SCIENCE

VOL. LXXI FRIDAY, MARCH 7, 1930 No. 1836

SCIENCE: A Weekly Journal devoted to the Advancement of Science, edited by J. MCKEEN CATTELL and published every Friday by

THE SCIENCE PRESS

New York City: Grand Central Terminal
Lancaster, Pa. Garrison, N. Y.

Annual Subscription, $6.00 Single Copies, 15 Cts.

SCIENCE is the official organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Information regarding membership in the Association may be secured from the office of the permanent secretary, in the Smithsonian Institution Building, Washington, D. C.

THE RELATION OF ANTHROPOLOGY TO INDIAN AND IMMIGRANT AFFAIRS[1]

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FORTY-THREE years ago the Bureau of American Ethnology was formed to collect all the data possible concerning the surviving Indians in various parts of our country. Since that time, departments of anthropology in various universities have been turning out highly trained men who have devoted years to intensive study of the American Indian. Studies have been made of his physical type, his susceptibility to disease and the effects of race crossing, as well as of the development of his diverse cultures from earliest times to the present. The Bureau of American Ethnology alone has issued over 180 monographs and bulletins dealing with the American Indian and his culture, while the publications of other institutions would easily double that number.

[1] Address of the retiring vice-president and chairman of Section H—Anthropology, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Des Moines, December 30, 1929.

With such a mine of information at the disposal of those who have to deal with our aborigines, we should have the most enlightened policy of any nation in the world. What are the facts? In searching the records of Congress which deal with Indian affairs, there is little evidence that that body realizes it has a great research organization at its disposal. A scrutiny of the boards of Indian commissioners in recent years reveals the names of few men who are recognized as authorities on Indian life and custom, while the administration of the Indian Office has often been entrusted to men ignorant of, or indifferent to, Indian customs. Occasionally men of highest ideals have been placed in positions of authority, but they have found themselves overwhelmed with advice from those having special interests in the Indian.

One group urges that we break down the old religion and customs as rapidly as possible; and to

bring this about would forbid the old dances and celebrations, would break up the reservations, would allot the land and force the Indian to "swim or sink," believing that necessity will force him into American life.

Another group exalts the life of "the noble Red Man," and would leave him unchanged, forgetting that the conditions which made the old life possible have been, for the most part, destroyed.

Between those who would perpetuate the reservations and those who would abolish them, between those who would found more Indian schools and those who would put all the children into the public schools, between those who would make the Indian subject to state laws and local courts and those who would judge his crimes according to tribal law—it is no wonder that the newcomer in the field is in a daze; and by the time he begins to learn something of actual needs and conditions he finds a new administration in power, and himself displaced.

Little wonder then that our Indian service lacks a well-trained personnel and that it has been the subject of severe criticism. Little wonder that the Indian has come to look with suspicion on every move which is made for his "betterment."

But it is not the Indian service alone which is groping in the dark for a solution of the Indian problem. A few weeks ago the speaker attended a conference on the Indian. At this session were men and women representing various missionary boards, the Indian Rights Association, the Indian service and similar organizations. A carefully arranged program, evidently intended to bring out the interests of all groups represented, resulted in a series of papers on individual or local problems or discussions of the Indian problem in the light of a single field. A few of the speakers appeared to have a wide grasp of the situation, but it was apparent from the discussion which followed that their excellent presentations made little impression.

It is easy to criticize. It is easy to point out the shortcomings of others. But we anthropologists must realize that something is radically wrong with us if, after forty years of intensive research and the publication of numerous books, we have made so little impression on Congress, on the Indian service, on missionary boards and other Indian workers.

Let us take stock for a moment and see what is wrong. Is it in the training of the workers? Have the studies been shown to be inaccurate or untrustworthy? Has there been any suspicion that we are serving special interests? I think not. Our studies are accepted as being accurate and thoroughly objective; but right here may lie our chief weakness. Not long ago a woman from another field complained that anthropology had succeeded in becoming objective, but in the attempt had lost its soul. Perhaps she is right. We have been so intent on gathering and recording facts that we have had little time to generalize, and when we have generalized it has been along the lines of scientific interest rather than those of practical, every-day life.

We have demonstrated to the scientist the regional character of culture, the dynamics of cultural growth, the effects of environment, of diffusion and of convergence; but we have not been equally successful with the layman. In other words, we have failed to sell our goods to the people who are meeting the Indian problem at first hand.

Is this inevitable? Is it impossible to make anthropological investigations of value to the government, to the missionary and to those who wish to have economic relations with the less advanced peoples?

When America entered the Philippines, the administration of the Interior Department of the islands was given to the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, a man who believed that if you wished to be successful in ruling a people, you must know their background, their social, economic and religious life. Almost the first step taken toward gaining this information was the founding of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and an ethnological survey. A real attempt was made to understand the people of a region before we extended our government to them, and it was sought to make our laws conform as closely as possible to the customary law of the region. The result was the establishment of friendly relations with nearly all the pagan tribes and a minimum of bloodshed.

Our neighbors to the north of the Philippines, who sought to impose their rule on a similar people, but without this preparation, have met with bitter opposition and are now waging a war of extermination against the hill tribes. In the island of Sumatra the Dutch sought to extend their rule into the Padang Islands, the country of the Menangkabau. They sought to follow the same methods as they had pursued in Java; namely, that of strengthening one of the petty chiefs and through him ruling the country. But the scheme failed, and for two hundred years Holland made little headway. Finally, following a serious rebellion in 1907, they decided to try a different system. A group of anthropologists was sent to the region, instructed to gain all possible information concerning the life and beliefs of the people, and especially to learn the *Adat,* or customary law. I have not time here to cite the situation which they found more than to indicate that, despite the fact that the Menangkabau are closely related physically and linguistically to the people of Java and live in adjacent territory, they have a system of descent, of gov-

ernment and ownership of property so radically different from that of Java that no single system of control could be expected to cope successfully with both.

By 1911 the Dutch had learned enough of the situation to attempt again to penetrate the country, this time through friendly advances rather than through force; and when I was in the country in 1922 and 1923, I found a half dozen Dutch officers and 100 Ambionise soldiers controlling without difficulty more than a million and a half of the tribesmen.

In the northern part of this same island, the Rhennish mission undertook the work of conversion of the Battak, a powerful cannibal tribe which had offered constant opposition to the white man. Under wise leadership, these missionaries sought first to learn the native life, then to modify it so as to remove the most savage customs yet disturb the old as little as possible. The motto often quoted to me was: "Destroy only when you have something with which to replace." There the work was so successful that they made more than 100,000 converts among one of the most savage tribes in all Malaysia. Then came the World War. Many of the missionaries were withdrawn, and for months, in some places for years, the converts were left without guidance. Yet we found them conducting their services and continuing the new religion without let-up. The missionaries had succeeded in so merging the old and the new that there was no question of reversion to old conditions.

On a nearby island we found quite the opposite situation. Here the missionaries were of a different mind. Their motto was: "Destroy the old so as to establish the new." Old customs were derided; the old faith was shattered, instead of being incorporated; the power of the chieftains was broken, and the schools sought to instruct the children along European lines. Then came the war and the withdrawal of the missionaries. With old customs and faith shattered and with the old control gone and the new teachers removed, a most chaotic condition prevailed. Ashamed to return to the old life and yet not fitted to the new, the people drifted spiritually and economically into a hopeless condition, and at the time of our visit presented only the shattered remnants of a culture which a few years before was recognized as one of the most advanced of primitive civilizations.

Here we have presented a conspicuous success and a dismal failure, and the reasons are evident. You can not rule a people, you can not adapt a new faith or a new culture to a people, unless you know their background. You can not build a successful, self-respecting society on an inferiority complex.

I should like to cite one more instance. There has recently come to my attention the work of the British schools in the former German territory north of Lake Tanganyika in Africa. Here the aim is to establish an educational system based on native custom, yet which will introduce such modifications as will fit the individual for the social and economic changes which follow contact with Europeans. The first six months were given over to an anthropological survey of three closely related tribes. Friendships were established, the cooperation of chiefs and elders secured, while the knowledge of local institutions made it possible to merge old and new without in any wise destroying the self-respect of the natives. The first native institution to be employed was that of *wigendo* or the calling of boys and young men to the courts. For ages past it has been the right and duty of the chiefs to summon a large number of youths to court where they served while they were being instructed in tribal lore and crafts. The second institution was the counsel of elders. In each district there is an elder who is authority on native tradition. It is his duty to guide the ruler and his people, and to rebuke those who err from custom. With the support of the chiefs, the youths are summoned and the elders join with the white teachers as instructors. They teach the traditions of the tribe, assist in maintaining discipline and also act as counsel to discuss and settle difficulties.

By using these old institutions, a link has been forged between the old and the new. The cooperation of the older generation has been secured, and the pride of the boys in their race and customs has been fostered. Instruction is planned so that it continues the past interests, yet adds to them. The boys are taught improvements in hygiene, in standards of life; they are given instruction in agriculture and animal care in addition to normal academic instruction. However, care is taken not to make the break too great or too sudden. They begin with simple native methods and advance as rapidly as possible. They build houses and school buildings, following native types and using native materials, but adding such modern improvements and conveniences as are available or can be produced locally. Too often natives are instructed in the use of materials and devices which are beyond their means when they leave school, but all the advances learned in these schools are available when they return home, and thus they are able to introduce new aids and comforts into the native villages. The aim has been to build on those aspects of native life that are important and enduring, and from these to develop new forms of activity that will fit for contact with Europe, yet will preserve pride of race and tribe. The experiment is still in the early stages, but the full cooperation of the

chiefs has been secured, and the schools have constantly grown.

The Dutch in the Indies, the British in Africa and Malaysia, have learned that the only successful way to deal with the natives is to have the administrators versed in native lore and custom and to govern as closely as possible in accordance with the established code. We have found the same to be true in the Philippines, and it is to be hoped that we will ultimately realize that this will apply equally well to our Indian problem.

I have just said "Indian problem" but there is no such thing. Rather, we have a series of problems. We can not correctly speak of the American Indian, if by this we mean to imply that economically, culturally or religiously he is everywhere the same, or even similar. Every student of ethnology knows that there are several well-defined culture areas north of Mexico, and within these there are many tribal and local variations. The instruction and guidance which will fit the sedentary Pueblo Indian has at present little practical value or interest for his seminomadic neighbors. It is useless to teach the Navajo how to build good houses without attempting to reach and modify the belief that a dwelling must be destroyed or abandoned upon the death of a member of the family. It is neither wise nor right to deny the Indian the privilege of conducting a native dance by means of which he hopes to influence the powers which control the rain or which produce fertility. This has often been advocated, but the sponsors should realize that by so doing they not only kindle native resentment, but having forced the rites into secret practices have really strengthened their hold on the native mind.

It is only by following such a policy as that of the British in Africa which I have cited that we can slowly shape and modify native life and customs. It is, of course, true that in some regions the native life is shattered, the customs and beliefs have largely lost their hold and the Indians are living much like white men. It is likewise true that in many such regions we find the greatest disorganization; the native has been taught to despise the old, yet he is not fully accepted into the new, and like a raft in a storm he is carried hither and yon without aim or purpose. Some individuals succeed in spite of such handicaps, but the majority sink below the level of their white neighbors and become liabilities rather than assets.

American anthropology has proved beyond a doubt that the American Indian is not an inferior being, either physically or mentally. A late arrival on this continent, he was pioneering while Europe was far advanced toward civilization. Without domestic animals other than the dog and turkey, he steadily advanced in culture until in Middle America he achieved a real civilization. He constructed great cities; he built pyramids and temples which rival those of Egypt and Greece; he invented a written language and was far advanced in astronomy and mathematics; he developed agriculture and gave to us a large number of the domestic plants which now form the basis of our economic life. I might cite his metal working, wood-carving, weaving, pottery and other crafts, but enough has been said to indicate that potentially the Indian is capable of great advance, if given the proper guidance. Every monograph on Indian life will show many elements which should be preserved and which can be used in building for the future. A great amount of material has been collected; it now becomes our duty to make it available to those who can apply it.

It should be our aim to lend helpful cooperation to all agencies working in behalf of the American Indians, and this we can do without sacrificing the high scientific standards which we have established.

There is still another problem of great importance to our nation in which anthropology should make contributions of great importance. That is the immigrant problem. Until a few years ago the majority of the newcomers to this country were drawn from northern Europe, and the similarities of speech and custom made it easy for them to merge into our population. But with the influx of southern Europeans we suddenly found that we had to absorb peoples with backgrounds very different from our own. We did not understand them and they did not understand us, and the result has been the settlement of such peoples in compact communities in which they perpetuate old world customs and feuds, and their participation in American life has been long delayed.

The same situation is rapidly developing with the Mexican who is coming to us in ever-increasing numbers. That anthropology can give us an understanding of these peoples is conclusively shown by the background studies carried on in Mexico and Sicily. In these studies the investigators have lived for months in regions from which we have been drawing immigrants and have sought to gain a clear insight into the social, economic and mental life. With this information available we are able to understand what happens when known cultures meet; we are able to direct the newcomers and aid in their absorption into our life. Such information at once becomes available to the economist, sociologist, political scientist, welfare worker and others who are interested in social studies.

I have given my topic as "The Relation of Anthropology to Indian and Immigrant Affairs," but I might have extended the discussion to child development, to

problems of growth and dentition, to race mixture, to criminology and to many other fields closely linked with our investigations.

Anthropology has contributed much to our knowledge of man and his culture in all ages; it must now give more attention to the application of this information to present-day problems.

We must sell our goods. We must convince the practical workers in these fields that we have something they need for the solution of their problems. We can aid the government officer, the social worker, the missionary, the teacher, as well as our fellow scientists. We can have the same satisfaction in seeing our carefully gathered facts put to practical use as the worker in pure science has in watching his discoveries applied to industry.

THE GRAY HERBARIUM CARD INDEX

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FOR twenty-six years the staff of the Gray Herbarium has compiled and published a card catalogue of the newly described and renamed plants of America. The work was undertaken in order to continue a similar card index which had been begun and carried through about ten years by Miss Josephine A. Clark, who at the time was librarian of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The history of the undertaking has never been recorded in print and may be summarized as follows:

An experimental study preliminary to the enterprise was the publication by Miss Clark of a list of such phanerogams and vascular cryptogams of the North American continent as had been newly published or renamed during the year 1891. This list was compiled by Miss Clark under the supervision of the late Dr. J. N. Rose, and appeared in the Contributions from the United States National Herbarium i. 151–188 (issued September 20, 1892). At that time the "Index Kewensis" had not yet appeared and the importance of Miss Clark's list was immediately evident. It was welcomed as the first of a series likely to be continued each year. However, for several excellent reasons it was decided that the catalogue would have much greater convenience and utility if it could be issued at more frequent intervals and be printed on cards so that the successive parts could be readily arranged in a single alphabetic sequence or, at the wish of the subscriber, be separated into systematic or geographic groups. It was also felt that it should include the new plants, not merely of North America, but of the whole American continent and the adjacent islands.

After due consideration and with the encouragement of the botanists at the Department of Agriculture and at several other centers of botanical activity, Miss Clark undertook such a card catalogue. Her first expectation had been to restrict it to the higher plants in the manner of her first list, but she was urged by the cryptogamists of the department, especially by the plant pathologists, to include also the cellular cryptogams. This she did, it is believed, rather reluctantly, realizing the great difficulties involved.

Miss Clark's catalogue was issued in twenty instalments beginning early in 1894 and continuing to 1903. These issues ranged from 920 to 2,144 cards each. The catalogue was printed on cards of the then current library size, namely, 5 x 2 inches, a form which it has never seemed desirable to change. The plan of the work was to have (1) a card for each newly characterized American genus, species, subspecies, variety or other named form, the scientific name appearing in full and being followed by the name or recognized abbreviation of the name of the author, together with a bibliographical reference to the place of publication and a very brief statement of range, (2) a card for each scientifically renamed American plant with similar bibliographical reference to the place in which the new name or combination was published, followed by explanatory synonymy, (3) a cross-reference card indicating in each case of transfer the name-bringing synonym, followed by the new name, (4) a blue card (long since discontinued) of the same size indicating the title of each work indexed, (5) reprinted cards when needful to supplement previous synonymy and references and (6) correction cards (issued without charge) to emend any detected errors.

Very soon after the Card Index had been begun, the first part of the great "Index Kewensis" appeared, a work which was to list the genera and species of phanerogams of the world published up to the end of 1885. It then became one of the primary purposes of the Card Index to furnish American botanists with an effective supplement to this more universal work. Therefore, the attempt was made to carry the Card Index back to the beginning of 1886, an undertaking which, with all practicable endeavor, it has not been possible entirely to accomplish.

Miss Clark was much aided by the collaboration of Mrs. Alice F. Stevens and, in the later part of her work, she employed also in the indexing of certain