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ANTHROPOLOGY'S CONTRIBUTION TO INTERRACIAL UNDERSTANDING[1]

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THERE still exists in our industrial societies a tendency, inherited from the past, to regard technological progress as wholly beneficent. We have become accustomed to hail enthusiastically every advance for its own sake or for the greater ease it brings into our personal lives, without consideration for its effect upon our society. We have grasped eagerly at the fruits of science regardless of their price. Now we are discovering that they have a price; that every advance of technology enhances our responsibilities whether we like it or not. The radio, the movie, the airplane have, or should have, taught us that technology may be beneficent, but may also serve evil purposes; that the acceptance of these productions can not remain superficial but must enter into and profoundly alter the organization of our societies.

[1] Address delivered at the Cranbrook Institute of Science on the opening of an exhibit on the races of man, January 21, 1944.

In no aspect of our lives as members of a complex industrial community, or as a nation in the modern world, has technology brought greater responsibilities than in our attitudes toward the various groups that make up our society, or toward the peoples that constitute mankind. It is a commonly observed truism that the world grows more interdependent, and that our society demands increased cooperation from all its members, as mechanization progresses. As for the future that lies ahead who can question that this process with its demands will continue? There is, therefore, every reason to believe that more cooperation rather than less will be required of us, if the structure of our society is to be preserved. Indeed, the very war in which we are now engaged may be said to be the result of an effort to substitute coercion, intolerance and slavery for our traditional ideals of cooperation.

The evidences of intolerance and of lack of cooperation which confront us on all sides represent maladjustments which become increasingly portentous as the needs for tolerance and cooperation become more pressing. There can, I think, be no question that one of the gravest problems facing our internal as well as our external existence lies in our ability to compose the differences that exist and to create understanding in their place. This is particularly true of the United States, where, unfortunately, the materials for group antagonisms are all too abundant. Although essentially the United States has received its population, as have all other nations, by the immigration of various people, for no national populations are autochthonous, nevertheless the manner and circumstances of these settlements have been significant. Where England, Germany, France, Spain and other nations in prehistoric times or during ages of barbarism have been invaded, overrun or settled by the successive groups which now constitute their present population, the United States was settled in the full blaze of introspective history. Where European nations have taken millennia in the amalgamation and assimilation of their people, we have compressed the greatest migration in the history of man into three centuries. Where they have received neighboring people of similar culture or race, we have engulfed a native Indian people with representatives of every European people and forcibly inducted millions of African Negroes not to mention our acquisition of contingents from Asia.

Now, these circumstances of history and accident are pregnant with meaning for our future. Let us examine the consequences of these facts. It is, I think, a consideration of immense importance that this country was settled when it was, in a period of developed literacy and self-consciousness. Under such conditions, group identities and group traditions become quickly established and resist the solvents of time and association. The Pilgrim fathers and the Puritans, sharply aware of their peculiar status, intensified and immortalized it in their written records. The tradition thus created served to set apart its inheritors from all later comers unless they could by some means identify themselves with it. Similarly, the pioneer groups in the west lost no time in establishing their own legends and traditions which drew together in a common bond their descendants but shut out the settlers who followed them. Thus, there has grown up a system of hierarchies, local and national, which excludes whole sections of the population and erects barriers to assimilation and participation. In Europe where migration succeeded migration, priority of settlement confers no prestige. Indeed, if time is a factor at all, it is likely to be the latest conquerors coming in during historic and literate times who have a special exclusive tradition.

The rapidity of the settlement of the United States has also contributed to the fissures of our society. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when immigration was relatively slow it was possible for newcomers arriving in small lots to become absorbed rather quickly, despite initial prejudices against them. But with the advent of the Irish and German waves of migration in the mid-nineteenth century, overwhelming numbers and differences in religion and culture created in the settled Americans an antagonism toward these newer immigrants which continued for a long time. With each succeeding wave and with the ever-increasing numbers, the fears and antagonisms were intensified. These we have inherited and will plague us in the future. Had these migrations consisted of Europeans only, we might look to their eventual absorption by the body of older Americans in the course of time, since the physical disparities are slight, the cultural ones disappear and only religious prejudices offer any obstacles. The injection, however, of large masses of Negroes and other non-European people into the population has created a profound schism. For these people bear with them the mark of their difference which neither cultural nor religious assimilation can efface. Thus, the welding of the American population into a harmonious community faces many difficulties whose final resolution requires tolerance and understanding. Without these essential attitudes we can expect aggravations of critical situations and serious dangers to our society.

When we look to the world beyond our borders we see there, too, the same forces of intolerance at work poisoning mutual understanding and respect, at a time when the technology of the future is likely to increase rather than to diminish the needs for international and inter-racial harmony. It is obvious, I think, that the task of building attitudes of tolerance, of fostering cooperation and of encouraging understanding in these matters is a long and tedious path. It is not a subject for evangelization. Not by an act of faith will the unregenerate become converted to the ways of tolerance. Only by the road of education and by the use of reason can we hope to create a lasting atmosphere of tolerance and cooperation.

In this effort we can, I believe, use with profit the lessons of anthropology, for it is the peculiar advantage of this discipline that it permits us to see mankind as a whole and to scrutinize ourselves with some degree of objectivity. All of us are born into a special group of circumstances and are molded and conditioned by them. Our views and our behavior are

regulated by them. We take ready-made our judgments and tend to react emotionally to any divergence from or interference with them. In a sense we are imprisoned in our own culture. Many of us never succeed in shaking off the shackles of our restricted horizons. But those who have been educated by experience or by learning to a broader view may escape the micro-culture of the specific group with which they are identified and achieve a larger perspective. I am sure that some of you may recall vividly the experience of an expanding world as you left behind the limitations of youth for the understanding and freedom of maturity. This is an experience which has its counterpart in the intellectual understanding of ourselves and of our culture which anthropology is able to impart. For anthropology deliberately undertakes to study man as a biological phenomenon like any other organism, and on its social side it seeks to lift the student out of his culture by treating it as one in many social experiments. Professor Boas once observed that his preoccupation with Eskimo culture permitted him to see his own with a fresh eye. Moreover, in placing man's struggle toward civilization in this perspective the anthropologist achieves a historical view which serves to correct the astigmatisms of the present.

In studying man in this fashion, anthropology teaches us among other things that civilization has never been the exclusive possession of one people and that the particular culture of any race or group of men is never the complete product of that race or group. Our own culture, stemming from western Europe, has roots in most of the civilizations of the past and has not hesitated to borrow from its living contemporaries. Our writing, for example, has come to us from Asia Minor via the Greeks; we have inherited principles of architecture discovered for us in Egypt, in the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and of the Indus; our knowledge of weaving probably originated in the Nile Valley, the use of cotton in India and silk in China. Egypt and Mesopotamia debate the honor of inventing agriculture and domesticating certain animals. From the American Indian we have received a variety of things such as food plants, snowshoes, the hammock and the adobe house; from the American Negro a rich source of music. The list of our borrowings and inheritances is long. Without them we could not have built our own civilization. Yet our debts have not made us humble. We behave as if we had created our civilization single-handed and had occupied a position of leadership from the beginning of civilization itself. Actually, we are not only the inheritors of a varied and complex tradition, but the present protagonists of western civilization are merely the latest of mankind to become civilized. One might add that they unfortunately show it. All during the prehistoric ages northwestern Europe represented a back water. Into these remote regions came the stone age innovations after they had been invented elsewhere. Similarly, the neolithic techniques and the use of bronze and iron only slowly were diffused to western Europe centuries after their discovery in Egypt and Mesopotamia. So wild and barbarous were the regions inhabited by the ancient Britons, the Scandinavians and the Germans that the Greeks never even knew of their existence. And to the Romans the inhabitants of these far distant corners were uncouth barbarians unfamiliar with the amenities of civilization. In fact, up to the time of the Renaissance the northwestern Europeans could hardly claim parity by any objective standard with a civilization such as the Chinese of the same epoch, or the native civilizations of Mexico or Peru where substantial achievements in social organization, architecture and art far surpassed contemporary European productions. Well into the Christian era the archeological remains of British culture display a crudity, quite unprophetic of their future evolution. If, then, we justly attribute this backwardness of northwestern Europe in the ways of civilization to the accidents of place and history, how can we fail to admit the potentialities of our contemporaries who give evidence by their learning, by their arts or by their skills of accomplishments fully as great as those of the ancient Briton, Gaul or German.

Though we admit the superiority of western civilization in technology and science, anthropology is decisive in disclaiming any equivalent supremacy in the social organization of the nations of the western world. Indeed, it would be easy to enumerate examples among non-European people with more complicated social systems or with more efficient ones. If it is true that the magnitude of our commerce and industry, enlarged by the resources of science, has created a stupendous economic structure upon our society, it is also true that the social framework which supports it is in certain respects inadequate and inefficient. We who are so proud of our gadgets, who misjudge those who live on a simpler material plane, who scorn others for their superstitions, how are we to judge our ancestors of two or three centuries ago who lacked all that we prize in the way of material comforts and who believed in witchcraft? One can not help but feel that our attitudes are something like those of the little boy whose superior Christmas present elevates him above his less fortunate mates.

One of the most pernicious breeders of ill-will among various races of mankind is the doctrine that

a racial hierarchy exists based upon physical and psychological superiorities. It is interesting that the preferred positions in this scale are reserved for the race to which the claimants think they belong. Notions of superiority are, of course, widespread. They permeate groups of all kinds and sizes. The city slicker's airs of superiority over his country cousin are tinged with the same smugness that characterizes rival parishes or sets off the Scotch Highlander from the Lowlanders, distinguishes the Englishman from the British colonial, the Nordic from the Mediterranean, the white races from the colored. They are all based on the idea that differences are degrees of goodness, whereas in most instances differences are merely reflections of environmental adaptations, historical accidents, local developments or simply superficial physical mutations of no intrinsic value. During the nineteenth century these ideas crystallized around the concept of race largely through the writing of de Gobineau, who extolled purity of race and in particular the virtues of the Nordic. This was a period when many so-called European races had each their protagonists. The Mediterranean man was hailed as the culture hero of Europe. English writers drew racial distinctions among their own peoples but spoke instead of Kelt or Saxon or Norman and attributed to them exclusive virtues or vices. The attributions were so precise that it must have been a rash Saxon who would presume to write mystic poetry or a foolhardy Kelt who would aspire to martial glory.

Race, which started out as a zoological concept, a convenient method of classifying mankind according to physical criteria, much as the kinds of animals might be distinguished, thus became encrusted with psychological attributes and assignments of value. We all know how this monstrous doctrine has been elevated into a credo, how it has been used to inflame and manipulate masses of men, how insidiously it is calculated to make even those who attack it disseminate its seeds. Anthropology, which traditionally has been concerned with the problems of race, has here, too, much to offer in clarifying and correcting racial misconceptions fostered for evil purposes. Perhaps I might best summarize this in a series of principles.

(1) The racial classification of man is primarily a zoological concept. It attempts merely to classify and distinguish the varieties of men by physical criteria.

(2) Migration and intermingling has from his earliest history been characteristic of man so that "pure" races, if they ever existed, are no longer to be found in nature.

(3) The consequence of this intermixture has led to the overlapping of physical characteristics between neighboring people with a pronounced tendency for changes in any physical characteristic to be gradual so that it is practically impossible to set arbitrary lines of division between one type and another.

(4) The geographic extremes of these continuities do show pronounced differences in physical criteria, such as the northwest European, the Chinese and the Negro of Central Africa.

(5) No nation is exclusively of one race, or breed. In Europe especially prehistoric and historic migrations have mixed the various European strains inextricably. There is for example no Nordic Germany. So-called Nordic tribes settled in France, invaded Italy, overran Spain and even reached North Africa. Each nation in Europe represents a composite varying somewhat in their ingredients and proportions.

(6) The psychological attributues of race are non-zoological and logically have no place in racial classification. They are not coterminous with race, which itself is an abstraction.

(7) Moreover, since psychological attributes are commonly based on subjective judgments, are resistant to precise measurement, and are often profoundly influenced by environmental and cultural conditions, they are not suitable as criteria in the classification of races. Their use has led to tragic distortions of truth.

Parenthetically, I can not forbear pointing out the illusions we cherish in the name of practicality. The charge used to be leveled against anthropology that it was not practical, that it was remote from the important concerns of everyday living, and that it was largely absorbed in abstract and academic concepts. But now we are witnessing a world conflict in which these academic concepts play an enormous part and motivate the thinking of many of the actors. How practical it is then to keep these concepts free from distortion and to expose the fallacies which they engender!

In conclusion, let me congratulate the Cranbrook Institute and its director, Dr. Robert Hatt, on the splendid exhibit they are presenting this evening. It is, I think, a highly encouraging omen that they should take this pioneering step in the education of the public to understand the truths of racial and cultural variations. All too often the educational institutions and the museums of the country have shied away from their social duty in popularizing scientific knowledge when social problems are involved. It has always seemed to me an incomprehensible policy since it seems to imply that science is useful only when it can serve no purpose and useless when it has something to say. If we believe in science, let us bring it forth.