

THE
MAKING OF MAN
AN OUTLINE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDITED BY
V. F. CALVERTON

BENNETT A. CERF · DONALD S. KLOPPER
THE MODERN LIBRARY
NEW YORK

Copyright, 1931, by THE MODERN LIBRARY, INC.

First Modern Library Edition

1931

Manufactured in the United States of America
Bound for THE MODERN LIBRARY by H. Wolff

To
ROBERT BRIFFAULT

warm friend,
and one of the most amazing and original
minds of our generation.

PREFACE

A WELL-KNOWN anthropologist described this volume, upon surveying its contents, as a "Golden Treasury of Anthropology." For my part, I should hesitate to call it that. Knowing the difficulties in its composition, I doubt whether it is even a bronze treasury. But some kind of treasury it aims to be, at least in the absence of any other book of this type.

The materials in this book have not been gathered together for the professional anthropologist or the professional research-worker. Any student of the subject already knows them. They have been collected, on the other hand, for social scientists in general, whose knowledge of anthropology on the whole is often very limited and is too seldom used for correct correlations, and for that vast army of readers who are interested in the development of the social sciences but are unable to pursue their interest through many of the ramifications of the materials.

With that end in mind this volume might have been edited in a number of ways. I chose the one that seemed to me at once the most economical and fruitful. As it is I have been forced to leave out much material that I originally planned to include. My particular regret in this respect is that I had to exclude, for lack of space, a whole section on primitive art. The only selection dealing with primitive art in this volume is that of Déchelette on the Art of the Reindeer Epoch. I had wanted especially to use a chapter from Boas' valuable work: *Primitive Art*, but that too had to be sacrificed along with the other articles in that section. Sacrifices of a different variety often had to be made in order to preserve something of the unity of the volume.

I have not aimed to use selections from anthropologists which are representative of their work as a whole—or which

even stand forth as their best-known or their highest-valued contributions to their subject. My purpose was not of that character. I have thought of the book as a unit, and have selected those contributions which have helped preserve that unity. Wherever possible, of course, I have tried to use articles or chapters from an author's work which do represent his stand or position in the theoretical field. In many cases, to be sure, that was impossible. In a few cases I have had to use articles from various authors that are not representative of their work in general. Exigencies in the organization of the book made such choices in places unavoidable.¹ A chapter from Wissler's *American Indian* or *Man and Culture*, for example, would have been better, no doubt, than the chapter on Technology which I chose from his recent book, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. Chapters from the earlier books, however, did not fit as well into the plan of organization, or fulfill as specific a need, as the chapter on Technology. Similar considerations motivated a number of the other choices—especially those from Lowie and Kroeber. In the case of Boas in particular I should have liked to have had the selections more adequate and representative. Boas' main work, however, has appeared in monographic form. It covers a vast area of material, and in extensivity of detail and excellence of analysis is unsurpassed by that of any other worker in the field. Unfortunately, though, most of these monographs are concerned with materials and problems that are too technical for use in this volume. I used Goldenweiser's monograph on Totemism only because it served a very definite purpose in the volume. Goldenweiser has contributed so many other important essays in the general field that I only wish it had been possible to have included more of his work—for sheer critical analysis Goldenweiser, in my opinion, is scarcely surpassed by any other American anthropologist. As a consequence of these necessities of choice and exclusion, the book undoubtedly has lost in individual representativeness, although it has gained in conceptual unity.

I am glad that the organization of the book made it possible for me to include representatives of four main schools of anthropology: the French, the English, the German, and the American. In a book of this kind, where theory is of more interest and importance than the pure depiction of fact, the divergent attitudes and positions of the various schools should be represented, since, as Rivers says, "there is so great a degree of divergence between the methods of work of the leading schools of different countries, that any common scheme is impossible, and the members of one school wholly distrust the work of the others whose conclusions they believe to be founded on a radically unsound basis." While the theoretic differences of the several schools may not be fully elaborated in the respective essays—the evolutionary and institutional emphasis of the English school (Rivers, Perry, Briffault, etc.), the collectivistic emphasis of the French (Lévy-Bruhl), the non-theoretical and somewhat psychological emphasis of the American (Boas, Lowie, Kroeber), and the environmental emphasis of the German (Graebner)—the work of their several representatives that are included here testify to their differences of approach.

A word of explanation is also needed to show why I have included the work of various writers whose theories have already been outmoded. In most cases such choices have been made because the work of these writers was at one time important, and because it exerted such a wide influence in its heyday, and in the history of the subject cannot be neglected. The work of Bachofen, for example, is a good illustration of this. No one to-day would take Bachofen's arguments and evidence seriously, and yet no one can deny that they were influential in their day. Yet no one interested in the development of anthropological thought, at least from a historical point of view, can neglect Bachofen, however untenable they may view his conclusions. The inclusion of this chapter from *Das Mutterrecht* marks the first time, as far as I know, that Bachofen has been translated into English. The same can be said to be true,

I believe, of Graebner. In addition to Bachofen and Graebner, I also have had a chapter from Déchelette's *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*, translated and included in this anthology. Although Tylor's work on animism has dated somewhat, no anthology of anthropological work would be complete without it.

Although I have not included any discussion of the theory of cultural origins, involving the whole problem of invention and diffusion or what has been called by Spinden the prosaic school versus the romantic, the general aspects of the controversy emerge from the essays of the various exponents of the different schools that are included. W. J. Perry and G. Elliot Smith are certainly typical enough of the romantics; and Malinowski, Goldenweiser and a number of others are representative enough of the prosaics. I included Freud and Roheim because I think the psychoanalytic approach—which, by the way, early influenced Rivers, Goldenweiser, and Malinowski, although Malinowski has lately repudiated much of its logic—should be represented, however far-fetched and unscientific may be its contentions and conclusions. The chapter from Carpenter was included, dubious though certain of its materials may be, because it represents a unique approach to the problem of homosexuality in primitive culture.

The only essay that was written especially for this volume is the one on Law and Anthropology which was done by Mr. Huntington Cairns. In the absence of any good material in this field, I asked Mr. Cairns, who has already done a great deal of work in the way of synthesizing law and the social sciences, to make a special study of the theme, and the happy result of my request is to be discovered in his essay in Part III.

I want to express here my particular thanks to Frida Ilmer for her translations of the selections from Bachofen, Graebner, and Déchelette. I owe a deep debt of gratitude also to Charles Smith who generously helped prepare the manuscript for the printer. In addition I want to thank Bernhard

J. Stern for several valuable suggestions which he made about the volume as a whole, and Ruth Benedict for her kind answers to my several letters about problems that concerned me in this book.

In conclusion let me add that if this book helps social scientists and the general reader get a better and more informed and various idea of the nature of primitive man and the theories concerning him, it will have served its purpose. We are in more need of syntheses in the social sciences to-day than ever before. Anthropology in general is neglected by the social sciences—or when it is utilized it is usually anthropological doctrine that is behind the times, or doctrine that is especially peculiar to a specific school. At least most of the prevailing schools are represented in these pages. Most of the doctrines represented here also are modern—with the exception of those of the classical school which have been included mainly for historical reference.

I also want to guard the reader against viewing my Introduction as representative of the spirit of the volume as a whole. I have expressed in the Introduction a point of view that is specifically my own, and which should be considered as such, and not looked upon as representing that of the other contributors to the book.

I want to thank the following publishers for permission to use certain of the chapters included in this book: George Allen & Unwin; American Anthropological Association; *American Journal of Sociology*; D. Appleton & Co.; *The Century Magazine*; Chapman & Hall; *Columbia Law Review*; Dodd, Mead & Co.; Harcourt, Brace & Co.; Harper & Brothers; Henry Holt & Co.; Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.; Horace Liveright, Inc.; The Macmillan Company; Macmillan & Company; Methuen & Co.; William Morrow & Co.; *The New Republic*; W. W. Norton & Co.; David Nutt; Oliver & Boyd; Kegan Paul; Alphonse Picard et Fils; *Psyche*; Carl Winter; *Scientia*.

V. F. CALVERTON.

NEW YORK,
September 10, 1930.

NOTES

¹ For those who wish to pursue the subject at greater length, however, the bibliography will provide material for further guidance. I have been particularly careful in the bibliography to avoid selections that would be of only technical interest to the reader. In certain cases I have noted technical articles, but only because I think the reader might find them of value. In general, however, I have confined the bibliography to materials of more theoretic character.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | vii |
| INTRODUCTION: Modern Anthropology and the Theory of Cultural Compulsives <i>V. F. Calverton</i> | I |
| I. FOSSIL AND PREHISTORIC MAN | |
| 1. Fossil Men <i>Marcelin Boule</i> | 41 |
| 2. The Structure of Prehistoric Man <i>Wilson D. Wallis</i> | 64 |
| 3. The Tasmanians <i>W. J. Sollas</i> | 77 |
| 4. The Art of the Reindeer Epoch <i>Joseph Déchelette</i> | 95 |
| 5. The Peking Man <i>J. H. McGregor</i> | 104 |
| II. RACE AND LANGUAGE | |
| 1. The Problem of Race <i>Franz Boas</i> | 113 |
| 2. Language, Race, and Culture <i>Edward Sapir</i> | 142 |
| III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION | |
| 1. Das Mutterrecht <i>J. Bachofen</i> | 157 |
| 2. Organization of Society upon the Basis of Sex <i>Lewis H. Morgan</i> | 168 |
| 3. Motherright <i>E. S. Hartland</i> | 182 |
| 4. Group-Marriage and Sexual Communism <i>Robert Briffault</i> | 203 |
| 5. Property <i>W. H. R. Rivers</i> | 234 |
| 6. The Solidarity of the Individual with His Group <i>Lucien Lévy-Bruhl</i> | 249 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 7. Initiation Ceremonies | <i>Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen</i> | 281 |
| 8. The Coming of the Warriors | <i>W. J. Perry</i> | 306 |
| 9. Law and Anthropology | <i>Huntington Cairns</i> | 331 |
| 10. Totemism | <i>Alexander Goldenweiser</i> | 363 |
| 11. The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America | <i>G. Elliot Smith</i> | 393 |
| 12. Causality and Culture | <i>F. Graebner</i> | 421 |
| 13. Banaro Society | <i>Richard Thurnwald</i> | 429 |
| 14. Technology | <i>Clark Wissler</i> | 446 |
| 15. Cannibalism | <i>William Graham Sumner</i> | 466 |

IV. SEXUAL CUSTOMS AND SOCIAL PRACTICE

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-----|
| 1. The Origin of Love | <i>Robert Briffault</i> | 485 |
| 2. Homosexual Love | <i>Edward Westermarck</i> | 529 |
| 3. The Relations Between the Sexes in Tribal Life | <i>Bronislaw Malinowski</i> | 565 |
| 4. Formal Sex Relations in Samoa | <i>Margaret Mead</i> | 586 |
| 5. The Savage's Dread of Incest | <i>Sigmund Freud</i> | 603 |
| 6. The Intermediate Type as Prophet or Priest | <i>Edward Carpenter</i> | 619 |

V. RELIGION

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|-----|
| 1. Animism | <i>Sir Edward B. Tylor</i> | 635 |
| 2. The Conception of Mana | <i>R. R. Marett</i> | 660 |
| 3. Animism and the Other World | <i>Geza Róheim</i> | 676 |

| | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------|-----|
| 4. | Magic and Religion | <i>Sir James Frazer</i> | 693 |
| 5. | The Growth of a Primitive Religion . | <i>A. L. Kroeber</i> | 714 |
| 6. | Woman and Re- ligion | <i>Robert H. Lowie</i> | 744 |

VI. EVOLUTION OF ATTITUDES

| | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------|-----|
| 1. | Evolution of Hu- man Species . . . | <i>Robert Briffault</i> | 761 |
| 2. | Collective Repre- sentation in Primi- tives' Perceptions and the Mystical Character of Such . | <i>Lucien Lévy-Bruhl</i> | 771 |
| 3. | The Science of Cus- tom | <i>Ruth Benedict</i> | 805 |
| 4. | Concept of Right and Wrong | <i>Paul Radin</i> | 818 |
| 5. | Class Relations . . | <i>L. T. Hobhouse</i> | 828 |

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| BIOGRAPHIES | 865 |
|-----------------------|-----|

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 875 |
|------------------------|-----|

INTRODUCTION *

MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE THEORY OF CULTURAL COMPULSIVES

By V. F. CALVERTON

THE growth of the science of anthropology is closely bound up with the development of the doctrine of evolution. Neither could have advanced very far, however, without the aid of the other. Both were, and still are, part of a complete cycle of intellectual change. Curiously enough the rise of both illuminates a tendency in nineteenth century thought that we have no more than begun to escape to-day—a tendency to see the past in terms of the present, or, what is worse, in terms of what is thought to be the present. In different words, it is to view others, to interpret their ideas, to adjudge their institutions, in terms of ourselves, setting forth our own ideas and institutions as an absolute criterion. This whole tendency was an inevitable outgrowth of nineteenth century logic with its evolutionary emphasis.

Now the doctrine of evolution and the science of anthropology did not spring upon the nineteenth century mind full-blown, like a dazzling intuition, shattering all the previous fictions about man in a sudden intellectual sword-thrust. On the contrary, they were a result of a cumulative process which derived its momentum from the vast movements of men and materials that had been set agog in that century. While theories of evolution, as we know, arose first with the Greeks, it was not until the eighteenth century that they made any headway in the western world. Prior to

* This introduction had an English publication in *Psyche*, October, 1930, and an American publication in the *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1931.

Charles Darwin, in the works of such men as Buffon, Erasmus Darwin, Goethe, Saint-Hilaire and Lamarck, evolutionary hypotheses had been advanced in rapid succession. The whole doctrine of evolution was the consuming topic of the day. The very simultaneity with which Darwin and Wallace struck upon the theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest was magnificent proof of the intense activity of the idea at the time. Every force in the environment, economic and social, conspired to the success of the doctrine.

We should really wonder little at this when we realize that the outstanding characteristic of western Europe in the nineteenth century was *change*. Never before had man witnessed, in so brief a time, such vast revolutions in phenomena. The Industrial Revolution was the cause of these rapid transformations in western life. It was the dynamo that shot the age agog with new desires and fresh vision. Life became afire with activity and creation. Newness almost lost its novelty. New aspirations multiplied with every dawn. Invention succeeded invention until the genius of the age became a miracle in mechanics. Tiny wires became the conductors of great energy; inert metals became moving machines; water, air, and earth became the source of new discovery and power. Fantastic fictions became pragmatic achievements. Leonardo da Vinci's futile experimentations became realized science. Jules Verne became a clairvoyant prophet. New conceptions burst pellmell upon the old, burying them in the débris of discarded superstition. Men became interested not in the wherefore of existence, but in its mastery. The machine promised a new world at human command. Men came to look upon the earth with new eyes. Unknown sources of energy were tapped on every side. Nothing was left unexplored. New truths were derived from old materials. The search for one reality led to the unexpected discovery of ten more.

As a result of this vast release of energy, set thus in motion by the machinery of the new age, science became—at least

for the new intellectuals—the new philosophy of life. Once an adventure into the strange and mysterious, it now became an open sesame to the control of the universe. Investigation succeeded analysis, and nothing was any longer safe from the invader's hands. Even the Bible, which had provided the mystic centerhood of western civilization, was no longer withheld from scientific scrutiny. The ancient æons of the earth's past soon disclosed themselves in geological formation and structure. The rapid mutations of the modern world revealed themselves in social science and historical theory. The idea of movement and change became an obsession. It was thus that the way was prepared for the acceptance of evolution not merely as a scientific formula but as a living addition to our culture.

If, before 1859, western civilization found its intellectual continuity in Biblical doctrine, after 1859 it found its new continuity in the doctrine of evolution. A doctrine is only seized upon in that fashion when it supplies some great need, emotional as well as intellectual, in the life of man. Darwin's theory of evolution supplied the need for a new philosophy of life. It not only afforded a new vista of human development, but it also provided a new justification of world-progress in terms of western civilization. The evolution of man was seen as a form of infinite progression, from lower forms to higher, with modern civilization as representative of the highest form in the evolutionary scale. But more than that, the Darwinian theory of natural selection made survival synonymous with advance. Since all life was a struggle for the *survival of the fittest*, that which survived was superior. And since western civilization had survived the most successfully in the struggle of civilizations, it must of necessity represent the highest point in human evolution. In keeping with this logic, the principles and institutions of western civilization were inevitably viewed as typical of the most advanced in the history of human mores. Private property, the monogamous family, the democratic political state, were all looked upon as exemplifying the great moral

progress of man. Individualism was envisioned as marking the great advance of civilized man over the savage—the supremacy of the differentiated over the undifferentiated. In other words, the Darwinian doctrine of evolution and the consequences of its logic proffered the best justification of the *status quo* of nineteenth century Europe that had appeared in generations. It harmonized perfectly with the philosophy of the ruling class of that day. Modern commerce and industry had broken down the ideological defenses of the old order which had grown up with feudalism and the agrarian tradition; new defenses were necessary for the new ideological front. The Darwinian doctrine supplied that defense. It rooted *laissez-faire* economics with its competitive logic in the very scheme of nature itself. It sanctioned individualism and the division of classes on the basis of the necessary struggle for the survival of the fittest. It even served as a prop for nationalism and the expanding imperialisms of the time. Whatever was, was, because it had to be—because it ought to be.

It was in this cultural milieu that anthropology had its origins. The same economic and social factors that made the doctrine of evolution into a new intellectual force caused anthropology to spring up as an immediate adjunct of evolutionary cause. The doctrine of evolution became the basic structure of their whole approach. Beginning with E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* in 1872, the main history of anthropological thought in the nineteenth century is concerned with the application of the doctrine of evolution to the interpretation of man's past. The application, however, was invariably made in relationship with nineteenth century values, values that are most often alluded to as Victorian. In other words, those early anthropologists studied primitive man not to find out what he was like, but what they thought he ought to be like. Blinded by the erroneous implications of the doctrine of evolution, namely that the values of nineteenth century civilization, having survived all other values, must exemplify the highest point in moral progress, these

anthropologists sought to find in primitive life the traces of those forms of behavior that were the lowest in the evolutionary scale. They were determined, however unconsciously, to superimpose their own rationality upon that of the primitive. A whole state of mind was at work here—and not merely an error in scientific approach. A state of mind fostered by the enormous material advance of nineteenth century civilization and the new ideological armament which it had already begun to perfect! This state of mind made it impossible for the anthropologists of that day to use the facts as they really were, or to interpret them except in the caricatured forms of current prejudices. They studied primitive man as one would a puzzle, shifting facts in every which way, out of all sequence and context, in order to find solutions. They were too anxious to find universal evolutionary laws which would explain the rise of man from the crudities of primitivism to the refinements of nineteenth century civilization. Influenced particularly by Morgan, these anthropologists of the evolutionary school soon concluded that society had passed through certain definite stages, a constant progression from the lower to the higher, in which modern civilization stood as an apex toward which all the past had converged. Not content, for instance, with tracing the development of marriage through its various forms, these men were equally concerned with proving that monogamy was the ultimate stage in marital evolution. At first it was postulated that man had originally lived in a state of primitive promiscuity or sexual communism; then he had advanced to the stage of group marriage, a stage still found among lingering primitive groups to-day; and finally, after years of change and crisis, he had progressed to the stage of monogamy in which he is at the present time. More than that, Morgan in particular stressed the determining part that property played in the history of primitive relations, and it was not very long before Morgan's doctrine, tail, kite, and all, was seized upon by the radicals and adopted as proof of, if not part of, Marxian philosophy.