In their marriage relations I found but little difference from those of Eskimo better known. The marriage contract is arranged early in life by the parents, although Ikgueesik bought a wife for his nearly grown brother, who was also of my party, for the consideration of a whaler's jack-knife.

Their pugilistic encounters generally take place between the 'best men' of different villages, and especially of different tribes, so that all my Eskimo were promptly challenged; but being feather weights, compared with these giants, I interfered. Their fights are managed somewhat in this way: one of the combatants, sitting or standing, leans forward with both hands or elbows resting on his knees, when his opponent, with clinched fist, deals him such a blow on the side of the head as he may see fit, the first stroke being usually comparatively light. No. 2 then takes his turn in leaning forward, and No. 1 deals him a blow, generally a little heavier than that he has just received. This operation goes on until one or the other is either knocked senseless, or rendered helpless from sheer exhaustion.

Another danger threatening the natives of my party was no less than the undertaking to assassinate one of them, or possibly a white man, should circumstances favor. Family feuds are not unfrequent; and, when a death results, every male relative of the murdered man feels bound to avenge the death by killing some man of the offending tribe, the murderer or some near relative being preferable. This vengeance may be postponed almost indefinitely, and friendly social relations maintained; but, slow as it is, it is sure to come, sooner or later.

I have known one of these murderers to coolly take up his residence among his enemies, and to all intents and purposes be as one of them. Among the Netschilluks at the last camp we visited was a powerfully built specimen of his tribe, Toolooah by name. Many years before, — so many that he could not count them on his fingers, and therefore could not tell how many, — a relative of his had fallen a victim at the hands of an Iwillik, and had not yet been avenged. Although there was not an Iwillik among us, still my own Eskimo felt that any of us might fall to atone for this ancient crime. They told me that they felt satisfied that many of the natives who watched our sledge-loading the morning we left had long knives secreted in their sleeves, should they need to defend the Netschilluk Toolooah, who still persisted in his idea of revenge, should opportunity offer. But the sight of our many and wonderful weapons frightened him into a peaceful attitude. Singularly, these feuds never swell into tribal wars. FREDERICK SCHWATKA.

HOW THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY PRESENT THEMSELVES TO THE ENGLISH MIND.[1]

I HAVE seldom, ladies and gentlemen, felt myself in a more difficult position than I do at this moment. Yesterday morning, when we returned from an expedition out into the far west, — an expedition which your president was to have joined, but which, to our great regret, he was obliged to give up, — I heard that at this meeting of the Anthropological society of Washington I should be called upon to make, not merely a five-minutes' speech, but a substantive address; and since that time my mind has been almost entirely full of the new things that I have been seeing and hearing in the domain of anthropology in this city. I have been seeing the working of that unexampled institution, the Bureau of ethnology, and studying the collections which, in connection with the Smithsonian institution, have been brought in from the most distant quarters of the continent; and after that, in odd moments, I have turned it over in my mind, What can I possibly say to the Anthropological society when I am called upon to face them at thirty-six hours' notice? I will not apologize: I will do the best I can.

I quite understand that Major Powell, who is a man who generally has a good reason for every thing that he does, had a good reason for desiring that an anthropologist from England should say something as to the present state of the new and growing science in England as compared with its condition in America, — for believing that some communication would be acceptable between the old country and the new, upon a subject where the inhabitants of both have so much interest in common, and can render to one another so much service in the direction of their work. And therefore I take it that I am to say before you this evening, without elaborate oratory and without even careful language, how the problems of American anthropology present themselves to the English mind.

Now, one of the things that has struck me most in America, from the anthropological point of view, is a certain element of old-fashionedness. I mean old-fashionedness in the strictest sense of the word, — an old-fashionedness which goes back to the time of the colonization of America. Since the Stuart time, though America, on the whole, has become a country of most rapid progress in development as compared with other districts of the world, there has prevailed in certain parts of it a conservatism of even an intense character. In districts of the older states, away from the centres of population, things that are old-fashioned to modern Europe have held their

[1] A lecture delivered by Dr. EDWARD B. TYLOR before the Anthropological society of Washington, Oct. 11, 1884.

own with a tenacity somewhat surprising. If I ever become possessed of a spinning-wheel, an article of furniture now scarce in England, I can hardly get a specimen better than in Pennsylvania, where 'my great-grandmother's spinning-wheel' is shown — standing, perhaps in the lumber-room, perhaps in an ornamental place in the drawing-room — oftener than in any other country that I ever visited.

In another respect Pennsylvania has shown itself to me fruitful of old-fashioned products. I was brought up among the Quakers, — like so many, I dare say, who are present; for the number of times in the week, or even in the day, in which it occurs that those whom one meets prove to be at least of Quaker descent, represents a proportion which must be highly pleasant to the Quaker mind. In the history of the Society of the Friends, there has recently come out a fact unknown, especially to the Friends themselves. Their opinion has always been that they came into existence in the neighborhood of 1600, by spontaneous generation, in an outburst of spiritual development in England. It has now been shown, especially by the researches of Robert Barclay (not the old controversialist, but a modern historian), that the Quakers were by no means the absolutely independent creation that they and others had supposed them to be; that they were derived from earlier existing denominations by a process which is strictly that of development. Their especial ancestors, so to speak, were a division of the early Dutch sect known as Mennonites. The Friends have undergone much modification as to theological doctrine; but some of their most pronounced characteristics, such as the objection to war and oaths, and even details of costume, and the silent grace before meals, remain as proofs of Mennonite derivation. To find the Mennonites least changed from their original condition is now less easy in their old homes in Europe than in their adopted homes in the United States and Canada, whither they have migrated from time to time, up till quite recently, in order to avoid being compelled to serve as soldiers. They have long been a large and prosperous body back in Pennsylvania. I went to see them; and they are a very striking instance of permanency of institutions, where an institution or a state of society can get into prosperous conditions in a secluded place, cut off from easy access of the world. Among them are those who dissent from modern alteration and changes by a fixed and unalterable resolution that they will not wear buttons, but will fasten their coats with hooks and eyes, as their forefathers did. And in this way they show with what tenacity custom holds when it has become matter of scruple and religious sanction. Others have conformed more and more to the world; and most of those whom I have seen were gradually conforming in their dress and habits, and showing symptoms of melting into the general population. But, in the mean time, America does offer the spectacle of a phase of religious life, which, though dwindling away in the old-world region where it arose, is quite well preserved in this newer country, for the edification of students of culture. These people, who show such plain traces of connection with the historical Anabaptists that they may be taken as their living representatives, still commemorate in their hymns their martyrs who fell in Switzerland for the Anabaptist faith. There was given me only a few days ago a copy of an old scarce hymn-book, anterior to 1600, but still in use, in which is a hymn commemorative of the martyr Haslibach, beheaded for refusing to conform to the state religion, whose head laughed when it was cut off.

Now, to find thus, in a secluded district, an old state of society resisting for a time the modifying influences which have already changed the world around, is no exceptional state of things. It shows the very processes of resisted but eventually prevailing alteration which anthropologists have to study over larger regions of space and time in the general development of the world. In visiting my Mennonite friends in Pennsylvania, I sometimes noticed, that, while they thought it nothing strange that I should come to study them and their history, yet when I was asked where I was going next, and confessed with some modesty that I was going with Major Powell to the far west to see the Zuñis, this confession on my part was received with a look of amazement, not quite unmingled with kindly reproof: it seemed so strange to my friends that any person travelling about of his own will should deliberately go to look at Indians. I found it hard to refrain from pointing out, that, after all, there is a community of purpose between studies of the course of civilization, whether carried out among the colonists of Pennsylvania or among the Indians of New Mexico. Investigation of the lower races is made more obscure and difficult through the absence of the guidance of written history, but the principle is the same.

A glance at the tribes whom Professor Moseley and I have seen in the far west during the last few weeks has shown one or two results which may be worth stating; and one, merely parenthetical, I think I must take leave to mention, though it lies outside the main current of my subject.

Our look at North-American Indians, of whom it has been my lot to write a good deal upon second-hand evidence, had, I am glad to say, a very encouraging effect; because it showed, that on the whole, much as the writings of old travellers and missionaries have to be criticised, yet if, when carefully compared, they agree in a statement, personal inspection will generally verify that statement. One result of our visit has been, not a diminution, but an increase, of the confidence with which both of us in future will receive the statements of travellers among the Indians, allowing for their often being based upon superficial observation. So long as we confine ourselves to things which the traveller says he saw and heard, we are, I believe, upon very solid ground.

To turn to our actual experiences. The things that one sees among the Indian tribes who have not become so 'white' as the Algonkins and the Iroquois, but who present a more genuine picture of old American life, do often, and in the most vivid way,

present traces of the same phenomena with which one is so familiar in old-world life. Imagine us sitting in a house just inside California, engaged in what appeared to be a fruitless endeavor on the part of Professor Moseley to obtain a lock of hair of a Mojave to add to his collection. The man objected utterly. He shook his head. When pressed, he gesticulated and talked. No: if he gave up that bit of hair, he would become deaf, dumb, grow mad; and, when the medicine-man came to drive away the malady, it would be of no use, he would have to die. Now, all this represents a perfectly old-world group of ideas. If you tried to get a lock of hair in Italy or Spain, you might be met with precisely the same resistance; and you would find that the reason would be absolutely the same as that which the Mojave expressed, — that by means of that lock of hair one can be bewitched, the consequence being disease. And within the civilized world the old philosophy which accounts for disease in general as the intrusion of a malignant spirit still largely remains; and the exorcising such a demon is practised by white men as a religious rite, even including the act of exsufflating it, or blowing it away, which our Mojave Indian illustrated by the gesture of blowing away an imaginary spirit, and which is well known as forming a part of the religious rites of both the Greek and Roman church. How is it that such correspondence with old-world ceremonies should be found among a tribe like the Mojaves, apparently Mongolian people, though separated geographically from the Mongolians of Asia? Why does the civilization, the general state of culture, of the world, present throughout its whole range, in time and space, phenomena so wonderfully similar and uniform? This question is easy to ask; but it is the question, which, in few words, presents the problem which, to all anthropologists who occupy themselves with the history of culture, is a problem full of the most extreme difficulty, upon which they will have for years to work, collecting and classifying facts, in the hope that at some time the lucky touch will be made which will disclose the answer. At present there is none of an absolute character. There is no day in my life, when I am able to occupy myself with anthropological work, in which my mind does not swing like a pendulum between the two great possible answers to this question. Have the descendants of a small group of mankind gone on teaching their children the same set of ideas, carrying them on from generation to generation, from age to age, so that when they are found in distant regions, among tribes which have become different even in bodily formation, they represent the long-inherited traditions of a common ancestry? Or is it that all over the world, man, being substantially similar in mind, has again and again, under similar circumstances of life, developed similar groups of ideas and customs? I cannot, I think, use the opportunity of standing at this table more profitably than by insisting, in the strongest manner which I can find words to express, on the fundamental importance of directing attention to this great problem, the solution of which will alone bring the study of civilization into its full development as a science.

Let me put before you two or three cases, from examples which have been brought under my notice within the last few days, as illustrating the ways in which this problem comes before us in all its difficulty.

This morning, being in the museum with Major Powell, Professor Moseley, and Mr. Holmes, looking at the products of Indian life in the far west, my attention was called to certain curious instruments hanging together in a case in which musical instruments are contained. These consisted simply of flat, oblong, or oval pieces of wood, fastened at the end to a thong, so as to be whirled round and round, causing a whirring or roaring noise. The instruments in question came, one from the Ute Indians, and one from the Zuñis. Now, if an Australian, finding himself inspecting the National museum, happened to stand in front of the case in question, he would stop with feelings not only of surprise, but probably of horror; for this is an instrument which to him represents, more intensely than any thing else, a sense of mystery attached to his own most important religious ceremonies, especially those of the initiation of youths to the privileges of manhood, where an instrument quite similar in nature is used for the purpose of warning off women and children. If this Australian were from the south, near Bass Strait, his native law is, that, if any woman sees these instruments, she ought immediately to be put to death; and the illustration which he would give is, that, in old times, Tasmania and Australia formed one continent, but that one unlucky day it so happened that certain boys found one of these instruments hidden in the bush, and showed it to their mothers, whereupon the sea burst up through the land in a deluge, which never entirely subsided, but still remains to separate Van Dieman's Land from Australia. And, even if a Caffre from South Africa were to visit the collection, his attention would be drawn to the same instruments, and he would be able to tell that in his country they were used for the purpose of making loud sounds, and warning the women from the ceremonies attending the initiation of boys. How different the races and languages of Australia and Africa! yet we have the same use cropping out in connection with the same instrument; and, to complete its history, it must be added that there are passages of Greek literature which show pretty plainly that an instrument quite similar was used in the mysteries of Bacchus. The last point is, that it is a toy well known to country-people, both in Germany and in England. Its English name is the 'bull-roarer;' and, when the children play with it in country villages, it is hardly possible (as I know by experience) to distinguish its sound from the bellowing of an angry bull.

In endeavoring to ascertain whether the occurrence of the 'bull-roarer' in so many regions is to be explained by historical connection, or by independent development, we have to take into consideration, first, that it is an apparatus so simple as possibly to have been found out many times; next,

that its power of emitting a sound audible at a great distance would suggest to Australians and Caffres alike its usefulness at religious ceremonies from which it was desired to exclude certain persons. Then we are led to another argument, into which I will not enter now, as to the question why women are excluded in the most rigid manner from certain ceremonies. But in any event, if we work it out as a mere question of probabilities, the hypothesis of repeated reinvention under like circumstances can hold its own against the hypothesis of historical connection; but which explanation is the true one, or whether both are partly true, I have no sufficient means to decide. Such questions as these being around us in every direction, there are only two or three ways known to me in which at present students can attack them with any reasonable prospect of success. May I briefly try to state, not so much by precept as by example, what the working of those methods is by which it is possible, at any rate, to make some encroachments upon the great unsolved problem of anthropology?

One of the ways in which it is possible to deal with such a group of facts may be called the argument from outlandishness. When a circumstance is so uncommon as to excite surprise, and to lead one to think with wonder why it should have come into existence, and when that thing appears in two different districts, we have more ground for saying that there is a certain historical connection between the two cases of its appearance than in the comparison of more commonplace matters. Only this morning a case in point was brought rather strongly under my notice; not that the facts were unknown, for we have been seeing them for days past at Zuñi. The Indians of the north, and especially the Iroquois, were, as we know, apt to express their ideas by picture-writings, in the detailed study of which Col. Mallery is now engaged. One sign which habitually occurs is the picture of an animal in which a line is drawn from the throat, through the picture of the animal, terminating in the heart. Now, the North-American Indians of the lake district have a distinct meaning attached to this peculiar heart-line, which does not attach to ordinary pictures of animals: they mean some animal which is living, and whose life is affected in some way by a charm of some kind.

It is expressly stated by Schoolcraft that a picture he gives of a wolf with such a heart-line means a wolf with a charmed heart. It is very remarkable to find, among the Zuñis, representations of deer and other animals drawn in the same manner; and the natural inference is, that the magic of the Iroquois and the Zuñis is connected, and of more or less common origin. I verified this supposition by asking Mr. Cushing, our authority on Zuñi language and ideas, what idea was generally attached to this well-known symbol; and his answer was, that it indicated a living animal on which magical influence was being exerted. May we not, then, consider, — leaving out of the question the point whether the Pueblo people invented the heart-line as a piece of their magic and the nomad tribes of the north picked it up from them, or whether it came down from the northern tribes and was adopted by the southern, or whether both had it from a common source, — that, at any rate, there is some ground, upon the score of mere outlandishness, for supposing that such an idea could not occur without there being some educational connection between the two groups of tribes possessing it, and who could hardly have taken it by independent development?

To mention an instance of the opposite kind: I bought a few days ago, among the Mojaves, a singular article of dress, — a native woman's girdle, with its long fringe of twisted bark. This, or rather two of these put on so as to form one complete skirt, used to be her only garment; and it is still worn from old custom, but now covered by a petticoat of cotton, generally made of several pocket-handkerchiefs in the piece, bought from the traders. Under these circumstances, it has become useless as a garment, only serving as what I understand is called in the civilized world a 'dress-improver;' the effect of which, indeed, the Mojave women perfectly understand, and avail themselves of in the most comic manner. Suppose, now, that we had no record of how this fantastic fashion came into use among them: it has only to be compared with the actual wearing of bark garments in Further Asia and the Pacific Islands in order to tell its own history, — that it is a remnant of the phase of culture where bark is the ordinary material for clothing. But the anthropologist could not be justified in arguing from this bark-wearing that the ancestors of the Mojaves had learned it from Asiatics. Independent development, acting not only where men's minds, but their circumstances, are similar, must be credited with much of the similarity of customs. It is curious that the best illustrations of this do not come from customs which are alike in detail in two places, and so may be accounted for, like the last example, by emigration from one place to another. We find it much easier to deal with practices similar enough to show corresponding workings of the human mind, but also different enough to show separate formation. Only this morning I met with an excellent instance of this. Dr. Yarrow, your authority on the subject of funeral rites, described to me a custom of the Utes of disposing of the bodies of men they feared and hated by putting them under water in streams. After much inquiry, he found that the intention of this proceeding was to prevent their coming back to molest the survivors. Now, there is a passage in an old writer on West Africa where it is related, that, when a man died, his widow would have herself ducked in the river in order to get rid of his ghost, which would be hanging about her, especially if she were one of his most loved wives. Having thus drowned him off, she was free to marry again. Here, then, is the idea that water is impassable to spirits, worked out in different ways in Africa and America, but showing in both the same principle; which, indeed, is manifested by so many peoples in the idea of bridges for the dead to pass real or imaginary streams, from the threads stretched across brooks in Burmah for the souls of friends to cross by, to Catlin's slippery pine-log for

the Choctaw dead to pass the dreadful river. In such correspondences of principle we trace, more clearly than in mere repetitions of a custom or belief, the community of human intellect.

But I must not turn these remarks into what, under ordinary circumstances, would be a lecture. I have been compelled to address myself, not so much to the statement in broad terms of general principles, as to points of detail of this kind, because it is almost impossible, in the present state of anthropology, to work by abstract terms; and the best way of elucidating a working-principle is to discuss some actual case. There are now two or three practical points on which I may be allowed to say a few words.

The principle of development in civilization, which represents one side of the great problem I have been speaking of, is now beginning to receive especial cultivation in England. While most museums have been at work, simply collecting objects and implements, the museum of Gen. Pitt-Rivers, now about to be removed from London to Oxford, is entirely devoted to the working-out of the development theory on a scale hardly attempted hitherto. In this museum are collected specimens of weapons and implements, so as to ascertain by what steps they may be considered to have arisen among mankind, and to arrange them in consecutive series. Development, however, is not always progress, but may work itself out into lines of degeneration. There are certain states of society in which the going-down of arts and sciences is as inevitable a state of things as progress is in the more fortunate regions in which we live. Anthropologists will watch with the greatest interest what effect this museum of development will have upon their science. Gen. Pitt-Rivers was led into the formation of the remarkable collection in question in an interesting manner. He did not begin life either as an evolutionist or as an anthropologist. He was a soldier. His business, at a particular time of his life, was to serve on a committee on small-arms, appointed to reform the armament of the British army, which at that time was to a great extent only provided with the most untruthful of percussion-muskets. He then found that a rifle was an instrument of gradual growth; for the new rifles which it was his duty to inspect had not come into existence at once and independently. When he came to look carefully into the history of his subject, it appeared that some one had improved the lock, then some one the rifling, and then others had made further improvements; and this process had gone on, until at last there came into existence a gun, which, thus perfected, was able to hold its own in a permanent form. He collected the intermediate stages through which a good rifle arose out of a bad one; and the idea began to cross his mind that the course of change which happened to rifles was very much what ordinarily happens with other things. So he set about collecting, and filled his house from the cellar to the attic, hanging on his walls series of all kinds of weapons and other instruments which seemed to him to form links in a great chain of development. The principle that thus became visible to him in weapon-development is not less true through the whole range of civilization; and we shall soon be able to show to every anthropologist who visits Oxford the results of that attempt. And when the development theory is seen in that way, explaining the nature and origin of our actual arts and customs and ideas, and their gradual growth from ruder and earlier states of culture, then anthropology will come before the public mind as a new means of practical instruction in life.

Speaking of this aspect of anthropology leads me to say a word on another hardly less important. On my first visit to this country, nearly thirty years ago, I made a journey in Mexico with the late Henry Christy, a man who impressed his personality very deeply on the science of man. He was led into this subject by his connection with Dr. Hodgkin; the two being at first interested, from the philanthropist's point of view, in the preservation of the less favored races of man, and taking part in a society for this purpose, known as the Aborigines' protection society. The observation of the indigenous tribes for philanthropic reasons brought the fact into view that such peoples of low culture were in themselves of the highest interest as illustrating the whole problem of stages of civilization; and this brought about the eatablishment of the Ethnological society in England, Henry Christy's connection with which originated his plan of forming an ethnological museum. The foundations of the now celebrated Christy collection were laid on our Mexican journey; and I was witness to his extraordinary power of knowing, untaught, what it was the business of an anthropologist to collect, and what to leave uncollected; how very useless for anthropologic purposes mere curiosities are, and how priceless are every-day things. The two principles which tend most to the successful work of anthropology — the systematic collection of the products of each stage of civilization, and the arrangement of their sequence in development — are thus the leading motives of our two great anthropological museums.

To my mind, one of the most remarkable things I have seen in this country is the working of the Bureau of ethnology as part of the general working of the government department to which it belongs. It is not for me, on this occasion, to describe the working of the Smithsonian institution, with its research and publication extending almost through the whole realm of science; nor to speak of the services of that eminent investigator and organizer, Prof. Spencer F. Baird. It is the department occupied with the science of man of which I have experience; and I do not think that anywhere else in the world such an official body of skilled anthropologists, each knowing his own special work, and devoted to it, can be paralleled. The Bureau of ethnology is at present devoting itself especially to the working-up of the United States, and to the American continent in general, but not neglecting other parts of the world. And I must say that I have seen with the utmost interest the manner in which the central organism of the Bureau of ethnology is performing the functions of an amasser and collector of all that is worth

knowing; how Major Powell is not only a great explorer and worker himself, but has the art of infusing his energy and enthusiastic spirit through the branches of an institution which stands almost alone, being, on the one hand, an institution doing the work of a scientific society, and, on the other hand, an institution doing that work with the power and leverage of a government department. If we talked of working a government institution in England for the progress of anthropology in the way in which it is being done here, we should be met with — silence, or a civil answer, but with no practical result; and any one venturing to make the suggestion might run the risk of being classed with that large body described here as 'cranks.' The only way in which the question can be settled, how far a government may take up scientific research as a part of its legitimate functions, is by practical experiment; and somehow or other your president is engaged in getting that experiment tried, with an obvious success, which may have a great effect. If in future a proposition to ask for more government aid for anthropology is met with a reply that such ideas are fanatical, and that such schemes will produce no good results, we have a very good rejoinder in Washington. The energy with which the Bureau of ethnology works throughout its distant ramifications has been a matter of great interest. It is something like what one used to hear of the organization of the Jesuits, with their central authority in a room in a Roman palace, whence directions were sent out which there was some agent in every country town ready to carry out with skill and zeal. For instance: it was interesting at Zuñi to follow the way in which Col. and Mrs. Stevenson were working the pueblo, trading for specimens, and bringing together all that was most valuable and interesting in tracing the history of that remarkable people. Both managed to identify themselves with the Indian life. And one thing I particularly noticed was this, that to get at the confidence of a tribe, the man of the house, though he can do a great deal, cannot do all. If his wife sympathizes with his work, and is able to do it, really half of the work of investigation seems to me to fall to her, so much is to be learned through the women of the tribe, which the men will not readily disclose. The experience seemed to me a lesson to anthropologists not to sound the 'bull-roarer,' and warn the ladies off from their proceedings, but rather to avail themselves thankfully of their help.

Only one word more, and I will close. Years ago, when I first knew the position occupied by anthropology, this position was far inferior to that which it now holds. It was deemed, indeed, curious and amusing; and travellers had even, in an informal way, shown human nature as displayed among out-of-the-way tribes to be an instructive study. But one of the last things thought of in the early days of anthropology, was that it should be of any practical use. The effect of a few years' work all over the world shows that it is not only to be an interesting theoretical science, but that it is to be an agent in altering the actual state of arts and beliefs and institutions in the world. For instance: look at the arguments on communism in the tenure of land in the hands of a writer who thinks how good it would be if every man always had his share of the land. The ideas and mental workings of such a philosopher are quite different from those of an anthropologist, who knows land-communism as an old and still existing institution of the world, and can see exactly how, after the experience of ages, its disadvantages have been found to outweigh its advantages, so that it tends to fall out of use. In any new legislation on land, the information thus to be given by anthropology must take its place as an important factor.

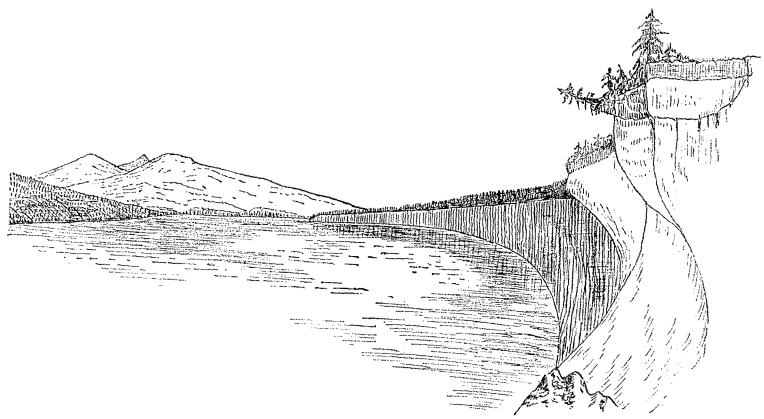
Again: when long ago I began to collect materials about old customs, nothing was farther from my thoughts than the idea that they would be useful. By and by it did become visible, that to show that a custom or institution which belonged to an early state of civilization had lasted on by mere conservatism into a newer civilization, to which it is unsuited, would somehow affect the public mind as to the question whether this custom or institution should be kept up, or done away with. Nothing has for months past given me more unfeigned delight than when I saw in the *Times* newspaper the corporation of the city of London spoken of as a 'survival.' You have institutions even here which have outlived their original place and purpose; and indeed it is evident, that, when the course of civilization is thoroughly worked out from beginning to end, the description of it from beginning to end will have a very practical effect upon the domain of practical politics. Politicians have, it is true, little idea of this as yet. But it already imposes upon bodies like this anthropological society a burden of responsibility which was not at first thought of. We may hope, however, that, under such leaders as we have here, the science of anthropology will be worked purely for its own sake; for, the moment that anthropologists take to cultivating their science as a party-weapon in politics and religion, this will vitiate their reasonings and arguments, and spoil the scientific character of their work. I have seen in England bad results follow from a premature attempt to work anthropology on such controversial lines, and can say that such an attempt is not only in the long-run harmful to the effect of anthropology in the world, but disastrous to its immediate position. My recommendation to students is to go right forward, like a horse in blinkers, neither looking to the right hand nor to the left. Let us do our own work with a simple intention to find out what the principles and courses of events have been in the world, to collect all the facts, to work out all the inferences, to reduce the whole into a science; and then let practical life take it and make the best it can of it. In this way the science of man, accepted as an arbiter, not by a party only, but by the public judgment, will have soonest and most permanently its due effect on the habits and laws and thoughts of mankind.

I am afraid I have not used well, under such short and difficult conditions, the opportunity which you have done me the great pleasure and honor of giving

me here. I have tried, as I said I would, to put in the simplest way before you some considerations which appear to me as of present importance in our science, both in the old world and in the new, and I thank you in the heartiest way possible for the opportunity you have given me to do this.

EXPLORATION OF THE KOWAK RIVER.

WE have been favored by Major E. W. Clark, chief of the Revenue marine bureau, with the following abstract of explorations on the Kowak or Kuak River of Alaska, made during the season of 1884 by a party from the U. S. steamer Corwin, Capt. Healy. The party comprised Lieut. J. C. Cantwell, commanding, assisted by Second-Assistant Engineer S. B. McLenegan, a quartermaster, fireman, miner, and interpreter, and was furnished with two small boats and the Corwin's steam-launch. They left the Corwin at Cape Krusenstern, July 8, and the following morning entered Hotham Inlet by a practicable channel four or five fathoms deep, which enters the inlet close to its eastern point or headland. The eastern and southern shores of the inlet are composed of clay bluffs about two hundred feet high, backed by rolling tundra. The opposite shore, however, was low and swampy, with many lagoons, the native guide stating that this was the Kowak delta, which has fifteen mouths, and extends some fifty miles inland. The temperature at this time averaged 80° or 90° F. during the day. At seven o'clock on the 10th of July a break was seen in the lowland of the delta, where a high peak ahead and a high bluff point on the western shore form a range for the channel entering the river. The channel is about two hundred yards wide, with two and a half fathoms least water at the time the party entered. The banks are low and marshy, with a dense growth of willow and birch, and harbored myriads of mosquitoes. At ten A.M. next day a collection of Innuit huts was seen, tenanted by only one family at that date. The banks of the river, hitherto uniformly low, began to be more elevated, and the current increased to three miles per hour. The course of the river was extremely tortuous. Another village was seen on the left bank, on a high black bluff, at four P.M. The depth of the river increased to five fathoms: its width varied, being from half to three-quarters of a mile. Many offshoots of the main stream were noticed, all extending to the northward and westward. The following day a good growth of pine, birch, and willow adorned the banks, which had previously shown only shrubbery. At half-past eight A.M. a large westerly arm was passed, which, according to the native guide, was the last arm of the delta, and flowed into the western part of Hotham Inlet. At noon the party obtained observations, placing them in latitude 68° 45′.3, and west longitude 161° 46′. At half-past two P.M. a series of ice-cliffs, like those of Eschscholtz Bay, was observed, composed of a solid mass of ice extending three-quarters of a mile along the left bank, covered by a thin layer of dark-colored earth, and rising to a height of a hundred and fifty feet. Trees were growing on the surface. Up to this point, and for some distance farther, not a single stone or pebble was to be seen, and the silence was frequently disturbed by the fall of large masses of the soft earthy banks undermined by the strong current. On the afternoon of the 13th a stretch of river extending about six miles in a north-easterly direction was reached, which offered a beautiful prospect. The river widened to half a mile, with low green banks, while beyond a range of rugged mountains could be seen. At the end of the six-mile reach was a succession of high bluffs, caused by the foot-hills coming down to the river, with a narrow, rocky beach, the slopes wooded with pine and juniper. There were many very fragrant wild-flowers, and the mosquitoes were the only disturbing element. This, which was named Highland Camp, was about eighty miles from the entrance of the river. About one P.M., on the 14th of July, the mouth of the Squirrel River of the natives was reached, coming in from the north-east. Its source



ICE-CLIFFS ON KOWAK RIVER.