

Signum

P. 14. Bibliothek

Presidential Address read at the Meeting of the
Anthropological Club at the University of London.

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I think I cannot begin my address in a more appropriate manner than by paying my tribute to the author of that monumental work ~~on social anthropology~~ which has just reached its completion, the third and final edition of the Golden Bough. No more influential work on social anthropology has ever appeared either in English or in any other language. In the course of a quarter of a century the bough has ~~grown into a~~ *brought forth* ~~an amazing mass of shoots,~~ *huge branches* the foliage of which offers shelter to a host of students profiting by the inspiring atmosphere of the sacred grove. The priest of Nemi ~~himself~~, on the other hand, has gradually dwindled into insignificance or, to use one of the author's expressions, become a stalking-horse to carry heavy pack-loads of facts. But the great magician behind the scene ~~on the contrary, he~~ *before* shows no signs of decay, but appears more vigorous than ever and makes us look for new wonders from his wand.

The Golden Bough is, ~~together with the~~ side by side with Primitive Culture, the greatest stronghold of the comparative method ~~in~~ *which* social anthropology ~~at present possesses.~~ As such it has had to withstand the heaviest fire from the enemy's batteries; and latterly the enemy have much increased in number, and the attacks are becoming more and more frequent. ~~It may be worth our while~~ *therefore* to consider the nature of these attacks and ~~the success~~ how

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far they may be regarded as justified.

III.
The comparative method starts from the fact that there
are great similarities between the implements, weapons, objects of art, beliefs, customs, or institutions of different peoples in different countries. The similar phenomena are classified into groups. Weapons, for example, are classed under spear, club, sling, bow and arrow, and so forth; myths are divided under such headings as myths of sunrise and sunset, eclipse-myths, earthquake-myths, local myths which account for the names of places by some fanciful tale; under rites and ceremonies there are such practices as the various kind of sacrifice to the ghosts of the dead and to other spiritual beings, ceremonies of purification by means of water and fires, and innumerable other rites; under institutions there are, for instance, marriage, clanship, chieftainship, slavery, and under each heading there are subheadings, like marriage by purchase, polygamy, polyandry, monogamy, and so forth. In such comparisons little respect need be had for date in history or for place on the map; the ancient Swiss lake-dweller may be set ~~aside~~ beside the mediaeval Aztec, and the Ojibwa of North America beside the Zulu of South Africa, nay even many items of the life of the lower races may be compared with analogous proceedings of the higher, which are not too far changed to be recognised as similar in kind, and sometimes hardly changed at all. These classifications of the various details of culture, says Tylor, may be almost

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perfectly illustrated by comparing these details with the
species of plants and animals as studied by the naturalist.

"To the ethnographer, the bow and arrow is a species, the
habit of flattening children's skulls is a species, the prac-
tice of reckoning numbers by tens is a species. The geogra-
phical distribution of these things, and their transmission
from region to region, have to be studied as the naturalist
studies the geography of his botanical and zoological species."

But ~~it is~~ the anthropologist's business is not restricted to
the task of classifying the various phenomena of culture with
a view to making out their distribution in geography and his-
tory. The object of every science is not merely to state and

analyse but to explain the facts with which it is concerned,
in other words, to give an answer to the question, Why; and
this is as true of anthropology as of any other science. Thus,
then, Now, by making use of the comparative method, the an-
thropologist is able to find explanations, often hypothetical

it is true, but not infrequently conclusive or well nigh so
in many cases where direct evidence is wanting. To take an

instance, from a field on which I have myself been working.

In investigating the practice of human sacrifice among dif-
ferent peoples and in different ages, I noticed its occurrence

under ~~circumstances a variety~~ certain definite circumstances,
which, however varying, present a striking resemblance in a
point of vital importance for the explanation of the practice.

Human victims are often offered in war, before a battle, or

far they are justified.

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during a siege; for the purpose of stopping or preventing epidemics; in order to put an end to a devastating famine;

when the earth fails to supply the the people with water; with a view to averting perils arising from the sea [or from rivers:]

and for the purpose of preventing the death of some particular

individual, especially a chief or a king, from sickness, old age, or other circumstances. From these facts I thought my-

self justified in drawing the conclusion that the practice of

human sacrifice is, largely at least, ~~based on~~ a method of

life-insurance, based on the idea of substitution. [Moreover,

the famine-sacrifice and the principle underlying it led me

to ~~believe~~ ^{suggest} that also the frequent custom of securing good

crops by means of human sacrifice on other occasions may be

traced to the same principle, especially as there are obvious

links between this custom and that of the actual famine-sac-

rifice; but this conclusion is more hypothetical than the

first one. However, ^{utstreckes vidare} the question, Why? may be pushed further still.

When similar ~~beliefs~~ ^{konstaterade} customs, beliefs, legends, or arts are

found ~~in several distant regions, among peoples not known to~~

~~be~~ ^{finns} among different peoples, ^{fråga man sig hur} how is this similarity to be

accounted for? In his pioneer work, Researches into the Early

History of Mankind, Tylor answers this question thus:-- "So-

metimes it may be ascribed to the like working of men's minds

under like conditions, and sometimes it is a proof of blood

relationship or of intercourse, direct or indirect, between

the races among whom it is found." Dr. Frazer likewise (speaks)

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velopment.

Before I deal with the ~~criticism~~ ^{more fully with this} criticism passed on the comparative method ~~on the score of the idea of the independent origin of customs and beliefs,~~ ^{being} I shall say a few words with reference to other objections raised to it. One objection is ^{this method} that ~~it~~ is hardly compatible with a sufficiently careful scrupulous and ~~is~~ ^{is} hardly compatible with a sufficiently careful scrupulous and

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tiny of authorities and sources. This is obviously true. Every anthropologist who has made use of the comparative method on a large scale has good reason to cry peccavi, and even he who merely deals with some special group of phenomena has rarely the same opportunity as the writer of a monograph on a certain people to subject his facts to a searching criticism. I emphasised that, "as the sociologist in my book The History of Human Marriage that, "as the sociologist is in many cases unable to distinguish falsehood from truth, he must be prepared to admit the inaccuracy of some of the statements he quotes," and I cannot possibly conceive how Dr. Graebner has been able to construe this admission into an attempt to make a virtue of necessity. ^{Indeed} But I think that a similar admission might be reasonably expected also from other anthropologists than those anthropologists of other schools. It is often simply impossible ~~even~~ for the most scrutinising critic to decide whether a certain statement is trustworthy or not, and even to form a just idea of the general reliability of an ethnographical author, and it may be difficult to form a just idea ~~even~~ of the general reliability of an ethnographical author. [Dr. Graebner, ~~blames me for quoting Curr's Australian Race~~ As an instance of this I may mention that Dr. Graebner blames whilst ~~for~~ for example, considers Curr's Australian Race to be so worthless a book that he blames me for quoting it, whereas Dr. Malinowski, who in his monograph on The Family among the Australian Aborigines ^{has sifted} sifts his materials with the unparalleled

care, considers that Curr had especially good opportunities for observation and often refers to him; and I have no doubt that ~~he~~ in the most important question where I ~~refer to~~ used him as an authority, that of group-marriage, ^{he} was a more accurate informant than Fison and Howitt.] Generally speaking, I must confess that I have become more distrustful of ~~anthropo-~~ ethnographical evidence the longer ~~time~~ I have myself ^{been} spent in the field. In my own field-work I made it long ago a ^{most stringent} rule ~~allowing of no exceptions~~, never to accept a statement made by anybody but a native of the country, ~~and only under very exceptional circumstances to trust information~~ make use of information given me about a tribe by members of ~~any~~ another tribe, ^{without specially mentioning} ~~and then always to mention~~ make mention of the more or less unauthoritative character of the statement. I am also somewhat suspicious of that, fortunately insignificant, portion of my materials which I collected before I could freely converse with the natives without the aid of an interpreter, although my interpreter was a very intelligent and absolutely trustworthy Moor, with a remarkable command of the English language, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco in the course of the last sixteen years. ^{For} I have come to the conclusion that even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or ~~VIOLATION OF~~ belief in question or to let his attention ~~occasionally~~ slack-
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en or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle

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and occasionally tried their utmost accuracy and attention by deliberately misrepresenting some statements;

all direct translation. I have, moreover, made it an invariable habit to repeat to my informants in full their statements so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and ^{all} this could hardly be equally well done through the medium of an interpreter. I cannot say that I ~~any longer~~ ^{now} regret the robbery to which I was a victim towards the end of my first four months' journey in Morocco, when I lost all my notes together with everything else I had with me, ~~except a single garment~~; for that relieved me of much materials of a doubtful value. But when it happened I was of a ~~very~~ different opinion; when you have been some months in a country you ^{may} think you know more about it than when you have been there as many years. Now I cannot say that my standard of trustworthiness is exactly the same when I am using other people's materials as when I am collecting my own; it could not be the same, considering how extremely rare it is that an ethnographer lets his readers know minutely how he has obtained his information. ^{nobody can deny that} But ~~there~~ ^{there is} in the comparative method itself a test which, if carefully applied, gives the investigator some confidence in his facts, namely the test of recurrence. As Tylor puts it, "if two independent visitors to different countries, say a mediaeval Mohammedan in Tartary and a modern Englishman in Dahome, or a Jesuit missionary in Brazil and a Wesleyan in the Fiji Islands, agree in describing some analogous art or rite or myth among the people they have visited, it becomes difficult or impossible to set down such correspondence to accident or wilful fraud."

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A common argument against the comparative method is that it detaches the ^{cultural} phenomenon ~~of culture~~ from the organic whole of which it forms a part and thereby easily represents it in a wrong light. Customs and beliefs ~~be~~ are not the property of individuals but belong to the whole social group among which they are found, ^{They} ~~and~~ express its whole corporate soul-life. Hence ^{it is said,} they cannot be explained by the psychology of the individual, but must, in order to be understood, be viewed in the light of the ~~whole~~ culture and social structure of the group concerned, instead of being abstracted from their social context ^{and} ~~to be~~ classed together with customs or beliefs of other groups. ~~There is no doubt a great deal of truth in this ar-~~
^{also} I think,
In this argument, there is, ~~no doubt~~ a great deal of truth, as well as exaggeration. I have myself expressed the opinion that, so far as the lower stages of civilisation are concerned, there are, next to sociological field-work, no other investigations so urgently needed as monographs on some definite class of social phenomena or institutions among a certain group of related tribes-- just because social phenomena are not isolated phenomena but largely influenced by local conditions, by the physical environment, by the circumstances in which the people in question lives, by its habits and mental characteristics. All these factors can be properly taken into account when the investigation is confined to a single people or one ethnic unity, but hardly ^{when it embraces} ~~by him who studies~~ ^a ~~some~~ social institution as it exists throughout the ^{whole} uncivilis-

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ed world. I presume that every book in which the comparative
 method is followed contains a ^{misleading} [good number of] facts which have
 been classified under wrong headings ^{misleading} on account of external
 resemblances with other facts. There has been a tendency in
 books of this kind to assume that similar customs or rites
 have their roots in similar ideas, even when practised by dif-
 ferent peoples, and this tendency has often led to ill-found-
 ed or even obviously erroneous conclusions. It should be re-
 membered that, especially among simple peoples, the means of
 expressing ideas in actions are so limited, that the same kind
 of activity or the making use of similar objects may very of-
 ten have a different origin in different cases. To take an in-
 stance from the ceremonies practised at weddings, (especially
 Moorish weddings) the eggs so frequently used on these occa-
 sions are sometimes intended to promote fecundity on account
 of physiological connections, sometimes to give good luck or
 make the weather fine on account of their white colour, some-
 times to facilitate the consummation of the marriage on ac-
 count of the fragility of their shells.] Many instances of mis-
 taken classifications might no doubt be quoted from my own
 writings, but as it is more agreeable to find faults with
 others than with oneself, I shall choose an example from the
 investigations of an esteemed colleague. In his book Primitive
 Paternity Mr. Hartland ~~has shown~~ ^{is} shows that in various count-
 ries bathing ~~and drinking of water~~ ^{are} practised as methods
 of obtaining children, and he traces ~~these~~ ^{this} practices to an

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an ancient belief "that pregnancy was caused otherwise than by sexual intercourse." In support of this view he quotes, besides many other facts, a statement of mine referring to a tribe in the South of Morocco. It is there the custom for a married woman, who is anxious to know if she will be blessed with a child or not, to go to the sea-shore on Midsummer day, and the two following days as well, and let seven waves go over her body; then she knows that if she does not have a child soon, she will have none at all. In this case magic has dwindled into divination, as is obvious from a similar custom practised in another tribe in Morocco, where the young wife goes to the sea on the fortieth day after her arrival at her new home, and, while the seven waves^e are going over her body, says to the sea:-- "O my uncle the Sea, I am troubled with spirits, give me children and health." Now these facts can by no means serve as evidence for a theory of primitive paternity. In Morocco, at least, the effect which water is held to have on ~~the fecundity of women or female animals~~ is only indirect, that is, it is supposed to remove ~~evil~~ the evil influences which cause sterility, as appears from the idea that an infertile woman or animal is troubled with evil spirits and ^{from the fact} that the very same procedure as is adopted as a cure for barrenness is also supposed to remove or prevent sickness or misfortune in general. I must admit, however, ~~that~~ ~~Mr. Hartland is not alone responsible for~~ in extenuation of Mr. Hartland's guilt, that in the article of mine from which

he made his quotation I had not expressly mentioned the Moorish view of sterility. This case may be considered typical. The mistakes made by anthropologists of the comparative school, when they detach facts from their environment and interpret them in their own ways, are largely due to the incompleteness of their sources. Hence one of the chief defects of their method may be considerably reduced by the strenuous efforts of field-workers to collect not only external facts but to enter into the thoughts and feelings of the people they investigate as also by monographs of the kind I already mentioned. There is no real opposition between the study of a cultural phenomenon as it is distributed among different races and ^{The} a study of it which is restricted to a particular ethnic group. ~~in their~~ ^{The} ~~methods differ, that is, because~~ ^{simply} ~~their methods differ~~ ^{because} because the subjects differ. But ~~they~~ ^{The two kinds of studies} mutually need each other. Whilst the student of a custom or institution in its generality must be grateful to the specialist who provides him with the results of his detailed research, ~~so also~~ ^{in the first place} the comparative treatment, ~~of which~~ ^{of} bears out general resemblances ~~as well as local or racial differences~~, often helps the specialist to explain facts which he could hardly understand in full if his knowledge were restricted to a limited area. The ~~simultaneous~~ ^{together} occurrence of certain phenomena in many different groups may prove that there is a causal connection between them, though no such connection is proved by their occurrence in a single group. How often does not a fact appear in an entirely new

light to the specialist, when it is elucidated by analogous facts from without? What rays of light have not savage customs and institutions thrown on the history of civilised nations? It is easy to criticise the comparative method in the point we are now considering, but it is impossible for any modern student of human civilisation to ignore its results. The writings of Professor Durkheim and his disciples are thoroughly pervaded by the teachings of the ^{very} ~~of the~~ school whose method they have so severely criticised. Does not this show that there must be exaggeration in their criticism? They have not sufficiently considered an extremely simple but ~~an~~ extremely important fact, namely, that all the different ethnic groups belong to the same animal species, and therefore must present ~~fundamental~~ resemblances which have a deeper foundation than all differences which are ~~due~~ the effects of the social environment. How could we disclose these resemblances by any other means than comparison? How could we in any other way distinguish that which is local from that which is general? Nay, how could we fully explain the social environment itself without taking into account the mental characteristics of the human species? I think there is ~~abundant evidence to show that~~ sufficient evidence to show that innumerable customs and beliefs are not so closely interwoven with the social tissue that they cannot with due precautions be abstracted from it for the sake of comparison, and in any case we may expect to find a specifically human element mingled with local ~~and~~ hi-

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peculiarities.

But if the French sociologists-- I except of course M. van Gennep, who does not belong to the school of Durkheim-- have underrated the ~~comparative~~ homogeneous elements of the human mind, I think they have on the other hand somewhat ~~underrated~~ overrated the homogeneity of the group-mind. That the minds of men are profoundly influenced by the fact that they live and act together is a truth which nobody doubts, ~~and so is the fact that~~ We implicitly recognise this when we speak of the customs, beliefs, or religion of a certain people --expressions which are much older than Bastian's Völkergedanke. But we must not forget that the homogeneity of thoughts and actions inside a society is not absolute. [As Dr. Leuba puts it, in a recent article, "individuals do more than reflect social life; they modify it, for they are centres of creative energy. Identical circumstances acting at the same moment upon two persons will not produce identical effects, for men are not identical. Why men differ is another problem. Their differences are to be accounted for in part by the different circumstances, physical and psychical, in which they have grown. I say in part, because it cannot be assumed that men are born identical, and because, different at the start, they grow still more different, though living in the same milieu."] This is true not only of civilised men but in some degree, although in a very much smaller degree, of savages. ~~Dr. Landtman informs me that the Kiwai-speaking Papuans among~~

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My friend Mr. Kai Souver, who
has recently come back from The
^{philology & ethnology} ~~language, and ideas, and~~
Samoyedes, ~~with~~ whose ~~customs~~ he
has been studying for nearly two
years, informs me that in a
small tribe consisting of some ~~hundred~~
five or six hundred persons, the
beliefs concerning the soul's fate
after death vary ~~ext~~ considerably in
different individuals. One man gave
him ^{minute} a description of the other world
which was based on his own
experience of it in a dream; ^{whereas} other
individuals ~~again said~~ they
~~did not believe~~ denied the very
existence of another world. Another
Dr. Landtman, again, tells me
that the Kiwai-speaking Papuans
among

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whom he lived often drew his attention to the differences of habits not only in different groups of the same tribe or village but even in the case of different individuals. A native said to him, for instance, "One man has one method of catching the dugong, another man has another method." Among their ceremonies there are such as are common to the whole tribe, but there are many others, ~~that~~ especially ceremonies referring to agriculture, ^{and} hunting, ~~and other occupations~~, that are practised only by members of the same family or by single individuals who have learnt them from some ^{directly or indirectly} spirit or ghost appearing in a dream. Dr. Landtman said it was hardly possible in every case to distinguish between ^{practices and} beliefs which were general and such as were individual; and ~~I suppose that other ethnographers have made a similar experience, if difference ever occurred to their minds.~~ Considering that ~~no~~ ^{not} such distinctions are ~~not~~ generally found in ethnographical books, the ethnologist of the study must be warned against making ^{too} liberal a use of the term "collective ideas."

A further argument which has been brought forward against the anthropologists of the comparative school is, that they have been so preoccupied with the idea of the independent origin of custom and belief that they have entirely ~~neglected~~ failed to see the influence ~~or~~ exercised by the mixture of cultures, ~~(either with or without an accompanying mixture of the races to which these cultures belonged.)~~ I have already shown by quotations from highly representative writers ^{of that school} &

justified among his father's people

that this accusation is hardly justified.) As for myself I

much
should be highly surprised if ~~I heard that~~ any of my readers
thought that my grouping of resemblances implied the idea of

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independent origin in every case; any such suspicion would
indeed be ~~very~~ simply absurd considering that the resemblances
often refer to nearly related peoples or to different tribes

system
of the same people. The question whether a certain custom
has sprung up spontaneously among the people or tribe who
practises it or whether it has been imported from some other
people or community, has not, *as a rule,* ~~at all~~ been dealt with, as being
more or less irrelevant to the ~~case and besides,~~ *in many cases,*
~~impossible to answer.~~ *as it is very often* case and, besides, very often impos-
sible to answer. I cannot find that there is any ~~real~~ *reasonable ground for unity*

which particularly studies the influence which one people has exercised upon another owing to contact of their customs
~~between the comparative school and the so-called ethnological~~
and the comparative school;
school; here [again] the subjects of investigation differ and
therefore also the methods. Both schools deal with resemblances,
~~but whilst the comparative school~~ *of* culture-phenomena;
but whilst the comparative school chiefly tries to find the
psychological and sociological origin of these phenomena,

before
the ethnological school is concerned with their wanderings.

longer
~~These two kinds of~~ The two kinds of investigation supplement
each other, ~~In order to be complete, the study of a certain~~
~~but do not replace each other, and should exercise~~ and their re-
sults should exercise a wholesome influence on each other;

social
but they cannot replace each other. To regard the ethnological
analysis of culture as the only task of the *social* anthropology to-
day--as some German scholars seem to do-- is to deprive this

Part of, for example

science of its loftiest aims and also to disregard its most important achievements. Yet the point at issue is, not so much

the legitimacy of psychological explanations, which the German school rather discards than denies, but as the tendency to independent origin of cultural resemblances, which the

comparative school assumes as a fact of very frequent occurrence, although it fully admits the prevalence of borrowings or transference as well. Ratzel, who originated the ethnological or "geographical" movement, suggested that the idea of in-

dependent origin [is the anthropological equivalent of the spontaneous generation of the ~~biologist~~ biologist.] Dr. Graebner is

less radical, but [his sympathies are all in favour of culture-contact. He maintains that there is no criterion which may be used to prove that similar phenomena of culture among different peoples may have an independent origin; it is no evidence

that we are unaware of any contact between them. On the other hand, we know with certainty that innumerable resemblances

are due to the mixture of cultures and of peoples. This

however, he admits, ~~is no does not prove that all resemblances are so~~

either to primary kinship (Urverwandtschaft) or

borrowing (Entlehnung). This however, he admits, does not prove that all resemblances are so. He lays down two main criteria

which enable us to ~~decide that~~ trace similar culture-phenomena to a common source: first, the criterion of form, as he calls

it, that is, the coincidence of characteristics which do not

necessarily follow from the nature of the object, and secondly,

the ~~coincidence~~ quantitative coincidence, that is the coinci-

science of its achievements.

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dence of several phenomena between which there is no necessary and intrinsic connection. For my own part I cannot believe that either criterion is sufficient to save the conclusion from being a mere guess, unless the peoples concerned belong to the same race or may on linguistic, historical, or geographical grounds be supposed to have ^{had} ~~come in~~ contact with each other; otherwise we might with ^{The eighteenth century ethnologist James} Adair conclude that the North American Indians are the lost tribe of Israel, ^{indeed} But even then it may ~~be difficult~~ often be difficult or impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. ^{As} Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, under circumstances which ~~exclude~~ practically exclude all possibility of a common origin, ^{ad it shall be left so with no more weight} we have to take account of the fact that ^{suppose it} such customs may have grown up independently of one another ^{spontaneous} also among peoples who have had much intercourse between themselves or even ^{blended etc} blended together; this fact was constantly in my mind when I ~~wrote my book on Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco~~ noticed the resemblances between the marriage ceremonies in Morocco and those of Indo-European peoples. The more similar two peoples are, the greater is the probability that ~~the details~~ also new details in their culture should resemble each other; from seeds of the same kind ^{spring up} very similar plants spring up. ^{at} Nay the very theory which is so unfriendly to the idea of independent origins has independently originated in two countries, ^{as} whose peoples are partly of the same stock and have had culture

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contact also in later days, Germany and England. Dr. Rivers says in the address already referred to: "I have been led quite independently to much the same general position as that of the German school by the results of my own work in Oceania." If customs and institutions and ideas could speak, they might also perhaps be justified in defending themselves against the accusation of being mere ^{borrowings} ~~loans~~. Dr. Graebner would probably

say that Dr. Graebner would say, indeed he has said, that in cases of parallelism we must not apply European evidence to savages, who almost entirely lack "the conscious desire for development." It seems that as though he regarded the customs of savages as almost unchangeable unless subject to influences from without. But there is sufficient evidence to show that they are not so. Among the Central Australians changes in aboriginal custom take place from time to time, and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are of opinion that these changes are in part due to the influence of individuals of superior ability. [They write,

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dence of phenomena between which there is no necessary and in-
trinsic connection. I think a third criterion ought to have
been added to save the conclusion from being mere guess-work,
namely, that there should be also should be some

- After carefully watching the natives during the performance of their ceremonies and endeavouring as best as we could to enter into their feelings, to think as they did, and to become for the time being one of themselves, we came to the conclusion that if one or two of the most powerful men settled upon the advisability of introducing some change, even an important one, it would be quite possible for this to be agreed upon and carried out. During his stay among the Hiwai speaking people of New Guinea Dr. Landtman was struck by the fluctuations of their habits and customs independently of all ~~external~~ ^{foreign} influences. The villages, for example, changed ^{so} ~~much~~ ^{rapidly} that when Dr. Landtman returned to the same village after some time's absence it was sometimes ^{years} ~~difficult~~ ^{difficult} for him to recognise it; thus he certainly

village, which in December 1910 con-
 sisted of nearly 20 small houses,
 there were thirteen months later
 only one small house ^{and besides} but five
 long houses of the old type. The
~~same~~ ^{the} ~~former~~ ^{present} customs have
 greatly changed within the memory
 of the present generation in a
 manner which, partly at least, excludes
 the possibility of influence ^{both} ~~from~~ ^{either} neighbour-
 ing tribes ~~and~~ ^{or} from the whites; and
 the women, who some thirty years
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 have since then assumed a
 petticoat of grass, which they put
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 and to ~~which~~ ^{now this dress as absolutely} regard ~~it~~ ^{of} indis-
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 stitious ideas ~~connected with~~ ^{re-}
 ferring to the female organism.
 Indeed, do not the ^{present} variations of
 custom in neighbouring related tribes
 or within the same tribe by them-
 selves ~~show~~ ^{show} That ^{the} customs of a people
 are subject to spontaneous changes also
 at the lower stages of culture? And if

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village, which in December 1910 consisted of nearly 20 small houses, there were thirteen months later only one small house ^{and besides} but five long houses of the old type. The ~~present~~ ^{former} customs have greatly changed within the memory of the present generation in a manner which, partly at least, excludes the possibility of influence ~~from~~ ^{either} neighbouring tribes ~~and~~ ^{or} from the whites; and the women, who some thirty years ago were found to go naked, have since then assumed a petticoat of grass, which they put on in a very complicated manner, ^{now this dress is absolutely} but to ~~outside~~ regard ~~it~~ ^{as} of indifference on account of certain superstitions ideas ~~connected with~~ ^{connected with} referring to the female organism. Indeed, do not the ^{present} variations of custom in neighbouring related tribes or within the same tribe by themselves ~~show~~ ^{show} that the customs of a people are subject to spontaneous changes also at the lower stages of culture? And if

