

THE VIKING FUND AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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THE VIKING FUND is the only foundation avowedly directed to the support and furtherance of anthropological endeavor. It must therefore be of concern and importance to the profession. Wisely directed, the Viking Fund's activities can be of enormous substantive aid as well as stimulative of the progress of anthropology. Misdirected, it could cause dissension and do damage.

The paragraphs that follow represent an effort to appraise the effect of the Viking Fund's ten years of operation on the condition and achievement of anthropology, as well as a working anthropologist can make such an appraisal. In certain ways, a biologist or economist or administrator might render a better judgment, through viewing the situation from outside and therefore with larger perspective. However, the reactions inside, from among those most affected, are also of significance even if they can hardly be formulated in complete detachment.

MEETINGS, CONFERENCES, SYMPOSIA

Most of us probably recall first of all the evening conferences at 14 East 71—the pleasant, informal gathering for supper, an invited paper prepared not as a task but for its significance, and then full discussion—and yet everyone home in bed betimes. Beginning in 1944-45 with a series of seven meetings to discuss fields of anthropology, there have been held 71 of these supper-conferences, to the end of 1950. The list of memorable contributions is a long one. Many a new idea was first presented here, or evolved in the stimulus of the evening's discussion. The list of speakers is mainly a roster of eminence. Those who have at one time or another been in attendance include most American anthropologists of distinction and many foreigners; those enabled by their location to attend more or less regularly are fortunate.

Also of unquestioned stimulative value intellectually are the conferences or symposia held at irregular intervals, each unique and on a subject of its own. Such have been the conferences on Early Man in 1946, on problems of Peruvian Antiquity and on Culture and Personality, both in 1947, on a Handbook for MesoAmerica, and the memorial meeting for Ruth Benedict, in 1948, and on the Social Anthropology of the Indians of Middle America in 1949. Each of these has brought forth, or will result in, a monograph memoir, recording the

papers presented and the discussion as it developed, that will be of permanent value. The writer has been privileged to be present at four of these symposia and found their quality high, their results more than worthwhile.

Summer Seminars in Physical Anthropology, each of two to four weeks duration, have been held regularly since 1946. The topics have been:

1946: Blood Groups; Parallelism in Races; Constitution; Basis of Measurements

1947: Primates; Fossil Man; Race; Constitution

1948: Growth and Evolution

1949: Status of Australopithecus; American Indians

1950: New Techniques

A most useful adjunct of these Seminars has been the Yearbooks of Physical Anthropology, republishing in readily accessible form important articles for 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949.

Viking quarters have also housed meetings of organizations, institutes, and committees as follows: Reorganization of the American Anthropological Association in 1945 and 1946; Society for Applied Anthropology, 1946; Seminars for Columbia Research in Contemporary Cultures, 1947 and after; Kay Laboratories Demonstration for Linguists, 1949; Institute of Ethnic Affairs, 1949; National Research Council Committee on Latin America, 1950.

The foregoing have all taken place at the Viking Fund building. Another series, of what might be called field symposia, has been held in Florida, Arizona, Nebraska, Mexico, South Africa, on problems of archaeology and antiquity of man.

Allied in nature—a sort of symposia in spirit though not of the flesh nor of spatial contact—are the multiple-author books planned, steered, and edited by Linton: *The Science of Man In the World Crisis, Most of the World*; and by Northrop: *Ideological Differences and World Order*.

Of outstanding importance as an event in intellectual history was the Viking Fund's bringing of the International Congress of Americanists to New York in 1949. This august body, eighty years old, with a record of twenty-eight sessions in three continents, had survived two World Wars but was badly shaken by the second. The 1939 session, concluded in Mexico only days before Hitler marched into Poland, had passed on the torch to Paris; by 1947 Paris was indeed able to rekindle it, though only flickeringly. Through the Viking Fund, the 1949 XXIX Congress was brought to New York, and proved to be the best attended and most important session yet held. It was also an index of

post-World War II recovery when sparked by pump-priming, supplied in this case by the Viking Fund. The result was an enrolled membership of seven hundred, the largest ever attained. The papers presented, at previous sessions contained in one or two volumes at most, will run this time to three and probably to four volumes, after all practicable condensation has been applied.

The total direct expenses of the Congress are almost equally divided between the printing of these Transactions and the holding of the Congress itself, but out of the appropriated cost of general maintenance, nearly a third has been devoted to providing for invited foreigners, and another fourth to entertainment, in which international visitors again figured heavily. Add to this the off-the-budget entertainment directly supplied by the Viking Fund and the series of its individual grants to visiting European and Latin American scholars for prolongation of visit, study, or travel in the United States, and it becomes clear that the Fund's functioning was in this case de facto closely in line with a "Point Four" program initiated and supported by itself.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Another sort of program developed also has many contributors and recipients, but in contrast to the last it bottlenecks down to a few executants. This is Carbon 14 Determination. This technique of calculating the age of ancient artifacts by the proportion of the radioactive isotope of their original carbon that remains in them, was first worked out in theory. The execution is by nuclear physicists, their samples are provided for them by archaeologists, the determinations go back to archaeologists for inter-coordination into consistent patterns of time and type. The research is accordingly strictly interdisciplinary, and of a kind in which the Viking Fund has had particular interest.

After more than two years of operations, a mass of findings are now in hand. These show some inconsistencies, but many more consistencies. The inconsistencies seem to be in part due to inadvertent selection of ambiguous specimen materials by the archaeologists, in part to errors or inaccuracies in the process of treatment. A glaring discrepancy from expectation has usually led to checking and isolation of the cause of error, on one or the other side. The next two or three hundred tests will undoubtedly average a considerably higher reliability than the first ones. Even at that it is already clear that certain previously inferred placements, especially in American prehistory, will have to be basically corrected or even inverted, whereas others are being confirmed and their substages discerned.

In short, Carbon 14 bids fair to give us a new time-scale for hitherto undatable events, with several advantages over dendrochronology. The Carbon 14 method can be applied equally in treeless and in solidly-forested areas, in climates of seasonal or of uniform precipitation. It is independent of the life habits of particular species of trees; nor do long cumulatively overlapping series of rings have to be piled up. The time-span coverable is much greater, its optimum reliability lying perhaps between one thousand and twenty thousand years back from the present. Carbon 14 thus is of value not only for human prehistory but for the recent end of geological history, concerning which dependence has previously been limited largely to varves and pollen analysis, on which data are much more rarely available. For example, the preliminary Carbon 14 datings seem to place the end of the last glaciation, and of artifacts like Folsom, nearer the present than had generally been assumed.

A similar technique, computing the age of bone from its chemical constituent proportions, is as yet less developed, but holds promise. Preliminary results have shown good consistency with archaeologically-estimated relative datings within the same district, but much less consistency as between districts. This experiment, conducted by chemical, physiological, and anthropological collaboration, has also had Viking Fund support.

EQUIPMENT

A special feature of Viking Fund activity, in fact a unique one, is its freely circulated loan equipment of apparatus and precision instruments, supplemented by laboratory facilities on its premises. The long list of apparatus provided includes research and stereo microscopes; scopelights and accessories; spectroscopic equipment; reflex, minicam, polaroid, aerial, and stereo cameras with accessories, and 16 mm. motion picture cameras; sound recorders—wire, tape, and disc; oscilloscopes; audio oscillators, amplifiers, voltage regulators; electrical testing equipment; portable microfilm cameras and readers; portable projectors and X-ray equipment; surveying instruments; and even camping equipment.

The use of this equipment has grown rapidly, evidencing the need it has filled once its availability was known. For instance, in a sample three months from August 1 to October 31, 1950, 68 individuals from 45 different institutions of learning made use of these facilities—in New York, elsewhere in the United States, or abroad. This is at the rate of 250 to 300 loans per year, or one per working day.

PUBLICATION

Some research foundations publish or provide for publication; others do everything but that. The Guggenheim Foundation, for instance, aims to put a scholar in a position to be productive, but assumes he is distinguished enough for his product to be issued somehow, institutionally or commercially. The Rockefeller Foundation has long made many grants of a type that provides for research exclusive of its printing, publication being thus put somewhat in the category of housing or building maintenance. The Viking Fund has been oriented in an opposite direction. It both publishes and supports publication. This attitude has been one of its greatest boons to anthropology, which is bound to be largely and first of all a descriptive science and therefore a voluminous one. Also, our profession has about doubled in membership in the past dozen years, and the printable output along with it, but publication facilities have remained more or less stationary, or have actually been reduced by mounting costs, except for the aid afforded by the Viking Fund.

First of all there has been the Fund's own *Publications in Anthropology*, a series now aggregating fifteen volumes, as high-grade in format and appearance as in quality of content. It has become an honor for an anthropologist to appear in this series.

Next there is Viking support given to established periodicals or series; and then, subsidies granted toward the cost of issue of particular monographs and of books.

Sixty grants made wholly for these several purposes have averaged as follows: \$3,550 per Viking Fund volume, \$2,450 each for blanket support to periodicals, \$950 for individual subsidies toward monographs, \$4,100 for book subsidies. The total, over \$150,000, represents only a part of what Viking has done in direct and indirect aid of publication. The total expended must be at least twice as great, and may lie between a third and a half million dollars. Many research grants include allowance for publication, and many an individual scholar bogged down with duties or time-consuming need of making his living has been given a lift by a grant "towards the preparation of a manuscript" for which he had assembled the data but lacked the leisure to organize and interpret them in a form ready for printing. It would be necessary to analyze in detail several hundred grants, for distribution of expenditures under them, in order to compute the exact total of indirect or buried subvention to publication by the Viking Fund.

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

Education looms large among the Viking Fund allocations. It includes, besides the direct publication subsidies already considered, two main channels: first, support of institutions, and second, fellowships. The former breaks down as follows: to established institutional libraries, 12 grants, \$18,000; to museums, for planning or toward realization of their aims, 7 grants, \$40,000; toward providing equipment for institutions, 7 grants, \$18,000; toward institutional maintenance, special or general, 23 grants, \$100,000. The last contains some items that apparently might be charged equally well to institutional equipment; my allocation has had to follow the literal wording of the grant classification.

FELLOWSHIPS, FORMAL AND INFORMAL

Fellowship support has taken three forms. One of these is lump grants to institutions such as the Escuela Nacional de Antropología in Mexico or the Yale Law School, for distribution in fellowships whether for study, research, travel, or exchange. A second pattern is that of direct awards to individuals, usually for pre-doctoral study. Up to 1949, roughly \$30,000 had been allocated to some twenty fellows, the norm being the liberal one of \$1,500, and fractions thereof for part-time. The third pattern has been through grants for research, either through a post-doctoral fellowship for study away from home, or by explicit or tacit inclusion of such a fellowship within a grant-in-aid. Thus in ethnology alone there have been 22 such fellowships given to those of the stature of Beals, Dodds, Dyk, Haring, Kirchhoff, de Laguna, White, Wittfogel, and Kimball Young. The number of full or part-time stipends included in research grants in ethnology may have been equally large, and would be ascertainable by inquiry into individual instances.

This unusual plasticity of classification and designation of grants by the Viking Fund has been of great advantage to research, and a genuine boon to recipients, especially to the more mature among them. One man may have a salary from his institution, but is in need of the cost of travel or research. The next one is receiving a reduced sabbatical salary which a post-doctoral Viking fellowship supplements so that he can settle down awhile away from routine to finish a book or problem. A third perhaps is in receipt of say a Guggenheim fellowship but wants to do exploration in South America, the expense of which the Guggenheim Foundation cannot provide, but a Viking Fund grant makes possible. All sorts of gradations of these situations and of various special combinations occur, but the Viking Fund policy has been to consider the man and the job, and if they seem good, to make an award that meets the situation, rather than worry about categories and the fit of cases to abstract rules.

VIKING FUND MEDALS

A highly distinctive feature is constituted by the Viking Fund Medals and associated awards, which, having now been made available five times, have become an institution. Each February three medals are awarded for outstanding achievement in general anthropology, in archaeology, and in physical anthropology. While the medals are presented at the Viking Fund's annual dinner meeting, the choices of scholars to receive the awards are made by the American Anthropological Association, the Society for American Archaeology, and the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. The selection is therefore by the profession; the Viking Fund serves as the underwriter and channel—a characteristic relation.

RESEARCH

Grants directly for research are so various as well as so numerous that they must be summarized in groups.

In Archaeology amounts of about \$50,000 each have been allotted for explorations in Mexico, in Peru, and in the rest of South America and the Caribbean; about half as much each, to work in the Southwest, in the Eastern United States, in Alaska; an intermediate figure for Old World pre-history, Palaeolithic and Neolithic; smaller amounts for other areas. Latin America has had the largest block; no accessible major region has been ignored.

Under Ethnology and Social Anthropology the subdivisions intergrade: namely, tribal, community, and topical ethnography; comparative, acculturational, and topical ethnology. Moreover, with prevalent concepts and methodology, General Anthropology and Theory and especially Culture-and-Personality can with difficulty be segregated from Ethnology. It will therefore be most practicable to characterize areally the work supported.

The breakdown is, including Culture-and-Personality:

<i>Area</i>	<i>Grants</i> (Thousands of Dollars)	<i>Projects</i> (Number)
Anglo-America, aboriginal - - - - -	75	40
Anglo-America, contemporary - - - - -	77	12
Latin-America, aboriginal and contemporary - - -	97	31
Europe - - - - -	24	7
Africa - - - - -	8	3
Asia - - - - -	62	23
Oceania - - - - -	26	7
Theory, Comparative, Non-areal - - - - -	52	17
Total, "Ethnology" - - - - -	421	140

This distribution of effort seems fairly concordant with the drifts of interest prevalent among American anthropologists during the past decade. In other words, the Viking Fund has conformed to the trend rather than attempted to set it. It will be noted that the largest block of projects still is concerned with native North America, but that the cost of these projects averages the lowest, being exceeded from 50 to 350 percent by the project cost in other fields. At least in part, this difference is due to more distant travel to other continents, and sometimes more equipment also. On the other hand, for studies of aspects of contemporary American civilization verging on the psychosociological, the greater cost is likely to be due to the mass approach needed for large societies instead of the individual attack of the ethnologist on primitive groups.

In Physical Anthropology, grants are classified as made for research respectively on Contemporary Man, on Human Palaeontology, in Related Medical Science, and in Primatology and General Biology. The number of awards in these four groups is respectively 26, 9, 12, 8, total 55; the grants aggregate about \$76,000, \$66,000, \$49,000, \$14,000. Recipients of the larger awards have been de Terra, Sheldon, Shapiro, Gusinde, Washburn, Hooton, Count, von Koenigswald, Wolfgang Köhler, Ashley Montagu, Cook and Heizer, Szent Györgyi.

The distribution by fields seems to be in conformity with current interests and activities in physical anthropology. In principle, it would seem that there ought to be more active concern with human genetics and with anthropoid and general primate behavior. But if anthropologists continue to fight shy of problems in these subjects, there is not much a foundation can do about the deficiency. Or might it revert to eighteenth century usages and offer a prize for the best memoir on a topic in these neglected fields to be presented within, say, three years?

Viking Fund undertakings in Linguistics shade off into folklore, and occasionally form parts of larger areal projects. They are therefore somewhat difficult to characterize, especially as their geographical scatter is wide. Most of the projects seem to lie in ethnolinguistics rather than in pure linguistics, as might be expected under an anthropological foundation. The appropriations total not far from \$40,000. The specifically-linguistic personnel involved are, in rough chronological order, Farfan, Sokol, Geary, Leslau, Holmer, Mark, Capell, Garvin, Liljeblad, Herskovits, Sebeok, Marsh, Haas, Graham, Dyen.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the Viking Fund as a foundation is characterized by being centrally oriented toward the single science of anthropology and by the ability

to cover all parts of this science effectively and in balance. It has in the main taken anthropology as it found it, and has supported and developed it, not trying to remodel it according to some pre-conceived idea or goal. It has accordingly maintained excellent rapport with the anthropological profession from core to margins. Moreover the Viking Fund has kept genuine contact with the profession—here lies perhaps the prime value of the supper meetings. This has held true for the United States, equally so for Mexico, and increasingly for Europe and South America. The Viking Fund outlook has thus been wholly free from any provincial nationalism.

The Fund's Board of Directors is small and has worked together since the beginning. The administrative staff has been kept small. Anthropology, though a growing profession, remains a smaller corps than most sciences. It is therefore possible for the Director of Research to know at one time or another almost all active members of the profession—to know them personally. This face-to-face relation in turn dispenses with much machinery, makes for prompt decision and action, and constitutes the sound basis for the unusually high proportion of individual grants-in-aid in the total activities supported by the Fund. Not that institutions are disregarded; they enter into practically every award as legal or moral sponsors. But the award is made primarily through or for an individual, or group of individuals, personally known to the Fund's Director of Research. Such a procedure would be impossible in an organization of the scope of the Rockefeller Foundation. It would scarcely work if applied to coverage of an array of different sciences. It would almost certainly not be successful with every Director of Research. But it has succeeded, and increasingly so, with the Viking Fund for ten years. It seems to have won the backing and respect of the science it serves; and it has deepened and intensified the production of that science.