"she was *very* Cambridge": Camilla Wedgwood and the history of women in British social anthropology

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> From 1924 on almost all the Oxford and Cambridge graduates who, for one reason or another, found themselves interested in "social anthropology" migrated to London to sit at the feet of Bronislaw Malinowski. . . . I find it significant that three of these individuals, Wedgwood, Richards and Bateson, belonged to the "intellectual aristocracy" and that two of them were women [Leach 1984:8].

"Camilla had that Wedgwood jaw and broad features. She was *very* Cambridge; that was her natural milieu. She took me punting on the Cam, and was better at it than I was, having grown up doing that sort of thing. She had a very clear, distinct, upper-class speaking voice. And she was one of the most generous people I have ever known." These were some of the outstanding characteristics Raymond Firth remembered about the British anthropologist Camilla Wedgwood (1901–55) when I asked him for a description of her. Firth had known Camilla for many years both as a colleague and friend in England and in Australia.

As Firth implies, and Leach makes explicit, Camilla Wedgwood was a member of an elite segment of British society—a social class sometimes referred to as the "intellectual aristocracy" (Annan 1955)—who for many generations were educated at and provided the scholars and professors for Cambridge and Oxford universities. As Leach (1984:3) has recently pointed out, very few of the leading characters in the early development of British social anthropology were born in the British Isles and even fewer of them belonged to the upper- or upper-middle class (a fact he uses to explain why anthropology failed to take hold as an academic discipline at these universities). Given her background, why would Wedgwood have been attracted to a subject like anthropology, a new and not highly regarded discipline at Cambridge when she was a student there during the early 1920s?

During the 1920s and 1930s British social anthropology was a very small and inbred discipline. As late as 1939 there were only about 20 professional social anthropologists throughout the British Commonwealth (Kuper 1973:90).[1] Like Wedgwood, most of them had studied at some point with Malinowski at the London School of Economics. A large proportion of this early group were women. In addition to Wedgwood, during the second half of the 1920s and the early 1930s, the other women who attended Malinowski's seminar included Audrey Richards, Hortense Powdermaker, Monica Hunter (Wilson), Hilda Beemer (Kuper), Lucy Mair, Edith Clarke, Rosemary Firth, and Elizabeth Brown.[2] Leach singles out Wedgwood and Richards (along with Bateson) from the group on the basis of their class background, and considers their "Englishness" a significant factor in determining what kind of anthropologist they became. However, as the following discussion of Wedgwood's career will show, it was a particular combination of social class *and* gender that played the determining role in these women's careers and in the type of work they undertook.

I never met Camilla Wedgwood, but when I decided to go to Manam Island in Papua New Guinea to do fieldwork in the village where she had originally carried out ethnographic research in 1933 (Lutkehaus 1982, 1985), I wanted to know something about the anthropologist who had preceded me. Since I had arranged to have access to Wedgwood's unpublished fieldnotes at the University of Sydney as background to my own research, I also wanted to learn as much as I could about her theoretical and methodological training in anthropology and her interest in Manam society.[3] As another young female beginning a career as an anthropologist, I was also curious to know why she had been attracted to anthropology and to understand why her career had taken the particular course it did.

Camilla Wedgwood majored in anthropology as an undergraduate and attended Malinowski's graduate seminar at L.S.E., but she never got a doctorate in anthropology. After completing her fieldwork on Manam Island, she published several articles about Manam (Wedgwood 1933, 1937a, 1937b, 1957) and Melanesian society (Wedgwood and Hogbin 1953), but she never published a monograph based on her Manam data nor wrote a doctoral thesis. Her Manam research and writing focused on the lives of females, but she was adamant about her dislike of feminism. She said that she would like to have married and had a family; instead she became wedded to a career and personal life centered on academic institutions. Affiliated with the University of Sydney in several different positions that allowed her to teach anthropology, she never held a permanent academic position there. It appears that later in her life she would have liked to return to England to work; from 1934 until her untimely death from cancer at the age of 54, however, she remained in Australia.

Wedgwood's career can be roughly divided into three phases, the period during which she was trained as an academic anthropologist and engaged in fieldwork (1920–34); the period when she was an academic administrator, serving as Principal of the Women's College at Sydney University (1935–44); and a final period during which she was engaged in various capacities as an applied anthropologist (1944–55), as teacher and researcher.

I have chosen to highlight some aspects of her career that speak to a confluence of certain themes in her personal life and her professional work. Foremost among these are her early interest in the study of kinship and her lifelong commitment to the education of women. These two areas were important to her whether she was dealing with simple societies, such as Manam, or her own.

the "intellectual aristocracy"

> the daughters were educated as well as the sons: and if they remained spinsters, they had the ability to teach or do social work at which the girls of the upper classes were so often ineffectual [Annan 1955:251].

According to the British social historian Noel Annan, beginning in the early 19th century many children of the members of a small group of middle- and upper-middle-class families in England became scholars and teachers. By the end of the 19th century the faculties of Cambridge and Oxford were dominated by these individuals who had become in essence Britain's "intellectual aristocracy" (Annan 1955:253). Traditionally, members of this English intelligentsia, whose roots were among the religious dissenters and radical innovators of the 18th and 19th centuries, had been outspoken in their criticism of the English ruling class and noted for their independence of thought.

Camilla Wedgwood's forebears were early members of this segment of society. Camilla was a descendant of Josiah Wedgwood, who, in the 18th century, had established the famous Wedgwood pottery works at Etruria, in Staffordshire. Unlike the English aristocracy, the Wedgwoods and others of their class did not derive their wealth from land, but from industry. Wedgwood became a close friend of the physician Erasmus Darwin, as they shared an interest in

science and were both founding members of the Lunar Club, a scientific society in Birmingham. Darwin's son Robert married Wedgwood's daughter Susannah, a union that was the first of many between the two families in succeeding generations (see Figure 1).

As part of their faith in the power of education to improve society as a whole and to enrich individual lives, members of this intelligentsia also believed in the importance of education for women. Among the first in England to encourage the establishment of institutions of higher learning for women (McWilliams-Tullberg 1975), they often encouraged their daughters to learn a profession. Many Wedgwood women were intellectuals. Camilla's great-aunt, Julia (Snow) Wedgwood (1833–1913), an author and literary critic (J. Wedgwood 1909), was once courted by the poet Robert Browning (Curle 1937). Like her friend Florence Nightingale, she had renounced marriage in exchange for a commitment to what she felt was a higher, more profound calling, literature and writing (Wedgwood and Wedgwood 1980:258). Her younger cousin, Dame Cicely Veronica Wedgwood, Ralph Wedgwood's daughter, became a well-known British historian. And Camilla's mother, Ethel Bowen, coauthored a book with her husband, *The Road to Freedom* (1913), about land and tax reform, and also engaged in her own intellectual projects, such as the translation into English of the work of the French author Jean de Joinville—whose memoir of Louis IX provided a detailed description of life in feudal France in the 13th century.

Ethel Bowen and Josiah Wedgwood IV: "the last of the radicals"

> He [Josiah Wedgwood] believed in the equality of the sexes, but, since most of the women of his family enjoyed robust health and astonishing vigour, he never really understood why a woman should not rear seven or eight children and do public work as well. Ethel had done so; and so, to his great pleasure, did his eldest daughter, Helen [C. V. Wedgwood 1951:224].

Camilla was the third daughter and the fifth of seven children born to Ethel and Josiah Clement Wedgwood IV. Josiah was in South Africa fighting for the British in the Boer War when Camilla was born in 1901. Had she been a boy, she would have been named Victor, but "humanity forbids 'Boadicea'," wrote her mother, so they decided on Camilla, "after the warrior maiden of the *Aeneid*" (C. V. Wedgwood 1951:55).

Camilla's mother, the Honourable Ethel Bowen before her marriage, was the daughter of Lord Charles Bowen, at one time the Lord Chief Justice of England. She had been raised to be perfectly at ease conducting intelligent conversation when she happened to find Gladstone and the Archbishop of Canterbury guests at her father's dinner table (C. V. Wedgwood 1951:46). Before they were married, Ethel and Josiah had become involved with the socialist Fabian Society and attended lectures given by Shaw, the Webbs, and Graham Wallas. Ethel, whom her eldest daughter described as "a terrifying and awesome woman who was highly intelligent, and very cold" (Helen Pease, personal communication) was also "passionately dedicated to living her life according to her own set of socialist and moral principles" (C. V. Wedgwood 1951:47).

But Camilla hardly knew her. She left her husband and five eldest children when Camilla was 12 years old, telling her husband only that "to live with a man whom you have ceased to love was prostitution" (C. V. Wedgwood 1951:97). She thus left his house with her two youngest daughters and went to live in Switzerland. Camilla saw little of her for the remainder of her life. Her father, however, remained an important influence. During the years that she lived away from England she maintained a close relationship with him, as the two of them corresponded frequently.

Josiah Wedgwood became the member for parliament for Newcastle-on-Tyne, running as a candidate of the Liberal Party in 1906. He continued to represent this constituency for the next 35 years. His socialist heritage and independent thinking made him see himself a champion of the poor and an advocate of the causes of the underdog. As he wrote to Camilla, in regard to

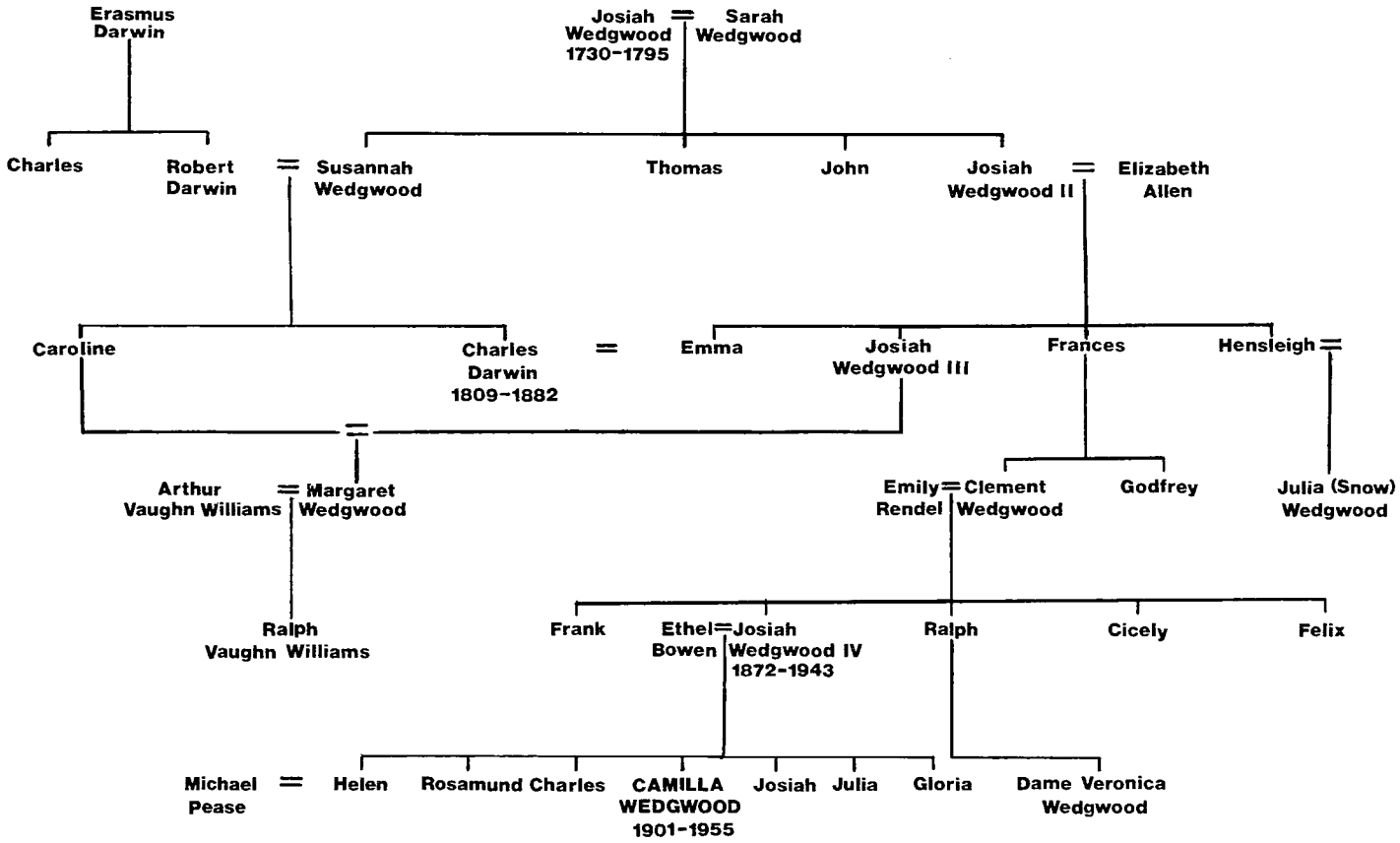

Figure 1. Schematic genealogy of the Darwin and Wedgwood families.

his position on the establishment of the state of Palestine, "God is on the side of the big battalions, but Wedgwoods stand by those who are down" (C. V. Wedgwood 1951:218).[4] It was this attitude, this sense that he was willing to "fight the good fight," and a late-Victorian belief in human perfectibility through education that he seems to have instilled in Camilla.

An interest in the history of the Wedgwood family and the local history of the Staffordshire region led Josiah to write books on the subjects of Wedgwood family genealogies (1908), the development of the pottery industry in Staffordshire (1947 [1913]), and a history of the Members of Parliament from Staffordshire.

According to his niece, the historian Veronica Wedgwood, Josiah's attitude toward women was that they were the equal of men. Family life was important to him and he was pleased when his daughter Helen married the son of the Secretary of the Fabian Society, Edward Pease, raised a family, and became one of the first women barristers in England (C. V. Wedgwood 1951:224). (It should perhaps be added that not only was good health necessary for women to both raise a family and to work, but also the support of domestic help—maids and nannies and cooks—part of the accoutrements of an upper-middle-class household in Edwardian England.)

Camilla was raised primarily by her second eldest sister, Rosamund (her eldest sister, Helen, was already away attending Cambridge), and by her father. She grew up surrounded by female siblings who were each in their own manner oriented toward politics and public events (Rosamund eventually married a Hungarian radical she had met in London and went to live with him in Hungary). She also grew up with the notion that it was natural for females to study and to use their minds, that women could be mothers and raise a family and yet still expect to take an active role in the affairs of the world. It must therefore have seemed perfectly normal to Camilla that she would go to university and, moreover, that it would be Cambridge. Her elder sister had attended school there, and although her father had not—he was trained as a naval architect—many other Wedgwood and Darwin relatives had. As Firth said, it was her "natural milieu."

Cambridge years: Newnham College (1920–26)

> We didn't take much interest in the men and they were certainly terrified of us. If you wanted to be a social success you concealed the fact that you came from Girton or Newnham [Alliston Quiggin, Newnham 1899, in Phillips 1979:45–46].

> After the war, when the University was crowded with returning soldiers, women were of course resented. As they walked down the steps of the big lecture theatres to their places in the front row, every man behind them clumped and stamped in time with their steps [Audrey Richards, Newnham 1919, in Phillips 1979:133].

Camilla Wedgwood's training in social anthropology formally began with her undergraduate years at Cambridge, where she was a student at Newnham College from 1920 to 1926.[5] Newnham had officially opened as a college to 30 females in 1875, amidst much resistance from male students, faculty, and the university administration (cf. McWilliams-Tullberg 1975; Woolf 1929).[6] When in 1897 a motion was put before the university proposing that women should be admitted to degree titles, the motion was soundly defeated at Senate House. The "jubilant undergraduates," who had been anxiously awaiting the decision, "rushed pellmell to Newnham College and attacked the closed College gates," heady with relief and pleasure at their fresh victory (Oosthuizen 1983:6). A similar wave of near-violence erupted at the Newnham gates in 1920 when the same motion was again defeated. But the times had changed significantly between 1897 and 1920, and the matter was not so quickly dropped the second time. During Wedgwood's third year at Newnham, women were finally allowed to attend lectures at Cambridge—not as a privilege extended to them, but by their right as students at the university—and were granted the titles of their degrees, this latter even though they had been taking

the same degree examinations ("tripos") as male students since the establishment of the college. However, they were still not given membership in the university (McWilliams-Tullberg 1975:13; Oosthuizen 1983:6).

Newnham was not the only institution at Cambridge to offer a college education to women. Girton College for women had also been established, by Emily Davies, a feminist and champion of women's higher education, a few years before Newnham (Forster 1985; McWilliams-Tullberg 1975). During this same period two women's colleges, Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall, were also established at Oxford (McWilliams-Tullberg 1975:108). It is interesting to note that during the early decades of the development of social anthropology in England, Newnham—rather than these other three women's colleges—produced the largest number of women who went on to become anthropologists. In addition to Camilla Wedgwood, the graduates of Newnham included Winifred Hoernle, Audrey Richards, Lucy Mair, and Monica Hunter Wilson.[7] It is not readily apparent why this was so. One reason might have been the presence of the classics scholar, Jane Harrison, who taught at Newnham during the 1920s. Her work on Greek ritual was influenced by ideas from anthropology and continental sociology, in particular the work of Durkheim. Perhaps as important was the fact that Girton had a more religious orientation than Newnham. In founding Girton, Emily Davies chose, as strategy more than by conviction, to ally her college with the Church of England, whereas Newnham remained nondenominational (McWilliams-Tullberg 1975:46; Forster 1985). Different types of students were most likely attracted to the two colleges, those with nondenominational, non-Christian, or agnostic religious views preferring Newnham. Such women may also have been more likely to be attracted to an iconoclastic discipline such as anthropology.[8]

As the quote from Audrey Richards indicates, it was in an atmosphere of barely suppressed male hostility and resentment toward female students that Camilla began her undergraduate years at Cambridge. Men looked upon women students with great suspicion. As a result, Newnham was very much its own small closed community (there was not much interaction between the two women's colleges either) with an atmosphere that students felt was both emotionally supportive and intellectually stimulating. Female dons such as Jane Harrison provided models of women who led full lives as scholars and, as Richards recounts, "the man business did not loom so much in our lives as people think. Many of us had the sense that we were a special dedicated group who would not marry because we had more exciting things to do. There was even a sense that a girl who got engaged was almost letting the side down" (Phillips 1979:133). Not only were Newnham women independent of men in their pursuit of matters of the mind, but, like their male counterparts at the university, they loved the river Cam and learned to navigate it on their own: "There was a cult of expert punting, canoeing and rowing," Richards recalled, "and one had to pass tests in these before going on the river at all" (1979:134).

In 1922 Camilla took the tripos exams in English, receiving a First. In 1923 she was awarded an Arthur Hugh Clough Scholarship at Newnham and went on to study anthropology. Of her cohort at Newnham who later became anthropologists (Audrey Richards and Lucy Mair), Wedgwood was the only one to take an undergraduate degree in social anthropology.[9]

What might have led Camilla Wedgwood to choose to major in anthropology, a subject few students were interested in at Cambridge, especially women? As Leach (1984:3) has pointed out, the "vacuous" conservatism and puritan values characteristic of Cambridge in the 1920s led most dons to look askance at a discipline that took as its focus of study the customs of "backward" peoples—as non-Western societies were sometimes referred to at Cambridge at this time (cf. Urry 1985:414).[10] For Gregory Bateson, whose intellectual and social background was the same as Wedgwood's, the decision to study anthropology rather than zoology was a conscious assertion of his intellectual—and emotional—independence from his father, a renowned Cambridge biologist, and represented a choice between "impersonal science" and a more "personal" subject of study (Lipset 1982:115). I have no indication that the choice of career represented a similar act of rebellion for Wedgwood, nor that she ever explicitly stated

that she was choosing an academic career for herself. The facts are that she remained at Cambridge for the next 3 years, took the Anthropology Tripos in 1924 (see Appendix II)—she was the only individual that year to receive a First in the exam—and eventually received an M.A. in anthropology in 1927.[11] These facts imply that Wedgwood was sufficiently self-confident, independent in her thinking, and intellectually motivated by what she had learned at Cambridge to continue her studies in the subject. Self-confidence and independence of thought were certainly characteristics acquired from her parents and family background.

Although she later came into direct contact with the two leading figures in British social anthropology during the 1920s and 1930s, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, her initial introduction to anthropology was through A. C. Haddon and W. E. Armstrong, a student of W. H. R. Rivers, and perhaps with Rivers himself, who was still teaching a course in social anthropology when Camilla first arrived at Cambridge.[12] Leach notes that she had been "a disciple of Rivers and had become fascinated in the kin term systems of Melanesia" (1984:8). Firth, too, has characterized her as a student of Rivers, confirming that she became an expert in Western Melanesian systems of kinship. She had worked out detailed diagrams of various of these systems and seems to have been intrigued by the abstract "algebra" of the formal kinship structures (Raymond Firth, personal communication).

This interest in the study of kinship systems was one that remained important to her throughout her career. Several years after she left Cambridge she wrote a lengthy paper in which she analyzed the structure and development of the English kinship system. She wrote to Haddon:

> I got myself side-tracked into writing an article on the English kinship system, which served the (to me) very useful purpose of opening my eyes to a number of general kinship problems which I had not recognized before and which, so far as I know, no anthropologist has yet brought to view . . . (I must find out more about the legal position of members of a family towards one another) and heaven alone knows how it is ever to be published, but now that it is clear in my own mind I can let it simmer for awhile . . . [12 August 1931].

The paper never was published, but according to Hogbin, it was an exceptionally interesting study. She had drawn on her extensive knowledge of early Anglo-Saxon literature in order to trace the development of the English kinship system "through the ages . . . going back to the old sagas" (Hogbin 1955:112). Given her father's interest in genealogy and local history, as well as his youthful infatuation with far-off places such as rural South Africa, it is not so surprising that Camilla would become engaged with anthropology through the topics of social organization and kinship.

Wedgwood studied with Armstrong and was influenced by his ideas to some degree; for example, she wrote an entry for the Encyclopedia Britannica on cousin marriage (Wedgwood 1929) that reflects the developmental approach to social forms and marriage systems taught by Armstrong (Urry 1985:421). Haddon, however, being the elder and more established of the two, was the key figure as mentor and guide at this stage of her career. Alfred Cort Haddon, according to his granddaughter, was known for his progressive ideas about women's education and had encouraged his daughters to pursue their own education. One of them, Kathleen, trained as a zoologist, accompanied him on his second expedition to the Torres Straits, where she served as the expedition's unofficial photographer and was also the first female to be hired as a lecturer at Cambridge (Margaret Rishbeth, personal communication). Haddon may have been respectful of intelligent women, encouraging and helping them to further their education, but he was also astute in using them to assist him with his various projects. Besides enlisting his daughter Kathleen in his own research, Alliston Quiggen, qualified to teach anthropology herself, worked for many years as his secretary. Recognizing Wedgwood's commitment to anthropology, and the limited possibilities then available for women to teach, Haddon arranged for her to work as his research assistant measuring skulls and writing labels for artifacts at the university's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Leach implies that this was primarily due to Haddon's chauvinism, such work being deemed "appropriate to her female status" (1984:8). The situation, however, was more complicated than Leach's statement would imply.

Haddon's daughter Kathleen also ended up working in the museum rather than continuing to teach. This was often the case for women with scientific training at this time, both in England and the United States, where it was difficult for them to get teaching appointments at coeducational universities (Rossiter 1982:58–59).[13]

Haddon, struggling to keep anthropology a viable discipline at Cambridge, did try to get Camilla a university appointment to teach cultural anthropology. It was one of three positions in anthropology he proposed to the Cambridge Syndicates. Although the other two positions were eventually granted—and filled by men (one in social anthropology, the other in prehistory)—the third never materialized (Ebin and Swallow 1984:23; Urry 1985:414), a fact that is perhaps not surprising, given the double strike Wedgwood had against her—being female and teaching a subject considered by the university to be of little value.

Since Cambridge had become a dead end as far as a teaching career was concerned, at the age of 26, with her Cambridge M.A. in hand, Camilla took up a position teaching anthropology in the social science department of Bedford College, London, the women's school she had attended before Cambridge. This position was also consistent with the employment pattern for female scholars of the time, since, of course, they were most likely to get academic positions in women's educational institutions.

anthropology in the antipodes

WOMEN WHO ARE DOING WORTH-WHILE JOBS

> Miss Wedgwood is at the moment interested in the simple cultures of the people of Papua, New Guinea and the melanesian islands. A knowledge of the first two, she thinks, is particularly important for Australia, since it is Australia who is now responsible for the good management of these regions. It is interesting to note that cadets from the mandated territory of New Guinea, as well as the ordinary student, attend her lectures. A course of special lectures has also been arranged which have been attended by the Methodist missionaries and some of the magistrates of Papua [*The Sydney Mail*, 2 October 1929].

Over the course of the next five years Wedgwood was employed teaching anthropology, but to do so she traveled across the world, first to Australia (1928–29), where she had a temporary position in the newly established Department of Anthropology at the University of Sydney (see Figure 2) headed by Radcliffe-Brown,[14] and in 1930, to South Africa, where she taught in Radcliffe-Brown's former department at the University of Cape Town.[15] Neither position was permanent. But in Australia and South Africa she discovered how much she enjoyed teaching and she was eager to have an academic appointment somewhere. As she told Haddon,

> You see teaching is with me rather a passion and thanks to my parentage, I have rather a flair for it. The most glorious sensation I know is to see a rather bored class sit up and get interested. So I must do something to get myself in the running again, which unfortunately means producing something under my own name [11 August 1931].

But in 1931 she returned to London without a teaching job. Instead she had the tenuous offer of yet another temporary position: research assistant to Malinowski. She was ambivalent about the assistantship, although she wrote to Haddon "as I don't seem able to get a job in this country I have become temporary research assistant to Malinowski. It is an excellent education and brings in a little grist to the financial mill, which is always welcome in these uncertain times" (11 August 1931).

Malinowski and "the Mandarins": London School of Economics (1931–32)

> It is on record that Wedgwood was considered to be one of the liveliest members of Malinowski's seminar . . . After graduation Haddon gave her work appropriate to her female status; she was employed in measuring skulls and writing labels for museum artifacts! In London she was treated as a human being [Leach 1984:8].

Figure 2. Camilla Wedgwood, Ian Hogbin, and an unknown colleague at Sydney University.

In contrast to Cambridge and Oxford, the London School of Economics was a newcomer, an institution founded by the Webbs and other Fabians to promulgate their socialist theories and ideals. It was here, rather than at the older and more prestigious Oxbridge universities, that anthropology first began to flourish as an academic discipline in the 1920s. This was due in large part, of course, to the presence of Bronislaw Malinowski, who began to teach at L.S.E. in 1924.[16]

Like Malinowski himself, the majority of the students in his seminar at L.S.E. were "foreigners," from places such as Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Despite her English upper-middle-class affiliation with Cambridge, Wedgwood, with her family's close connections with the Fabians, must have felt no less at home at L.S.E. than she had at Cambridge. And, as Leach's comment above implies, in contrast to the stagnant anthropological environment at Cambridge, involvement in Malinowski's seminar in 1931–32, when he was at the height of his career, must have been an intellectually invigorating experience.

Moreover, in addition to his reputation as something of a gallant and flirt with women (Powdermaker 1966:35), Malinowski was also known to have taken his female students seriously as intellectuals and scholars. As his daughter, Helena Wayne, has pointed out, women in England at this time "were not really accepted in academic life, it was still cranky to go to university, and the middle-class woman was expected to be cultured but not really efficient at anything. As Audrey [Richards] put it, there was a horror of the clever woman" (1985a:537). Malinowski, however, did not have this attitude and his female students were able to develop intellectually in a supportive atmosphere where, if they were serious about their work, they were taken seriously.[17] In fact, although he had both men and women as his research assistants, Malinowski seems to have gotten along better with women and to have preferred having them as his assistants. Women acted as the seminar "secretaries," and recorded the topics discussed, but "the Mandarins"—as Malinowski referred to the seminar participants who dominated the discussion—were all men.[18]

While she worked as Malinowski's research assistant and attended his seminar, Wedgwood finally began her own preparations for the field. Her notebooks from this period contain information about research methodology and practical advice about what to take into the field and how to record data (Wedgwood 1933–34). Malinowski was also supportive of her later when she was in the field, writing her encouraging letters and offering to help her with the publication of her field data.

By 1931 Raymond Firth and others who had worked in the Pacific were no longer members of Malinowski's seminar. As Wedgwood's comments to Margaret Mead reveal, she eventually grew dissatisfied with the seminar's now predominantly African focus:

> From London there is no news of interest I think; everything . . . is orientated to Africa, *lobola* is the battle-cry and cattle are a medium not only of exchange but you might almost say of thought! Periodically I would try to remind them of a place called the Pacific, and murmur "pigs" or "yams", but they always returned to their Gold Coast or their kraals . . . what I want now are some pigs, slit gongs and decent, respectable club-houses [men's houses/*haus tambaran*] [14 November 1932].

The atmosphere of the seminar must have convinced Wedgwood of the necessity to go to the field—something she had long been ambivalent about—in order to produce something "under her own name." Before she finally set off for the Pacific, however, she found herself wrestling with the onerous task of completing the production of something under someone else's name.

"Alice in Wonderland": editing Deacon's fieldnotes

> I have already given you my opinion that Layard is *not* a suitable editor and have ventured to suggest Miss Wedgwood. A woman often does such work better than a man and Miss Wedgwood impresses me as being capable [Radcliffe-Brown to Haddon: 25 May 1927].[19]

In 1934 Bernard Deacon's ethnography of the New Hebrides, *Malekula,* was published posthumously. The aspiring young anthropologist—called brilliant by his Cambridge mentors, Haddon and Armstrong—had died suddenly in 1927, just before he was to have left the field (Gardiner 1984; Langham 1981:212). Haddon decided to follow Radcliffe-Brown's suggestion and asked Wedgwood to edit Deacon's fieldnotes for publication, a project that took her the next five years. At one point she wrote to Armstrong saying that the complexity of the task was "turning my hair grey . . . I suppose I shall eventually reduce it to an intelligible form, but at present I feel rather like Alice in Wonderland" (Gardiner 1984:xvii).

Langham, in his discussion of the development of social anthropology at Cambridge, has implied that Wedgwood assumed this thankless task because she had been an "ardent admirer" of Deacon (1981:238) as well as a devoted pupil of Haddon's. That Camilla took on the project as an act of duty rather than a "labor of love" is evident from Radcliffe-Brown's letter and Wedgwood's expression of frustration and weariness with the project. She wrote to Had-

don saying that "the more I think of it, the more gloomy I become about it. The whole thing is so dead—it seems impossible to make the people and their culture seem alive, for there is absolutely no information about their daily lives" (12 August 1931).[20]

At another point Wedgwood conveyed to Haddon the dispair she felt at the amount of time the project had taken away from her own work. "I cannot let my own thesis go," she wrote, "for I must do something for my own reputation, or I shall never get another job. My anthropological juniors are all passing me in the race, which not only makes me feel a little sore, but also a little anxious" (12 August 1931). When Wedgwood did finally go to the field herself, she benefited from having the Malekula data as a basis for comparing what she learned about Manam. She also published an article about secret societies (1930), a type of institution that was abundant and quite diverse in the New Hebrides, based on what she had learned from Deacon's data. But, according to Hogbin, who knew Camilla for many years as a colleague at the University of Sydney, "the editing of Deacon's papers, all unsorted and undated, had proved so onerous that she hesitated to begin the large-scale presentation of her own results" (1955:111). It is difficult to attribute Wedgwood's failure to write up her own field data solely, or even primarily, to this experience, since working with her own material would surely have been much easier than deciphering and ordering Deacon's notes.

"women in Manam": New Guinea fieldwork (1933–34)

> Firth and I yarned about Camilla's work and decided that Manam Island off Potsdamhaven would be the best place . . . As you know [New Guinea] is awkward for a girl working alone and even in Rabaul there are risks from male natives. There is also a strong feeling about white women being alone in villages [E. W. P. Chinnery to Haddon: 30 October 1932].

In 1932 Camilla Wedgwood received a fellowship from the Australian National Research Council to carry out fieldwork on culture contact in Melanesia. As Chinnery's comments (1982) make clear, he and other Europeans in New Guinea did not welcome the idea of a single woman coming out to do fieldwork on her own. This was a period in the history of New Guinea in which the fear among whites of sexual assault to females was at its height (see Inglis 1975). Sir Hubert Murray had recently put into effect the now infamous White Woman's Protection Ordinance (1926)—a harsh and discriminatory law instituted with little concrete evidence that white women were actually in danger of sexual assault. But Chinnery, voicing the prevalent attitude among men—and women—of his time, wrote Haddon that,

> if any more lady anthropologists are thinking of coming out here you had better suggest that they bring a husband with them. I know of no place where a woman can work without fear of molestation from the natives [25 June 1929].

Wedgwood had no trouble while she was in New Guinea (nor do I know of any incidents of assault occurring to any other female anthropologist who worked there during this time).

> A GIRL'S YEAR WITH PRIMITIVE NATIVES
>
> Miss Camilla Wedgwood, daughter of Colonel J. C. Wedgwood, M. P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme, has set sail from Sydney to spend a year on the little-known volcanic island of Manam, off the coast of New Guinea.
>
> A shot-gun, a mosquito net, and a can for preserving small animals are her chief baggage.
>
> Miss Wedgwood, who is a graduate of Cambridge University and was on the staff of Sydney University for three years is making the journey on behalf of the Australian National Research Council, in order to study the effect which contact with Europeans has on the primitive natives of the island. Miss Wedgwood took a first class in the Anthropological Tripos at Cambridge and was afterwards assistant in anthropology to Professor Malinowski at London University.
>
> "There will be none of the movie adventuress about me", she told a reporter. "I shall not be seen stalking through the jungle with a gun over my shoulder, wearing riding breeches. If I can I shall stay in cotton dresses."
>
> I hope to live a normal life, but my movements will depend on the demeanour of the natives" [*News Chronicle of London:* 19 December 1932].

Wedgwood had originally intended to work in Siuai on Bougainville Island. Due to fighting there between Catholic and Methodist converts, Chinnery, the official Government Anthropologist in New Guinea, decided it would not be safe for her there and proposed Manam Island instead. Wedgwood, writing to Margaret Mead about the change in plans, added, "not being by nature in any way adventurous, I am not exactly looking forward to my stay" (14 November 1932). Loneliness seemed to be a far more serious problem than the possibility of sexual assault.[21] Once on Manam, she began to enjoy being there and even mounted a small expedition to climb to the crater of the island's still-active volcano, although in her characteristically deprecatory manner she bemoaned the fact that she was making such slow progress—"I am heartily ashamed of it," she wrote to Haddon, "for I have been here for nearly five weeks now and I know hardly anything of the language which any other person would have learnt in three weeks" (27 February 1933).

In her letters to her mentors, Haddon and Malinowski, she wrote that she was initially "keeping to the position of being a woman, principally interested in woman's things. I don't want to poke my nose into men's affairs until my position here is much more firmly established" (Wedgwood to Haddon: 21 March 1933). Throughout the duration of her fieldwork she continued to focus more on women and children (Wedgwood 1933, 1937a, 1973b, 1938) than on men, although she also gathered considerable data on certain male activities such as the ritual and technical aspects of the construction of overseas canoes used in trading expeditions to the mainland, topics that interested both Haddon and Malinowski (Wedgwood 1933–34).

Her most theoretically significant data is on kinship—genealogies diagramming various relationships between individuals and groups, information about clan organization, and the social use of kinship terminology. The kinship system, she wrote to Haddon,

> is superficially easy, and for that very reason not easy to get hold of. It took me over three weeks to discover the existence of the clans. This was partly because I had gathered from what I heard from Chinnery that they were matrilineal people; actually the clans are patrilineal but the mother's people play a very important part in the life of an individual. It is funny how things can be absolutely under one's nose and shouting at one, and yet be obscure . . . [27 February 1933].

One of her most important findings was that various kin terms, those for parent, child, and sibling, were used in a very "wide" sense, that is, they were used in an extended or metaphoric sense to refer to nonconsanguineal kin as if they were biological kin. Thus a woman might call her daughter-in-law or son-in-law "my child" when referring to them, rather than by the more "accurate" affinal term. The emotional context in which the different kinship terms were used was the key to understanding when one of two or more alternative terms might be chosen. In her attention to the contextual subtleties in the use of kin terms Wedgwood was ahead of her time. Her awareness of the importance of emotional as well as social context in understanding the nature of kinship was an important theoretical point she had only partially begun to develop in her analysis of her Manam data.[22]

"a ready-made family"

> Actually, I started the conversation by asking whether she intended to marry. Her answer was that she would love to marry and have children but did not think this likely to happen. I therefore suggested that the Women's College would provide her with a ready-made family and an opportunity for mother-like service [Elkin 1955:175].

In 1935 Wedgwood was appointed principal of the Women's College at the University of Sydney—a position she held for the next 9 years. During this time she was also an honorary lecturer in the University's Department of Anthropology and maintained close contact with colleagues such as A. P. Elkin and Ian Hogbin, who had just returned from doing research on Wogeo, a neighboring island to Manam. Although Wedgwood published several articles based on her Manam data during the 1930s and later coauthored a major article on Melanesian social

Figure 3. Camilla Wedgwood making string figures in Papua New Guinea, 1942 (?).

organization with Hogbin (1953), in retrospect her acceptance of the job as principal signaled the end of full-time involvement as a purely academic anthropologist. She never did write up her Manam material for a doctoral degree.

Elkin's comment may tell us more about him than it does about Camilla's attitude toward the job. Whether or not she considered it to be a surrogate for marriage and an opportunity for a "ready-made family," as Elkin suggested, remains an open question. Firth (personal communication) tends to think that the issue of marriage had nothing to do with her choice. Rather, Wedgwood liked Australia, enjoyed having some degree of status in Sydney society, and having no immediate job prospects in anthropology either in England or Australia, was glad to accept the position for itself, not as compensation for something she lacked.

However, Elkin's question about Wedgwood's interest in marriage and a family does point out the nature of the choice academic women at that time had to face. Wedgwood does not seem to have been alone among her female colleagues in feeling that she would have liked to marry and have a family.[23] And, like some of her female contemporaries, such as Margaret Mead (1972), who did combine marriage and motherhood with a career in anthropology, Wedgwood came from a background in which both men and women believed that women were perfectly capable—emotionally and physically—of successfully combining both roles. In Wedgwood's case personal circumstances were such that the possibility of both did not prove to be an option for her.[24]

In any case, the idea that women could be both mothers and academics was not the prevailing one at this time, either in England or the United States.[25] Some universities would not hire women who were married, seeing motherhood and an academic career as a conflict of interests. It was even rumored that in order for a woman to be accepted as a member of Malinowski's seminar at L.S.E. she had to promise not to marry. Although only a rumor, it captures the attitude at the time that to be taken seriously as an academic, a woman should devote herself entirely to anthropology.[26]

> I confess, I sometimes wish I had never taken to an academic life, but it is probably pleasanter in the long run than the eternal tennis parties or "good works" of many of my contemporaries and anyhow thank the Lord I am not a typist shorthand secretary in an office [Wedgwood to Haddon: 11 August 1931].

The chance fact of her birth into a privileged family that valued intellect and education—for both men and women—allowed Camilla Wedgwood the freedom to "take up" an academic life. The most prominent theme of Wedgwood's career—scholarly, administrative, and governmental—has been her interest in women's lives and her concern for women's education, whether that of college girls in Australia or Pacific Island women. She first articulated this interest in essays about the lives of women, girls, and children in Manam society in *Oceania* (1933, 1937a, 1937b, 1938). Returning from Manam, she spent six months (1934–35) in Nauru—a small island nation in Micronesia—investigating the effects of cultural contact (colonialism) on the indigenous population and appraising the condition of native education. These two interconnected themes were to become the focus of her future work in applied anthropology. One result of her research was the adoption of her recommendation that a female specialist in education trained in anthropology be appointed to establish a secondary school for girls in Nauru (Elkin 1955). This experience, and her work in New Guinea during World War II as a lieutenant colonel for the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit dealing with native affairs, led to her appointment after the war as senior lecturer in native education (1948–55) at the School of Pacific Administration in Sydney. Near the end of her life she was asked by UNESCO to write a position paper on the status of female education in the Pacific (Wedgwood 1957; Wedgwood and Hogbin 1954). Focusing her remarks on the impact of culture contact on the indigenous societies of the Pacific, she noted the tendency to make erroneous assumptions about the lives of these women:

> It is sometimes assumed unwittingly that the males play the dominant role in social change and that for a study of acculturation the effects of culture contact on the females are relatively unimportant. The effects on the lives and outlook of the females are less obvious, less direct and usually less easy to analyse, but we cannot assume that they are less important [Wedgwood 1957:495].

The roots of her commitment surely stemmed from her immediate experience and were grounded in her family and class background. Her anthropological interest in the study of kinship and social organization also bears a relationship to her personal background, not only to her father's interest in Wedgwood genealogy but also to a long-standing interest among earlier members of the Wedgwood clan in chronicling family connections (Meteyard 1865, 1871; Litchfield 1904; Wedgwood and Wedgwood 1980:5), coupled with her prior interest in English—especially early Anglo-Saxon—literature and mythology. While her attention to the study of kinship and social organization was perhaps first stimulated by Rivers and his student Armstrong, her later thinking also shows the influence of Radcliffe-Brown.[27]

Wedgwood remained committed to the role of teacher throughout her career, whether lecturing to colonial administrators or to the public. Her success as a teacher, as well as her ability to impart her enthusiasm for anthropology, was in part responsible for inspiring several female students at the Women's College at the University of Sydney, such as Phyllis Kaberry and Marie Reay, to become professional anthropologists themselves.

Wedgwood and her female contemporaries: reluctant feminists

> [I was] awarded the Coronation Medal as a 'prominent feminist leader' and you have no idea how I loathe feminism. I was so angry at first that I failed to see how comic it was [Camilla Wedgwood to Josiah Wedgwood: June 1937]

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s as social anthropology at L.S.E. became a professional discipline, there were almost equal numbers of male and female graduate students attending Malinowski's seminar. As Kuper (1973:91) points out, women, "like the foreigners . . . were a marginal group being drawn into this fledgling enterprise." This was also true of anthropology in the United States at this time. It is tempting to attribute the receptivity of anthropology to women to the nature of the subject matter and its practitioners. But the "feminization" of an academic field was also characteristic of disciplines with slow growth rates and lack of employment prospects (Rossiter 1982:139). As with other fields of science, although women might enter anthropology in almost equal numbers to men, they were less likely to get jobs in academic departments, especially in coeducational universities. Those few women who did were never appointed head of a department of anthropology (Kuper 1973:156).[28] Intelligent women were encouraged to develop their minds, but discouraged—indeed, denied the opportunity—to assume the positions of their mentors or male counterparts. Men from the outlying dominions came to England and were given appointments in various British universities, while English-born women, such as Audrey Richards and Wedgwood, were sent out to these and other countries to take up temporary positions until British-trained men returned. Richards was, indeed, made the director of the East African Institute of Social Research, a position of much responsibility (it is reputed that her appointment was initiated and pushed through by a woman), but she did not have a position of equal status in an academic anthropology department once she was back in England. This marginalization and lack of professional recognition of female anthropologists was true for women in all the sciences at this time (Rossiter 1982:272).[29]

Rather than dwell on the various subtle—and not so subtle—forms of discrimination that characterized men's behavior toward women anthropologists, it seems more important to point to some of the paradoxes and incongruities that resulted from this discrimination in the personal lives and work of those women who persevered in becoming professional anthropologists.[30]

Present-day feminists and others often criticize previous generations of female anthropologists for having perpetuated a male bias in their research on other societies. However, when we consider the work of some of the first women anthropologists trained by Malinowski, such as Wedgwood and Richards, we see that they did pioneering work on the anthropology of women and women's concerns: Richards with her work on women and nutrition (1932, 1939) and especially *Chisungu,* her study of girls' puberty rites and female socialization (1956);[31] Wedgwood with her work on these latter two topics as well as women and children's lives and the question of the status of women (Gacs in press). It is ironic, then, to realize that Richards felt that she had to fight against not being taken seriously by her male colleagues because she had done research on nutrition, a topic categorized as gender-linked (Gladstone 1986:343).[32] Neither Richards nor Wedgwood were parochial in their study of society; both insisted on the necessity of looking at both men's and women's roles. Wedgwood, on the one hand, made women the focus of her published work and made explicit the methodological point of the need to determine women's attitudes toward their own roles and status as distinct from either men's attitudes toward them or from the assumptions derived from Western society (Wedgwood 1937a). Richards, on the other hand, resented the fact that she had been sent out to study a matrilineal society specifically because she was a woman and doubted the value of asking questions about "the position of women" (Richards 1974:10). In part a matter of theoretical orientation, Richards' attitudes were perhaps related to her struggle against being considered a nutritional (that is, female) anthropologist.

Both women were opposed to the feminism of their day. Their attitude runs counter to what many of us expect—or would like to believe—about them. In identifying our foremothers in the field, we sometimes see them as exemplifying many "feminist" attributes and qualities—courageous in creating careers for themselves, adventuresome in pursuing fieldwork in such places as Africa or the Pacific at a time when white women were not supposed to be alone, willing to opt for careers rather than accepting the traditional role of motherhood.

Women such as Wedgwood and Richards may have rejected feminism because they felt it had little positive bearing on their lives. Each, in her own way, perhaps felt that she had already achieved a position, no matter how tenuous, within the male-dominated world of academia. In order to remain a part of that world they had to be seen by their male colleagues as nonthreatening and conciliatory, "part of the team." For Wedgwood, such a stance did not contradict her advocacy for women to have more and better opportunities for education. She advocated reform within the system, not total change of the structure.[33]

The perambulations of Wedgwood's career present us with an example of the confluence of class and gender in the development of social anthropology in England—an example, I would suggest, not atypical for women of her social class and time. Upper-middle-class women in England were likely to attend a university, either Oxford or Cambridge. These women were also among the few females in the 1920s to embark on academic careers, a choice of occupation that was not the norm for women at the time. However, Wedgwood's decision to study anthropology—a relatively new and unprestigious discipline—is less a reflection of her social class than of her family's iconoclastic nature.

Many of the limitations she encountered in pursuing her career, such as her difficulty in finding a permanent academic position in England or Australia, were exacerbated by the fact she was a woman. Some of the projects she was engaged in, such as her museum work at Cambridge and the editing of Deacon's fieldnotes, also had the connotation of gender-specific preoccupations.

Her offer of the job as Principal of the Women's College at the University of Sydney was, no doubt, facilitated by the fact that she was a Wedgwood. And her decisions to enlist in the Australian armed forces during World War II and later to train colonial administrators preparing for duty in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea are congruent with the emphasis placed by members of her family and social class on the value of service to one's country. Her focus on the improvement of education for women again reflects an identification with her own sex.

Neither Wedgwood nor other women of her social class, such as Richards, chose to become anthropologists because they would have preferred to be men. They were women who wanted to be recognized as *women* even though they were participants in a predominantly men's world. As Rosemary Firth has remarked, Audrey Richards was "the most womanly woman in academic life I ever met" (1985:31), and we have seen that Wedgwood intended to present herself in the field wearing cotton dresses rather than riding breeches and carrying a gun. Resisting feminism, they were, nevertheless, chafing against the gender-related stereotypes of their society and the discipline. Why could they not be both females and intellectuals, "feminine" and rugged fieldworkers? If they were not always successful in their attempts to resolve the predicament in their own careers, their legacy helped to broaden the scope of what it means today to be both a woman and an anthropologist.

notes

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[1]Kuper may not have included Wedgwood in his figure since she did not have a doctorate in anthropology.

[2]About half of the students attending the seminar were women. The men included Raymond Firth, Isaac Schapera, Meyer Fortes, E. Evans-Pritchard, S. Nadel, Jack Driberg, Gordon Brown, and—for brief periods—Ashley Montague and Gregory Bateson.

[3]See Lutkehaus (in press a) for a discussion of the use of her fieldnotes.

[4]Josiah Wedgwood conveyed his sense of himself—and Wedgwoods in general—as championing the causes of the beleaguered in his choice of a title for his autobiography, *Memoirs of a Fighting Life* (1941). He had also suggested the title *The Last of the Radicals* for the biography his niece, C. V. Wedgwood, wrote about him (1951).

[5]After completing her primary education at Orme Girl's School in Staffordshire, Wedgwood attended Bedford College in London for two years, where she specialized in English. Like Newnham, Bedford was one of the few institutions of higher education for women established in England at this time (cf. McWilliams-Tullberg 1975).

[6]McWilliams-Tullberg (1975) presents a detailed description of the struggle to establish female education at Cambridge, while Forster (1985) describes the obstacles Emily Davies faced in establishing Girton College, the first women's college at Cambridge.

[7]Mention should also be made of three other Newnham graduates, Alliston Hingston Quiggen, Ethel John Lindgren, and Polly Hill. These women also either studied or earned degrees in anthropology. Alliston Quiggen was secretary to A. C. Haddon. In addition to writing his biography (1942), she taught anthropology and wrote a book about primitive money (1949). After receiving an undergraduate degree in experimental psychology, Ethel Jean Lindgren undertook fieldwork among the Tungus of Manchuria and received a doctorate in anthropology from Cambridge. Polly Hill, although not formally trained as an anthropologist, has been greatly influenced by anthropology in her research on economics and tropical agriculture in West Africa.

[8]A similar difference existed between Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford, the former nondenominational, the latter connected with the Church of England. Beatrice Blackwood, trained as an anthropologist by Marrett at Oxford, was an undergraduate at Somerville (Lutkehaus in press b).

[9]Richards took a degree in biology and Mair in Classics.

[10]Leach comments in particular on the restriction placed by the university librarian on Malinowski's books *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* and *The Sexual Life of Savages*, two books that "further encouraged college tutors in their common belief that anthropology was not a proper subject for undergraduates to study at all" (1984:8).

[11]See the Historical Register of the University of Cambridge Supplement, 1921–30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 319).

[12]Social anthropology at Cambridge during the early 1920s, as first taught by Rivers and then later by Armstrong, included the following topics: social organization; marriage and kinship; property and rank, descent, inheritance, and succession; age grades; totemism; caste; secret societies; government; trade and currency; slavery; customs and ceremonial of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage and death; religion and magic; animism; cult of the dead; animal and vegetable cults; gods; and mythology (Haddon 1918:261, cited in Urry 1985:415). See also Stocking's discussion (1985:106) of the influence of Radcliffe-Brown on the development of social anthropology at Cambridge.

[13]The career of the anthropologist Beatrice Blackwood followed a similar pattern. Although she lectured off and on for many years at the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford, she never had an official appointment there but was always affiliated with the Pitt Rivers Museum (Lutkehaus in press b).

[14]The Department of Anthropology was founded at the University of Sydney in 1925 and actually began to function in 1926, with A. R. Radcliffe-Brown as its first Professor. On Haddon's suggestion, Bernard Deacon, a Cambridge-trained anthropologist, who at that time was doing fieldwork in the New Hebrides, was appointed Lecturer. Deacon died of blackwater fever in 1927 before taking up the position. Firth was then appointed, but as he was still in the field, Wedgwood was offered the position to fill in for Firth.

[15]Wedgwood's time in South Africa offered her her first opportunity to get a taste of fieldwork. Hilda Kuper has recounted her memory of a short field trip with Schapera that she and Wedgwood went on together:

> Schapera took a group of us—including Ellen Hellman, Max Gluckman, Camilla Wedgwood, and myself—to Mochudi in Bechaunaland (Botswana). For those of us who had already read Malinowski's *Argonauts*, with its stress on observation as well as recording, it was a strange experience. Staying usually in a trader's home, Schapera would sit on a chair in the sunshine, working at a table with his main informant, whom he would get to collect others, and they would discuss and debate [1984:196].

[16]Malinowski's seminar began in 1924 and continued until he went to the United States in 1939.

[17]See Powdermaker's discussion of her conversation with Malinowski and her decision to become an anthropologist (1966:45).

[18]Cf. Hilda Kuper's description of the seminar in 1932–34: "Fortes, Nadel and Hofstra, who all came with Ph.D.'s from other disciplines . . . sat close together, and Malinowski labelled them 'the Mandarins'—and treated them abominably" (1984:197).

[19]Layard was another anthropologist who had done fieldwork in the New Hebrides. He was considered by Radcliffe-Brown and others to be emotionally unstable and hence not competent to undertake the job (cf. Langham 1981).

[20]Wedgwood went on to say that "as for the historical theorizing, I am afraid I feel that it is not, scientifically speaking, of much value. I feel all the while as though I were looking at a photograph which is out of focus."

[21]Loneliness was not something that only affected single female anthropologists. Bateson too would have preferred to have had a coworker with him in the Sepik rather than being alone in the field (Lipset 1982:134).

[22]See the article on Manam kinship that her former student Marie Reay edited after Wedgwood's death (1959).

[23]See Gladstone's comments about Audrey Richards on this subject (1986:338).

[24]Wedgwood's sister suggested that Wedgwood had once been in love and would have liked to marry (Helen Pease, personal communication, February 1977).

[25]It is interesting to note that in the United States in 1921 50 percent of the women in anthropology were married. By 1938 the percentage of married women had decreased to 26.4 percent. The decline is attributed to the "professionalization" of the discipline, with young single female professionals supplanting older married amateurs (Rossiter 1982:141–142).

[26]Of the women who were early students of Malinowski, who went on with their careers in anthropology, most of them indeed did not marry. In addition to Wedgwood, these women included Lucy Mair, Audrey Richards, and Hortense Powdermaker. Other women who did marry either did not have children or interrupted their careers for 20 or so years while raising their children.

[27]This is particularly true of the article about types of local groups in Melanesia she coauthored with Ian Hogbin (1953).

[28]See Carstens' (1985) discussion of Winifred Hoernle's academic career for a case in point.

[29]Within this generally bleak situation for women anthropologists, Wedgwood's position is more complex to analyze, since she did not earn a doctorate in anthropology (a fact that weighed on her conscience—she continued to mention her desire to write up her Manam material in letters to members of her family up until her death). In addition to a professed difficulty with writing, after her return from Manam she may have lacked a sense that her opportunity to get an academic position would change significantly if she had her doctorate.

[30]Firth, in a personal reminiscence and tribute to Audrey Richards, writes about her "eye for incongruity" (1985b:18). "Incongruity" is perhaps an apt term to describe the attitudes toward feminism of some of these early female anthropologists.

[31]See Gladstone's (1986) recent article about Richards' career for a detailed discussion of Richards' work in these areas.

[32]According to Gladstone (1986:343), Richards confided to Jean La Fontaine that "she might have been restricted by this focus from gaining a major reputation as a senior ethnographer."

[33]Wedgwood's efforts to promote education for Pacific Island women did not go unnoticed. The day before she died she was told that the Commonwealth Government of Australia had named the girls' school at Goroka, in the eastern highlands of New Guinea, "The Camilla Wedgwood School" (Elkin 1955:179).

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appendix II: Cambridge University anthropological tripos

Monday, June 2, 1924. 9 a.m.–12 noon.

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY. I.

Not less than *four* or more than *five* questions to be attempted, of which *one* must be taken from each section.

Section A

1. Describe the changes in the fauna throughout the Stone Age, and draw deductions from this evidence (1) as to climatic changes, (2) as to influence upon culture.
2. Give an account of Mousterian and Upper Paleolithic ceremonial burials.
3. What interpretations have been suggested for the art of the European Upper Palaeolithic period and the analogous art of existing savages?

Section B

4. What do you understand by "low" racial characters? Give ancient and recent examples.
5. State the physical characters and distribution of the main groups of Ulotrichi.
6. Give a brief racial history of Europe, *or* of India.

Section C

7. Describe what results follow when peoples of different cultures come into contact taking differences of culture and numbers into account. Give specific examples.
8. "As to the possibility of any invention originating wholly independently in more than one centre, the facts of history no less than the common experience of mankind are fatal to any such hypothesis" [Elliot Smith]. Discuss this statement critically.
9. To what extent may the hunting, pastoral and agricultural conditions be regarded as progressive stages in the general advancement of culture?

Monday, June 2, 1924. 1:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY. II.

Not less than *four* or more than *five* questions to be attempted, of which *one* must be taken from each section.

Section A

1. What is "Typology" and how is it employed in Archaeology?
2. Discuss the evidence for a "Copper Age" in both hemispheres.
3. Give a comparative table showing sequence of cultures within the Copper and Bronze Ages in the Aegean. How is their dating compared with Egypt determined?
4. Describe the main types and distribution of the archer's bow, *or* of the sling.
5. Give the distribution in time and space of reed floats and boats.

Section B

6. Give an account of the nature and uses of age-grades in primitive society.
7. Compare the functions and significance of the mother's brother in various forms of primitive society.
8. What do you consider to be the essential nature of human marriage?

Section C

9. What distinctions have been drawn between magic and religion, and how far are they justified?
10. How do the views of primitive people about death and the future life affect their behavior?
11. Discuss the magico-religious significance of cannibalism from a comparative point of view.

Tuesday, June 3, 1924. 9 a.m.–12 noon.

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SELECTED AREA

Not less than *four* or more than *five* questions to be attempted.

1. What linguistic families are found in Chota Nagpur and Assam, and to what other areas do they extend?
2. Compare the physical characteristics of any *two* of the following: Ho, Oraon, Santal, Thado Kuki, Angami Naga, Mikir.
3. Analyse the probable composition of the Khasi, or of the Oraon.
4. Give some account of the distribution, forms and uses of the bow in your selected area.
5. Discuss the importance and use of (a) earthen pots, (b) running water, in connection with the funeral ceremonies of the tribes in your special area. Do you see any connection at all between the two?
6. Discuss the nature, origin and significance of the use of dolmens, menhirs, and megalithic monuments generally in Chota Nagpur and Assam.
7. Describe the system of totemism of the Oraons and compare it with that of *either* (a) the Arunta of Australia or (b) the Southern Massim of New Guinea.
8. It has recently been stated that head-hunting is derived from human sacrifice, and that human sacrifice is associated with the mother-goddess, and with the sun-god. What is your view as to the applicability of this theory to your special area?
9. What is the distribution of tree-marriage in India and what explanations have been given of it?
10. Discuss the evidence for the existence of a concept of supernatural power analogous to mana in the area selected.

Tuesday, June 3, 1924. 1:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Not less than *four* or more than *five* questions to be attempted.

1. Consider how far primitive witch-craft contains the germs of experimental science.
2. Discuss *one* of the following statements.
   i. "to barbaric and savage man no such division exists between the natural and the supernatural as exists in the mind of civilised man himself . . . he is entirely unconscious of any dividing line . . . between 'physics' and 'spirits.' " [Lawrence]
   ii. "Interest in life . . . forms the most essential factor in maintaining the health of a people." [Rivers]
3. Discuss the relation between social anthropology and psychology.
4. Explain Tylor's theory of the origin of the belief in the soul and its survival after death. Defend or criticise his theory.

5. Describe the classificatory system of relationships and criticise the main theories that have been suggested for its origin.
6. Contrast economic and non-economic aspects of primitive trade. Give instances of the occurrence of money amongst primitive peoples.
7. Secret societies are found in Melanesia, Africa and North America. Give examples of these and discuss the view that they have been produced by "interaction" of peoples.
8. Give some examples of culture-hero legends. What considerations would you bring to bear in interpreting such legends?
9. Discuss the relation between ritual and belief in the sphere of religion.

or

Criticise the statement: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things."

Wednesday, June 4, 1924. 9 a.m.–12 noon.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SELECTED AREA

Not less than *four* or more than *five* questions to be attempted.

1. Compare and estimate the influence of Hinduism on the animistic religions that preceded it, and the influence of the latter on the present form of Hinduism.
2. Describe the forms of oath used in your selected area and state their significance.
3. Give some account of native forms of government in the Khasia Hills.
4. Locate the following on a rough sketch-map, and describe shortly any *four* of them: a *meriah* sacrifice, a Juang dance, a Kuki or Lushei raid on the plains, a Manipur boat-race, a *lai-haraoba*, an Abor divination, a Santal harvest dance, a Mishmi burial, a *Phagu-Sendra*, a *Thezukepu*.
5. Describe a *dhumkuria*, both building and organization, and compare it with cognate institutions in Assam. Comment on its form in origin and in decay.
6. Examine shortly, with regard to your special area, the following statements:
   (1) "We do not hear of the eating of relatives." [Goldenweiser]
   (2) "The stone-using immigrants were seekers after gold, who settled in places where they found it, and usually built megalithic monuments and caused irrigation to be adopted." [Perry]
7. Compare the dual with the tri-clan organisation both as regards (a) distribution and (b) the marriage rules by which they are operated.
8. What evidence is there in the culture of the Nagas pointing to links with the cultures of (1) the Indonesian area, (2) the Melanesian area?
9. Describe the main varieties of belief about the fate of the ghost after death, and illustrate by reference to methods of disposal of the dead in the area selected.

Source: *Cambridge University Examination Papers, Anthropological Tripos 1924*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924, pp. 1140–1144.