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From Barbarism to Civilization

Author(s): J. W. Powell

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FROM BARBARISM TO CIVILIZATION.

BY J. W. POWELL, DIRECTOR U. S. BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

The course of human events is not an eternal round. In the wisdom of the ancients there are many proverbs to the effect that that which is, has been before, and will be again. So far as human experience extends, unaided by reason, days and nights come and go, winter follows summer, and summer follows winter, and all the phenomena of nature seem to constitute an endless succession of recurrent events. There is a higher knowledge which observes a progress made only by steps so minute that it was left to modern science to discover them. In the history of humanity the changes which result in progress are more readily perceived, and the aphorism of the ancients that "There is nothing new under the sun" is but a proverb of ignorance. That which has been is not now, and that which is never will be again, in all the succession of phenomena with which anthropologists deal, for with apparent repetition there is always some observable change in the direction of progress.

Every child is born destitute of things possessed in manhood which distinguish him from the lower animals. Of all industries he is artless; of all institutions he is lawless; of all languages he is speechless; of all philosophies he is opinionless; of all reasoning he is thoughtless; but arts, institutions, languages, opinions and mentations he acquires as the years go by from childhood to manhood. In all these respects the new-born babe is hardly the peer of the new-born beast; but as the years pass, ever and ever he exhibits his superiority in all of the great classes of activities, until the distance by which he is separated from the brute is so great that his realm of existence is in another kingdom of nature. The

activities that segregate mankind into a kingdom of his own are the humanities. The human race has been segregated from the tribes of beasts by the gradual acquisition of these humanities, namely : by the invention of arts ; by the establishment of institutions ; by the growth of languages ; by the formation of opinions and by the evolution of reason. If this be true—and this is demonstrated by the science of anthropology—then the road by which man has traveled away from purely animal life must be very long ; but this long way has its land-marks, so that it can be divided into parts. There are stages of human culture. The three grand stages have been denominated Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilization.

In the popular mind, and even in the conception of many scholars, there is no clearly perceived and well-defined distinction between these stages. There is a vague idea that the barbarian is somehow a lower being in the scale of existence than the civilized man, and that the savage is still lower—that the savage is savage, that the barbarian is barbaric. But no attempt has been made to set forth the characteristics of these stages of culture systematically in all the grand classes of activities, and thus they have never been thoroughly and satisfactorily defined. In my last annual address to this Society the endeavor was made to characterize savagery and barbarism, and to show the nature and origin of the change from the lower to the middle stage. The endeavor will be made to-night to partially re-characterize barbarism in terms of the humanities, and then to show how all of these were changed and developed into something higher, that something higher being the proper attributes of civilization.

Before proceeding to this task certain errors in the current literature of anthropology must be dispelled.

It must be remembered that in the attempt to define savagery, barbarism, and civilization, they are treated as stages of culture, not as characteristics of individuals. A stage of culture is represented by the aggregate of human activities, the humanities, extant among the people and during the time to which such characterization belongs.

It must be further remembered that a stage of society which extends perhaps over many lands and embraces many bodies politic and continues through many generations exhibits a vast variety of individual characters, and it would be an absurdity to claim that in each man in civilization we discover a full exemplification of all of the attributes of that civilization. No one man, even the greatest, has been equal to the whole of the men of his time, and there are

always vast numbers who fall far short of acquiring the culture which properly characterizes their times. In every land and among every people there are some who are imbecile, depraved, or ignorant, and who thus utterly fail to exhibit the current culture. These are the degraded classes. But it should be noted that this degradation is not toward a more primitive culture. The vicious and ignorant in civilization do not lapse into barbarism by adopting the arts of barbarism, by establishing barbaric institutions, by returning to the use of barbaric languages, and by adopting the opinions of barbarism; but they fail in acquiring the culture of civilization by a failure in the acquisition of any culture. Retrogression in culture proper is rarely, perhaps never, exhibited on any large scale. The frequent failure of individuals to acquire the culture proper to their time and place in history has sometimes led to mistaken theories in regard to the general progress of culture, and in this manner the conclusion has been reached that there are progressive and retrogressive races and that culture itself waxes and wanes.

Civilized travelers among the lower races of mankind have often formed hasty judgments and have characterized peoples from the accidental observations of a day; but I think it may be safely asserted that no thorough study of any race or tribe has ever led to the discovery of an extended and continued loss of culture. The accounts of hasty travelers may be divided into two classes: In a general way, one set of writers have found among savage and barbaric peoples a state of affairs worthy only of execration, and all such peoples have thus been condemned as "devils;" another set of writers have discovered among such peoples only evidence of primitive innocence and the happiness of primitive simplicity, and such peoples have been pictured as "angels." But neither of these conclusions is reached by trained anthropologists whose studies of mankind are made by careful investigation.

Biologists discover degraded species, such degradation having resulted from untoward environment and especially from the acquisition of parasitic habits; but the culture of mankind is not a passive condition imposed by environment, but has all been acquired in the grand endeavor to create a new environment—better conditions for human happiness. Often individuals have become parasitic, and there are parasitic communities, like the gypsies, and history may even reveal to us parasitic tribes, whose existence has never yet been clearly pointed out. The fact remains, that these individ-

uals and communities, though parasitic, do not exemplify the culture by which they are surrounded.

Again it must be noted that advances in culture are often made with unsteady steps. A new art may be invented a little too early to be generally adopted, and the struggles to the advanced position may be followed by a relapse into the former position, which lasts for a time; but no real industrial advance has ever been thoroughly accomplished and afterwards lost to mankind. In the same manner there is always a struggle for wiser and juster institutions, and statesmen and reformers often try to accomplish that for which the people are not yet ready; but no great principle of justice has ever been thoroughly woven into the laws of a state to afterwards be lost. In the same manner linguistic progress has been slow but constant. Not all reforms and advantageous linguistic contrivances have at once succeeded; yet the evolution of language, in all times and among all peoples, has been toward the better expression of thought. Philosophies, also, have steadily advanced from mythology to science. Individuals have sometimes made a progress in philosophy beyond their times and have failed to establish their opinions immediately, but the philosophy of no body of people, no great race, has ever fallen back to more antique, more mythologic methods of interpreting phenomena. The activities thus characterized are the products of the mind, and if mental products are forever slowly improving, the mental operations of which they are the product must be ever improving, and this can be shown by an analysis of the mental operations as they appear from time to time in the history of the races.

There is a phenomenon which accompanies the substitution of higher for lower activities that is often mistaken for degradation. When a new art is developed some old art may be gradually replaced thereby. In this case the old art, as it slowly falls into disuse, exhibits less and less skill because the more thrifty adopt the new, the less thrifty cling to the old. At the advent of European civilization on this continent, the Indian tribes were highly skilled in the fashioning of stone arrowheads, but when the people of a tribe were furnished with iron arrowheads by white men, or when they learned to fashion them from iron for themselves, the skill in the manufacture of stone arrowheads was gradually lost. The old art decayed because it was supplanted by a new and a higher one. Everywhere in the progress of arts substitutions of this character have been made, and again and again the decay of the older arts has been

cited as a loss of culture, while, in fact, in every case an advance in culture is made. These substitutions occur not only in arts but in all human activities. Old institutions decay as new institutions take their place. Old languages decay and are forgotten because new and higher languages are learned. When civilization meets with savagery or barbarism it always teaches it a new language. Old opinions, too, decay as wiser opinions take their place. Thus it is that mythologies, with all their grand personification, with all their wonderful mythic histories, with all their poetic imagery, decay into folk-lore, the absurd ghost and demon stories of old crones and the childish tales of the nursery. The decadence of activities that arises through the substitution of higher activities is not evidence of retrogression.

There is another class of changes which have been falsely interpreted as evidences of cultural degradation. When the savage or barbarian borrows an activity from civilization, that activity may not at first be carried on with the same skill by the borrower as by those from whom it was taken. When the Chinese razed European vessels and made of them junks, Chinese navigation was improved thereby, although the vessels themselves may not have been equal to the ships of the Europeans; but the art of navigation was not degraded among Europeans by this change, while the art of the Chinese was in fact improved. When the barbarian adopts the fire-arms of civilization, he may prefer to use flint-locks instead of percussion-locks; the use of fire-arms among the civilized is not degraded thereby, but the flint-lock guns of the barbarian are greatly superior to the crossbows which he used before. The Muskoki Indians have organized a government modelled somewhat after the civilized governments of the States, yet this government has many of the old characteristics of tribal government; the upper and lower houses constituting the Muskoki legislature are but a modification of the old red and white fratri-councils. Now, there is a sense in which the Muskoki government may be considered a degradation from that of civilization, but in no sense are any people lowered in culture by its adoption. The Muskoki themselves have made a great step in the progress of institutional culture, and the white men have not been degraded thereby. When savage or barbaric peoples associate with civilized peoples they learn the civilized language and often abandon their own. For a long time the new language is imperfectly spoken and is mastered but to a limited extent. There is a sense

in which it may be said that the language in passing from the higher to the lower people is degraded, but the civilized man is not degraded because the savage attempts to speak his tongue and the power of expression of the savage is greatly improved thereby. Wherever Christian civilization comes in contact with savagery, monotheism is taught, and the people speedily learn to believe in a Great Spirit and a just God, but such belief is always more or less tainted with polytheism and other abhorrent superstitions. There is a sense in which this phase of human philosophy is degraded by passing from the higher to the lower people, but the people from whom it is taken are not lowered in culture thereby and the people by whom it is adopted are greatly advanced in culture. In all cases, activities borrowed from a higher by a lower culture result in progress.

It is a subject of frequent observation and remark that ignorant people suppose that all languages other than their own are not real languages but only jargons, and that the tones of unfamiliar languages are not much better than brutish gruntings; in like manner the unfamiliar and misunderstood habits and customs of aliens and strangers are but absurdities to the ignorant, and to such persons all human activities other than their own are but the acts of fools. Somewhat of the same nature are many current opinions of savage and barbaric life. In civilization tribal peoples have often been characterized with all the prejudice of ignorance. Now there is a cheap scholarship which goes far and wide to collect these prejudiced and ignorant statements and bases upon them a theory of savage culture. By these easy lessons it is discovered that savagery is a state of perpetual warfare; that the life of the savage is one of ceaseless bloodshed, that the men of this earliest stage of culture live but to kill and devour one another, and that infanticide is the common practice. Starting with man in this horrible estate these same scholars construct a theory of the evolution of mankind from savagery to civilization as the transition from militancy to industrialism. Such is the Spencerian philosophy of human development, and it has many adherents. Human industries, like other human activities, have had their course of evolution, and militancy itself has been developed from lowly beginnings to an advanced stage of organization. The savage tribes of mankind carried on petty warfares with clubs, spears, and bows and arrows. But these wars interrupted their peaceful pursuits only at comparatively long intervals. The wars of barbaric tribes were on a larger scale and

more destructive of life ; but there were no great wars until wealth was accumulated and men were organized into nations. The great wars began with civilization, and have continued to the present time. Steadily armies have become larger, and more thoroughly organized as naval and land forces, and the land forces as infantry, artillery, and cavalry ; and with the progress of civilization armies have been equipped with implements of warfare more and more destructive. Savage warfare compares with modern warfare as the bow and arrow compare with the Gatling gun ; as the stone club compares with the sixteen-inch Krupp rifle. May be the nineteenth century has had greater armies than ever before existed, and these forces have been armed with more terrible implements of destruction than ever before known, and the sacrifice of human life in the nineteenth century has been greater perhaps than in any other such period of the history of the world. Warfare has had its course of evolution, as have all other human activities. That human progress has been from militancy to industrialism is an error so great that it must necessarily vitiate any system of sociology or theory of culture of which it forms a part.

The errors of the ignorant are often committed by inconsiderate travelers, who have reported that the tribes with which they met, now here, now there, were destitute of any real language ; that they had a few grunts, exclamations, and jargon words, and eked these out by the use of gesture speech, and many able scholars have accepted these statements as facts. When a savage or barbaric tribe comes in contact with civilization there grows up between the two people a jargon of corrupted words derived from both languages. This jargon is always ephemeral and it rarely acquires the status of a language. Many travelers and scholars have mistaken such jargons for languages themselves and have inferred therefrom that tribal languages are exceedingly unstable. Again, the lower the grade of culture the smaller the number of people speaking one language. As we go back from civilization towards savagery, languages rapidly multiply, and this diversity of speech has strengthened some scholars in the notion that savage languages are rapidly changeable. Thus there is a tendency among philologists to depreciate savage tongues and to consider them as composed of few words and incapable of expressing any great body of thought and as rapidly changing from generation to generation. On the other hand, whenever a savage language is thoroughly studied, it is invariably found to have a co-

pious vocabulary and to be highly organized by an indiscriminate variety of grammatic devices. When such languages are discovered, the difference between real savage languages and supposed savage languages is so great that at once retrogression is affirmed of them, the reasoning being something like this. "Savage languages proper are of this low class, the characteristics of which have been given us by these travelers; now, here is a language very much more highly developed: therefore, the people have been degraded from some civilized state." In further support of this theory, the language itself is placed in a grade much higher than it deserves. A copious vocabulary is no evidence of high development. The law of gradation in this respect seems to be entirely misunderstood. The different thoughts possible even to savage minds are practically innumerable, and every language, even that of the savage, is capable of expressing all of the thoughts possible to the people who use the language. It is a characteristic of the languages of savages that many words are necessary to express their thoughts, while in civilized languages the same thoughts can be expressed with a smaller number of words. Given a body of thought, then, that language is the most highly developed which uses the smallest number of words for its expression. This improvement in the language, by which the fewer words can be used for the greater expression, is accomplished by the organization of the language through the development of parts of speech and the integration of the sentence. A language is high or low not by reason of the number of words which it contains but by reason of the degree of organization to which it has attained and the body of thought which it is competent to properly express. This may be made clear by an illustration from the written language of numbers. In a written language there might be a character for each of the numbers to a hundred, and to express multiples of such numbers repetitions of the characters might be necessary. The notation of such a language would thus have many characters, but it would not be highly developed. Again, the Roman system of numerals with which we are all acquainted has few characters but a very crude method of representing multiples of numbers by the use of these characters, and such a notation is of very low degree as compared with the Arabic system of notation, by which a few characters are used, the value of these depending upon their placement. In like manner in savage tongues there is a vast number of words which are exceedingly cumbrous when used in the expression of thought, from

the fact that the parts of speech are not differentiated nor the sentence organized. Usually those who devote themselves thoroughly to the study of savage languages clearly understand their low character, while those who devote themselves to the study of the classical languages, having before them false models of excellence, seem always to exaggerate the value of the savage languages which have been thoroughly studied and to undervalue all other savage languages, holding them to be properly characterized by the ignorant travelers.

There is yet another class of errors to be noted. In the vast commingling of peoples through the enormous development of means of transportation in later civilization, everywhere savage and barbaric peoples are associated more or less with civilized men. In this association, the lower races always borrow something of arts, institutions, languages, and also of philosophic opinions—they borrow explanations of phenomena. Now, it is a curious fact that these borrowed opinions are often unrecognized as such by scholars, and hence savage and barbaric peoples are described as entertaining opinions far beyond the grade to which their indigenous culture would carry them. These savage peoples are again and again represented as believing in one God, as if in fact they were monotheists by autogenous culture. They are also represented as believing in angels, as believing in heaven or a "happy hunting ground," and as believing many other things which pertain not to savagery and barbarism but to civilization.

To the metaphysician who juggles with formal logic, the light and the darkness can always be clearly distinguished as the light and the non-light or the darkness and the non-darkness. To the scientific man the absolute light and the absolute darkness are never found, but the phenomena of light and darkness cover infinite degrees of chiaroscuro, with absolute light on one hand and absolute darkness on the other, beyond the boundaries of observed phenomena and existent only in statement. To the scientific man it will not be necessary to explain that in defining stages of culture types only are characterized, between which infinite gradations are found, but the metaphysician will doubtless come in with his formal logic and fail to discover absolute barbarism and absolute civilization. This exposition is for scientific men who deal with phenomena—let the jugglers juggle.

Having cleared the pathway through which we are to travel in

the consideration of this subject of the errors which cast deep shadows along the course, we can proceed to define "barbarism" and "civilization" and point out the course of cultural progress involved.

THE CHANGE IN ARTS.

That which has elevated many of the tribes of mankind above savagery and into the stage which we call barbarism was the cultivation of the soil and the domestication of animals; and through these means their food-supply was greatly increased, and the more because the animals themselves were used as aids to agriculture. Yet further, horses and camels were used as means of transportation. Barbarians also have dwellings of wood and stone; often these dwellings are communal, and thus compound houses were constructed for clans and even for tribes. It is worthy of note, also, that in these houses there was a family hearth, for chimneys had been invented. Barbarians clothe themselves but slightly with furs, chiefly with textile fabrics, for they are skillful in spinning and weaving. They also have a good supply of culinary utensils, for they mould and burn clay and thus have abundant pottery. The barbarian not only has beasts of burden for means of transportation on land, but he traverses the rivers and meanders the shores of lakes and seas with boats propelled with oars. In this stage, the simple materials of nature on every hand are utilized—stone, copper, wood, shell, bone, and horn are fashioned into new shapes and often with great skill. But while they have tools they have no machinery; for example, there is no potter's wheel, no grist mill, and no saw mill.

While the materials already compounded by nature can be used by being fashioned as tools and utensils, the barbarian in his simplest estate cannot compound new materials or transmute one compound into another, for the metallurgical processes are yet undiscovered. He cannot reduce iron and copper and tin from their ores, and he cannot transform sand into glass. There was a discovery of this character which, in its ultimate results, transformed all the arts of mankind, namely, the reduction and use of iron. When iron tools were used the new implements given to man directly added to his skill and indirectly to his power. Illustrations of this fact are found on every hand. There is one which serves our purpose here because it bears so directly upon the progress of mankind towards a

higher state of culture. Through the use of iron, naval architecture made an important advance ; rafts, dug-outs, wattle-boats and skin-boats were speedily superseded by superior water crafts ; larger vessels, with masts and sails, by means of which men could navigate the rivers and seas, in large bodies and for long distances and far away from land. Then the accumulation of wealth in the products of the soil, in woven fabrics, in iron, and copper, and silver, and gold, led to the establishment of a system of exchanges through fleets and caravans, and commerce was developed. Then a medium of exchange and a measure of value was established by utilizing therefor iron, copper, silver, and gold, and the people had money.

In barbarism the people largely lived in towns, each such town being an independent body-politic. At the same time there were many itinerant villages, as clans and small tribes were often nomadic, with flocks and herds. But when commerce was developed, towns grew into cities, and with increasing wealth there was increasing temptation to predatory forays, and at the same time the discovery of bronze and copper gave to barbaric warriors superior arms. Then it became necessary to defend the cities with their wealth and teeming population, and they were walled.

At this stage the people have learned to burn brick, and a vast improvement in architecture has resulted therefrom. With the metallic tools which they have invented they can cut stone, and this also improves their architecture, and in the midst of every city there is a great temple. Sculpture too has highly developed and the temples are adorned with carvings of composite gods, strange beasts, and heroic men.

The people have also become skillful in the manufacture and decoration of pottery, which is fashioned with the potter's wheel ; there are forges in the cities, where the workers in iron and other metals ply their trade, and glass manufactories flourish. Away from the towns and along the water courses there are fields fertilized by waters taken from the rivers and used in irrigation ; sometimes the waters are trained into canals, to be distributed over the lands ; sometimes the water is lifted from the streams by great wheels driven by the force of river currents, and the grain thus raised is ground by mills run by water-power. On the mountain-sides there are mines, where gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and precious stones are mined.

Thus in this first civilization many industries are developed in

commerce, agriculture, mining, and manufactures, and a division of labor results therefrom unknown to barbarism. We may now look back many centuries upon the countries of Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa and reconstruct in imagination the cities now buried, from whose ruins the scholars of the present time are exhuming the evidences of that first civilization. These cities are beautiful with temples and palaces adorned with sculptures and rude paintings; the people engage in many callings, are busy on every hand. From some of them caravans go to trade with other cities; from others ships depart on like errands; everywhere the people have become travelers, and the travelers are traders, robbers, and scholars.

It is not proposed to set forth the great industrial achievements of modern civilization by which the powers of nature have been discovered and utilized by mankind; it is simply intended to explain the first form of civilization, that it may be distinguished from anterior barbarism.

THE CHANGE IN INSTITUTIONS.

Barbaric society is tribal society of the highest form. Tribes are organized on a basis of kinship, actual or artificial. The largest or highest body politic is a group of kindred, the kinship being reckoned in every possible way, not only through streams of blood and lines of marital affinity, but also by adoption. The subordinate units of such a tribal state are themselves organized by more restricted lines of kinship, but the whole organization, from the highest to the lowest unit, is dependent upon kinship. This kinship system of state organization exists in savage as well as barbaric society, but the most essential difference between the barbaric state and the savage state is this: In savagery the kinship reckoned through the mother is of primary importance, and children belong to the clan of the mother; in the barbaric state the most important kinship is through males, and children belong to the clan of the father. Under the barbaric form of the kinship state patriarchies are often established and power is gathered in the hands of the patriarch—the leader of a group of people composed of his own immediate family, his sons' families, and their retainers, together with the flocks and herds that are possessed by the group. But patriarchal society is not primordial, nor is it universal at some distinct stage of culture. It is

rather accidental and the outgrowth of that nomadic life which results from the accumulation of flocks and herds and the neglect of agriculture and the consequent necessity of roaming from district to district to obtain sustentation for the growing flocks and herds. Thus, patriarchal society belongs to barbarism, not to savagery, and is an accidental concomitant thereof and not an essential characteristic.

In setting forth the evolution of barbarism into civilization it becomes necessary to confine the exposition to Eastern Europe, Western Asia and Northern Africa, and, to a large extent, to one great stock of people—the Aryan race—together with the other stocks, as the Egyptian, the Semitic, and Turanian races, whose history is involved in that of the Aryan and with whom they were inextricably mixed, and whose ultimate destiny was controlled by the progress of Aryan culture. On the other hand, some Aryan peoples are not included, from the fact that they severed themselves from the body of the people and entered upon an independent history. The center of this world was the Mediterranean Sea, and from its shores, far away in every direction, the peoples were scattered whose history was involved in one vast interdependent system—for the culture of every one reacted upon the culture of every other one. Throughout all the region thus indicated, tribal towns and nomadic villages existed. Gradually, the more prosperous towns became centers of power and population. Less powerful tribes became subject to and dependent upon more powerful tribes, and gradually many tribal towns became city states, and these city states were transitional bodies politic between barbarism and civilization. A city state was usually organized somewhat on this plan: The city itself, bounded by defensive walls, was occupied by some tribe—a body of kindred divided into clans. About the walls were gathered the subjugated tribes—they often being divided into clans and held as retainers or slaves. Thus it was that a state became something more than a homogeneous body of kindred,—a body politic composed of many bodies of kindred. The ruling body still had a tribal organization and often the subject bodies had more or less of tribal organization; yet such tribal organization was weak and often broke down, so that the subject bodies were hordes of people in part or wholly disorganized and to a large extent, without autonomous government, but having something of organization and government imposed upon them by the ruling tribe of the walled city.

In this stage, when the city states were developed, a new principle of organization was introduced—that of ranks; so that the people belong to higher or lower classes, and with this gradation there was, to some extent, a division of operative functions—that is, the different grades followed different occupations—and everywhere efforts were made to preserve rank distinctions by the establishment of laws preventing intermarriage between the ranks.

Such is a general outline of the city states of the Mediterranean World as they appeared in the transition between barbarism and civilization.

Then these city states made war on one another, and alliances were formed for offensive and defensive purposes; and out of alliances and conquests city states were organized into nations with territorial boundaries. It is to be noted, that alliances seemed to perform but a minor share in the reorganization—conquest the major share. In these earlier conquests no attempt was made to impose upon conquered city states new institutions and new religions. They were, at first, required simply to acknowledge allegiance and to pay tribute. A nation thus organized had its capital at some central city, about which were gathered the people, thoroughly organized by a central government in such a manner that the most perfect solidarity was secured. The outlying subject cities had also their local organizations, more or less of the same character, so that each dependent city had its own institutions organized under the sanctions of its own religion.

In this manner, the nations of the Old World were first organized, and the nations were essentially tax-gathering bodies. No attempt was made, at first, to so re-organize the society of such nations as to secure general homogeneity and interdependence of parts and that unification which gives solidarity.

Now, this general statement of the organization of the first nations of the world applies not so much to a time as to a state or a condition of affairs; for progress was not uniform in time throughout the whole world, but the progress to this stage was now here, now there, at different times, and the development from this stage to something higher was also now here, now there, at different times.

Still nation warred on nation, and alliances were formed for offensive and defensive purposes, and conquest extended from some great city capital of a nation over vast areas—sometimes from a center on the Nile, sometimes from a center on the Euphrates, sometimes

from a center on the shores of the Mediterranean—and, at last, great conquerors dreamed of being masters of the world. Gradually, the lesson was learned, that universal empire can be but transient without the universal adoption of the institutions and religions and even the languages of the conquerors. Then the attempt was made to more thoroughly organize nations, so that there should be a homogeneity and interdependence of parts and unification through the central government and solidarity throughout. The first attempts to organize with such ends in view were made by establishing governments over conquered cities and provinces, the governors themselves being selected by the central authority and held to be officers and servants of the chief ruler, to whom they were responsible for all their acts and from whom the authority for local government was derived and supported. Thus it was that a new class of nations was developed—nations organized for the collection of tribute and the establishment of solidarity.

It must be noted here that the history of the development of barbarism into civilization in Western Europe was not quite the same as in Eastern Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa. The nationalization of tribes was accomplished in the eastern land much earlier than in the western. When the time came for the conquest and consequent nationalization of Western Europe, the great conquerors and rulers had learned the value of national solidarity, and everywhere the attempt was made to organize the conquered tribes in the great national states upon the new basis. These western tribes of barbarians, therefore, did not, to any great extent, pass through the stages of city states and tribute-paying dependencies, but were incorporated as integral parts of consolidated nations through the agency of the feudal system. The ruler of each tribe became directly an officer of the central government—a feudal lord—by whom or through whom taxes were gathered by the central government, by whom and through whom allegiance was demanded, and through whom justice was administered. Thus it was that a new line of history was followed in Western Europe.

In modern times, the savage and barbaric tribes are incorporated into nations not only without going through the stage of city states and tribute-paying dependencies but also without going through the forms of feudal organization. They are at once absorbed into the body politic by territorial boundaries.

The development of states in Eastern Asia followed a somewhat

different course from that which has been pointed out. In the Mediterranean states, as they have been defined, changes were more abrupt and more radical, because, through the navigation of the Mediterranean, conquests were extended more widely and a greater number of tribes and nations and more heterogeneous cultures were involved, and the comparison of institutions was on a much grander scale and the competition was much more vigorous. In the far East, the process of integration was, in the main, around a few centers and barbaric tribes were steadily absorbed into these great centralized nationalities. Dynasties were changed from within rather than from without, and progress was autogenous rather than by acculturation. For this reason, organization by ranks, which became castes, played a much larger part, and tribal organization was engrafted on national organization, so that the states were organized upon a new plan as nations, but the subordinate units often preserved tribal organization. There are many other distinctions to be noted which may not be entered upon here.

In the progress of integration by which tribes were organized into states there was another change in the differentiation of the functions of government. In barbarism the government is the council, the chief members of which are the executive officers of the tribal state. Gradually in later barbarism and early civilization barbaric chiefs became kings of nations, usually not dependent upon councils, but rather gathering about them deliberative bodies more or less subservient to the royal will. Yet from time to time there was a contest between the throne and the council or parliament for supremacy. In early barbarism the council was also the court; in early civilization the crown and the council contended with each other for judicial powers and prerogatives, and out of this contest grew courts. Sometimes the courts were first organized as parliamentary committees, with power to hear and report, then gradually to hear and decide, and when such parliamentary committees were authorized to render judgments they were courts in fact. But often the rulers themselves established their claims to be the fountains of justice; but as questions for decision multiplied, they were compelled to delegate judicial powers to subordinate officers; in this manner also courts were organized. When priestly orders were founded, certain religious offenses were punished by the priests, and the offenders judged by the priests, and the ecclesiastical courts were developed; such courts always strove to extend their jurisdiction and

ofttimes they succeeded, so as to include certain crimes and misdemeanors, and, rarely, so as to include certain civil cases.

Thus with the integration of the nation, there was an organization of government based more or less thoroughly upon a differentiation of the functions of government into the executive, legislative, and judicial departments.

With this integration of the civilized nation and organization of the civilized government, there was a development of civilized law. In barbarism, personal law, which regulated the relations of individuals to one another, simply regulated the relations of kindred one to another, for all the members of a body politic were kindred by consanguinity and affinity, and within these bodies degrees and kinds of relationship were considered together with relative age. When tribes were destroyed by being merged into nations, the relations of people not akin were to be regulated by law; thereupon a new principle was incorporated, namely: the authority of the superior in rank.

Marriage law also was changed. In savagery and early barbarism marriage is by legal appointment within prescribed groups and wholly under the control of clan authority. But this general law was modified in three distinct ways, each of which became more or less regulated by law, so that many tribes practiced marriage by capture, marriage by duel, or marriage by elopement. In later barbarism often patriarchies were established and great powers were gathered into the hands of patriarchial chiefs, and thus marriage by gift and by sale were sometimes established. When tribal society collapsed and civilization was organized on its ruins, a much wider personal choice in marriage was secured, and the marriage contract became a religious rather than a civil institution.

In the transition from barbarism to civilization another change was wrought in personal law relating to crimes. In barbarism all bodily injury, whether malicious or accidental, was looked upon as a wrong committed against the individual and his kindred. Wrongs of this character were righted by the clansmen, who claimed "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and a life for a life; clansmen were sometimes appeased by the payment of a price, so that a life and a limb had its property value affixed. With the organization of the civilized state crime was changed from a personal offence to a state offence and it was no longer avenged or compounded, but was punished.

In savagery the tenure of most property was communal in the clan. It still continued in this condition in barbarism, except that often the patriarch or chief of the clan was possessed of the property of his people by legal fiction, though usually he could not part with it without the consent of his clansmen, as he held it but in trust. In civilization movable property at once became personal property, the tenure being in individuals. In barbarism the tenure of land was usually by clan or by tribe and the holdings for agricultural purposes were rotated and repartitioned from time to time. As movable property was the first to become personal the term "personal property" became attached thereto. Immovable property (real estate) was long held by clan and tribe and family or in feof of the crown or of feudal lords. But gradually the tenure in severalty to real estate has been established in civilization and landed property is in fact personal property. The barbaric practice survives in the name but has disappeared in practical affairs.

It has thus been seen that the institutional change from barbarism to civilization was a change first in the constitution of the state itself, a change in the form of government, and a change in the principles of law.

The purposes of this exposition are completed when the change of barbaric institutions into civilized institutions is explained and the latter properly characterized. The vast development of national constitutions, forms of government, and legal systems, witnessed through the course of civilization, belongs to another subject.

THE CHANGE IN LANGUAGE.

The development of barbarism into civilization wrought important changes in language. In the first place grammatic forms were more thoroughly systematized, in the second place the parts of speech were more thoroughly differentiated, and as a consequence the sentences proper were organized, in the third place words became more thoroughly representative of distinct unqualified ideas, and in the fourth place new words were developed to express the new ideas of civilization. Into this branch of the subject it is not proposed to enter on the present occasion, from the fact that a knowledge of the structure of barbaric languages is necessary to its elucidation, and such knowledge is as yet the property of but a small number of philologists, and hence this subject could not be made intelligible was a great agency in the progress of culture.

to persons not specialists in this department of research. But there is a linguistic art which was highly developed at this stage and which

In savagery picture-writings were invented. In barbarism picture-writings were developed into hieroglyphs. Hieroglyphic writing was a great improvement upon picture-writing, as it could be utilized in a much larger field of expression. Yet to a large extent hieroglyphics were esoteric. Their knowledge was confined to the few, and the few obtained this knowledge with great labor; and the people at large rather looked upon such a writing as something occult, and as an agency for the practice of sorcery. So to a large extent it remained in the custody of the priest-doctors. But the record of the lore of this time was hieroglyphic, and the lore itself was a mixture of cosmogonies, genealogies, religions, and laws. It was sometimes in poetic form, and often contained much proverbial wisdom. During the course of events by which the city states were organized into tribute-paying nations the various hieroglyphic systems came into competition, and they were examined and compared by travelers and priest-doctor scholars. Probably the original purpose of this comparison was the study of the lore embodied therein, but the result was the same; the hieroglyphics themselves coming to be primary subjects of study, gradually there was developed therefrom alphabetic systems. Thus alphabets were invented, not at once, as fully developed systems of writings, but by a multiplicity of minute changes in the direction of simplification and intelligibility.

When alphabets were invented there was a great development of literature in history, philosophy, and poetry.

It is not necessary for present purposes to explain the development of language through the course of civilization, though the theme is attractive. The change in structure exhibited in ancient Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and other languages has been very great, for out of them have been developed English, French, and German—languages worthy of the stages of culture to which they belong, and as immeasurably superior to the languages from which they were produced as instruments for the expression of thought as the Arabic system for the notation of numbers is superior to the Roman system.

THE CHANGE IN OPINIONS.

Opinions constitute philosophies. They relate to the origin and constitution of the universe, or such of it as is within the current

knowledge of the time. They relate to the explanation of all phenomena of nature and of society. Now the fundamental characteristics of the philosophy of barbarism are these: The universe is centered about and subservient to the part of the world occupied by the barbaric tribe. All of nature outside of mankind, is conceived to be governed by invisible personages, by a tribe of gods who control the operations of nature, the succession of day and night, the changing of the seasons, the coming and going of winds and storms. These same personages are supposed to take a more or less active part in the affairs of men. They are endowed with passions and ambitions like unto men, but their powers are superhuman. Beneath these there are supposed to be other tribes of mysterious beings, the demons that hide among the rocks, that dwell in the depths of the sea, that inhabit the rivers and springs, that are concealed in the dark forests. These also go about the world performing many wonderful feats and often take part in the affairs of men. All phenomena the origin of which is not immediately apparent are attributed to these invisible beings, the gods or the demons. In the development of simple barbaric tribes into city states and into tribute-paying nations, these nature gods pass through an interesting transformation. Their identification with the phenomena of nature is lost, and *pari passu* with this loss they are more highly invested with mental and moral attributes; so that each god ultimately comes to be the representative of some psychic activity and often of some social or industrial function. Thus there comes to be a god of war, a god of peace, a god of love, a god of revelry, a god of invention, and so forth. Thus it was that physitheism was transformed into psychotheism. Then psychotheism underwent a change. It has already been pointed out that in the early history of the organization of nations there grew up a comparative study of lores, that is, of the bodies of opinion entertained by different nations that come in contact with one another. The comparative study of languages was but a concomitant study of lores, of opinions, of philosophies. Now this comparative study of philosophies related chiefly to mythologies. The early scholars of civilization discovered many similarities in the mythologies extant at the time, and that led them to the interesting conclusion that all of these mythologies were originally one, and that the differences discovered by them resulted from corruption due to imperfect transmission from age to age. With this theory as their fundamental postulate analysis and

comparison were pushed far. In the course of this investigation many very different schools of philosophy were developed, but they may all be classified in a general way into two groups, one group having a tendency to resolve all mythologies into one system and to explain all mythologic tales as allegories relating to the physical and moral world. The philosophies of the other school tended more and more toward destructive criticism and a disbelief in all mythology. To them myths gradually became idle tales, and the gods the creatures of fancy. Some of the ancient philosophers thus became profound theists, others profound atheists.

Into this contest of philosophies a new factor was introduced, which ultimately had great influence in the progress of philosophy. When the great consolidated and thoroughly organized nations were founded, when kings aspired to universal rule, the philosophies which tended to the unification of these religions were adopted by these rulers, to become the foundations of the religions of the states which they governed. Monotheism was the central idea of these philosophies, and monotheism now began to be the basis of state religions. Thus it was that psychotheism with its many gods was transformed into monotheism, and governments became propagandists of religions.

With the change in theology there was a change in religion. In barbarism, domestic worship was ancestor worship, or the worship of the tutelar deity of the clan in some other form; with the destruction of the clan by civilization the worship of the ancestor and tutelar deity fell into decay and the tribal worship developed into worship of the national gods, and was chiefly public, though many religious observances remained, intended to propitiate the minor deities and demons.

In early civilization the office of priest-doctor was divided and two professional classes were established, ecclesiastics and physicians, the one for the cure of the soul, the other for the healing of the body, though ever and anon the priests claimed superhuman powers in the cure of diseases.

The philosophy of ancient civilization has thus been defined; the philosophy of modern civilization into which it has been developed is not a part of our subject.

THE CHANGE OF MENTATIONS.

In barbarism men had learned the simple rules in arithmetic. The organization of the first great tax-gathering nation of which we have knowledge, on the banks of the Nile, ultimately led to the gathering of a vast population within the valley, so that it became necessary to utilize all the flood waters of the river in the fertilization of the soil to produce the food necessary to support the vast population gathered in the desert-bound valley. Then land-mensuration was invented; and time-mensuration, as the people became dependent on the seasons; when geometry was invented mathematical reasoning was born.

When the great scholars of many nations had studied and compared many languages, many political systems and laws, and especially when they had studied and compared many systems of mythology and found that opinions were immeasurably diverse, they made the still deeper discovery that men had everywhere reasoned on false analogies; and in order that they might discover the truth itself, they sought to discover some method by which they could identify truth when found—some test of truth, some miraculous talisman that would glow when truth was spoken! In this search for the touchstone of truth, they said to themselves: "The human mind is primarily endowed with fundamental principles by which all opinions may be tested. Fundamental principles—major premises—are the glowing talismans of truth." It was introverted thought that led to this conclusion. With these primordial principles, which every thinker believed he discovered within himself, the machinery of formal logic was devised. This formal logic led to a new philosophy which never extended very far so as to lead great bodies of men into methods of interpreting nature. Still, it was a philosophy which gained credence among the few and by which some of the phenomena of nature received interpretation among these few. So strangely, indeed, early civilization developed mathematical reasoning by which the truth itself is reached and also metaphysical reasoning, which leads only to the realm of plantasms.

The most important acquisition to intellectual activity ever gained by man is the power of inductive reasoning beyond the penetration of the senses and beyond senuous conceptions and into a realm in which conclusions are reached which are apparently contradicted by the senses and by experience. Mr. Lester F. Ward, a vice-president

of this Society, has with great acumen and skill shown how often the phenomena of nature are misleading as they are presented directly to the mind. To the senses the earth is standing still and the heavens are revolving about it. This is the direct teaching of our perceptions. But the reason is carried by many inductions to the conclusion that the seeming motions of the stars from east to west are indeed but measures of the motion of the earth on its axis from west to east. To all sensuous perceptions material things disappear and are annihilated—something becomes nothing. On the other hand, to the same sensuous perceptions creations appear; out of nothing something comes, and yet in spite of the constant averment of the senses the grand induction is reached that matter cannot be created or destroyed. That motion comes to an end is ever the experience of the senses. In fact it seems to be observed in every moment of wakefulness; and that it might be brought into existence from a state of rest seems to be a constant observation. Thus the senses attest to the belief that motion can be created or destroyed. Yet in spite of universal sensuous perceptions the grand induction has been reached that motion is persistent; and in general throughout the phenomena of nature, that which first appears to observation is but appearance; the verity is discovered only by profound investigation.

This power to reach inductive conclusions in opposition to current and constant sensuous perceptions is the greatest acquisition of civilized culture.

With the advent of civilization a new class of mental activities developed. The desire to know had existed throughout the whole course of culture, but in civilization this desire found new expression in scientific research. It has already been noted that the arts of civilization made men travelers and thus made men scholars, for the travelers wherever they went found new arts, new institutions, new languages, and new opinions which challenged their attention and they were led into comparative studies. It is a curious fact that in the development of any new science the term comparative is usually taken as a part of its name, for it is at once seen that the new science arises out of the adoption of new lines of comparison. Thus quite early in civilization the science of comparative jurisprudence was developed. Out of this came what was called at first "the law of nations," which must not be confounded with international law, the law of nations being the formulated code or system of

principles discovered to exist in the laws of all nations. In like manner the comparative study of languages led to early development of the science of philology ; so at the very dawn of civilization many new sciences were born, men engaged in research for the sake of discovering new truths and in so doing sought for and collected new facts and made new and various comparisons, and it was in this manner that scientific research was instituted. Along the entire course of culture it had been well known that knowledge would be utilized to secure benefits ; in civilization it was discovered that knowledge could be increased and increasing benefits would result therefrom. In the earlier stages of culture invention led to discovery. The utilization of knowledge led to new knowledge ; but in civilization research led the way and the increasing knowledge was utilized by invention to secure new benefits. Thus research increases science, and science is applied to useful purposes, and scientific research belongs to civilization only. Early invention grew out of the physical wants and desires of mankind and was directed towards their supply. In civilization invention was directed into new channels and man began to invent methods and instruments of research. Thus it was that the mental activities of man were greatly increased by civilization.

It is not a part of the present task to exhibit the course of intellectual progress through civilization ; this would lead to the history of the invention of scientific instruments and appliances for investigation by which the human senses are extended into realms of perception at first unknown to civilization ; such, for example, as the invention of the telescope, the microscope, and the spectroscope, and the method by which the earth is weighed with the pendulum, and by which, with measured angles and mathematical formulæ, the distances of the stars are learned. It would also lead us to a consideration of the growth of inductive reasoning, by which facts are classified into groups and groups of groups are made until conclusions are reached of such great proportions that only minds trained by the handling of these inductions through all their stages are able to grasp them. It would lead us to a consideration of the methods of reasoning by which the apparent dome of the heavens has been resolved into an infinitude of space filled with an infinity of worlds. It would also lead us to a consideration of the methods by which the mountains and the lakes and the seas and all material objects have been resolved in knowledge into minute and almost infinitesimal

atoms and by which heat, light, and electricity have been discovered to be but modes of motion. It would lead us also into consideration of the subject of the evolution of worlds and the evolution of life itself. All of this belongs to the history of civilization.

Let us return then, to a brief characterization of savagery, barbarism, and civilization; and in order that it may be laconic, all qualifications and provisos must be neglected.

The age of savagery is the age of stone; the age of barbarism the age of clay; the age of civilization the age of iron.

The savage propels his canoe with a paddle; the barbarian propels his boat with oars; the civilized man navigates the sea with ships propelled by sails.

In savagery, music is only rythm'; in barbarism it is rythm and melody; in civilization it is rythm, melody, and harmony.

The age of savagery is the age of kinship clan, when maternal kinship is held most sacred; the age of barbarism is the age of kinship tribes, when paternal kinship is held most sacred; the age of civilization is the age of nations, when territorial boundaries are held most sacred.

In savagery, law is designed to secure peace; in barbarism, to secure peace and authority; in civilization, to secure peace, authority and justice.

In savagery, law extends only to kindred; in barbarism, to kindred and retainers; in civilization, to all the people of the nation.

The age of savagery is the age of sentence words; the age of barbarism the age of phrase words; the age of civilization the age of idea words.

In savagery, picture-writings are used; in barbarism, hieroglyphs; in civilization, alphabets.

In savagery, there is no verb "to be;" in barbarism, there is no verb "to read;" in civilization, verbs are resolved into parts of speech.

In savagery, beast polytheism prevails; in barbarism, nature polytheism; in civilization, monotheism.

In savagery, a wolf is an oracular god; in barbarism, it is a howling beast; in civilization, it is a connecting link in systematic zoology.

In savagery, the powers of nature are feared as evil demons; in barbarism, the powers of nature are worshiped as gods; in civilization, the powers of nature are apprenticed servants.

In savagery, men can only count; in barbarism, they have arithmetic; in civilization, they understand geometry.

In savagery, vision is limited by opinion; in barbarism, vision is limited by horizon; in civilization, vision is limited by the powers of the telescope and microscope.

In savagery, reason is based on zoomorphic analogies; in barbarism, on anthropomorphic analogies; in civilization, on intrinsic homologies.

To those who have heard my addresses on this subject and by whom I have not failed to be understood it will appear that I have denied many of the fundamental propositions of that school of philosophy which extends the methods of biotic evolution to the realm of mankind. I have affirmed that the man and the beast belong to different kingdoms of nature, and that the law of animal evolution is not the law of human progress. I have denied that man has progressed by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence, and I have affirmed that old philosophy that human progress is by human endeavor, exhibited in the effort to utilize the powers and materials of nature by his inventions; in the effort to establish peace and justice; in the effort to express thought by the invention of language; in the effort to learn the truth by investigating the phenomena of the universe; and in every effort of intellectual activity. This same philosophy which affirms the futility of endeavor is the philosophy of "let alone." It is the philosophy that asks the question of scepticism: "What do social classes owe to one another?" It is the philosophy of the robber who fears to encounter the wronged owner; it is the philosophy of the murderer who asks the question of denial: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Metaphysics, the philosophy of Aristotle, was the cloud which hid the sun of truth from mankind through the middle—the dark ages. Should the philosophy of Spencer, which confounds man with the brute and denies the efficacy of human endeavor, become the philosophy of the twentieth century, it would cover civilization with a pall and culture would again stagnate. But science rends that pall, and mankind moves on to a higher destiny. Now, let me return to my theme:

The greatest intellectual discovery of savagery was the discovery of the difference between the animate and the inanimate, between the organic and inorganic, between the living world and the dead world; but the discovery having been made, the animals were deified

and believed to be the authors and movers of the world of phenomena. The greatest intellectual achievement of barbarism was the discovery of the limited powers of animals; but the discovery having been made, the powers and wonders of nature were deified and given the forms of men. The greatest intellectual achievement of civilization was the discovery of the physical explanation of the powers and wonders of the universe, and the intellectual superiority of man, by which he becomes the master of those powers and the worker of wonders.

In savagery, the beasts are gods; in barbarism, the gods are men; in civilization, men are *as gods*, knowing good from evil.

The above, constituting the annual address of the retiring president, was delivered March 16, 1886, at the 107th regular meeting of the Anthropological Society of Washington. There were present on special invitation the members of the Philosophical, Biological, Chemical, and Women's Anthropological Societies, and other friends of the Society.

THE *Allgemeine Deutsche Hebammen-Zeitung*, February 1st, 1888, is our authority for the following :

The role played by woman among the Montenegrins seems to be an unhappy one. This would appear from the fact that in that country the birth of a daughter is viewed as almost a misfortune, or at least as a disappointment. This idea prevails even to the highest classes. When a daughter is born to a family the father must step across the threshold of his house with downcast eyes, as if to show that he begged the forgiveness of his friends and acquaintances. If several daughters are born in succession the mother must summon seven priests, who bless oil and sprinkle it around. Besides this the threshold of the house must be replaced by a new one, because it is generally believed that on the wedding night the house was bewitched by evil powers.

On the contrary, the birth of a boy is celebrated with great rejoicings, which are shared in by all friends and acquaintances. Among the many good wishes which the parents frequently receive, this one is probably the most peculiar—namely, the wish that the young male scion will not die in bed but on the field of battle.