...

(Berlyne 1966b:84)

I suggest that on Hallowe'en night the mask is instrumental in this process. The child is in an acute state of attentive awareness. A plethora of abnormal symbols conflict with yesterday's reality. His new role, others' roles and the external environment are all seen in passing focus. His slow progress out of home and into school is thrust back upon him in rapid symbolic re-run, and at the end of the evening he is rewarded with candy: the symbolic nourishment that is the promise of the future.

Similarly for the adult, Hallowe'en's ancient aura of uncertainty and disorder leaves him in a state of disequilibrium. Coinciding with elements of good cheer (parties, food, candles, candies and pumpkins) are feelings of dread and anxiety. Heightened awareness and subsequent

perceptive clarification may result in the clarification of social roles jarringly juxtaposed.

Anthony Wallace (1966) suggests that new learning takes place within a ritual context and specifically within a rite of passage. He suggests that sensory deprivation of one sort or another can lead to cognitive restructuring.

...the principle that any given set of cognitive and affective elements can be structured more rapidly and more extensively the more of the perceptual cues from the environment...are excluded from conscious awareness, and the more of those new cues which are immediately relevant to the elements to be reorganized are presented.

(Wallace 1966:239-240)

Masks interfere with children's eyesight and breathing, and movement in a cumbersome long costume can be difficult. Normal garments are gone and it is frequently cold outside. Walking, at all, is achieved with care and carrying a huge bag makes it even more difficult. Furthermore, it is dark earlier than usual and there are frightening faces flitting through the dusk. For the child the goal is candy in warm doorways, and his sole consolation in the achievement of this end is the accompaniment of other children and attentive loving adults. The frightening foray from one house to another is broken by suddenly opened doors, bright light, warmth, and hands full of life's delicious goodies. Sometimes he has to speak, to act out the new identity he

has become. Simultaneously then he is both rewarded and prompted in his new role. At home, in the light again, the candy is counted and consumed, the mask removed and the new dark world with its new order left behind: except that memory lingers on. Each remembers his successful (or unsuccessful) performance as a new being.

I suggest here that masking at Hallowe'en for adults and children can excite an atmosphere ripe for metaphorical new learning. The stage is set and furnished with a plethora of ancient symbolic elements. The old myth fanning out from its kernel of killing and disorder is thrust home through the digital mode of the press and the active mode of analogue, ritual and ostensive action. New realities, actions and responses are perceived as possible, indeed appropriate. A heightened state of awareness created by juxtaposed conflicting elements allows the individual to make new choices with greater clarity and emphasis. Furthermore, he or she can do so again, in a different way, another year, for the rite is annual. In between these calendrical points perhaps reality is ever so slightly modified.

At another level, the masked children, adolescents and adults are metaphors in action. They are seen both by themselves and others as "things" that they are not, yet might be: either good or preternaturally evil. Thus the

active process of masquerade reveals much about social belief and confidence: both the capacity for potential and the fear of destruction.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is a conservative definition of a type of ritual characterized by behaviour known as inversion. It should be acknowledged here, and I shall stress this in the following pages, that all definitions of ritual are extremely vague and of little theoretical value.
2. In Black's "interaction view" of metaphor there exists a primary and secondary subject. Implication associated with the secondary subject are projected onto the primary subject, the latter being illuminated by an isomorphism common to both. The primary subject is then viewed in light of some other characteristics of the secondary, and a parallel process is set up in which changes in interpretation of both are undergone (Ricoeur 1975). But the metaphorical process is not simply interactional, it is also substitutive and predictive. With two separate wholes brought together, a psychological moment of identification isolates new meaning in a reduction of deviant interpretation. Active illusion creates a new image (Ricoeur 1975: Chapter 6).
3. "Social script" is analogous here to the lines in a "play" or the rules of a "game." It is bounded and is perceived as having some internal order.
4. Pepper (1966) calls it a "world view."
5. He reminds us of the original confrontation between the natives of the Americas and the newcomer Europeans: both mutually unintelligible to each other. Yet the Europeans assimilated the native immediately into the stereotype of animal-like sub-humanity (Halpin 1979:42).
6. The identification and designation of a piece of information (a thing) is determined by a number of binary choices. One designata, being chosen, implies that another wasn't.
7. As such it is of much more general validity than the more recent and arbitrarily abstract use of signs.
8. See Watzlawick, et al. (1967:103-104) in which they describe Bateson's research with dolphin behaviour. The beast takes the trainer's hand between his sharp teeth; then not biting he lets go and offers his own vulnerable body part, in this way dramatically signaling his trust.
9. Ideally it makes no use of the sign; realistically it

makes use of properties of things (i.e. miniatures, pictures, reproductions). "...a given object...is...shown as the expression of the class of which it is a member." (Umberto Eco, as quoted by Degh, et al. 1983). In this sense it is the most elementary act of active signification.

It is common knowledge, however, that pure ostension exists more in theory than in reality as much as pure signs do not exist in reality. Signs are in a state of constant fusion with each other as well as with the signlessness of ostension.

(Degh and Vazsonyi 1983:7)

10. See the early literature: Tylor's Primitive Culture of 1873; Durkheim's static views of religion (1961); Malinowski's functional approach (1944:52-53); Radcliffe-Brown (1939). In his book Religion: An Anthropological View, 1966, Anthony Wallace suggested that Kluckhohn's summary of the relationship between myth and ritual still expressed the norm of anthropological tradition.

For myth and ritual have a common psychological basis. Ritual is an obsessive repetitive activity--often a symbolic dramatization of the fundamental "needs" of the society, whether "economic," "biological," "social," or "sexual." Mythology is the rationalization of these same needs.

(Kluckhohn 1942:78-79,
as quoted by Wallace
1966:104)

Ritual's goal, Wallace says, is to make people want to do what they have to do. Even rituals of inversion and rebellion have this as their ultimate goal. They contribute by providing a cathartic vent to impulses chronically frustrated by daily norms.

The teleological and static functionalism of this point of view seems to rest uneasily with Wallace, for in a later chapter of the same book he notes that with societal change these functional solutions may become entirely inappropriate. Thus he suggests that cathartic rituals simply assuage, but do not remove, the frustrations which presumably led to their original acceptance.

While affirming the functional importance of religion per se, Geertz stressed the psychological importance of the ritualized role of systems of sacred symbols. Sacred symbols synthesize a people's unquestionable acceptance of perceived reality. Chaos, the unknowable and uninterpretable, assails commonsensical notions of what the really real is. It lies at the fringes of man's analytical and emotional capabilities. Systems of sacred symbols (rituals), being unquestionable, provide the rational conviction that perceived reality exists and correlationally deny the incomprehensible notion that it does not.

Freud's lasting contribution to the study of internal inversion lay in the cognitive sphere. Metaphoric inversion in analogue and ritual is extremely similar to his theory of negation. Negation, he said, is central and indispensable to intellectual function:

By the help of the symbol of negation, the thinking-process frees itself from the limitations of repression and enriches itself with the subject matter without which it could not work efficiently...The achievement of the function of judgement only becomes feasible...after the symbol of negation has endowed thought with a first degree of independence from the results of repression and at the same time from the sway of the pleasure principle. This view of negation harmonized very well with the fact that in analysis we never discover a "No" in the unconscious, and that a recognition of the unconscious on the part of the ego is expressed in a negative formula.

(Freud 1950)

This important idea calls attention to the need for further work on the cognition of ritual experience. The inability to satisfactorily deal with the experiences of ritual participants is a monumental barrier to our understanding of the subject.

11. Much ceremony in modern industrial societies does not refer to mystical powers, and if social behaviours were put on a continuum, with the extreme of prescribed formality at one end and the most open spontaneous behaviour at the other, almost all ritual would contain elements of both! Furthermore, if one were to simplify this definition, saying they were merely formal

behaviour in the non-technological realm, how would one distinguish them from all formal action? As a category of action one is simply looking at a functionalist means-end relationship, which again suffers from the same limitations of uselessness.

12. Van Gennep specifically focused on transitional rituals, what he termed rites of passage. Like modern structuralists, he recognized that a distinction is most easily made by reference to its opposite. This led to a scheme of two opposing categories defined in three stages. For example: the distinction of death and marriage can be divided into the binary categories of alive/dead and single/married, respectively. They can be further subdivided into tripartite stages such as living-dying-dead and single-engaged-married. He did much to clarify the underlying structure and function of rites, that were for post Victorian Europe, simply bizarre relics of former superstitious eras.
13. Victor Turner took Van Gennep's three stage process and treated each individually as subsets of rites of passage: rites of separation, rites of transition and rites of re-aggregation or re-incorporation. Turner dwelt on the central rites of transition. He built on Van Gennep's idea of the importance of this liminal phase, a phase that is neither here nor there (Turner 1967;1979). He saw it as an "unclassified," "unseen" movement from one state to another. As such its symbolism tended to be associated with the biology of death and re-birth as the human body became a metaphorical analogy for the universe in microcosm. This liminal quality of being between states is autonomously personified in the persons or tricksters, clowns, monks, social movements that "don't fit" and social principles and beliefs that stray from the norm.
14. Goffman (1967) emphasizes the need for predictable interaction among humans (take, for example, rules of etiquette that convey a wealth of information about the social agreements necessary for ongoing social interaction).
15. "Soul: is analogous here to Leach's definition of "time" (mentioned in previous pages), that "thing" that oscillates between birth and death, darkness and light.
16. See Chapter II. Authorities have in Germany several times prohibited masking in pre-Lenten Carnival because of the uncivil or impious conduct it promoted. At times laws have prohibited masked persons from carrying weapons. A 15th century ban forbade either sex to

masquerade as the other, and in Germany in recent times one Carnival organization required its members to wear identity numbers on their costumes (Honigmann 1977).

17. The face conveys analogical communication and is thus less adept at falsehood.
18. During the aging process the face becomes less mobile, but the eyes and mouth remain relatively invariant, allowing recognition over considerable spans of time. It is the eyes, those windows to the soul (see footnote 15) that are usually the locus of the most minimal form of disguise, whether it be cosmetics or mask.
19. Scheibe (1979:73) writes that laboratory subjects can find themselves convinced by their own deeds that they must have liked the tasks they were doing, even though the same tasks would have been judged boring alone. Rosenthal and Jacobson produced some marginal evidence that an artificially created impression of high intelligence could actually result in the development of high intelligence in school children (Scheibe 1979).
20. In Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man, Thomas Mann writes: "...I did not really need to know a foreign language once I had acquired a smattering of it...accompanied with...an exaggerated but precise imitation of the characteristic national gesture...the imitative parody element in my performance did not lessen its credibility but actually enhanced it...taken captive by it, I was in a state of inspiration...the vocabulary simply flashed into my head..."(1955:142).
21. The masked executioner sheds his daily social identity to don an officially cultural one. Clowns, official breakers of taboo, wear an elaborate attire that symbolizes them as such. Note that inversion, in all its forms (standing on the head, walking backwards, speaking backwards), also reflects the violation of taboo. Often the protagonist is masked.
22. Mary Douglas writes:

We can conclude that holiness is exemplified by completeness. Holiness requires that individuals shall conform to the class to which they belong. And holiness requires that different classes of things shall not be confused.

(Douglas 1979:150)

Holiness is order, she says. As boundaries of classes

are crossed disorder reigns and the liminality unholy is reached. Taboos are erected as preventive protection. But the taboo breaker in moving to the unpredictable fringes becomes unpredictable himself, hence dangerous and consequently powerful. But, as Turner (1982) points out, this unpredictability provides a source of renewal, novelty and innovation.

23. All references to children and to some adults shall be in the masculine gender. This is done solely to simplify the analysis.
24. What happens in the actor's psyche as the two identities align is a topic for future extensive research.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: CULTURE VERSUS SOCIAL STRUCTURE
IN HALLOWE'EN RITUAL

Most research on ritual has been dominated by the functionalist approach, whether it be that of the structural functionalist views of Radcliff-Brown, the psychological functionalism of Malinowski and Durkheim or the short term "neo-functionalist" cybernetic approaches of Bateson (1972), Collins (1965) and Rappaport (1966). In each of these approaches socio-cultural equilibrium or homeostatis is assumed and then analyzed. The "neo-functionalists" admit to culturally dis-functional elements, "wastage", in the system and assign to certain cultural elements the function of disposal. But the problem even here is one of dealing with social change or disequilibrium, on a large scale...one which involves most of a complex society. In most societies today change is a characteristic and ongoing event, rather than abnormal occurrence and how it affects and is affected by ritual is a question not to be overlooked.

In 1957, in a relatively early theoretical article entitled "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example" Clifford Geertz attempted a new approach in the analysis of change. He attempted to distinguish analytically between the cultural and social aspects of human life, and to treat

them as independently variable yet mutually interdependent. He saw the former as an ordered system of meanings and symbols in terms which social interaction took place. The latter he saw as the pattern of interaction itself. Thus the former is the latticework of belief, symbol and value with which individuals define and make judgements about themselves and their world. The latter is the individual interactive behaviour and the network of relations itself. A third element, he notes, is the personality systems of the individuals involved, determining how they respond to belief and action. Together they comprise an action system no element of which is reducible to the other two.¹

Geertz felt that one of the major reasons for the inability of functionalist theory to deal with change was its failure to treat sociological and cultural processes as separate. Too often one or the other is either ignored or treated as a "reflex" of the other.² "In such a situation," he said, "the dynamic elements in social change which arise from the failure of cultural patterns to be perfectly congruent with the forms of social organization are largely incapable of formulation"(Geertz 1959:33). For this reason historical material dealing with impressive change could not be integrated into the functional framework.

Geertz argued that the cultural and social aspects of human life were capable of a wide range of modes and degrees

of integration with one another and that this was the rule rather than the exception. In most societies then one could expect to find more or less radical discontinuities between the two. Some degree of cultural disintegration does not necessarily mean social disintegration, nor the converse, and a degree of upheaval in each is more probable and perhaps even typical of the human condition. Thus what one could call obsolete cultural beliefs and values can continue in relative equanimity alongside changed behaviour, their disruptiveness depending in large part upon their particular intrusive quality.

THE CULTURE OF HALLOWE'EN: A HISTORY

As an ordered system of meaning and symbolic imagery the Hallowe'en ritual extends back beyond the shadowy recesses of history.

Unity and Samhain

In ancient Ireland the year was divided into four seasons, each initiated by a festival with very similar characteristics. The eve of Samhain was the annual fourth of these. Each marked the calendrical change and constituted a man made alternation of, or punctuation in, time. Here on the peak of time's turn, so to speak, the Celtic mystical longing for unity blended disquieting oppositions together. The dead rose and walked among the

living and winter, death and cold were embraced by warmth and life. In Celtic philosophy opposites were divisive and destructive in their boundedness. Death and life (and later God and Satan) being named and defined were thus bounded and inevitably bedfellows. Samhain brought these together, broke the bounds and created a mystical metaphorical path to transcendent knowledge. Heir to Samhain, Hallowe'en still continues the tradition of the mutual re-affirmation of death and life.

Fundamental Celtic belief

Samhain was a brief transitory period but in it are represented fundamental Celtic beliefs that would later be held deeply antithetical to Roman Catholic and Protestant philosophy and doctrine. Intensely mystical, Celtic philosophy saw nature as a site of human and divine mergence. For this reason their sacred sites were in the outdoors; at lakes, in groves of oak or near cliffs. And it is not an accident that Irish history provides us with such an abundance of mystic saints. They revered freedom in all its forms and this lay at the root of their dislike of boundedness. Women seem to have had considerable power and were highly regarded. Indeed, their powers of sexuality, fecundity and nurturance were exalted, and even often deified. Such was this power that it could transcend form itself, thereby changing shape. Goddesses often appeared in

triplicate form: youth and beauty, aged hag, and bird and beast (such as dogs, cats, pigs, crows or ravens). Masks, symbols of this mutable essence, were used in ancient rites and have descended to us, symbolism intact, through the centuries. Apples, fruit of transcendent promise, and thus heavily symbolic of unity, are likewise common Hallowe'en symbolic elements³. Power and freedom from bonds were central to Celtic belief and are clearly seen in symbolic form that still exists today.

The Middle Ages

Clearly Catholic power had a formidable native belief system with which to contend in the first seven centuries of the European Christian era. In the British Isles native Celtic belief patterns were at first tolerated out of necessity and even condoned. Later, as Catholic power grew to exceed any state, the need to quell native "superstition" was deemed unnecessary. After the 12th century when political events were such that the church found itself both threatened and jockeying for position, this easy tolerance abruptly ended. But twelve centuries of a certain benign acceptance of ancient philosophic beliefs could scarcely be halted overnight. What we see during the Inquisition are the ancient and most obvious symbols of Celtic freedom and mutability being condemned. Women were persecuted for their female power and masking was outlawed. Our symbol of the

witch, for instance, the old female hag dressed in a black peasant costume, is but one version of the triplicate manifestation of the Celtic goddess. She was snatched out of myth by an intolerant Church in the Middle Ages and her image was plastered across the identity of any woman perceived as remotely non-conformist.

North American re-synthesis

In the last century in North America social conditions led to the annual re-synthesis of ancient Celtic folk beliefs. The mutable nature of their philosophic content made them particularly appropriate for a rite of reversal. Now it is the children, long symbolic of both death and new life (Sautman 1982)⁴, who take on the role of the gods and other worldly beings and play tricks upon the orderly world of the living. As in the past the mutable quality of all things raises its head on Hallowe'en, and, as did the Catholic Church, we fear this intangibility, this destruction of our rigidly ordered parameters. Although few would admit this fear, it seeps out through the media: the newspapers, television and movie theatres.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF HALLOWE'EN

The Middle Ages

Following the 12th century Europe became embroiled in a struggle for power never before seen. The various

aristocracies and the papacy became increasingly insecure and corelationally concerned with deviance from their own conventional modes. The reformed churches were similarly paranoid finding heresy everywhere. Within this milieu the European peasantry's religious beliefs were probably idiosyncratic blends of old Celtic beliefs and monotheism. It is impossible to determine how many souls suffered death at the hands of the Inquisitors, and still more difficult to determine their extent of misdemeanor. Certainly it is probable that the ancient Celtic belief system offered greater flexibility than the demandingly rigid belief system of monotheism. This may have been attractive to many of the very poor, living beyond the reach of towns, travelling monks, cathedrals and monasteries. The argument here is that very ancient religious beliefs continued intact in Europe and the British Isles until quite a late date. Even today, satanalia derived festivals are common, often occurring on the same date as the ancient Celtic festivals of Imbolc (February 1), Bealtaine (May 1st), and Lunasa (August 1st).

North America

Celtic folk beliefs arrived in this country, as mentioned, in the last century with the Scots and Irish. Between 1830 and 1960 the vast bulk of the population had moved from an extended family social structure and rural

agricultural economic base to an urban and nuclear family environment. In 1830 children played an essential role in family economies. There were many jobs and correspondingly sufficient social roles for them to fill. In the urban setting towards the end of the century casual labour clogged the streets and jobs were consequently hard to find. They were increasingly reserved for older individuals with experience or training. The masses of aimless, "roleless" and jobless youth quickly became a social problem. Stringent familial and legal disciplinary codes were devised by an upper middle class intent upon retaining and maintaining authoritative order.

The overall picture here is one of a social structure tightening its belt, closing the parameters of acceptability and broadening its concept of the deviant. Between 1856 and 1880 Hallowe'en made its appearance across the country. Until the turn of the century it remained a rite of reversal for small boys. By 1900 adults had become involved in inversive rites that involved masking and parties. By the two World Wars it had become a rite of passage: an additional method of socializing the very young. In all these forms the extremely ancient aura of Celtic abhorrence of bounds is present. As a rite of reversal Hallowe'en's destruction of form allows individuals to move temporarily out of a demanding stringently social framework. As a rite of passage it facilitates a similar movement for the child.

VICTORIA: 1980's

As in all cities across Canada today cultural structure and social action merge in a heavily regulated and ordered environment. Victorians, by and large, believe in one god, are urban dwellers, and live under the regulation of an almost infinite array of judicial legislation. Society dictates that its members should be raised competitively to achieve: jobs, houses, land, property, a family, a career and, above all, money. The social pressures exerted on individuals to meet these ends are enormous and are daily reinforced by the media. Fashions of dress, housing, thought, and almost anything imaginable, change with repetitive monotony. The child is sent to school to be socialized and to learn the structure of living, which his experience everywhere contradicts: structure is in fact in flux. In the past he took a job, but the teenager today, still in school and more or less socialized, but with nowhere to go, waits for the years to pass to "turn into" an adult. Neither are productive and yet our society values productivity highly. To live up to cultural values is becoming increasingly difficult for all ages.

In the 1850's an ancient form of social behaviour re-commenced and was tolerated by the populace because it was already (had been for centuries) a part of existing folk belief patterns. Since then both structures, belief and

action, have re-fused into what we call Hallowe'en. In ancient Ireland on the eve of Samhain structure and normality's bounds were abolished. In metaphorical fashion the dead came to life, and life came to death through the medium of sacrifice and killing⁵. One could say it was a celebration of reality's mutable transience: this is the myth that has survived with amazing vitality over the millenia and annually recurs on October 31st. On this night we transcend any order and a bizarrely new performance is enacted. The myth of the inversion of life and death are acted out in varying degrees of actuality. The enactment creates fear, particularly when graphically represented by razor blade and apple. Under such conditions the order we have left behind would appear a haven of safety. But the extreme enactment of the myth in our already insecure daily normality has created an imbalance in the ritual. Hallowe'en is in the process of changing because of this. The media's promotion of the myth has been too effective and some individuals have carried disorder too far. Actual killing is surely the ultimate inversion of social order.⁶ Thus some parents keep their children at home and forgo the rite of passage.

CONCLUSION

The uncertainty and the conflict between our beliefs concerning Hallowe'en dangers and the real measures of the

consequences of these beliefs is indicated in my research, and discussed in Chapter IV: newspaper articles and interviews.

Fear, that is perhaps a magnified projection and reflection of the inherent anxieties of living in a society in which a highly valued security is at a minimum, is wildly projected by all forms of our mass media. It is put in perspective by a police who view the media as sensationalistic, but who also add that it has indeed kept people off the streets, and, consequently, has kept vandalism at a minimum in recent years. This latter interpretation is corroborated by the elderly, whose stories of Hallowe'en antics of a half century or more ago, suggest a far rowdier festival than now. So here the belief in violence is not substantiated by fact, and indeed may be a far less frequent occurrence than in the past. At another level the elderly tend to view modern youth as "mean and vicious." Since modern youth have very little to do with the elderly at present, being sent to school every day for a minimum of twelve years and living as they do in nuclear (non-extended) families where grandparents are seldom present, it is hard to see the rationale for this statement. It becomes clearer when we hear the same elderly individuals say repeatedly that "they (the children) have everything for nothing these days." On Hallowe'en children beg for food, an activity scarcely tolerable by Protestant standards. For

the elderly, then, it is difficult to countenance spoilt begging children at the door.

The irrational fear just mentioned has caused a gradual decrease in the incidence of trick or treating. Parents fear for their children's safety. The belief is that there are "kooks" out there: the reality appears somewhat more complex. On Hallowe'en the ancient belief structure magnifies the perceptions of anxiety we already feel with daily intimacy. For our social structure, a little like the festival, is not entirely logical. Twenty one years of schooling or ten year's experience doesn't necessarily lead to a job and economic safety. Fashions of expectation have created narrower parameters of acceptance and thus it becomes easier to imagine, if not see, the eccentric who could, depending upon the degree of paranoia, be called the "kook" (Elkind 1981).

But the active refusal, through fear, to allow the child (our future) to put on the present's mask and to make a choice concerning the future in a realm where both yesterday and tomorrow are one, may be both a further denial of the child's social status as well as indicative of a belief that indeed society may currently offer little or no status or role.

Over the last several decades a shift in emphasis to a major adult oriented festival has occurred. After taking

their children out trick or treating, or to a party as the case may be, adults assume the masked visage of powerfully negative social roles. Within a pervasive atmosphere of anxiety and concern this might seem an anachronism. But adults do not normally mingle in costume out in the street. Such untrammelled role change has long been fettered with social regulation (Honigmann 1977). Instead they isolate themselves within the safe confines of individual or community parties. Here society sees the temporary masking of the present and the individual donning of an ecclectically chosen future as the least risky alternative. Here we find a clearer coincidence of belief and action.

Finally, Hallowe'en has all of the external paraphernalia of a major annual festival and a very large percentage of participants, but it has none of the recognition. Many, as mentioned, think of it as rather a joke and yet on the night joyfully cavort for hours in bizarre costume. Hallowe'en's image is downplayed by the participants, and I would suggest that this is a logical outcome of the myth itself for boundaries between realities are obscured on Hallowe'en night. Today's social action and belief are masked and hidden behind centuries of symbolic imagery. This imagery (of both past and potential future) disguises the disorderly antics that occur and by the following morning, and daylight, both imagery and antics are gone. The contradiction they embrace has been resolved for another

year. All is over until the weeks before Hallowe'en in the following year when the fear of forthcoming disorder, remembered, recurs. Furthermore, the Hallowe'en mask, both of society and the individual, provides an atmosphere conducive to metaphorical new learning. New realities and possibilities for action are enveloped within its temporary frame where juxtaposed conflicting symbolic imageries jolt the participant into recognition. However, these perceptions which involve Hallowe'en experiences are largely unconscious. Freud (1950) has put it this way. (See footnote 10, Chapter V)

...The achievement of the function of judgement only becomes feasible...after the symbol of negation has endowed thought with a first degree of independence from the results of repression...in analysis we never discover a "No" in the unconscious...a recognition of the unconscious on the part of ego is expressed in a negative formula.

Therefore we treat the Hallowe'en festival with ambivalence, as simply an absurd night of lunacy. Learning under such de-structured circumstances remains unrecognized.

The Hallowe'en festival masquerade of values is a ritual ripe for further analysis. Here we have the classic anthropological scenario: the bizarre harnessed to the normal, enveloped in costume and mask, with a significance that remains almost completely unrecognized. Further

research might involve a comparative analysis of the ideal and actual (or cultural and social structure, respectively, as coined by Geertz) in a number of large cities in North America. Here media representations of reality could be compared to police versions. My data on a city as small as Victoria simply indicates a certain degree of discrepancy in the two. It would be of interest to analyze the same in densely populated areas with baselines of daily violence higher than here.

Hallowe'en is one of four festivals that divide the annual round into equal parts. An analysis of its place in this cycle and its role as a "dark" day outside of the ancient calendrical "light" year⁷ would be fascinating. I have found that certain symbolic elements of Hallowe'en are shared by other calendrically close festivals. For example, on Guy Fawkes' night (see Beck 1984), the Mexican festival of the dead and even on our North American Thanksgiving, trickery, bonfires, begging and abundant food are elements that are often present. Thanksgiving is diametrically opposed to Hallowe'en in many ways, for it involves families and the giving of food rather than communal activities and the taking away of edibles. The relations between all these festivals and the liminal period of summer's end and winter's beginning is extremely interesting, as is also, of course, the extended ancient symbolic imagery which is a part of it all.

Similarly, the role of begging is an integral part of North American Hallowe'en (not the Irish nor Scottish versions) and British Guy Fawkes' night. Its relation to and role in social relations in both festivals has never been adequately researched.

Finally, my costume data could be extended. The trends in costume type that I have correlated with age should be subjected to further more refined analysis. Many costumes are purchased and many simply "thrown" together, thus the role of commercial activity at Hallowe'en is another potentially fruitful area of study.

Indeed, in our materialistic consumer society commercialism and the desire to make a quick "buck" cannot be blithely waved aside, as it is all too easily and frequently done. In much the same manner that Hallowe'en is enjoyed yet tossed out as essentially trivia, the role of commerce and its relation to ourselves, and the converse, is discarded as an indecent enterprise that has no real effect and certainly none to which we would admit. Paradoxically, it permeates the very fabric of western life, and conversely, the populace constitute its very structure. The singular Hallowe'en symbol of western commercial success is the candy. Over the centuries this image has shifted from food in the form of bread (soul cakes), to apples, baked goods, candied apples, candied corn, to the pure refined and

wrapped sugar we today call candy. All along we have had the symbolic coin but its meaning is less obscure than sugar. Across North America millions of children receive pounds of candy from strangers and friends as a reward on Hallowe'en. This thesis has explored some of the reasons for this phenomenon. The relation between the widespread use of candy as reinforcement for proper behaviour has not been adequately researched, nor the effect on the market of the public's demand for largely symbolic goods: for example, the Thanksgiving turkey, the Christmas tree, candy cane and toys, Easter's real and chocolate eggs, and Hallowe'en and Thanksgiving pumpkins. The point here is that festivals are not simply commercially structured holidays. We, the populace, in demanding the goods, do much to create the festivals. It is significant that coping with society's demand for turkeys between October and December, and toys at Christmas, is a largely unprofitable enterprise. I hope here to have suggested still more avenues of research.

In conclusion, rituals such as Hallowe'en are communicative metaphorical responses to our species' manufactured perceptions of reality. Philosophers have debated the nature of the latter, ad infinitum, for centuries, and its perception has changed accordingly. Lewis Carroll's character is a version of us all, and typifies the Hallowe'en experience when she steps into the looking glass and into her reflection, to find a newly

bounded situation in which none of the old rules pertain. Alice makes choices: one of which is to believe in the Unicorn, that magical mythical beast which she sees for the first time. At Hallowe'en we have simply followed Alice, and while our cultural and social structure effect the mirrored realm, the converse is also true.

FOOTNOTES

1. Geertz has been severely and aptly criticized for his unwillingness to investigate relations between ideological systems and material forces. His theories are appropriate here as long as one remembers that Hallowe'en is a ritual embedded within a stressful and material social system.
2. To some extent cybernetics was guilty of this as well, if only because a distinction between the two important human spheres was not emphasized.
3. Apples are extremely ancient symbols, almost certainly predating the genesis of the story of the Garden of Eden. In Celtic myth they have primarily positive connotations but in Christianity, while associated with life and fruition, they are also symbolic of death and termination. In the Garden of Eden Eve bites the apple; the consequences are humanization through the birth process, socialization and mortality.
4. Children may be associated with the dead because they are usually considered unsocialized, and new to this world. Hence in some respects they are seen as closer to the realm whence they came and to that which they will return.
5. Some, as we have seen, actually act out this part of the myth.
6. Although my research produces no evidence of murder on Hallowe'en night through contaminated foodstuffs and general Hallowe'en activity, it has been substantiated on a few very infrequent occasions in the U.S. over the last decade. Note the case of the "Candy Man" of several year's past. Thus I am referring here to those very few individuals who have graphically communicated the myth through ostensive action.
7. See "The Dark Days and the Light Month" by E.B.Lyle in Folklore, 95:221-223.

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Canadian Holidays

Please order the following in terms of importance from 1 to 7, AGE___
 ('1' being most important, '7' being least).

Importance to
everyone.

Importance to
yourself.

Valentine's Day		
April Fool's Day		
Easter		
Thanksgiving		
Halloween		
Christmas		
New Year's Eve/Day		

What comes to your mind when you think of each of these holidays?

Valentine's Day
April Fool's Day
Easter
Thanksgiving
Halloween
Christmas
New Year's Eve/Day

fig. 1

1. Why do you like Halloween? (Put a mark beside one answer.)

Getting dressed up in a costume.

Playing tricks.

Going around in the dark.

Getting candy.

2. What are you going to get dressed up as this Halloween?

3. Is your costume

Scary?

Funny?

Neither scary nor funny.

4. Do your parents like Halloween?

Yes.

No.

5. Do other grown-ups like Halloween?

Yes.

No.

6. What do most kids get dressed up as on Halloween?

Scary things?

Funny things?

Things that are not funny or scary.

fig. 1.a

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS COSTUMES

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	Grade III (8 years)	Grade IV (9 years)
Is your costume...		
scary	48.4%	42.5%
funny	26%	35%
neither	26%	25%
What do most kids get dressed up as on Hallowe'en?		
scary things?	84%	75%
funny things?	13%	25%
Not funny or scary	3.2%	5%
	<hr/>	
	N - 31	N - 41

fig. 1.b

Canadian Rites of Intensification

Please order the following in terms of importance from 1 to 7, ('1' being most important, '7' being least).

SEX ___
AGE ___

Importance to
Canadian society.

Personal
significance.

Valentine's Day		
April Fool's Day		
Easter		
Thanksgiving		
Halloween		
Christmas		
New Year's Eve/Day		

Briefly note any symbols you associate with these rites of intensification:

Valentine's Day
April Fool's Day
Easter
Thanksgiving
Halloween
Christmas
New Year's Eve/Day

fig. 2

CHILDREN

CANADIAN HOLIDAYS

AGE _____

Please order the following in terms of importance from 1 to 7,
('1' being most important, '7' being least important).

	Importance to everyone	Importance to yourself
Valentine's Day		
April Fool's Day		
Easter		
Thanksgiving		
Hallowe'en		
Christmas		
New Year's Eve/Day		

1. Why do you like Hallowe'en? (Put a mark beside one answer.)
 - () Getting dressed up in a costume.
 - () Playing tricks.
 - () Going around in the dark.
 - () Getting candy.
2. What are you going to get dressed up as this Hallowe'en?
3. Is your costume
 - () Scary?
 - () Funny?
 - () Neither scary nor funny
4. Do your parents like Hallowe'en?
 - () Yes
 - () No

fig. 3

CHILDREN

5. Do other grown-ups like Hallowe'en?
 - () Yes
 - () No
6. What do most kids get dressed up as on Hallowe'en?
 - () Scary things?
 - () Funny things?
 - () Things that are not funny nor scary.
7. If you had to go out on a dark scary night would you rather be
 - () masked
 - () no mask
8. What are you most afraid of on Hallowe'en night?
 - () Ghosts
 - () Witches
 - () Bad people
9. When you say "trick or treat" what does "trick" mean?
 - () A little dance, or something, to earn the candy.
 - () Something nasty that the owner of the house does when he opens the door.
 - () Something naughty that you do if you're not given candy.
10. Do you go into people's houses when trick or treating or do you just stand outside on the doorstep or porch?
 - () Inside
 - () Outside

TEENAGERS

CANADIAN HOLIDAYS

AGE _____

Please order the following in terms of importance from 1 to 7,
('1' being most important, '7' being least).

	Importance to everyone	Importance to yourself
Valentine's Day		
April Fool's Day		
Easter		
Thanksgiving		
Hallowe'en		
Christmas		
New Year's Eve/Day		

1. What do you like most about Hallowe'en?
 - () Wearing costumes
 - () Playing 'tricks'
 - () Goodies
 - () Parties
2. Are you going to wear a costume this year?
 - () Yes
 - () No
3. Do adults like Hallowe'en or not?
 - () Yes
 - () No
4. If you were in a fear arousing situation would you rather be
 - () masked
 - () not masked

fig. 4

TEENAGERS

5. What is most anxiety arousing about Hallowe'en night?
- () Ghosts
 - () Witches
 - () "Kooks"
 - () Nothing
6. In the term "trick or treat" what does "trick" mean?
- () A performance given to earn the candy.
 - () A trick played on you by the owner of the house you're at.
 - () Pranks one plays when not given candy.
7. Do you,(or did you when a child) go into people's houses when trick or treating, or do you (did you) just stand outside on the doorstep or porch?
- () Inside
 - () Outside

fig. 4.a

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CANADIAN RITES OF INTENSIFICATION

SEX _____
AGE _____

Please order the following in terms of importance from 1 to 7,
('1' being most important, '7' being least important).

	Importance to Canadian Society	Personal significance
Valentine's Day		
April Fool's Day		
Easter		
Thanksgiving		
Hallowe'en		
Christmas		
New Year's Eve/Day		

1. Your age?
 - () 17 - 25
 - () over 25
2. What did you like most about Hallowe'en as a small child/
 - () wearing costumes
 - () The ghostly aura of witches and goblins abroad in the night
 - () Trick or treating
 - () Goodies
 - () Parties
3. As an adult do you go to masquerade parties on Hallowe'en night?
 - () Yes
 - () No
4. As an adult do you enjoy being disguised in costume?
 - () Yes () No

fig. 5

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5. Do people respond to each other differently in costume?
 Yes
 No
6. Is Hallowe'en generally liked by the adult population?
 Yes
 No
7. If you were in a fear arousing situation would you rather be
 masked
 not masked
8. Is there anything to be afraid of on Hallowe'en night?
(ie: witches, ghosts, "kooks", etc.)
 Yes
 No
9. If you were out on a dark night who would you rather NOT meet?
 The ghost of someone you knew had died.
 A witch-like individual
 A voice in the dark.
 A madman of unpredictable nature
10. As a child, did you know what the "trick" meant in the term
"trick or treat"?
 Yes
 No
11. If "yes", what did it mean to you?

fig. 5.a

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12. As an adult, how do you enjoy Hallowe'en?
- () Masquerade parties
 - () Having children come to my door
 - () Both of the above
 - () I don't
13. What goodies do you recall receiving as a child?
- () Mostly baked goods
 - () Mostly wrapped candy
 - () Fruit
 - () All of the above
14. Has Hallowe'en changed? if so, how?
15. Would you like to see an end to the festival as it is now?
- () Yes
 - () No
 - () Ambivalent

fig. 5.b

Nov. 10, 1982

Hallowe'en (as I remember it) in the fifties. I seem to remember it being a much more natural fun thing and not having the commercial "hoop lah" of today. A few days ahead, our parents would buy apples and nuts and have pennies and threepenny bits ready for the "guisers."

When the day came my mother would also always buy a "City Bakery's" (local bakery chain in the Glasgow area) Hallowe'en cake. It was round like a big smiling "man in the moon" face, pale orange and brown features. After supper we would set out, ready to go knocking on the doors, dressed up in our disguises, hence the name "GUISERS."

There were the usual costumes, plus boys dressed in their mother's clothes and girls dressed in their father's. If we did not have masks, we used soot from the fireplace to blacken our faces plus lipstick, etc. The great plan was always that the neighbours would not recognize you, then you would have more confidence when you had to do your "party piece."

When you knocked on the doors you always asked "Would you give us our Hallowe'en please?" or "Have you anything for the guisers?" You usually always were taken in and then the neighbours would try to pretend they did not know who you were and ask "Well what are you going to do for us?" So again, after much shuffling about who should go first

(we always went in 3's and 4's.) we either told a joke, sang a song, said a poem, one after the other and as a reward were given nuts and apples or pennies or a threepenny bit. (I never had sweets!) We started out about 6:00 p.m. and were usually home by 9:30 p.m. Some years, we would have a Hallowe'en party or be invited to one. At a party we had to "dook" or bob (duck) for apples. The apples floated in water in a tin bath and we had to put our heads in, hands behind backs and catch an apple with our teeth only. We were usually soaked and had to be dried off. Another thing we did was to catch jam "pieces" (sandwiches) in our mouths, again hands behind backs. These were suspended from the ceiling by thread and swung back and forth, your face became sticky with the jam, attempting to catch these.

The day before Hallowe'en we would take a large turnip and carve it out, just as the children here do with pumpkins, and make a face. We would then put in a candle and make a strong handle and use it as a lantern. We did not call it a "jack o' lantern," just a turnip lantern. Our parents never accompanied us. The nuts were usually hazelnuts, brazils or walnuts, and I think most of us realized that we were celebrating the night before All Saints.

COSTUME DATA

Children 7-12 years

No. Costume

- 21 : witches
- 7 : bunny, fairies
- 6 : gypsy, dracula, E.T.
- 5 : Batman, clown, Indian
- 4 : Raggedy Ann, black cat, baby, Spiderman, Robin Hood
- 3 : pumpkin, punk, devil, strawberry shortcake, Little Bo Peep, Superman, period piece, princess, ethnic Wonderwoman, spaceman/race driver
- 2 : angel, pirate, Mickey Mouse, mouse, Hawaiian, cowboy, Miss Piggy, tiger
- 1 : wizard, doll, Red Riding Hood, ghost, Inspector Cousteau, gangster, bee, rich lady, Mexican, sick kid, Snoopy, policeman, Big Bird, Zorro, skeleton, bride, nurse, Lone Ranger, hockey player, Sylvester the Cat, Kermit, Genie, Rubrik's Cube, hobo, scarecrow, Lemon Munchkin

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Teenagers 12-18 years

No. Costume

- 6 : punks
- 5 : terrorist, baby
- 3 : sheik, period piece, magician, punk martians
- 2 : skeleton, mouse, construction worker, fairy, Jane, Dracula, clown, bunny, cabaret/whore, pumpkin ethnic
- 1 : policeman, teddy bear, Indian woman, tourist, cowgirl, Jack-in-the-box, Mad Hatter, country western singer, baseball player, doctor, E.T., Tarzan, Flasher, executioner, witch, elf, Pierrot, gypsy, man, Holy Ghost, pirate, teacher, Superman

18-25 year olds

No. Costume

- 2 : fairy, gypsy, female/transvestite
- 1 : witch, anthropology teacher, barbarian, French dancer, smurf, Little Bo Peep, mime, tourist, Zorro, "stylish bruise," punk, doll, monk, candy cane, Charlie Chaplin, period piece, Homo Erectus, killer bee, cupid, African warrior, gnome, mosquito, guisha girl, whore, Pierrot, elf, Trudeau Ebenezer Scrooge

Over 25 year olds

No. Costume

3 : devil

1 : Arab, leopard, monster, killer bee, terrorist,
policeman, toilet paper, Beefeater, pioneer
woman, Groucho Marx, Dracula, doctor, pumpkin,
ethnic, whore, clown, Christmas package,
executioner, cowboy, tylenol capsule, politician,
cat, bat, tribal spirit, monkey, courtier, gangster,
baby, outer space creature, Egyptian queen, rock
guitarist, wizard, aviator

CLASSIFICATORY CATEGORIES

Illustration of Categorization

- 1) Ethical/Moral
 - (W) witch - death, evil, darkness and age
 - (B) bunny - nature
 - (F) fairy - culture, youth, good, light
- 2) Power
 - (S) strength
 - (H) helpless
 - (T) thing*
- 3) Social Persona
 - (P) positive
 - (N) negative
 - (A) ambivalent

Oppositions:

	<u>Ethical - Moral Opposition</u>	<u>Power Opposition</u>	<u>Social Persona Opposition</u>
Witch	W	S	N
Bunny	B	H	A
Fairy	F	S	P
Gypsy	W/F	S	N/A
Dracula	W	S	N
E.T.	B/F	H/T	P/A
Pumpkin	B/F	T	A
Indian	B/F	S/T	N
Clown	F	S/H	P/A
Skeleton	W/B	S	N/A

fig. 11 *Category which comprises objects of obscure and largely inanimate symbolic content, i.e. Rubrik's Cube.

Witch - W
Bunny - B
Fairy - F

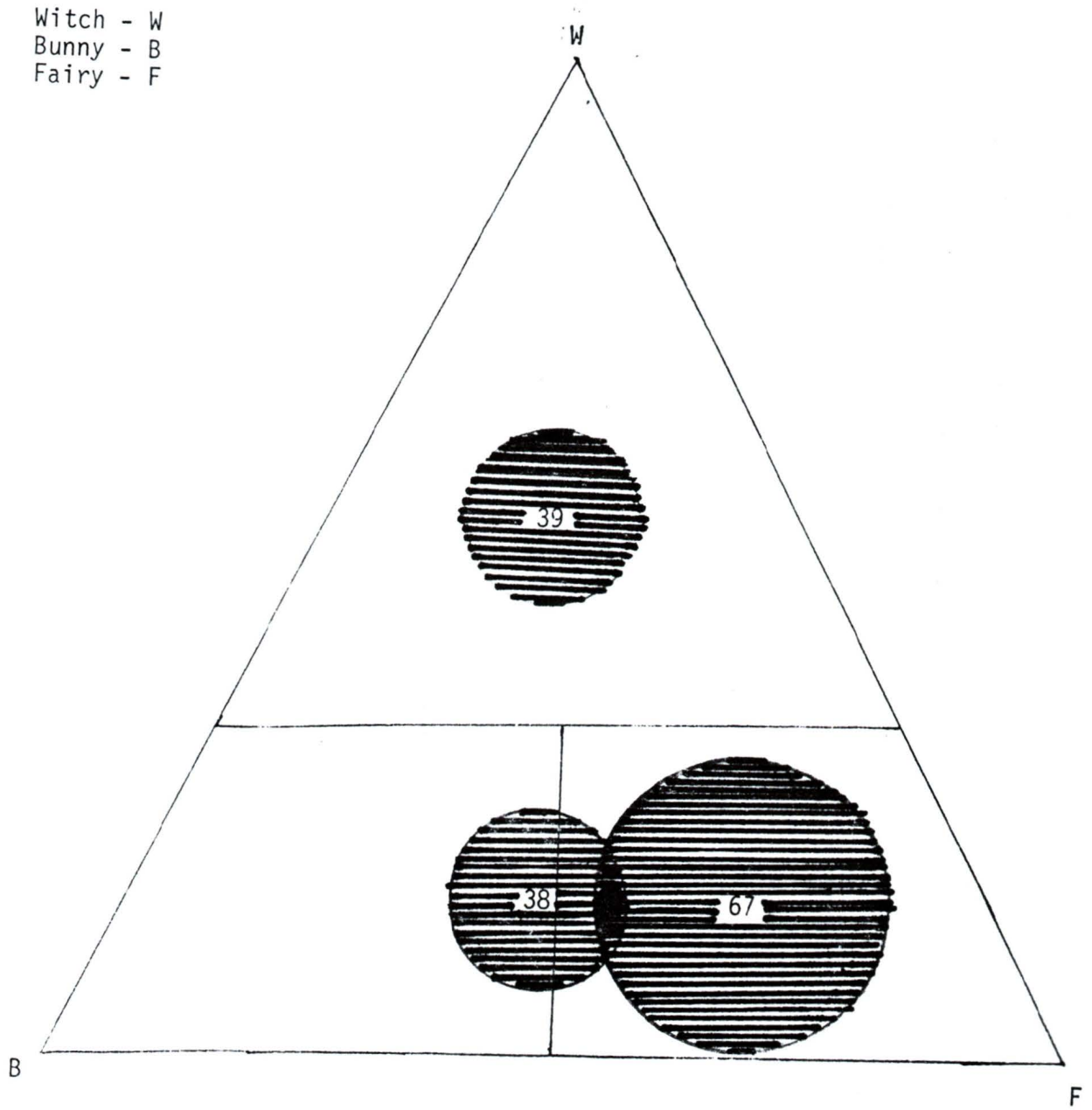


Fig. 12

Ages 12 - 18

N = 76

Witch - W
Bunny - B
Fairy - F

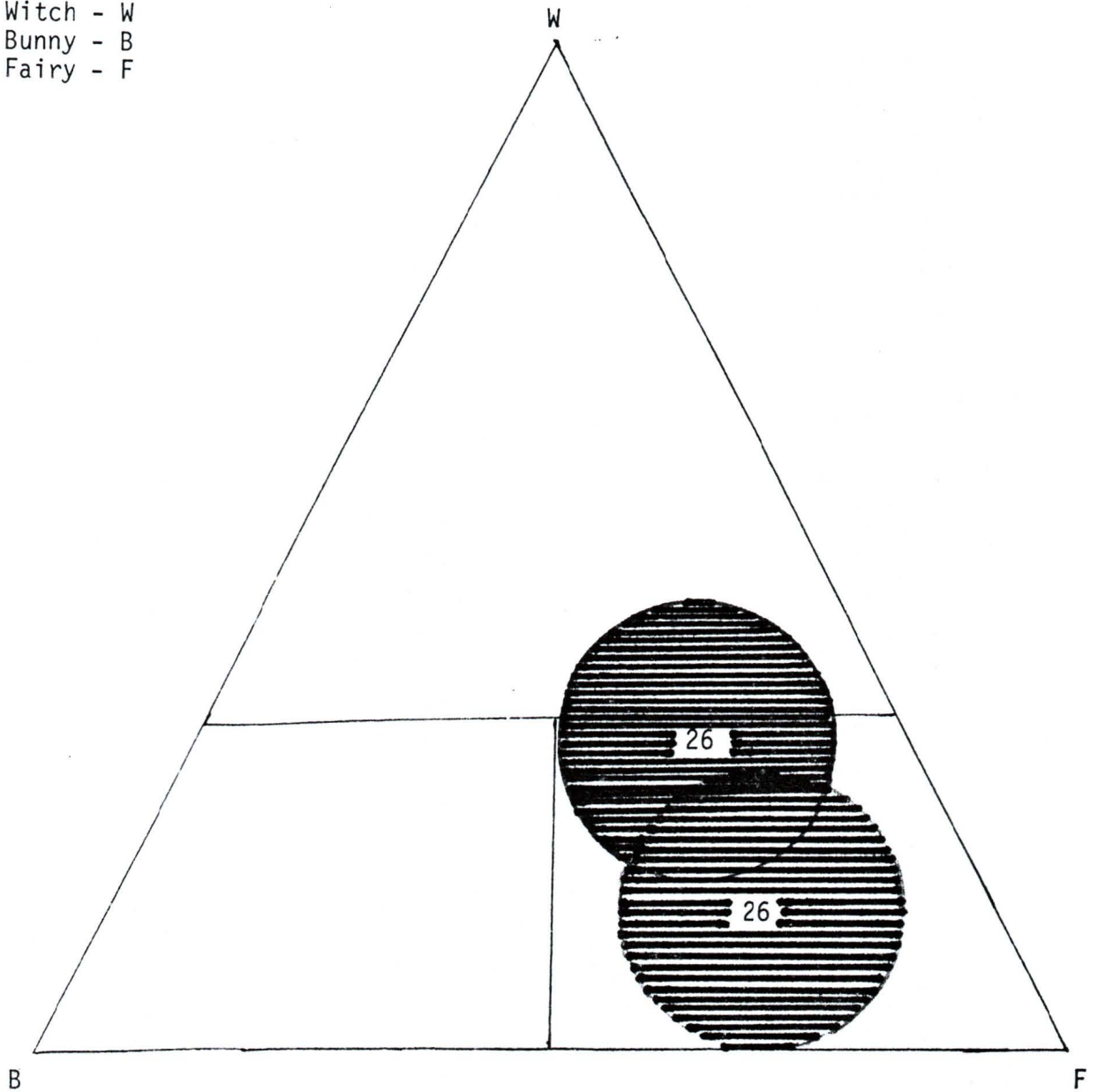


Fig. 12a

Ages 18 - 25

N = 35

Witch - W
Bunny - B
Fairy - F

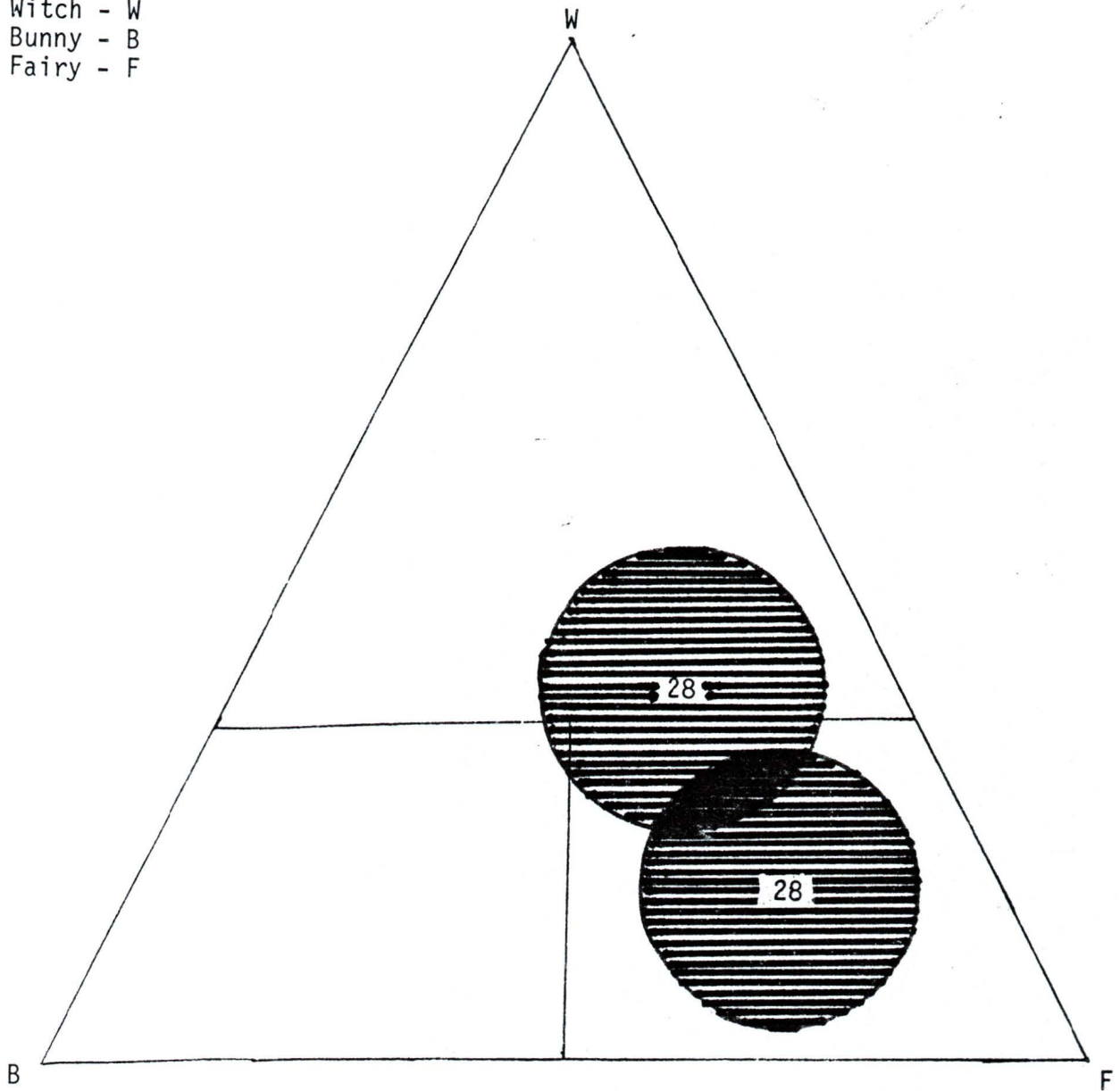


Fig. 12b

25 years plus

N = 35

Witch - W
Bunny - B
Fairy - F

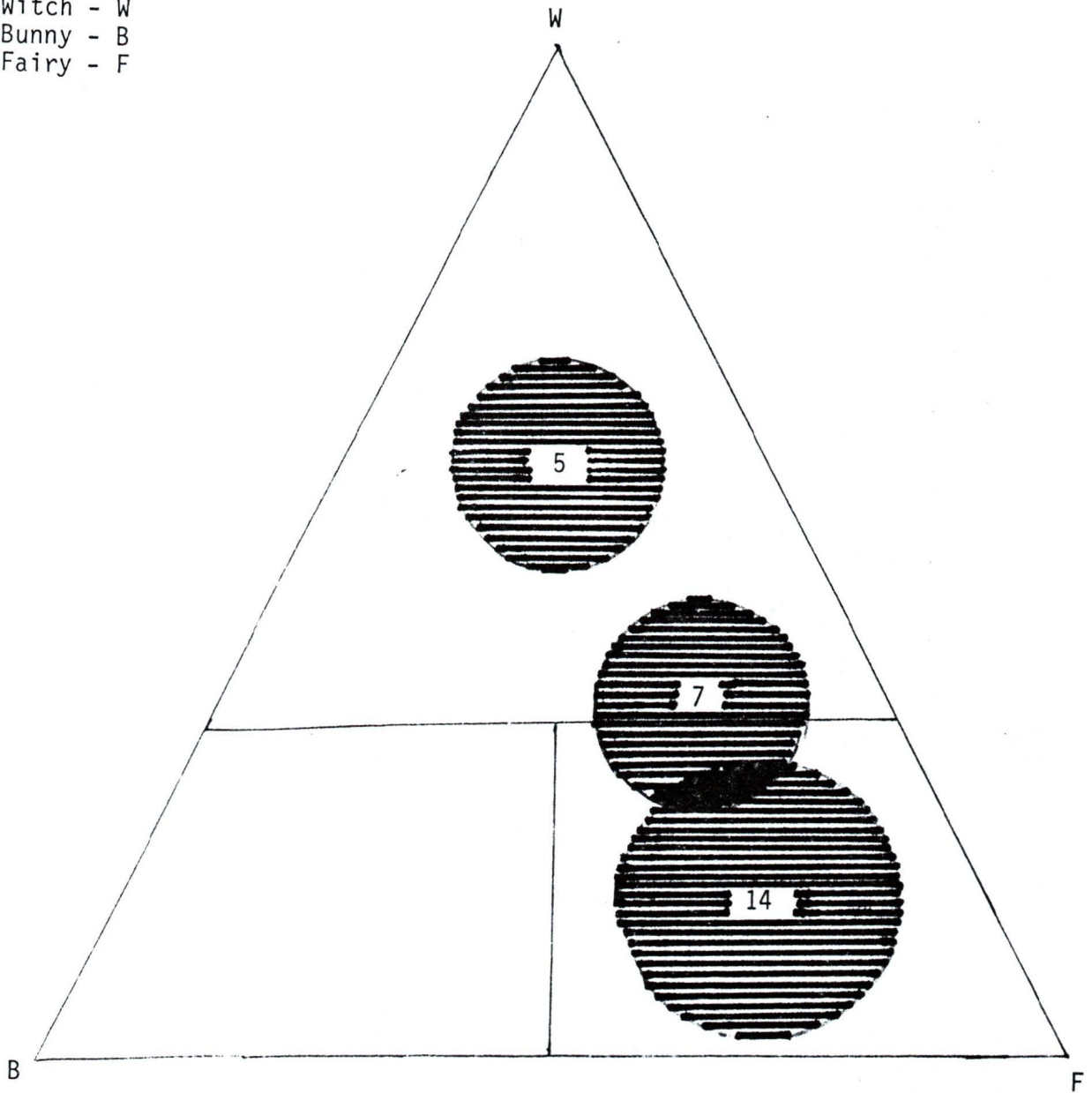


Fig. 12c

Children 5 - 12 years

N = 165

Strength - S
Helpless - H
Thing - T

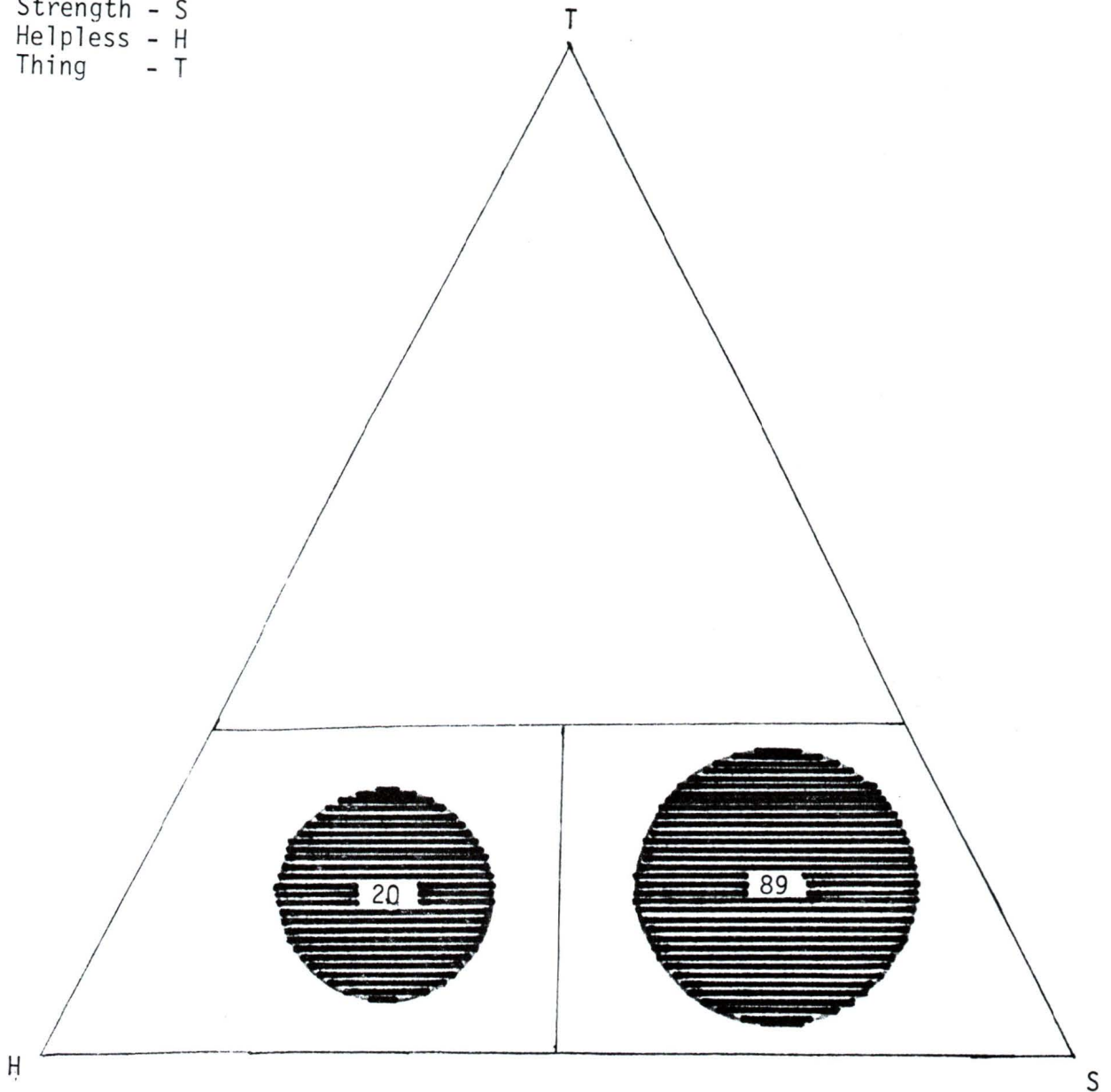


Fig. 13

Ages 12 - 18

N = 76

Strength - S
Helpless - H
Thing - T

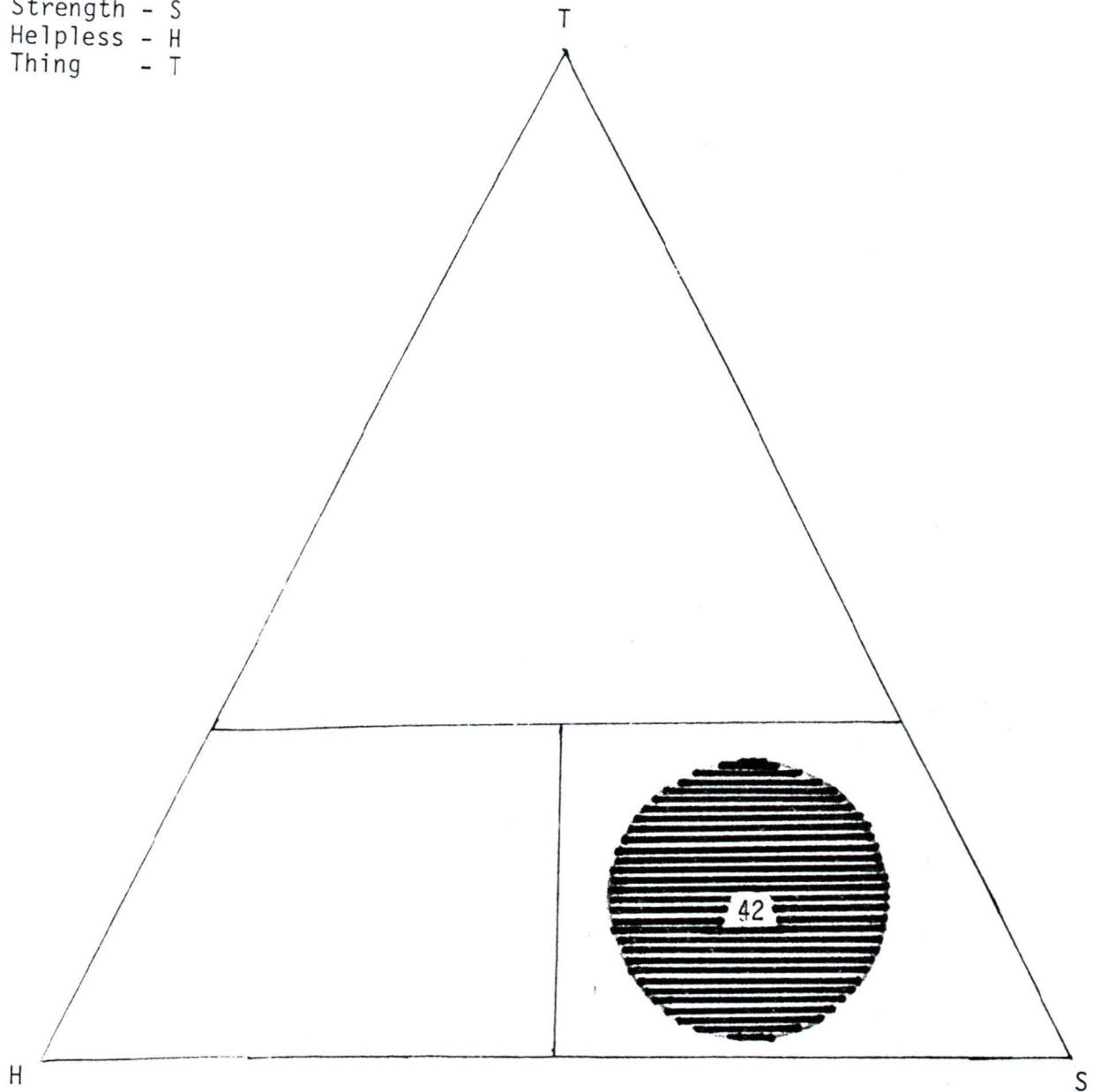


Fig. 13a

Ages 18 - 25

N = 35

Strength - S
Helpless - H
Thing - T

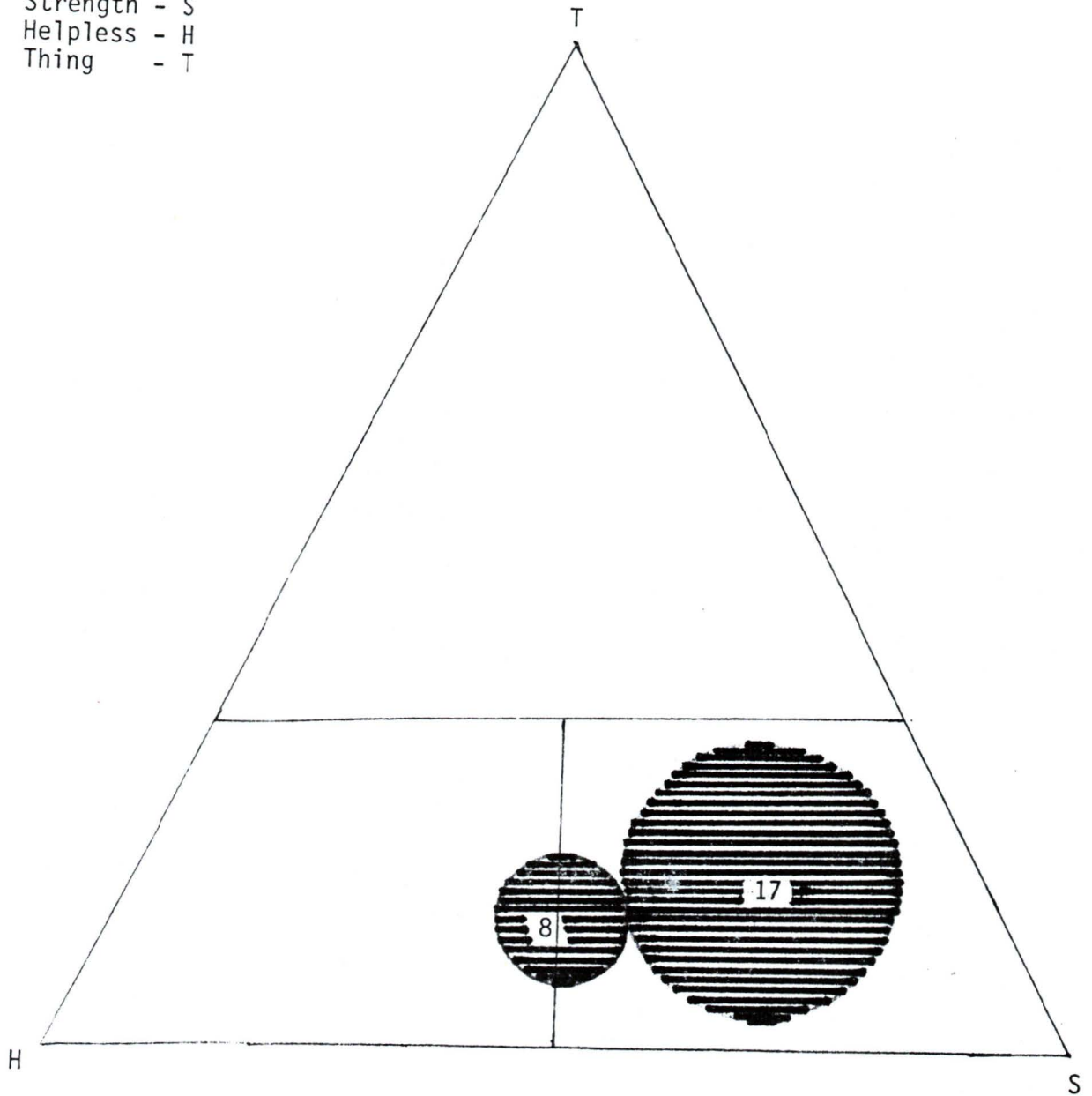


Fig. 13b

Power Opposition

25 years plus

N = 35

Strength - S
Helpless - H
Thing - T

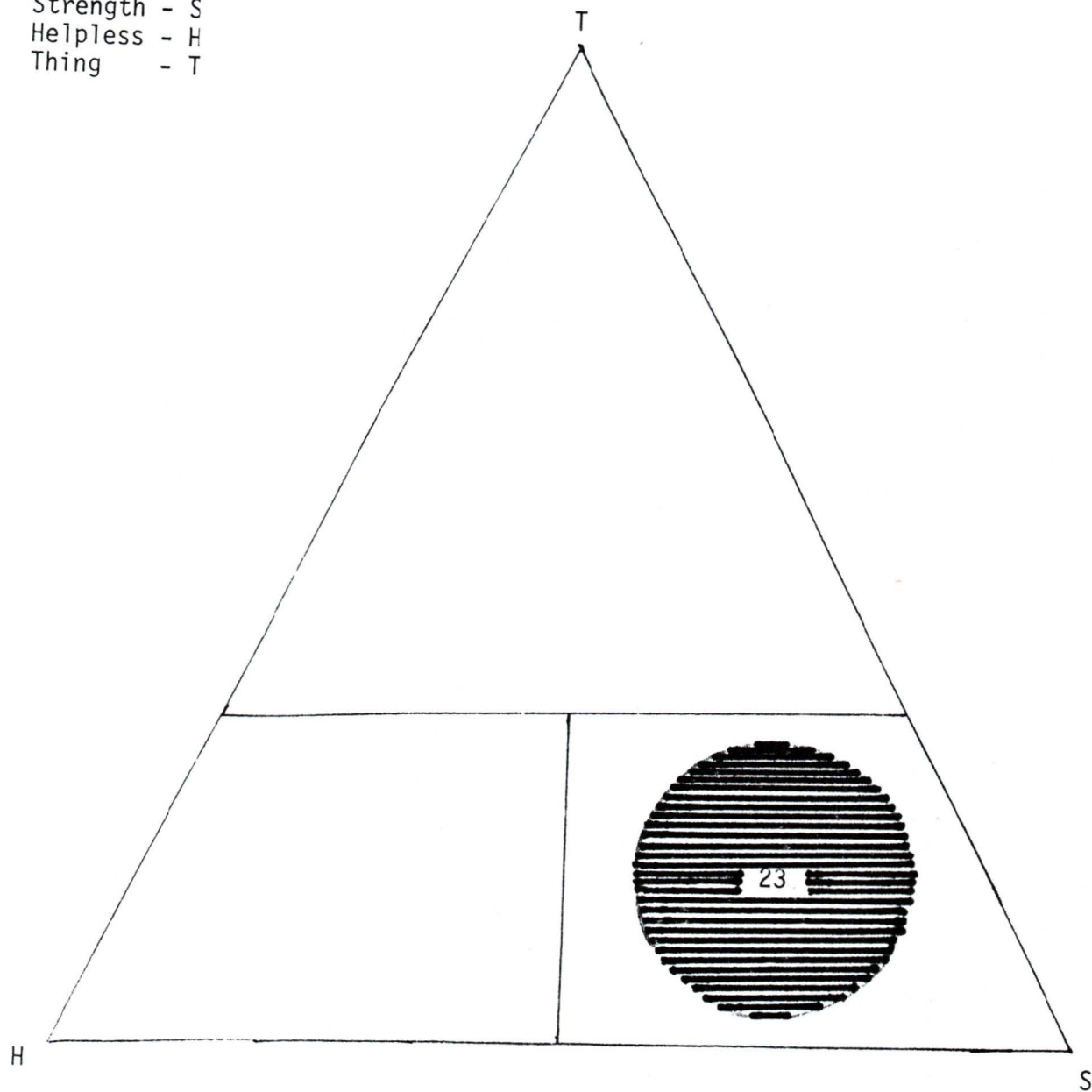


Fig. 13c

Children 5 - 12 years

N = 165

Positive Soc. Role - P
Negative " " - N
Ambivalent " " - A

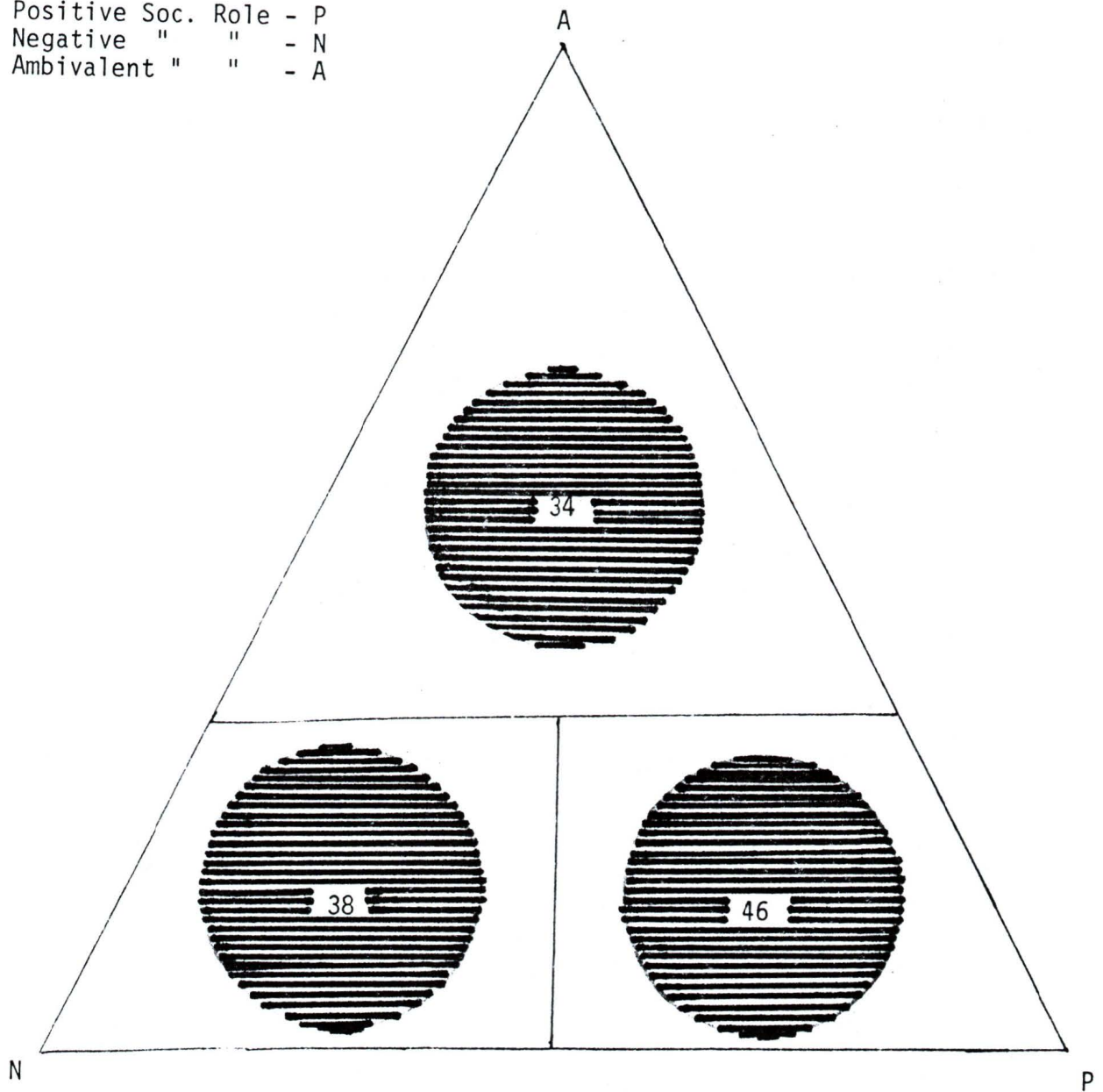


Fig. 14

Ages 12 - 18

N = 76

Positive Soc. Role - P
Negative " " - N
Ambivalent " " - A

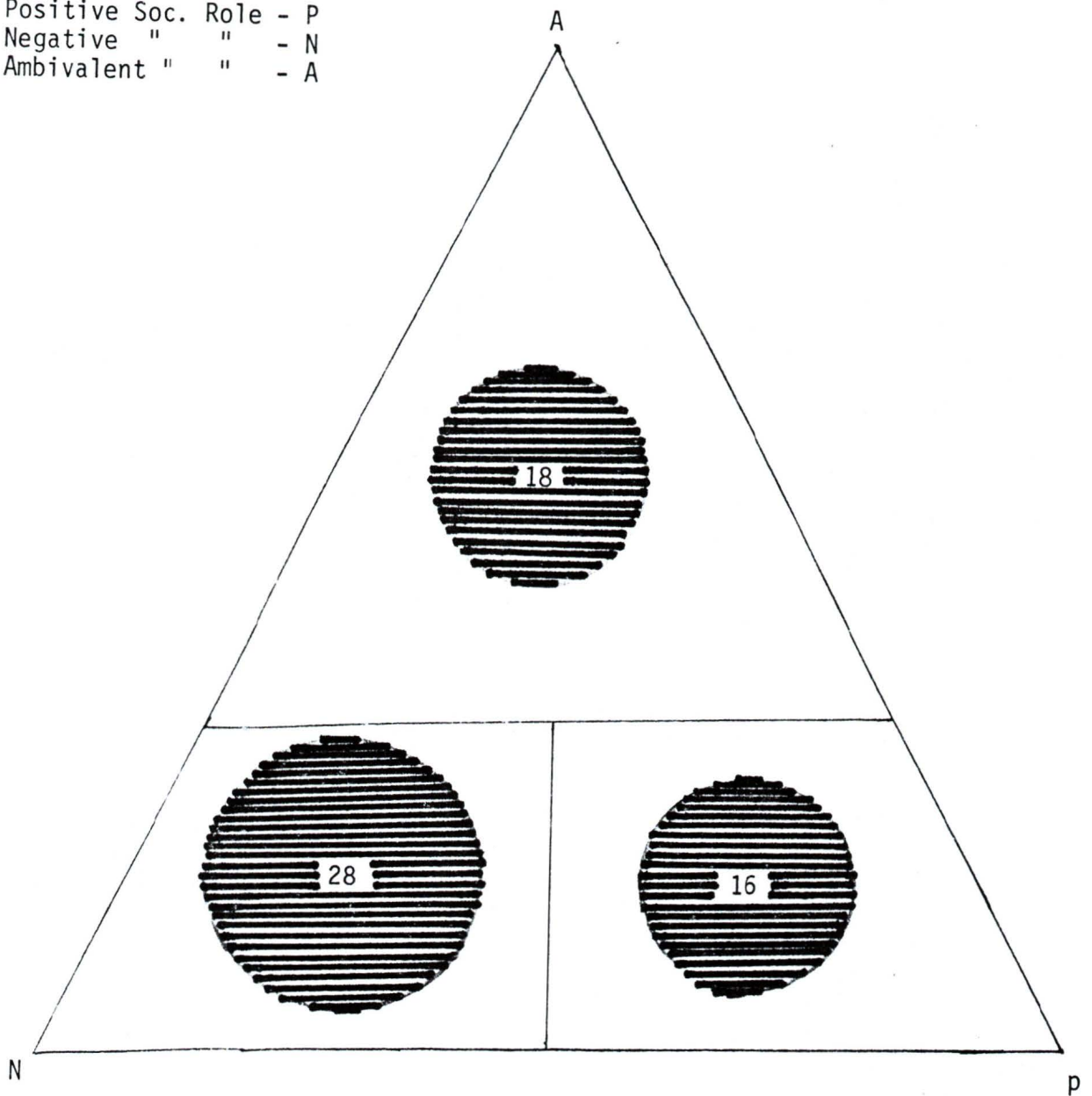


Fig. 14a

Avoidance of Social Persona: Opposition

Ages 18 - 25

N = 35

Positive Soc. Role - P
Negative " " - N
Ambivalent " " - A

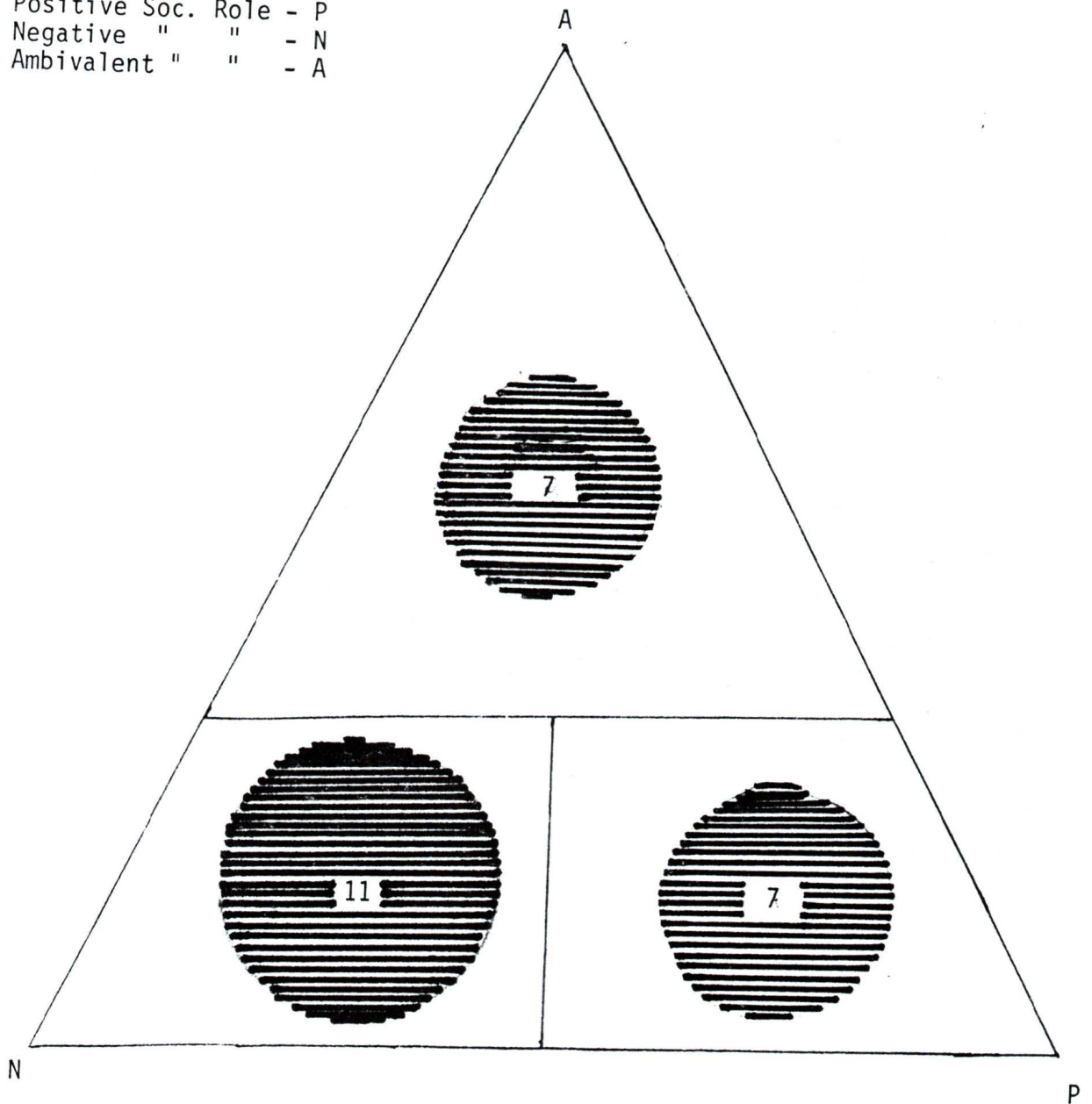


Fig. 14b

25 years plus

N = 35

Positive Soc. Role - P
Negative " " - N
Ambivalent " " - A

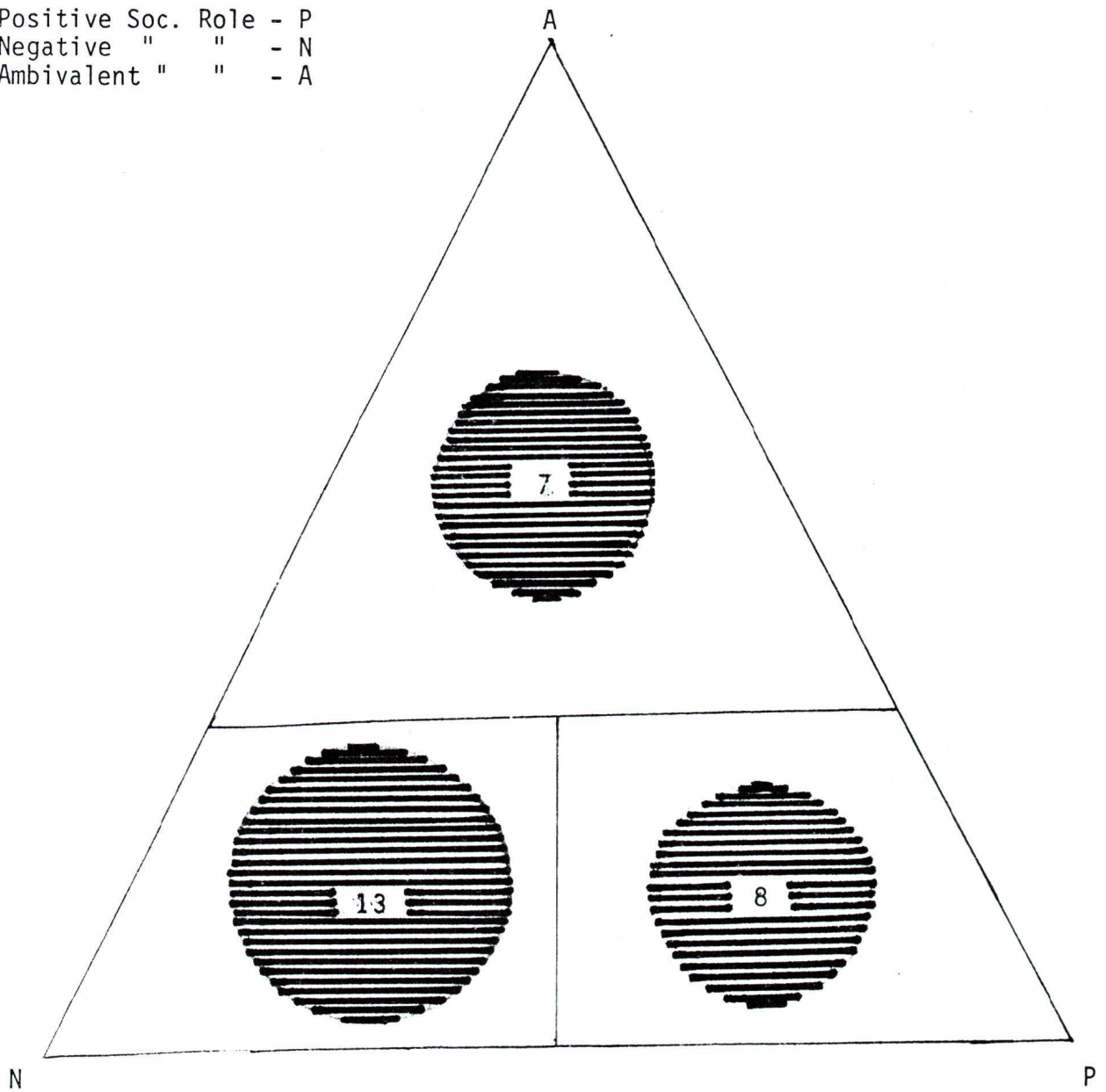


Fig. 14c

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April, 1983.


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Date