

THE VILLAGE CENSUS IN THE STUDY OF CULTURE CONTACT

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ANY anthropologist working in Africa at the moment is really experimenting with a new technique. Anthropological theory was evolved very largely in Oceania, where the relative isolation of small island communities provided something like 'typical' primitive social groups. Most of Rivers's hypotheses were based on Melanesian material, and Malinowski's functional method, the inspiration of most modern field work in all parts of the world, originated on an island off New Guinea with only 8,000 inhabitants. The anthropologist who embarks for Africa has obviously to modify and adapt the guiding principles of field work from the start. He has probably to work in a much larger and more scattered tribal area, and with a people that are increasing in numbers rather than diminishing. He has to exchange his remote island for a territory where the natives are in constant contact with other tribes and races. More important still, he has arrived at a moment of dramatic and unprecedented change in tribal history. Melanesian societies, it is true, are having to adapt themselves slowly to contact with white civilization, but most of the tribes in Africa are facing a social situation which is, in effect, a revolution. In fact, the whole picture of African society has altered more rapidly than the anthropologist's technique.

HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION IN MODERN FIELD-WORK. It seems only yesterday that anthropology was fighting to free itself from the shackles of a false antiquarianism that forbade it to look at the African of modern times. In an article published in *Africa* as recently as 1929, Malinowski urged the study of primitive institutions as living, functioning realities, of interest in their own right, and not 'by the circular route via classical antiquity'.¹ He pleaded for a new type of anthropology that should describe primitive law, kinship, and political

NOTE. This article is the third of the series of articles on Methods of Study of Culture Contact which Dr. L. P. Mair is editing.

¹ B. Malinowski, 'Practical Anthropology', *Africa*, vol. ii, no. 1.

institutions as they actually exist before us, and not in terms of fanciful reconstructions of previous imagined stages in the history of man.

But what, in concrete terms, does it mean to study a society as it 'actually functions'? In most parts of Africa cultural changes are taking place so rapidly that the anthropologist cannot study what is, without studying what was. As Miss Hunter writes in a previous article in this series: 'Any culture can only be fully understood in its historical context, and when the culture under consideration has undergone revolutionary changes within a generation the relative importance of the historical context is very much greater than when the culture has been comparatively static.'¹ Thus, paradoxically enough, it is just those anthropologists who have turned their backs most resolutely on 'anti-quearianism', to whom 'history' of some kind or other is of greatest value.

This is in fact the chief problem facing the writers of the present series of articles on the study of culture contact. All these articles have been written from a definitely functional and practical point of view. Each community described was studied, in the words of one of the writers, as 'a going concern', without, moreover, giving preference to the savage and the obsolete. The facts that had to be recorded were those of present-day life, yet in each area the most pronounced phenomenon before the observer was culture change, change which *ipso facto* cannot be observed without some process of reconstruction of the past. Thus the functional anthropologist seems to have thrown one type of history overboard, only to find himself searching for another. The practical problem before us is what type of reconstruction of past events the modern ethnologist working in the special conditions of African society can and should make.

The problem has been faced differently in different areas. Thus, for instance, Dr. Mair did her work among the Baganda in an area where contact with white civilization, although comparatively recent, had yet produced an almost complete reorganization of native society.² Besides the universal acceptance of Christianity by the native, the

¹ Monica Hunter, 'Study of Culture Contact', *Africa*, vol. vii, no. 3.

² *Vide* L. P. Mair, 'The Study of Culture Contact as a Practical Problem', *Africa*, vol. vii, no. 4; also *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, London: Routledge, 1934.

introduction of cotton as an economic crop for native agriculturalists has revolutionized their economic values, and legislation has completely altered the system of land-tenure and the position of the chief. The new and the old elements in the Baganda culture have been indissolubly fused, and in these circumstances Dr. Mair claims that the only possible line of approach for the student of culture change is to get from the older generation as complete an account of tribal life in the pre-European days as possible, and to use this reconstruction as a sort of 'zero point' from which the anthropologist can measure subsequent changes in the form and function of different social institutions.

Professor Schapera, in his study of the BaKxatla natives of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, has made another interesting experiment in the study of culture change by selecting a sample social unit—the village of Mochudi, numbering some 8,000 natives—and visiting the group at regular intervals over a period of some years. Besides such a reconstruction of past events as he was able to make from the narratives of the old men of the tribe, he was thus able to add his personal observations of the actual process of cultural change over a period of years—work from which we should get valuable results, both practical and theoretical.¹

A third experiment in technique has been made by Miss Monica Hunter in the case of the Fingo and Xosa natives, who are scattered widely over a large area and facing European contact of various different types. In this case the investigator divided her time between four separate communities: those living in a reserve in the most primitive conditions; those in a part of the reserve long in contact with European civilization; those settled on European farms; and the urban population of two towns, East London and Grahamstown. She was thus able to make a reconstruction of the vanished society X by studying the four communities A, B, C, and D, directly derived from it. These communities, as Miss Hunter makes clear, could not be arranged in any evolutionary series, but yet she found it impossible to understand the customs of the natives of D—the urban area—without her knowledge of those of A in the more primitive reserve.

This method of studying culture contact by means of observations made in different geographical areas would, of course, only be useful

¹ *South African Journal of Science*, vol. xxx, October 1933.

where the changes in tribal life were not homogeneous throughout the territory. It is interesting to me personally, as working independently in North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1930-1 and 1933-4 I developed a very similar method of approach.

CULTURE CONTACT IN NORTH-EASTERN RHODESIA. The Babemba, the people I had selected for study, live in conditions very different from those just described. Here, as among the Baganda, European contact has been comparatively recent. The British South Africa Company established its first station near the district in 1897, and various missionary societies built posts in 1898, 1900, and 1913 respectively. But as neither the type of soil nor the methods of transport offer prospects to the white planter, direct contact with the white man within the tribal territory has been limited, for the most part, to the visits of the government official or the missionary.

Yet it is obvious that, even in this relatively speaking isolated area, the problem of culture contact cannot be thus lightly dismissed. Since no suitable economic crop has been discovered for native development within this district, the Babemba are unable to make money to pay their tax and to satisfy their rapidly increasing material needs unless they sell their labour outside. Thus, besides those changes introduced into the society by the prohibition of war and slavery, the introduction of Christianity and education, the enforcement of a money currency, and the payment of the government tax, the anthropologist has to study a tribal system shaken to its foundations by the absence of the adult male population as wage-labourers far afield. The opening up of the Northern Rhodesian copper belt during recent years has made huge demands on native labour, and during my first visit to this area in 1930 the percentage of men away at work varied from 40 to 60 per cent. at different times of the year. We are dealing, in fact, with a typical native labour reservoir, and therefore inevitably with a process of varying adaptation of the old elements of tribal society to the new.

In these special circumstances, I determined, on my first visit to the country, to make a preliminary study of cultural change by the following method: first, to get as good an account as possible of the main structure of the tribal society before the coming of the white man; and, second, to make a comparative study of different types of community

throughout the area in order to show the extent of the whole process of change. I have already described in this journal my method of selecting typical villages—those in the most isolated part of the country where white contact was very limited; those on the main road where a good deal of traffic passed by; chiefs' villages with their concentration of the conservative elements in the society; those near mission stations, and the small population round such a white station as Kasama, where most of the adult males were living on wage labour for the white man.¹ But when I returned to the area in 1933 for a further eighteen months' study, I felt the need for a greater elaboration of technique.

CONCRETE CASES OF CULTURE CHANGE. It is one of the tenets of modern field-work method that every social fact recorded must be supported by concrete documentation. Tribal morality and law can be formally stated by the native. It exists enshrined in proverb and myth. But the actual decision reached in any concrete case is usually a compromise between tribal ethics and the individual's human passions and needs—often, too, an adaptation of a traditional institution to the constantly changing needs of the day. In other words, the anthropologist may, and does, inscribe in his note-book, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery', but he cannot understand the whole tribal attitude to marital fidelity until he has haunted the native courts, analysed the divorce and marriage rates, and, better still, in concrete cases, listened to excited comments shouted from hut to hut. Such a statement may seem obvious, but it must be remembered that most of the existing accounts of African society are based on narratives dictated to the anthropologist at the tent door.

Now if this type of concrete documentation is valuable in a society in which conditions are relatively speaking static, it is quite imperative in a community in which culture change has been very rapid. We often speak of the 'changed African society' as though this process were now complete, and the native himself to be classified as either a 'blanket kafir' or else a 'detrribalized' town-dweller. In actual fact, of course, where the effects of European contact have been drastic

¹ A. I. Richards, 'Anthropological Problems in N.E. Rhodesia', *Africa*, vol. v, no. 2.

and disruptive, what we are really studying is a process of differential adaptation to the new culture as between tribe and tribe, group and group, individual and individual. To the anthropologist the urban native and the bush villager are opposite extremes of one serial process of change, though the series is not a direct evolutionary one. In a tribal area such as that of the Babemba, where individuals are oscillating between the village and the railway-line, nothing but the analysis of the greatest possible number of individual case-histories can give the anthropologist an idea of the extent and variation of the adaptation that is taking place, and hence its main trend.

A further difficulty of the African anthropologist is the deceptive appearances with which he is constantly faced, and here again nothing but concrete documentation can help him. Unlike parts of Australia and North America, where the natives resisted Europeanism bitterly, and clung tenaciously to their old customs and beliefs, most African peoples have rushed out with enthusiasm to welcome the foreign culture, and try to approximate as closely as possible to the habits and appearance of the white conqueror. It is difficult in this case to distinguish apparent changes from real—form from function—and the outside observer is constantly misjudging the native as a result. The government official praises such and such a chief as being ‘go-ahead and intelligent’ because he has a court-house built of brick. The anthropologist who has listened to cases heard by the neighbouring chief in the old style on his mud-and-wattle verandah may realize that the latter has approached far more nearly to the mental attitude of the white man. But even the anthropologist, with his much vaunted perspicacity, is deceived again and again by surface appearance in this way. The native in the lounge suit whom he had not thought of questioning turns out to be the most competent diviner in the neighbourhood. A fellow villager clad in a bunch of rags refuses his medicine, saying politely, ‘You white people always give us Epsoms. I would like, please, two tablets of aspirin!’ It is for this reason that the method of question and answer is particularly dangerous in dealing with an African tribe. The old man will give you a statement of formal tribal morality before the coming of the white man, but the young man will mislead you equally by recounting customs that he believes to be European and therefore ‘smart’. It is

not until a sufficient number of actual cases have been analysed that the difference between real and apparent change is made clear.

To get a systematic type of documentation I therefore adopted the following method on my second visit to the field. I listed very roughly those aspects of the social organization of the Babemba in which culture contact seemed to have produced the maximum change. Among these were of course prominent such questions as the structure of the village community and the authority of headman and chief; the types of marriage contract, the divorce rates, and the position of women; the exercise of mutual legal obligations within the kinship group; the whole problem of economic value among the natives and the organization of their agricultural life. Under these headings I made a sort of sociological census in the different types of village I have already described. The material collected was of two different types:

(a) *Village questionnaires*. In each village I lived in or passed through, I collected facts as to the history of that particular group: the length of time it had existed as a unit and the number of years the people had remained on a given spot;¹ the method of appointment of the headman (whether hereditary or by the chief's nomination) and his relationship to those under him. The composition of the village was revealed by figures as to the number of males away, and the means by which their relatives were supported in their absence. In about ten of the villages where I stayed longest I took genealogies of every native, so as to get a thorough knowledge of the kinship structure of the group, both in an isolated village, and in one of the newer type where unrelated natives are living together for the sake of opportunities for wage-labour.

The relation of villagers to chief is also an important issue, and I therefore collected concrete instances of the amount of *mulasa* or tribute labour done for the chief each year, and the amount of dues in the form of beer, fish, meat, or millet paid to him. I stayed in thirteen chiefs' villages also, and in one case was able to get a clerk to record the amount of labour done for the Paramount Chief during a full year.

I made notes of the history and structure of the village unit² of the

¹ Of practical interest, since the shifting village is one of the great bugbears of the educationist. Cf. J. Merle Davis, *Modern Industry and the African*, Macmillan, 1933, Rec. 21, p. 380.

² Villages of the Babemba number on an average forty huts.

type described above in the case of forty-nine ordinary villages, seven European compounds for natives, and six villages within the township area of Kasama, where the most marked effects of European contact were noted. By examining the lists of villages in the territories of the four biggest chiefs I was also able to get notes on the appointment of headmen in the case of 318 villages which I did not visit, this list itself providing enough interesting, and sometimes sensational, examples of tribal usage to furnish an important anthropological document in its own right.

In the village notes I had also to include plans of houses and gardens, though these I completed in the case of only seventeen villages. To make such garden plans each owner was questioned, when possible, as to the exact procedure he had adopted in his garden during the previous years—the only way to investigate the native agricultural system and rather complicated method of rotation of crops.

(b) *Individual case-records.* To these village records I added as many individual case-histories as I could collect, all inquiries being focused on this problem of culture change. During my first expedition I had formed the habit of collecting notes of individual cases which had struck me as dramatic and interesting—cases of witchcraft, violent family quarrels, or sensational events which broke the even surface of village life. But these hundred or so cases, dramatic as many of them are, do not take the place of a systematic record of facts concerning each member of some given social group. The advantages of using some form of questionnaire are numerous. First of all, this method of questioning brings the anthropologist into individual contact with each member of a village for perhaps half an hour in the solitude of his or her own hut,¹ and the individuals interviewed are thus a representative collection and not merely a set of the most voluble informants who are only too ready to haunt the tent door. Invariably, too, one or other of them will turn out to be a man or woman with that particular descriptive gift that can catch the essence of some tribal custom in a vivid phrase. I tried to take down such sentences always, besides the bare outline of the sociological inquiry, and it never happened to me to make a village census of this sort

¹ As distinct from the more summary questions asked in the village notes described above.

without stumbling on some such illuminating or 'quotable' phrase, or indeed some new custom or kinship usage. Besides collecting facts, the anthropologist is all the time educating himself linguistically and otherwise and improving his own powers of interrogation.

Secondly, information collected on a regular form of this sort is, owing to the frailty of the observer, always more complete. I found in practice that I nearly doubled the information I had previously obtained by the mere pious resolution to 'ask as many people as I could'. The blank column stares at the anthropologist accusingly!

Thirdly, such information is obviously specially valuable if it is collected from the members of any one social group instead of a number of isolated individuals. For instance, though I find I have taken down the clans, maternal and paternal, of nearly a thousand natives, such information would be of little relevance unless the individuals questioned had been grouped into villages or areas, and thus the local grouping of clans could be investigated. It will be clear, in fact, that any set of village case-histories can be used in two ways—to give information about individual types, if the entries are read horizontally; and to throw light on the structure of the group by comparing the entries in any one column vertically. For instance, the marriage and divorce rates of one village could be compared with those of another in a different part of the area, or the customs of two different generations in a village could be compared by examining the histories of the old men with those of the middle-aged men and boys.

To make my meaning clearer I have given here a copy of one of the forms I used, although I must emphasize that this type of questionnaire could not be useful universally, nor did I always employ it myself.¹ It requires a good deal of experimentation in each area before the anthropologist can decide which problems can best be dealt with in this manner, for of course such collection of case-histories is only one part of field-work technique.

In the cases actually cited I have chosen men of three generations living near Kasama, a government station. It will be seen that Column 1 gives the name of the informant and any scraps of information as to

¹ The examples given have been necessarily abbreviated. The letters F and M stand for 'Father' and 'Mother' respectively: ♂ and ♀ for male and female child.

1. Name	2. Clan	3. Parents	4. History	5. Marriage	6. Children	7. Economic
<p>A. Shikulu Mulenga Funga Funga (Old man about 60. Brother to village headman.)</p>	<p>Elephant (M) Porridge (F) Gives local centre of each clan and traces lineage to original ancestress on M's side.</p>	<p>M formerly wife of chief, gave her to F because she bore him twins and therefore became tabooed to a member of the royal clan. F a courtier of chief; followed him in raid on Bisa country about 200 miles off; was left to hold district; returned to own country in old age when given village by new chief.</p>	<p>Born in Bisa country; went back to chief's court to be brought up by maternal uncle. Given wife by chief. Fled when latter died, and went to live with F among BaBisa. Returned later to succeed mat. uncle. Then lived with F on latter's return to a village of his own. Recently joined brother, now given a village near Kasama, 'to lick salt', i.e. be near white stores.</p>	<p>(a) Granddaughter of chief, who gave her to him, and paid for initiation ceremony. He was working for chief. Now dead. (b) Cross-cousin (F). Married her in Bisa country. Worked 4 years for m-in-l. and paid two bark cloths. Still living. (c) Wife inherited from mat. uncle. Now dead but succeeded by her sister (classificatory) whom he supports still. (d) Pat. niece of (a) given him by her in her old age (Mpo-keleshi). Divorced her for adultery.</p>	<p>(a) 3 ♂ (one in village), 1 ♀ (in village)—deserted by husband at mines. (b) 3 ♀ (2 in village with husbands; 1 at mines). (c) None by him. (d) 1 ♂ living with his mat. grand-mother.</p>	<p>Too old to pay tax. Makes a little by sale of baskets and beer. Bought a cloth last year this way, and received one from daughter at mines. Made gardens for b, c, and daughter with aid of sons-in-law.</p>
<p>B. Shichilufya Shilingi (About 40. Casual labourer in Kasama. Son of A.)</p>	<p>Mushroom (M) Elephant (F) First gives F's clan only because thinks this European custom. But shows he can trace lineage three generations back.</p>	<p>F is A (above) by first wife. Left behind with mat. grandmother when parents fled to Bisa country (cf. supra)—joined them later. Has just come to live with father here.</p>	<p>Went to live at Mpika as engaged to Messenger's daughter there. Went to Wankie to get money, but left after 3 months because bewitched. Walked to Broken Hill and worked 2 years there. Came back for 2 years. Left for Congo to get tax; as there 1 yr. and then walked to Nkana. Came back because wants to live in village with F now.</p>	<p>(a) Betrothed to small girl—gave 6d. and went to work 2 yrs. for f-in-l. Didn't come back to her after mines trip. (b) Married Kasama girl on first return. Paid f-i and worked for f-in-l. She ran away in his next absence and went down to mines. (c) Married a Mubamba in Congo. Gave 10s. She refused to come back with him, wanting to stay where there are clothes. (d) Returned to find widowed cross-cousin and married her; thinks she won't leave him because she is deserted herself and because she is a cross-cousin.</p>	<p>(a) None. (b) None. Thinks she 'slept with too many men'. (c) 1 ♀ sent to him to be brought up. (d) 2 ♀ by former husband.</p>	<p>Just returned from mines. Living on F and on new wife's granary. Made 7s 6d. last month and gave 4s 6d. to new wife. Has a bicycle.</p>
<p>C. Jackie Bitong. (Young, smartly dressed.)</p>	<p>Fish clan (F) Doesn't know M's clan. Laughs, and says hasn't seen her for ages.</p>	<p>F a cook in Kasama sacked for theft. In trouble in village too. Escapes to mines taking son then about 10 years old. M an Mporokoso woman (about 200 miles away) who went back to own family there. Says he will go to see her 'one day'.</p>	<p>F took him to mines, and women he lived with brought him up. Worked for a white woman. Turned on gramophone records. Tried mine work but found it 'too hard'. Caught for pilfering. Came home with friend who was returning and offered him shelter and a wife.</p>	<p>None (women say he is 'marrying all over the place').</p>	<p>None.</p>	<p>Living on food cooked by friend's mother and relative of his mother. Made 10s. last month by digging garden for woman who had money (a local prostitute). Spent it on clothes and beer. Will pay back friend and look for tax 'later on'. NOTE. Case of man doing woman's work and paid by her in money.</p>

his appearance or age which will enable the anthropologist to classify him as to type or generation. Column 2 gives the clan, and it is interesting to note that during my first visit I entirely missed many of the functions of the clan among the Babemba, and only stumbled on them by accident by this case-history method. In these three cases there is a clear contrast between the older and younger generation. It must be admitted that it was exceedingly rare to find a native like C who did not know his mother's clan, although the change in emphasis from matrilineal to patrilineal, as shown in B, was very pronounced. The informant's knowledge of and interest in his lineage was a useful indication to record in this column. Column 3 was designed to elicit facts as to the history of the generation now dead, the relation of the different generations to their parents, the change in the balance of power in the family as between father and maternal uncle, the methods of guardianship of children, etc. Case A shows typically the power of the chief to alter a man's destinies in the old days, to send him on journeys, find him wives, and bring up his sons at court. It is interesting to note the relatively speaking long journeys natives did before the coming of the white man, and the strength of family ties kept up over long distances.

Column 4 gives the salient facts of the individual's own history, particularly by way of comparison between the generations. As will be seen from the cases given, the middle-aged and young men were questioned about their journeys to various white centres of employment, their motives for going, and their opinions of conditions there, if they were willing to give them. Once a native had become confident in the course of such an interview, I was amazed at his lack of reticence as to past affairs. 'Why did you go down to the mines again?' I asked one man. 'Because I had murdered my wife with an axe', he replied, without a shadow of confusion. It was far more difficult to make him admit the amount of the marriage payment he had made the day before.

Column 5 gave interesting contrasts between the old and the new type of marriage both as regards choice of mate—infant betrothal, cross-cousin marriages, inheritance of wives (cf. Case A); the type of ceremony performed, varying from the full *cisungu*, or girl's initiation-ceremony rite of old days, to Christian marriage, or temporary liaison

for a trifling sum without ceremonial enactment. Matrilocal marriage with a period of service for the father-in-law (cf. Case A) and the payment of bark-cloths is rapidly changing to more or less patrilocal marriage with money payments, as the analysis of 800 cases of actual marriage payments showed.¹ All such information on marriage contracts was of course doubly checked, since the woman's answers could be compared with the man's.

Column 6 gave me a good deal of extraneous information about children's diseases and upbringing, but I have not much confidence in the accuracy of such figures from the point of view of vital statistics as to birth and infant mortality rates. Column 7 was difficult to fill in, since I was endeavouring to get some idea of native 'income', and to this end have listed at various times such items as the number of gardens, the number of relatives being supported, the contents of granaries, the amount of beer brewed each year for sale or consumption, and the methods by which tax was paid, or eluded. But I found it difficult to get valuable material, since the native could rarely be persuaded to describe his assets and liabilities with reference to any given time-interval, and I often found myself patiently inscribing debts or earnings which turned out to be pre-war. Besides which, the financial arrangements of any native who has lived in contact with Europeanism are such a complicated network of borrowing, pooling, and giving that a single column of a questionnaire would hardly render justice to them.

This, then, was one type of questionnaire which seemed to me a useful weapon in the study of culture change, and I have given it here merely as an example of method, not as a form that could be universally applied. Remains the question as to whether such case-histories can be used to furnish sociological statistics. I think personally only to a very small extent. It would obviously be possible, for instance, to extract from the information in Column 5 marriage and divorce rates as obtaining between two different generations and to express these statistically. But any one who has collected figures or attempted a census in an African village will understand my hesitation to express

¹ In the collection of these, as with many other branches of my work, I was much helped by Miss H. Eastland, Government Welfare Officer at Kasama at that time.

my results in this way. Such figures as are obtained are to be regarded as general indications rather than as accurate quantitative statements. Nor, on a special point, do I think the collection of vital statistics throughout a tribal area is a job which the anthropologist should undertake as well as his own sociological inquiries. He has neither the time nor the qualifications for such work. His aim, as I have tried to indicate, is to study a process of adaptation of one culture to another, or a rate of change, and it is this reason which leads him to collect case-histories. The student of a static society tries to get concrete documentation to support a general tribal rule. In a rapidly changing culture he is collecting exceptions.

In conclusion, therefore, in a tribal area such as that of the Babemba I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages:

(a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed.

(b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive—the method of geographical sampling, in fact.

(c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change.

I should not advocate any reversal of this order, since without the main outline of a tribal structure in your mind it would be a waste of time to collect concrete cases or examine actual problems. Nor is this work which could be successfully done by a novice, or even a new-comer in any one area. It needs a good knowledge of the language, and experience in dealing with each particular tribal type, as well as experimentation with the problems suitable for examination in this way. I would prophesy that the first sociological censuses undertaken by the anthropologist would be found to be completely worthless after a few weeks' further work. But it must be remembered that besides the collection of material for scientific purposes, a village census of this type is a quick and useful method of educating the observer, and if a government official or missionary could find a range

of inquiries which would not arouse the suspicion of the natives, a house-to-house visitation of this sort in even one community would probably furnish him with more anthropological material for thought and study than two or three years' mere residence in an area. The collection of life-histories of the boys or girls in a boarding school would be an interesting experiment of this sort too, and any such undertaking would provide a useful sphere of co-operation between the anthropologist and the 'practical man.'

AUDREY I. RICHARDS.

Résumé

MÉTHODES D'ÉTUDE DES CHANGEMENTS DANS LES SOCIÉTÉS INDIGÈNES

Cet article est le troisième d'une série consacrée à l'étude du problème posé par le contact des civilisations, c'est-à-dire qu'il s'occupe de l'étude des changements motivés dans la société indigène par le contact avec la civilisation blanche. Des difficultés d'ordre méthodique et pratique pour estimer ces changements ont été exposées dans différentes zones typiques en même temps que les solutions d'ordre expérimental adoptées par Dr. Mair dans l'Ouganda, le Prof. Schapera au Bechuana, Miss Monica Hunter parmi les Fingo et les Xosa.

Miss Richards décrit ce qu'elle a pu observer elle-même dans ce sens chez les Babemba de la Rhodésie du Nord-est en 1930-1, 1933-4; elle insiste sur le fait que là où le changement de civilisation a été rapide et récent, lorsqu'aucune fusion n'est intervenue entre les anciens et les nouveaux éléments, l'anthropologiste doit observer le phénomène d'évolution à une série de stades différents:

1° En reconstituant aussi bien que possible l'état de la société indigène avant l'arrivée des Européens d'après les renseignements fournis par les anciens de la tribu.

2° En étudiant plusieurs communautés exposées au contact européen à différents degrés.

3° En réunissant un nombre important de cas individuels permettant d'illustrer la nature et l'étendue des changements manifestés.