

CONWAY MEMORIAL LECTURE

THE
PRACTICAL VALUE
OF ETHNOLOGY

A. C. HADDON, F.R.S.

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CONWAY MEMORIAL LECTURE

THE
PRACTICAL VALUE
OF ETHNOLOGY

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BY

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(Dr. Leonard Huxley in the Chair)

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CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

At our old Universities and other foundations a gracious custom prevails on certain solemn occasions of reciting the bidding prayer which keeps in green memory the name of those who aforetime have aided the foundation by their benefactions. The Memorial Lecture to-night, at which I have the honour to preside, is a large instance of this same gracious custom of remembrance. But the benefaction commemorated is a benefaction, not to one particular University or School, but to the world at large, and to all thinkers who try to ensue truth on the actual plane of living humanity, unclogged by the calcified superstitions which are the fossils of anciently-living thought; or, if the simile is apter, are like the shell of a crab, built up to sustain his form at one period of his growth, but needing, as he grows, to be split and shed if the living organism within is to develop and expand.

My own personal recollections of Moncure Conway are but a boy's impression of a noticeable man, well set up and handsome, with alert eyes and finely-moulded features set in a crisp abundance of silvering hair. The scene is a Sunday evening at my father's house in Marlborough Place; the figure for the moment is standing by the old octagon table near the centre of the room, half turned from it to speak to some other guest; the date probably in the later seventies, though not precisely that winter of 1878-9 when Moncure Conway was the prime mover in organizing a society to be called the Association of Liberal Thinkers.

The idea of forming such a society first took shape in the course of conversation at W. K. Clifford's house. Conway enthusiastically enlisted on the council men of science, critics, and scholars in various branches of

learning. My father was chosen President, and the first meeting of officers and council took place at his house one day in January, 1879. The aim of the society was not, as some suspected who were invited to join it, to constitute a propaganda of negations, but rather to serve as a centre of free thought, and in the conviction, not that it was inexpedient to offer the multitude conclusions running counter to popular belief, but rather that the more rapidly truth is spread among mankind the better it will be for them. "Only," added the President, "let us be sure that it is truth."

Unfortunately, the council were strongly divided as to the advisability of the course of action proposed, and the Association came to an untimely end. But, at least, the project is a tribute to the enthusiasm of Moncure Conway and the breadth of his outlook in endeavouring to bring to a common focus the rays that were flashed back from so many facets of truth. Reading anew, as is natural on such an occasion, in Moncure Conway's writings, one cannot but feel the freshness in the quality of the enthusiasm that carries him along—a moral quality which runs ahead of the abstract contemplation of things, and, urged on by generous sympathy and a vital demand for justice, beats out the path along which it draws in its support the powers of the analytic faculty. He stands as an apostle of humanism, seeing in the finest expression of the human spirit the level to which struggling and imperfect man may ultimately hope to raise himself. He is like the Positivists in taking a positive basis to build upon; he is unlike them in erecting no abstraction of Humanity for his worship. The actualities on which he builds are our human achievements in science and philosophy, in literature and art, in the moral structure of social life with its interlocking ties between man and man. Herein what

has been attained is a step in the stairway to some more complete attainment.

Readers of his essays may recall one which bears the title of "Jacob's Ladder." In this he poetically sums up the idea of progress with eyes uplifted, but with feet planted on positive steps. He translates Jacob's vision into a modern apologue. The angels of the vision ascending and descending the ladder that leads to the better land, such as the Israelite of old conceived it, are not the physiological monstrosities of a later art, but wingless figures, purely human. The preacher re-fashions them as embodiments of human powers and aspirations aiding man step by step up the toilsome ascent to fresh levels not of imaginings detached from nature's experience and designed as compensations for the moral and physical sufferings of earthly existence, but of a maturer humanity schooled by widening knowledge and expanded by broader sympathies.

To a man with Moncure Conway's interest in his fellow men, the subject of this evening's discourse should assuredly make a strong appeal. For that interest was not confined to one class or one race. He was not solely concerned to purge away the injustices and the ignorances, the prejudices and superstitions, so prevalent in the race which loudly boasts of its superiority to all other races.

From his earliest years he was in close touch with American slaves and the owners of slaves. As his mind grew, he became more and more conscious of the double wrong done by the institution of slavery—on the one hand the injustice to the slaves, on the other the corruption of the masters. His detestation of the wrong is to be measured by his eagerness to sweep away injustice and to let in upon the moral and intellectual darkness in which the negroes were deliberately

kept by the whites the light that springs from freedom and education. As human beings, they must share in civil rights and responsibilities ; and to be equipped for such duties, as well as to complete the full stature of their personal development, they must receive the religious and secular education which the whites so jealously reserved for themselves. Now, this claim on behalf of the negro rejects the doctrine of the curse upon the race of Ham, so comfortable to the tribe of slave-owners. It assumes that this race is either equal in capacity, or, at all events, sufficiently near the whites in capacity, to benefit by the same social and intellectual conditions. Nevertheless, speaking broadly, there is current a strongly established belief that distinct races of men differ in their innate mental capacities, the more markedly perhaps as their average cranial capacity varies. At the same time, deficiency in the higher intellectual powers may be joined with abundance of artistic, musical, or dramatic capacity.

But science is not content with "speaking broadly." It calls for quantitative exactitude, for, when accurately determined, quantity is at bottom the measure of quality. Ethnology has, among other things, to determine how great, if any, these differences are in physical constitution, and how far they merely represent what may be called hereditary leeway still to be made up ; the difference, that is to say, between a faculty developed and a faculty lying latent or restrained by tribal customs for unnumbered generations. Experience seems to show that more races than one possess high intellectual and moral capacity, and that civilization, which may be summed up as education and training for making the best of life, brings up many races or grades of races to an unexpectedly high standard, for there are divers grades within each larger group of

colour, whether white or brown, yellow or red or black.

But this opens out another question, which comes nearer home. Our own race is a very mixed race. A neolithic substratum has been overlaid with one wave of invaders after another—Britons and Gauls and Romans, themselves mixed; Saxons, Angles, Danes, Norsemen fresh from Scandinavia, or tinged with new elements from the Franks; Flemish weavers, French Huguenots, traders of every type. Here are mingled dark and fair, tall and short, long heads and round heads and middle types. And our own country is but an illustration of the varied commixtures in almost every European country.

Ethnological inquiry has to tell us whether these different types of mankind are best adapted to different types of life. Are certain types liable to the incidence of certain diseases? Does the fair type tend to die earlier in cities and to be replaced by the dark type? Are there strains harking back to some neolithic ancestor or some northern pirate, which are utterly unsuited to our modern industrial life, and by their unsuitability either become the unhappy army of the unemployable or generate the spirit of industrial unrest which infallibly arises when a man is tethered down to some uncongenial employment? How many greyhounds have we on the treadmill acting as kitchen turnspits—how many young falcons mewed in canary cages?

Another point. If civilizing education is going to bring the so-called lower races up to a nearer level with the higher, how far will it remove what appears to be an innate antipathy between certain races, which bars free intermarriage, even though it does not destroy social intercourse, or the quasi-parental affection that exists between the negro "mammy" and her nurseling, or between teacher and pupil? Variety and contrast

within the wide limits of European races attract rather than repel; but, over and above the irreconcilable clash of opposed thought and social custom, physical antipathies begin for most of us with the Oriental and grow with every degree of blackness. The Roman conquering and absorbing a mainly white-skinned world had not to grapple with this problem which confronts the United States and the European colonizing nations.

Here, again, we turn to the ethnologist. He will tell us whether this racial antipathy is a wise warning of Nature's or not. He will tell us whether it is a true bill that as between two markedly different races the half-breed inherits the vices of both and the virtues of neither, or whether the undesirable result so often seen is really the fact that, when two unreconciled grades of civilization are in contact, the half-breed is in communion with neither, and his fall is, in truth, a social and not primarily a physical fall.

West or East, wherever European or Arab has settled in a new continent, the ethnologist can find material germane to this question, on which turn problems of empire and policies of state such as that of a White Australia. Others may dismiss the matter with the airy flippancy that nations quarrel because they do not like each other's smell; the ethnologist will take it more seriously, and his research will fill many a year.

When some of these questions are fairly answered, Ethnology will be promoted from among the tentative to the exact sciences, and a new stone will be laid among those positive foundations for human betterment which Moncure Conway sought. And it is in happy expectation of hearing such problems defined, and of learning some answers to them which can already be formulated, that we have come here to-night to listen to Professor Haddon.

THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF ETHNOLOGY

IT is an interesting fact that the investigation of mankind has only recently become a serious study. All through the ages man has been interested in his emotions and in certain of his relations with his fellow man, or has vaguely speculated upon his origin; but while the scientific method has been applied to a consideration of the stars of the heaven, the rocks of the earth, the beasts of the field, and other branches of knowledge, man seems, as it were, to have shrunk from applying strict methods of investigation to himself.

Possibly one reason for this neglect may be found in the widely-spread classification of mankind into a superior group and an inferior group, who have been termed "gentiles," "barbarians," "foreign devils," and the like. Even many savage tribes call themselves by a term which denotes "men," thereby implying that the surrounding folk are not "men." The Boers regarded the Bushmen of South

Africa as animals, and even as late as the year 1900, Anno Domini, a book was published in the United States of America, on the title-page of which we read : "The Negro a beast, but created with articulate speech, and hands, that he may be of service to his master—the White man." This book was published by the American Book and Bible House, St. Louis, Mo., and the publishers are convinced, when it is "considered in an intelligent and prayerful manner, that it will be to the minds of the American people like unto the voice of God from the clouds." The superior group, of which I have just spoken, probably considered that they knew all about themselves that was worth knowing, and that the inferior was not worth knowing.

Certain official religions also have inhibited investigations of this nature. Dogma gave its sanction to unsupported traditions, which were re-enforced by the statements of a priestly class, and to doubt this authority was proclaimed impiety. The shackles thus imposed have been hard to break, and even now honest inquiry is not permitted in certain quarters. The freedom that has been gained was in the main due to scientific workers, at first in the physical sciences, later in the biological sciences of zoology and botany, and lastly the

central fortress of man himself was stormed ; and now we are more or less free to reap the final victory.

I do not propose to weary you with definitions, but it may not be superfluous to indicate the more important branches of the study of man.

Anthropology, which is the Science of Man, clearly falls into two main divisions—the one which deals with the natural man (*ἄνθρωπος* or *homo*), the other which is concerned with man in relation to his fellows, or, in other words, with the social man (*ἔθνος* or *socius*).

The first group of anthropological studies includes such subjects as the comparative anatomy, physiology, psychology, development, palæontology, classification, and distribution of the varieties of man. This group may be designated by the term “anthropography.” Man is here regarded as an animal, and is studied in precisely the same way as are other animals.

The second group of anthropological studies deals with everything that bears upon the domestic and social life of men. A description of a single group of mankind or of the inhabitants of a definite area is best termed “ethnography,” and in this sense it should be a monographic study including alike the

physical and psychical characters of, and all that is made, done, said, and thought by, the group under consideration. The word "ethnology" is now becoming recognized as the term for the comparative study of groups of men; but it is by no means easy to distinguish practically between ethnology and sociology, for by their etymology both signify the science of social man.

The simplest way out of the difficulty is frankly to admit that no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between the two subjects; but, indeed, this is always the case between allied sciences. Who can now define chemistry so as to separate it from physics, or delimit botany from zoology? Ultimately we have to recognize that our several studies of nature are merely so many "spheres of influence"; for the sake of convenience we attempt to pigeon-hole our investigations, but sooner or later the artificial barriers are broken down.

For example, perhaps very few sociologists would consider that a study of implements, boats, or houses falls within their province; but it is otherwise with the ethnologist. These objects are not regarded by him as merely superior claws, feet, or shells for individual men, but as the organs by which social man lives and by which he acts upon his

fellows. The ethnologist rightly busies himself in part with these, as he realizes that every implement or construction has a history, and he endeavours to discover how and where it first arose, and the influences that have modified its form or affected its ornamentation. The distributions in time and space of such objects give us important clues as to the movements of peoples; sometimes they are all that we possess of extinct peoples, and thus they afford invaluable data for the reconstruction of the past history of mankind. The superiority of metal over stone, or of one kind of metal over another; or for certain purposes of the bow and arrow over the spear, of the cross-bow over the long-bow, and of guns over bows; or the social effects of a canoe or of a communal house, or of those caused by hunting or agriculture, are considerations that should not concern the ethnologist alone; for the effect upon society of a superior weapon, more seaworthy craft, or of a particular kind of house may be far-reaching, and all sociologists acknowledge the intimate connection that exists between occupation and social conditions.

On the other hand, the construction of a philosophical theory of the origin, growth, and destiny of humanity, or the enunciation

of principles applicable to the ordering of social life, are alien occupations to the ethnologist as such.

Probably the majority of ethnologists will admit that under their science may be classed those cultural activities which are broadly included under the arts, crafts, institutions, languages, opinions, and beliefs of all peoples. But here the old difficulty reappears. Where is the line to be drawn? Most sociologists appear to draw the line at civilization (whatever that may be); they reserve to themselves the right to study the civilized states, while to the ethnologist they relegate the uncivilized communities; but in practice it is often exceedingly difficult to determine whether a given community can be designated as civilized or uncivilized. As a matter of fact, a distinction of this nature does obtain for practical purposes. Implicitly, rather than explicitly, the ethnologist does mainly confine his attention to the less civilized peoples or to the less advanced classes of culture-peoples; but this is a matter of convenience, and he considers himself quite justified in making an occasional excursus into even the highest civilizations.

Historians themselves are divided in opinion concerning the legitimate scope of their study :

some claim it as a science,¹ others describe it as the artistic and emotional treatment of the whole past of mankind ;² but the two views, whether history is to be regarded as a science or as literature, are irreconcilable only in their extremes. Probably there is not much difference of opinion concerning the critical (or scientific) treatment of historical data and their arrangement and elucidation. Much of this lies beyond the sphere of the ethnologist, perhaps more so than in the case of political science, which, according to some authorities, is the central science around which historical facts and problems should be grouped, and which co-ordinates them. Professor Seeley asserted that political science began with the classification of States, then proceeded to study the functioning and development of a State, and, later, to the mutual relation of States. It is therefore evident that the student of political science must turn to the ethnologist for data to assist him in his investigations.

The philosophical historian understands by history something broader and deeper than documentary history ; he does not confine his

¹ J. B. Bury, *An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge ; 1903), pp. 7, 42.

² G. M. Trevelyan, "The Latest View of History," *Independent Review*, 1904, I, p. 395.

conception of history to the social and political inter-relations of certain European countries, or "periods"—though for obvious educational reasons, or for purposes of research, he may be obliged to restrict himself temporarily to limited periods—but he regards as within his purview all conditions, ages, and climes; in other words, he studies universal history.¹ Hence it becomes necessary to throw every possible light upon those shadowy beginnings of the culture-nations when all knowledge was stored in human brain-cells. Tradition has handed down to history only the most fragmentary traces of the unwritten lore, and these are totally inadequate to supply the documentary historian with sufficient data to com-

¹ "What do we mean by a Universal History? Briefly, a History which shall (first) include all the races and tribes of man within its scope and (secondly) shall bring all these races and tribes into a connection with one another such as to display their annals as an organic whole. Universal History has to deal not only with the great nations, but also with the small nations; not only with the civilized, but also with the barbarous or savage peoples; not only with the times of movement and progress, but also with the times of silence and apparent stagnation. Every fraction of humanity has contributed something to the common stock, and has lived and laboured not for itself only, but for others also through the influence which it has perforce exercised on its neighbours" (James Bryce, "Introductory Essay," in *The World's History: A Survey of Man's Record*, edited by H. F. Helmolt, 1901, I, p. xxi).

plete his narrative. Here the ethnologist comes to the aid of the baffled historian and supplies him with accounts of existing peoples who have dallied along the road that leads to civilization ; and among these laggards there can be selected parallels to the various phases through which the various civilizations have passed. As geography and ethnology are the open pages of those portions of earth-history of which stratigraphy, palæontology, and archæology are the pages already turned down, so the history of the earth (geology) and the history of man are consecutive narratives that incorporate the past with the present.

Viscount James Bryce emphasizes the fact that "the history of the United States cannot, so far as Nature and geography are concerned, be written with regard solely, or even chiefly, to the conditions of North American nature ;the history of the American people begins in the forests of Germany, where the foundations of their polity were laid, is continued in England, where they set up kingdoms, embraced Christianity, became one nation, received an influx of Celtic, of Danish, and of Norman-French blood ; formed for themselves that body of customs, laws, and institutions which they transplanted to the new soil of

America, and most of which, though changed and always changing, they still retain. The same thing is true of the Spaniards (as also of the Portuguese) in Central and South America. The difference between the development of the Hispano-Americans and that of their English neighbours to the north is not wholly or even mainly due to the different physical conditions under which the two sets of colonists have lived. It is due to the different antecedent history of the two races. So a history of America must be a history not only of America, but of the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and English—one ought in strictness to add, of the Negroes also—before they crossed the Atlantic. The only true Americans.....are the aboriginal Red Men.”¹ The ethnologist would not consider it beyond his province to study the social and other conditions of the Celtic-speaking peoples, or those of the Anglo-Saxons, Normans, or similar groups before or after they set foot on our island. The historian naturally turns to the ethnologist for information about West African Negroes and the aborigines of America. The ethnologist, however, not only concerns himself with the actual conditions of

¹ “Introduction” to *The World's History*, edited by H. F. Helmolt, 1901, I, pp. xl, xli.

African or American native peoples, but, by means of data which are unutilized by the academic historian, he endeavours to reconstruct the history of these unlettered folk; the movements and interactions of African or American tribes being of the same nature as those of the peoples of ancient Europe.

“What a ‘cabinet of specimens’ is to a professor of mineralogy, what an ‘anatomical museum’ is to a professor of anatomy, the tribes of the South Sea Islands may be to the professor of history, whether he teach from a chair or by means of a printed book. If only a small fraction of the time and intellectual effort devoted to the investigation of obscure points in the history of early Egypt, early Mesopotamia, early Greece, or early Italy—or, indeed, of early Britain—had been added to the little which has been devoted to South Sea Island investigations of a similar kind, those points would have been cleared up more easily.” So writes Vice-Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge,¹ and he proceeds to adduce examples, culled from his own wide experience in various parts of Oceania, of present-day illustrations of events that happened before the walls of Ilios, or parallels in customs between the

¹ Cyprian A. G. Bridge, “Introduction” to *The Caroline Islands*, by F. W. Christian (1899), p. 6.

Micronesians and the Ancient Germans. He adds : " To have seen the settlements of certain tribes of the Pacific enables one to understand events of which we no more have written records than we have of the generation of the Permian fossils. By observation of the islanders we may watch certain processes of great social and political importance. We may actually perceive the growth and evolution of classes, and even of ideas and principles. If any one wants to see progress ' from Status to Contract ' in visible operation, he should go to, say, Santa Cruz..... We can also observe how a missionary Church is received at first with wonder and submission by a population in a less forward state of culture ; how it grows powerful and.....wealthy ; how power and wealth breed a disposition to domineer ; and how a spirit of resistance to domineering methods arises and a belief in the justice and efficacy of secession is developed. There is little fanciful in discerning a parallel between contemporary conditions in the islands and those which, in this department of affairs, disclosed themselves in mediæval Europe." ¹ In my own small experience I have passed in a week or two from the Stone Age savagery

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 10.

of the Papuans to the barbarism of Borneo, which recalls in many respects the stage of culture at which Europe had arrived at the time when iron was replacing bronze.

It is convenient to speak of the less advanced people in civilized communities as the "folk," and "folklore" is what the folk think and do, and its essential character is that it is traditional. Practices were observed and copied, and in this way there has accumulated a vast amount of traditional thought and usage that has been handed down from the childhood of man, and is still being transmitted. Although the bulk of folklore is current among the less educated classes, there is a good deal persisting among the so-called higher classes, and new vagaries are constantly appearing. Two examples will suffice: "A lady living within the shadow of the walls of Harvard University maintains that carbons from arc lamps are a sure preventative of neuralgia" (F. Russell, President's Address, American Folk-Lore Society, *Science*, 1902, p. 569). "In many motor-cars is suspended a perforated stone, usually a sea-rolled flint with a natural bore; this stone is supposed to act as a protective amulet. It is supposed to confer safety on the fastest travelling motor-car, and there is

many a speedy driver who in his heart ascribes his immunity from accidents to the strange power of the perforated pebble" (*Daily Chronicle*, London, March 14, 1903). Folklore bears the same relation to the study of comparative custom and belief that archæology does to ethnology and history; but with this difference, that the main data of archæology are tangible objects, whereas those of folklore are most frequently intangible. Folklore may in this sense be described as psychical archæology.

In my Presidential Address to the Folk-Lore Society (*Folk-Lore*, xxxi, 1920, p. 12) I stated that "a large proportion of the usages and beliefs classed as folklore certainly do not retain the individuality and functions which they once had—in this sense, they are not survivals [in the zoological sense of that term].¹ They are attenuated, broken-down, and, so far as the folk are concerned, practically meaningless phenomena. They are functions which have had their day, but which

¹ In biological nomenclature we may speak of certain ancient types which here and there persist as "survivals"; that is, forms which, owing to various conditions, which need not here be specified, have survived to the present day. There is no reason to suppose them as being essentially different from their forebears of past geological ages; they still retain their individuality and functions.

still persist, partly by means of the inertia of the mind of the folk, though mainly because they evoke certain pleasurable sensations—such, for example, as the satisfaction which is experienced when carrying on what is known or felt to be traditional, as is expressed in such a phrase as ‘as we have done before.’ They thus more or less unconsciously strengthen a feeling of solidarity between the ages. The socializing effects of conjoint action, whether in simple rite or play, are true psychological survivals; attenuated they may be, but they still belong to the same category as those which permeated the social act when it was an important function of the community. It may be taken for granted that the persistence of almost any action or idea is due to the fact that it more or less satisfies some need, and thus, from the point of view of psychology, it may be regarded as a survival.

“On the other hand, we now recognize that many elements in folklore are disrupted customs or parts only of culture complexes, which formerly were what might be described as ‘going concerns’; but now they have lost their social utility, and in this sense they are social vestiges.”¹

¹ In biology we define “vestiges” as organs which

Many folklorists pay almost as much attention to the facts of ethnology as to vestiges of older cultures in a civilized community, and not without reason, as from these data they hope to find an explanation of the vestiges. On various occasions elsewhere I have stated that great caution is necessary in applying what is termed the "comparative method." One is perhaps fairly safe, so to speak, in going from "Dan to Beersheba"—that is, in comparisons within a fairly uniform cultural area—but it is quite another matter ranging from "China to Peru." As the late Sir Laurence Gomme says: "Similarity in form, however, does not necessarily mean similarity in origin. It does not mean similarity in motive. Customs and rites which are alike in practice can be shown to have originated from quite different causes, to express quite different motifs, and cannot therefore be held to belong to a common class, the elements of which are comparable."¹

once were active and essential, but which in process of evolution have become of very secondary or of negligible importance; their functions may have changed, but in true vestiges their function has become obsolete. They are relics of a vanished utility which have not yet been eliminated from the organism.

¹ G. L. Gomme, *Folklore as an Historical Science* (1908), p. 171.

The history of ancient England cannot be written without the aid of folklore, and even the historian of later dates requires the assistance of folklorists. Very few historians, however, recognize the sources of information that are available to them, for even now they are too much obsessed by written documents.

To some of us the main interest of folklore consists not so much in accounts of vain imaginings and queer practices, or even in their interpretation by analogies elsewhere, but in the light they cast upon the constituent elements in our population and in the interaction of these component cultures. From this point of view it becomes necessary to dissect out, as it were, the beliefs and practices of the component layers of our very mixed culture, and to trace them as far as possible to their respective sources. We need to determine what elements belong to the Neolithic substratum, what elements were introduced by the successive immigrations of Celtic-speaking peoples, by the Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Normans, and others. These not only brought with them objects, customs, and ideas, but new religions, or, in some cases, new varieties of religious belief and rite. What we want to know is what happened, and how? When coalescence

occurs between two peoples of similar grades of culture, but with differences in detail, or of different grades of culture, some adjustment must take place. The adjustment, in some cases, will have the fictitious appearance of an evolution from one condition to the other. Thus, in all cases where a transition appears to occur, it must be definitely ascertained whether the intermediate stages are due to an evolution or to an amalgamation. An adjustment introduces a new factor into each element of the population, and the final result may eventually be different from either condition. Certain factors in one culture will prove themselves to be prepotent, and they will characterize the resultant culture. Instead of the adjustment acting by integration, it may act by inhibition, as is often the case in the struggle for existence between religions. The religious practices of the conquered or subordinate element of a mixed population may be so repressed that they can be carried on only surreptitiously; in a short time degeneration must take place, and may result in a travesty of religion. This is especially liable to happen when the new-comers have a more advanced culture, but one frequently finds that the indigenous religion reacts to a considerable extent upon that which is intro-

duced. When there is little discrepancy in culture between the aborigines and the immigrants, or if the religion of the latter is not masterful, the conquered may impose much of their religion, or, at all events, their "magical" practices, on their conquerors, as has occurred in New Guinea and elsewhere.

Sir Laurence Gomme, in his interesting little book, *Ethnology in Folklore* (1892), says: "The most important fact to note in the examination of each fragment of folklore is the point of arrested development" (p. 11). He finds that the stages of development at which the several items of folklore have been arrested are not at the same level, and they could not therefore have been produced by *one* arresting power. He goes on to point out that the conflict between Paganism and Christianity would account for one line of arrestment, but there is an earlier one which must be identified with "the arrival of the Aryan race into a country occupied by non-Aryans" (p. 14). The problem is, however, much more complex, as Sir Laurence himself was quite aware. In my Presidential Address to the Folk-Lore Society, 1920, from which I have here borrowed freely, I gave a somewhat similar parallel from Peru.

I have dwelt at some length with folklore,

though, after all, it is but one aspect of ethnology, for the methods of research and the problems to be solved in folklore are precisely of the same kind as those in ethnology. While ethnologists recognize that ethnographical studies are of first and immediate importance, they are also actively attacking problems of this kind by improved methods of investigation.

For the sake of convenience, archæology is generally treated as a subject of equal rank with anthropography or ethnology, but it bears the same relation to ethnology that palæontology does to biology. The finds are fossils, in the true sense of the term, whether they be implements, shards, or house-sites; but since the palæontologist must be a zoologist if his dry bones are to be vivified, so must the archæologist turn to ethnology for existing parallels, or for suggestions as to the probable use or meaning of particular objects; hence the distinction between the finds of the archæologist and the collections of the ethnologist is not one of degree, but merely a question of chronology. Technically, the stone implements of the very recently extinct Tasmanians are as much archæological specimens as are those of Mousterian man.

The historian, whether he deals with the

history of ancient civilizations or with the history of early Europe or elsewhere, is dependent upon the archæologist, not only for the explanation of his documentary accounts, but for the accumulation of fresh data. Written history—at all events invariably in the past—has been recorded by prejudiced persons, who, unwittingly or deliberately, have made many biased or erroneous statements. It is, however, inconceivable that any one ever painted shards in order to deceive posterity. We may not always be able to interpret the full significance of fragments of pots; but at least they do not tell whole or half lies.

The classical scholar, the Egyptologist, the Assyriologist, and others who interest themselves in the resurrection of past action and belief, fully recognize that the remains unearthed by the spade are as indispensable to their studies as are written documents.

I fear I have but imperfectly indicated the value of ethnology to what are often termed the "Humanities"; but this must suffice for the present occasion, and I now turn to what will be admitted by even the most prosaic as its "practical" value—that is, the suggestions which it offers concerning the relations between groups of peoples. For obvious reasons I refer, in the remarks that follow,

mainly to peoples of the lower cultures ; but, as a matter of fact, they apply with equal, if not with greater, force to peoples of the higher cultures. These dealings may be briefly summarized as "Conduct," "Control," and "Care."

I. I would like to emphasize as strongly as possible that the dealings between groups, as well as of those between individuals, should be conducted with the greatest possible consideration for their several sentiments and prejudices. This is what I understand by "Conduct."

The forays of savages, the inroads of barbarians, certainly have not considered the feelings of the conquered. Advanced civilizations brought by men of forceful character tend rather to ride rough-shod over backward peoples. In some instances there is a definite high-handed policy of forcing the weaker people into the Procrustean bed of the wont and faith of the dominant people. In other cases there is an insolent ignoring of what is due to others. Again, and most usually, the disregard of the sentiments of the weaker folk is due simply to ignorance.

Every one is aware how shades of conduct affect him. One person annoys you not only by action or words, but by manner. You can

take from one man what you cannot from another. Much of this is very difficult to analyse or explain; in common language, it is put down to temperament. It is part of the work of the psychological ethnologist to discover and record what we may term the temperament of alien peoples, as well as to note the particular manner in which they conduct their personal relations—in other words, their etiquette. The importance of this cannot be exaggerated. If the stranger conforms to native etiquette, he will find almost invariably that he can at once get into friendly relations with the people he is visiting. It is this consideration for the feelings of others that characterizes what we term a “gentleman.” Now, it is a common experience of travellers that many, if not all, savages are “gentlemen.” Obviously, the only satisfactory method of dealing with savages, barbarians, or more civilized peoples is to behave in a considerate way to them; and, according to my own experience, they will respond because they are gentlemen. The stranger obviously will make mistakes through ignorance of the local etiquette; but the natives will appreciate the intention of their visitor, and will make due allowance.

So far I have touched upon the personal

relation ; there are, however, pitfalls in connection with social usage and religion. Every people has its taboos, the breaking of which are believed to be fraught with direful consequences to the individual or to the community. It is clearly to the interest of the stranger to make himself acquainted with all such restrictions and taboos in order that as far as possible he may not offend native susceptibility, for many a life has been lost by ignorance of, or by the ignoring of, native customs. Wherever he goes the traveller will be met with sticks stuck in the ground, a wisp of grass, a bunch of leaves, or what not, which indicate that no unauthorized person may go that way or enter that dwelling. Even if the traveller notices such signs he may ignore them through perversity or ignorance, and if he should pay any penalty for so doing he will feel angered or aggrieved. The native has done all he can in the recognized way to indicate that there is no thoroughfare ; the fault of the breach of custom rests not with him, but with the ignorant stranger. He who violates a taboo necessarily makes himself liable to punishment, ignorance being no more a legal plea in extenuation of breaking the law among savages than it is in our own country. The intrusion of a stranger into a sacred place

is a heinous offence not only against native custom, but also against religion; cultural religions have precisely the same practices, and sacrilege is the same everywhere. It is pitiable to read accounts of the deliberate breaking of native customs by those who ought to, and in most cases do, know better; and in cases of profanation it is correspondingly worse. It needs little imagination to realize the impotent hate and contempt which such acts engender. The native may be too weak or cowed to offer effective protest; if he makes reprisals, then he gets himself into trouble.

“The more the District Commissioner ‘condescends’ to study the everyday details and intricacies of the life of the people whom he has to govern—their fetishes and jujus, their festivals and dances, their customs at birth, marriage, and burial, their likes and dislikes, wants and aims—the more quickly will he acquire that knowledge which will keep him in ‘the middle of the road where perfect safety is.’”¹ Mr. Partridge gives a good example of this from his own experience. His boat being in difficulties on a dangerous river, his men cut down branches that impeded

¹ C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives* (1905), p. 17.

progress, and were about to do execution upon those of a large-leaved tree when he noticed a sudden excitement among the watching natives, who were notorious for their raids on passing canoes and general lawlessness. Guessing that this particular tree might be sacred in their eyes, he ordered his men not to touch it. Seeing this, the villagers instantly came to his help, and brought the boat safely to the bank. He then learnt that this tree was their "Life," the most sacred thing in their community, and that any one breaking a twig or cutting it would have been sold into slavery or have to pay a fine. They had never before been visited by any white man, but the protection of their sacred tree won their confidence, and during the next six months any of Mr. Partridge's belongings that were found by the natives were restored to him (pp. 14, 194).

Ignorance of the religious or magical aspects of chieftainship may have disastrous consequences, as Dr. Rivers (on the authority of Professor C. G. Seligman) points out in an essay on "The Government of Subject Peoples."¹ "Thus, among the Nubas of Southern Kordofan the chief is also the rain-

¹ *Science and the Nation: Essays by Cambridge Graduates*, edited by A. C. Seward; Cambridge, 1917.

maker, and it is believed that his rain-making powers will come to an end if he leaves the hill upon which he and his people dwell. Formerly, when an official wished to deal with a community of Nubas, he camped at the foot of their hill and sent for the chief, thus forcing the people to choose between disobedience to their foreign rulers and the loss of supernatural powers which they believe to be essential to their welfare. Placed in such a dilemma, it is not surprising that they have preferred to offend the temporal powers, thus bringing immediate disaster on themselves and serious trouble and expense to their rulers" (p. 316).

2. We may now consider the problem of "Control."

It may safely be urged that part of the business of anthropology is to provide data which can be utilized by the practical politician; and possibly at no very distant period this fact will be clearly recognized by those who aspire to a career in affairs, as well as by the faculties of those institutions where men are trained for public life. But the actual application of anthropological data to current statecraft is not the province of the anthropologist.

"To the aspirant for honours in the diplo-

matic service," says Dr. Frank Russell,¹ "anthropology offers an admirable training. He learns the significance of the racial factor in national welfare ; the measure and condition of progress ; the principles of ethnologic jurisprudence ; and also the characteristics of the particular people among whom his duties lead him.

"For the legislator, anthropology must become a necessary preparation. America has problems whose solution calls for the widest knowledge of races and cultures. Such knowledge, free from political bias and hereditary prejudice, can best be gained by the study of the science of man.

"Anthropology prepares the law-maker and the jurist for the task of coping with crime. Criminal anthropology has explained the character and causes of criminality and degeneracy, and led to revolutionary changes in the methods of crime prevention."

Dr. Russell was appealing to citizens of the United States of America when he uttered these words, but they apply with equal force to ourselves.

There can be no question but that a full

¹ F. Russell, "Know, Then, Thyself," *Journal of American Folk-Lore Society*, 1902 ; *Science* (1902), p. 570.

knowledge of local conditions and a sympathetic treatment of native prejudices would materially lighten the burden of government by preventing many misunderstandings, and thus, by securing greater efficiency, would make for economy.

To look at the matter from the lowest point of view, even a slight frontier trouble means a direct expenditure for the local executive and a stagnation of local trade. Commerce is, as it were, a sensitive barometer that fluctuates with every small variation of pressure in the political firmament, and the pecuniary loss to a country is not to be measured by the actual expenditure consequent upon a trouble with natives so much as by the indirect loss to the community at large; this can rarely be estimated, but it is none the less real.

"To the man of affairs," writes the late Professor W. Cunningham,¹ "economic history may prove of interest from quite another reason—by furnishing a clue to unfamiliar habits and practices in the present day. The expansion of Western civilization has brought Europeans and Americans into the closest contact with many barbarous and half-civilized

¹ W. Cunningham, "The Teaching of Economic History," in *Essays in the Teaching of History* (1901), p. 46.

peoples, whose usages and habits are strange to us. For purposes of trade it is convenient to understand their methods of dealing ; while the administrator who rules over them cannot easily see how the incidence of taxation will be distributed in their communities or what are the possibilities of social oppression against which it is necessary to guard. Some of the most regrettable blunders of the English Government in India have been due to an inability to understand the working of native institutions. A careful study of the past of our own race, or of the earlier habits of other peoples when natural economy still reigned, would at least have suggested a point of view from which the practical problems in India might be more wisely looked at. By means of analogies drawn from the past we may come to understand the advantage, under certain circumstances, of fiscal methods that seem to be cumbrous, and the danger of introducing modern improvements in a polity that is not prepared to assimilate them."

For good or for ill, a great part of the world, including the whole of Africa, many Asiatic islands and those of the Indo-Pacific area, including the continent of Australia and the continent of North America, has been annexed and occupied to a greater or less

degree by Europeans, irrespective of the wishes of the indigenous populations. This is not the place to discuss the equity of this arrangement ; but so far as we can interpret the archæological and other evidence which has come down from prehistoric times, and certainly as far as historical records are concerned, we are justified in asserting that this process has occurred throughout the whole of human history. Furthermore, we seem also justified in asserting that in the long run the world must belong to or be dominated by those who are capable of making the best use of it. It is true that at various times there have been set-backs in cultural development in certain areas. These have been due to a variety of causes—such, for example, as disadvantageous changes in geographical or climatic conditions, the incidence of disease, or the inroads of savage or barbaric peoples ; but, in the main, the statement that the most efficient peoples must ultimately prevail may be accepted as correct. The racial, economic, social, and political history of South Africa affords a striking example of this process in the mutual relations of Bushman, Hottentot, Bantu, Boer, and Briton. It is, however, to be expected that the synthesis which is now being effected by the Union of

South Africa will lead to rational compromise between the conflicting ideals of these various races and peoples.

To some it may appear a truism to affirm the practical value of anthropological knowledge to administrators; but there are yet those who say that the native has to obey the laws imposed on him by the white man—the Government official has to see that he does so—and thus there is no need to study the native customs, as these have to give way before the new order of things. There is, however, another and better way of dealing with the problems raised by bringing a higher culture in contact with a lower. It is probable that European social customs, legal observances, and religion will be impressed eventually in more or less entirety over a considerable portion of the world's surface; but there will be a longer or shorter transitional period, and it is this which immediately concerns us. The question is, How are the backward peoples to be treated during this period of tutelage? It is true that some of them can be coerced; but discontent inevitably will arise, which will retard the process, even if worse conditions do not follow.

I have been fortunate enough to see something of the working of the administration of

subject peoples in various places ; but I would rather place before you the statements of administrators who, from long experience, have an authority to which no outsider can lay claim.

Sir Richard Temple, the well-known Indian administrator, in a valuable little book entitled *Anthropology as a Practical Science* (1914), in referring to the large number of young men who are sent out annually to be entrusted with administrative, commercial, and social control over many alien races, says : "If their relations with the foreign peoples with whom they come in contact are to be successful, they must acquire a working knowledge of the habits, customs, and ideas that govern the conduct of those peoples, and of the conditions in which they pass their lives. All those who succeed find out these things for themselves, and discover that success is dependent on the knowledge they may attain of those with whom they have to deal. The man who is obliged to obtain the requisite knowledge empirically, and without any previous training in observation, is heavily handicapped indeed in comparison with him who has already acquired the habit of right observation, and, what is of much more importance, has been put in the way of

correctly interpreting his observations in his youth.....In order to succeed in administrative or commercial life abroad, a man must use tact. Tact is the social expression of discernment and insight—qualities born of intuitive anthropological knowledge.....In dealing with men, intellect is all very well ; but sympathy counts for very much more.....The sound administration of the affairs of men can only be based on cultured sympathy, springing in its turn from sure knowledge, competent study, and accurate inquiry conducted on a right method—itself the result of continuous experience ” (pp. 39, 40).

Lieut.-General Sir Reginald Wingate, then Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor-General of the Sudan, is in entire sympathy with these statements, and acknowledges “ the great importance of the study of anthropology, not only for administrators, but also for merchants, missionaries, and others whose lives are spent in our Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates ” (*ibid*, p. 42).

Sir Frank Swettenham, formerly High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, admits “ we have been successful in the past ” ; but he also knows “ that knowledge has often been gained at the expense of those we rule. We send men to teach them ; but the teachers

must begin by learning. You cannot teach sympathy ; but without that the rest will never give the best results " (*ibid*, p. 43).

Mr. W. Crooke, from his experience of twenty-five years of service in the Bengal Civil Service, lays " special stress on the encouragement of the study of the native languages," and suggests " a special course of teaching of the rules of Oriental etiquette " (*ibid*, p. 49).

There is no need to adduce further evidence on this point, nor is it necessary to present more than one or two examples of the advantage derived from a recognition of native custom.

In Fiji, *lala* is a form of privilege which is (a) personal, involving the payment of rent in the form of tribute or service to certain powerful chiefs by the tenants settled upon their land, and (b) communal, implying taxation in the form of tribute or service on behalf of the commune. Between these two there is a clear line of distinction, the latter being universal throughout Fiji, the former limited to those confederations in which the chief had private rights in the land. By Europeans they seem always to have been confounded ; the chief's privileges were well understood ; their limitations had never been studied. Nor was it understood by the Native Commissioner that

each confederation had its own privileges, or that there was a difference between the two forms of *lala*: the chief's personal privileges, and his right to impose taxation for the good of the commune. So the Regulation put into the hands of a number of official chiefs, by no means entitled to them, personal privileges that were due only from tenants to their landlords—a procedure which pleased neither the unfortunate commoners, who had to perform new services, nor the higher chiefs who were entitled to such privileges. Basil Thomson¹ gives numerous interesting examples of the harm done by well-meaning rulers and philanthropists by modifying or abolishing native customs without a full knowledge of the circumstances or an appreciation of the inevitable results. He states in his "Introduction" (p. xii): "The fabric of every complete social system has been built up gradually. You may raze it to the foundations and erect another in its place, but if you pull out a stone here and there, the whole edifice comes tumbling about your ears before you can make your alterations."

It is universally admitted that the primal duty of a Government is to ensure the safety

¹ Basil Thomson, *The Fijians: A Study of the Decay of Custom* (1908), pp. 66 ff.

of life and property ; therefore, such practices as tribal wars, homicide, head-hunting, cannibalism, and the like, must be put a stop to.

Among certain peoples head-hunting is so intimately associated with social custom and religion that the forcible abolition of it is apt to destroy, or, at all events, to very seriously weaken, the social fabric. No wise Government wishes to do this ; but, at the same time, the evil practice cannot be tolerated.

In Sarawak, where the taking of a head is the necessary preliminary to a village going out of mourning for a head-man, skulls are kept at certain Government stations, and when a head is required for ceremonial purposes, instead of murdering a person to obtain a head, one of the Government heads is requisitioned, and thus continuity of custom is maintained. Perhaps this expedient might with advantage be copied in New Guinea.

Among various tribes in British New Guinea it is very difficult, if not impossible, for a young man to marry unless he has killed some one or taken a head. Mr. Chinnery¹ has pointed out, under the title "Social Homicide,"

¹ E. W. P. Chinnery, "The Application of Anthropological Methods to Tribal Development in New Guinea," *Journ. Roy. Anth. Institute*, XLIX (1919), p. 36.

that "the suppression of homicide [among many mountain tribes of the Owen Stanley Range] not only prevents a male from becoming an adult member of his tribe, but also disallows marriage." As regards "Religious Homicide (Head-hunting and Cannibalism)," he says of certain tribes: "It is believed that a man captures the soul of another by killing him; and the ghost of the dead man, by the offering of the head [on a shrine], becomes a slave of the tutelary ghosts of the tribe of the captor, and works with them to protect such tribe against evil influences, and perpetuate the source and supply of their food.....The soul essence remains in the body at death. Every man desires to increase his own soul strength, and so we have another inducement to homicide; for, by eating the body of an enemy, it is believed that a man adds to his own strength the quality of the portion eaten.....In many of the tribes in the Gulf of Papua communal houses must not be occupied and canoes must not be launched until human blood has been sprinkled on them." In one area, near a Government station, it was necessary for the candidates to kill a man before they could qualify for the final stage of initiation. For nearly five years many youths found them-

selves unable to attain adult membership and marriage, which produced a feeling of resentment against the Government. At Chinnery's suggestion, "a meeting of the chiefs was held, and the principles of the custom were analysed. The gathering decided that the essential thing to be proved was the possession of courage.As a result of the discussion, candidates for initiation were permitted to qualify by killing a wild boar instead of a man.....In the Northern Division, where cannibalism has been stamped out, the offerings to ghosts are made by placing articles of food on a small wooden platform which is erected outside each house. The ghosts, it is said, visit the platform at night and absorb the essence of the offering." There are various influences which "could be exerted to induce the Gulf tribes to abandon cannibalism. Even the most ardent cannibal would pause if he were told, in the right way, that by eating the body of a man unfortunate enough to get killed he would be more likely to inherit the weak qualities which resulted in the man's death than any of his virtues. Other forms of homicide may be considered in this way. The success of these operations depends on the officer charged with the transmission of new cultures. In the first place, he must be capable of winning the

confidence of his people, and of maintaining it for all time.....At this moment the natives are most likely to test the worth of their District Officer by discussing the elements of their cultures with him, and inviting his advice regarding those antagonistic to Government standards" (pp. 38-40). The success of Mr. Chinnery in his dealings with natives has been due largely to his employment of methods of this kind.

It is in such ways as these that a people can be led to relinquish objectionable practices, and, at the same time, retain their self-respect and perform their traditional ceremonies. These ceremonies are performed with music, song, and dance, and with elaborate insignia and ritual objects on which much skill and art have been expended. If the people lost all interest in these ceremonies, their lives would be unnecessarily impoverished.

It is evident, therefore, that a knowledge of social conditions is essential to good government, and where this obtains innocuous customs may be substituted for harmful ones without endangering social stability.

Dr. Rivers, in the valuable essay to which I have previously referred, says: "A second reason for the failure to recognise the value of scientific work in the art of government is that

the minds of rulers are already occupied with an organised body of knowledge, the fruit of the gradually acquired experience of those who have been concerned in the work of government in the past. It is in the satisfaction of rulers with this knowledge and in their failure to recognise its incompleteness, and even its too frequent falsity, that there lies the chief obstacle to the recognition of the value of science in their work" (p. 307). He goes on to point out the psychological effect on a people "who daily see men, who hold themselves to belong to a superior race, believing firmly in a code of knowledge which every native knows to be only a mongrel version of the truth" (p. 309). He concludes this essay by indicating the means by which the better government of subject peoples may be attained through the instruction of their rulers in anthropology.

Governor Murray has shown in a practical manner his appreciation of this method. He says¹: "There is also the danger that an officer, with the very best intention in the world, may deeply incense native feeling against him by a quite unconscious offence

¹ *Review of the Australian Administration in Papua from 1907 to 1920*, by J. H. P. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor, Port Moresby; 1920.

against some tribal tradition. The best remedy against such mistakes as these is to be found in a study (even a fragmentary and unsystematic study) of the science of anthropology, as long as the student does not allow the charms of that science to prevail over the claims of duty. And it is partly to encourage this study among our officers, and partly to assist the Government more directly, that arrangements are being made for the appointment of an officer to be Government Anthropologist" (*l.c.*, p. 34). This is most satisfactory; the only points which call for remark are that a "fragmentary and unsystematic study" will almost inevitably tend to incomplete observations and ill-digested conclusions, and the half-knowledge which the officer would possess (of which he himself would hardly be aware) would probably prove to be of very little practical value. The Government Anthropologist should be a man who has been thoroughly trained in the modern methods of anthropological research. When in Melbourne in 1914 I urged the responsible Government official to do his best to get such a post created, not only for Papua, but also for Australia and for the late German Colonies in Melanesia. It is to be hoped that the other appointments may yet be made.

There are various systems of the administration of native races, some better than others ; but it must always be remembered that the system adopted for a particular country or race may be quite inappropriate for another—for example, the Government of Sarawak by H.H. Rajah Sir Charles Brooke, as I saw it in 1899, was an admirable example of the right method of dealing with a particular kind of backward people. The administration of the Territory of Papua is naturally of a different type, but is equally well suited to a population of savages. ¹ I doubt if the way

¹ The following extracts from the *Review* (Governor Murray) are worth noting: "The duty of the Papuan Government—the duty, in fact, of any Government which wishes to remain true to the best traditions of Imperial administration—is not only to develop the resources of the Territory, but also to preserve the Papuan and to raise him eventually to the highest civilization of which he is capable, for we wish Australia to have the credit of showing how the civilization of the twentieth century can be introduced among people of the Stone Age, not only without injury to them, but to their lasting benefit and permanent advancement" (p. x). After referring to the *pax Britannica* and the introduction of steel tools, he says: "The necessity for strenuous action is gone, and the tenor of his life is changed for the worse, unless some new activity be found to take the place of the old activity of head-hunting and bloodshed" (p. 22). Since the foregoing was in type another pamphlet by Lt.-Gov. Murray, entitled *Anthropology and the Government of Subject Races* (Port Moresby; 1920) has reached me. It

in which Uganda is governed could be much bettered. Those who are interested in the administration of typical dependencies by various Powers should study Alleyne Ireland's useful book, *The Far Eastern Tropics* (New York ; 1905).

As a general rule, we should realize the importance of understanding the spirit in which native institutions have been framed, and endeavour to develop them as far as possible upon their own lines.

3. I now turn to the "Care" of subject peoples. It is obvious that the advent of strangers always affects a local population. The most frequent first result is the introduction of an epidemic, which may, as in the case of St. Kilda, be but a simple "cold"; but, sooner or later, epidemics of a serious nature may be spread. We who have become relatively immune to such diseases as whooping cough or measles can scarcely realize how virulent they are when transplanted to virgin soil. Those who are acquainted with distant lands are only too well aware of the ravages

re-enforces the argument of this Lecture, and gives a few more suggestions concerning the methods to be adopted for the good government of backward peoples, and of "instances where ignorance or neglect of native customs has caused unnecessary, and sometimes rather serious, trouble."

that have taken place : in some instances there may literally be decimation, in others the toll may be greater. It is recent history what havoc sleeping sickness has spread throughout Uganda and other parts of Africa ; and still more recently influenza has destroyed many in South Africa and in parts of the Indo-Pacific area. These misfortunes accompany the presence of Europeans ; they are incidental to his presence and are deplored by him. Natives naturally do not understand how to cope with them, and frequently try palliatives which but aggravate the disease. It is no easy matter, even where they are under control, to induce natives to adopt measures that experience has taught to Europeans. Fortunately, small-pox is now rare ; but dysentery and tubercle are rife, and seem to be spreading. I am not aware that we have failed to appreciate the seriousness of the situation, or have been slack in our endeavour to mitigate the evil ; but it is evident that the practical difficulties are extraordinarily great. Introduced disease is clearly one reason for a decline in native population.

Dr. Rivers, in a valuable lecture on "The Dying-out of Native Races,"¹ to which I shall again refer, says : "A second group of intro-

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *Lancet*, CXCVIII (1920), pp. 42, 109.

duced causes of destruction is composed of what may be called the social poisons, such as alcohol and opium.....In certain parts of Melanesia there is no question that it has exerted in the past, and is still exerting, a most deleterious influence; but it is satisfactory to be able to say that its noxious influence has been reduced to negligible importance in those parts of the archipelago which are wholly subject to British rule, where it is penal to sell or give alcohol to a native" (p. 44). This holds good for New Guinea and other British Territories in the Pacific. There is no native alcoholic beverage in New Guinea; though, in one or two very restricted areas, kava (locally called *gamada*) is prepared, but its use is prohibited by fine or imprisonment, because, as is stated officially, "people who drink it become stupid and incapable and injure their health." No one can deny that these particular natives are cared for. The problem is a different one where the natives brew their own alcoholic drinks, to which they have become accustomed; this liquor, however, is usually of a low grade. The introduction here of spirits is another matter, and is a serious responsibility, which must be faced without delay and dealt with in the sole interests of the natives.

The adoption of European clothing by many natives who formerly went in a nude or semi-nude condition has rarely proved to be a desirable innovation. The Melanesian, as Dr. Rivers points out, "continues to bathe in his clothes, and, instead of changing his garments, frequently wears them continuously till they are ragged; and even when new clothing is obtained, it is put on over the old" (p. 109). In 1888 a missionary in Torres Straits informed me that he considered more harm was done to the natives by wearing European clothes than by any other cause. In parts of New Guinea the native women wear their ordinary "grass" petticoat in every-day life, but slip on a calico gown on entering a place of worship, to be immediately thrown off on emerging from the sacred edifice—a most commendable compromise. Large numbers of natives are still suffering on account of the prudery of the early missionaries.

Natives are too often encouraged to alter their type of house to conform to European models which are frequently by no means suited to the local climatic conditions, as the natives houses usually are. Speaking of the European type, Dr. Rivers says: "Such buildings might have been specially devised for the

propagation of tubercle, and if they are allowed to be built will certainly increase the already far too heavy ravages of this disease" (p. 109).

Although in many ways the hygiene of natives may be improved, it does not follow that all our devices are suitable for a tropical climate. Anyhow, no one but the native concerned can object to the prohibition of burying the dead within or in close proximity to the dwelling-houses.

Meddlesome care, when based on ignorance, is apt to defeat its own end. Of this there are numerous examples. I will take but one instance recorded by Basil Thomson in Fiji. In the villages a large house was set apart solely for the use of the men ; it was a club in day-time, their sleeping-place at night, and it was a grave breach of propriety for a woman to enter it. At puberty the lads left their parents' homes and slept in the men's house under the eyes of their elders. As soon as a child was born the father had to live entirely in the men's house for the suckling period, a matter of two or three years. The men's house, besides other social functions, served to prevent immorality before marriage by keeping the youths every night under the care of their elders, and enforced the separation of the parents during the period of nursing.

Europeans, medical men and missionaries, treated this institution with contempt. The missionaries taught that the English mode of family life was the only perfect social system, and this produced surprising results. The men's house was gradually deserted by all but the old men; the youths went to sleep in their parents' houses, and, when once the novel idea of unmarried men sleeping in the same house with women had been digested, the other houses of the village were open to them. Association of the sexes and emancipation from parental control did the rest. The release from the rule of abstinence from the nursing mother, as the natives themselves admit, led to a large number of infant deaths which might have been prevented if the custom had remained in force—a custom which one missionary described as an "absurd and superstitious practice." In Fiji, as elsewhere, many harmless social customs have been prohibited by missionaries on account of morality; "but, on the other hand, certain church festivals have innocently tended in the opposite direction" (*The Fijians*, pp. 175-8, 181, 237, 241).

In the Pacific area there undoubtedly is in very many places a marked decline in the native population. This is pre-eminently a problem for the ruling class, as upon its

solution depends the welfare alike of the rulers and the ruled.

Dr. Rivers points out that "the new diseases and poisons, the innovations in clothing, housing, and feeding, are only the immediate and more obvious causes of mortality. It is the loss of interest in life underlying these more obvious causes which gives them their potency for evil and allows them to work such ravages upon life and health" (*Lancet*, p. 110). Travellers have noted the apathy which frequently attacks natives when under the strong influence of Europeans. Probably this is more marked in the Pacific than elsewhere in the Old World; but, so far as I am aware, Dr. Rivers is the first to emphasize its far-reaching effects. He adduces evidence to show that this factor has played, and is playing, a part in the dying-out of the Melanesians, and states "that lowered birth-rate must rank with enhanced death-rate as at least an equally important factor in the dying-out of the people"; and adds: "There is little doubt that causes of this kind [venereal diseases] are trivial or of slight importance as compared with voluntary restriction.....In certain parts of Melanesia the downward movement in numbers has been arrested, and the people now show signs of growth.....The

teachings of the missionaries concerning the evils of racial suicide have probably contributed to this recovery, but there is little doubt that its chief cause has been that their new religion has given to the people an interest in life which has again made it worth while to bring children into the world" (p. 110).

"The main problem of treatment is how far it is possible to restore the old interests or maintain them where they have not yet been destroyed, and how far they must be replaced by others.....Any attempt to govern a people even partially on the lines of their own culture demands knowledge on the part of the rulers, knowledge which at present they do not possess, and in general make no effort to attain.....The old life of the people was permeated through and through by interests of a religious kind, based on a profound belief in continued existence after death and the influence of the dead upon the living. Experience shows that Christianity is capable of giving the people an interest in life which takes the place of that due to their indigenous religion. Man cannot or should not, however, live upon religion alone. It is necessary to find something to take the place of the old economic interests also.....The chief need in

Melanesia [and this applies elsewhere also] is to give the native a more real interest in the economic development of his country..... There is no question that if he were given a fair chance he could take an important part in any organisation which had as its object the encouragement of native industry" (p. 111). This has proved to have been the case in such places where the attempt has been made, sometimes with most striking success.

Governor Murray, in the *Review* to which I have previously referred, says: "It seems probable that this disturbance, moral and material, in the life of the native is the reason (apart altogether from introduced disease and other causes) for the decrease in vitality that has often been noticed among coloured races after the arrival of the white man. For the former, that is the moral disturbance, the Government can do nothing directly; it is for the missionary, not for the Government, to supply a new religion in place of the old. But for the latter, that is the material disturbance, the Government can do something—it can encourage industry among the natives, and so may eventually transform a tribe of disappointed warriors into a race of more or less industrious workmen" (p. 22).

Good government does not consist solely

of imposing a given set of laws and customs on other people. Our laws and customs, for example, may or may not be good for ourselves; it certainly does not follow that they are equally good for other races and peoples. All peoples prefer the institutions to which they are accustomed, even though they may appear harsh or ineffective to us. I doubt if it is really difficult to rule over other people, provided they are permitted to govern themselves as much as possible. Anti-social acts must necessarily be repressed; but it is better to let minor abuses alone, as these will always be rectified in time by the people themselves, which is the healthy way. The same applies to any modification of social life; here sympathetic knowledge is of first importance, since ill-directed or uninformed zeal may cause unexpected trouble, and even disaster. We must always bear in mind that among most backward peoples it is impossible to disentangle religion from social life, though some civilized people appear to have achieved that feat; thus we must never be surprised if we find religious feeling aroused when customs are prohibited. In all proposed changes of social life it would be salutary if we put ourselves in the place of the others and asked ourselves how would we like our cherished

customs and ceremonies to be modified or abolished by a stronger power. Finally, in all our dealings let us remember that "the greatest of these is Charity."

APPENDIX

THE CONWAY MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP

AT a general meeting of the South Place Ethical Society, held on October 22, 1908, it was resolved, after full discussion, that an effort should be made to establish a series of lectures, to be printed and widely circulated, as a permanent Memorial to Dr. Conway.

Moncure Conway's untiring zeal for the emancipation of the human mind from the thralldom of obsolete or waning beliefs, his pleadings for sympathy with the oppressed and for a wider and profounder conception of human fraternity than the world has yet reached, claim, it is urged, an offering of gratitude more permanent than the eloquent obituary or reverential service of mourning.

The range of the lectures (of which the twelfth is published herewith) must be regulated by the financial support accorded to the scheme; but it is hoped that sufficient funds will be forthcoming for the endowment of periodical lectures by distinguished public men, to further the cause of

social, political, and religious freedom, with which Dr. Conway's name must ever be associated.

The Committee, although not yet in possession of the necessary capital for the permanent endowment of the Lectureship, thought it better to inaugurate the work rather than to wait for further contributions. The funds in hand, together with those which may reasonably be expected in the immediate future, will ensure the delivery of an annual lecture for some years at least.

The Committee earnestly appeal either for donations or subscriptions from year to year until the Memorial is permanently established. Contributions may be forwarded to the Hon. Treasurer.

On behalf of the Executive Committee :—

(Mrs.) C. FLETCHER SMITH and D. CHRISTIE
TAIT, *Hon. Secretaries.*

(Mrs.) F. M. COCKBURN, *Hon. Treasurer*, "Pera-
deniya," Ashburton Road, Croydon.

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