INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION

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TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE writings of Professor Bücher, in their German dress, require no introduction to economists. His admirable work *The Population of Frankfurt in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, published in 1886, gave him immediate celebrity with economic historians, and left him without a rival in the field of historical statistics. In his treatment of economic theory he stands midway between the "younger historical school" of economists and the psychological Austrians.[1] A full list of his writings need not be given.[2] But I may recall his amplified German edition of Laveleye's *Primitive Property*, his little volume *The Insurrections of the Slave Labourers*, 143–129 B.C., his original and suggestive *Labour and Rhythm*, discussing the relation between the physiology and the psychology of labour, his investigations into trusts, and his co-editorship of Wagner's *Handbook of Political Economy* (the section *Industry* being in his charge) as indicating the general direction and scope of his researches. The present stimulating volume, which in the original bears the title *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft* (The Rise of National Economy), gives the author's conclusions on general industrial development. Somewhat similar ground has been worked over, among recent economic publications, alone by Professor Schmoller's comprehensive *Grundrisz der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Pt. I. But the method of treatment and the results of the present work allow it to maintain its unique position.

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[1] A few facts and dates regarding Professor Bücher's career may not be uninteresting. Professor Bücher was born in Prussian Rhineland in 1847. He completed his undergraduate studies at Bonn and Göttingen (1866–69). His rapid rise in the German scholastic world is evident from his academic appointments: special lecturer at Göttingen (1869–72), lecturer at Dortmund (1872–73), at Frankfurt Technical School (1873–78), and at Munich (1881); Professor of Statistics at Dorpat, Russia (1882), of Political Economy and Finance at Basel (1883–90), at Karlsruhe (1890–93), and at Leipsic (1893 to present) From 1878 to the close of 1880 he was Industrial and Social Editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

[2] This may be found in the Handwörterbuch d. Staatswiss.

Chapters I. and II. outline the prominent features of primitive economic life in the tropical zone. These realistic accounts of the "pre-economic stage of industrial evolution," preceding the dawn of civilization, ably emphasize the kinship of economics and ethnology. In chapter III. he presents brilliantly and concisely the suggestive series of economic developmental stages of household, town and national economy, based on the industrial relation of producer to consumer; and Chapter IV. offers a masterly survey of industrial systems—domestic work, wage-work, handicraft, commission work (house industry), and the factory. With these chapters may be classed Chapter V. *The Decline of the Handicrafts*. The remaining chapters analyze more specifically, from the viewpoints of the individual and society, some of the great processes of industrial evolution: union and division of labour; the intellectual integration of society as effected by the press; the formation of social classes; and the further adjustment of labour through internal migrations of population. At the same time they enrich economic terminology with many telling expressions.

"The worst use of theory is to make men insensible to fact," Lord Acton remarked in the opening number of the English Historical Review. Our author, with his store of minute facts, his keen analysis and his broad and refreshing generalizations, has known how to avoid the snare. His historical attitude is indicated by his advice that "our young political economists" be sent on journeys of investigation to the Russians, the Roumanians and the southern Slavs rather than to England and America. In the following pages, which in their present form I trust do not entirely obliterate the pleasing style of the original, his attention is, of course, devoted primarily to economic rather than to social and other considerations.

The volume has had in Germany an unusually influential circulation, and has recently been translated into French, Russian and Bohemian. As the preface notes, it has done extensive service as a general introduction to "economic thinking." Its use for this purpose, through the medium of special transcriptions, has already been remarked at some American universities. The hope may be indulged that its merits will now receive wider recognition, and in some measure impart to the reader the stimulus felt by the writer during a two years' attendance on the author's lectures in 1895-97. Editorial annotations, it may be added, have been confined to the narrowest limits.

In translating it I have had the valuable assistance of my colleague, Dr. G. H. Needler, Lecturer on German, University College, to whom I wish to express my deep obligations. My thanks are also due Professor Bücher for his patient answers to the many queries sent over the water to him, to Professor Mavor for varied aid during the work of revision, and to Mr. H. H. Langton and Mr. D. R. Keys for help in correcting proofs.

For the convenience of the general reader a short supplementary bibliography of recent works in English is appended.

S. M. W.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO,
April 9, 1901.

Haddon, *Evolution of Art* (1895); Lloyd Morgan, *Animal Life and Intelligence* (1891), *Habit and Instinct* (1896); Keane, *Man Past and Present* (1899); Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899); Mackenzie, *An Introduction to Social Philosophy* (2d ed., 1895); Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (1896), Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology* (trans. 1899); Loria, *Economic Foundations of Society* (trans. 1899); Ashley, *Economic History* (2 pts., 1888–92), *Surveys Historic and Economic* (1900); Gomme, *The Village Community* (1890); Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (2 vols., 1890–92), *Western Civilization* (1898); Booth, *Life and Labours of the People* (9 vols., 1889–97); Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration* (1890); Weber, *The Growth of Cities* (1899); Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (1894).

FROM THE PREFACES TO THE FIRST AND SECOND GERMAN EDITIONS.

(April 1893 and November 1897.)

THE lectures in this volume were originally delivered before audiences that were not composed of specialists exclusively. . . . Each lecture is complete in itself; the same trains of thought are indeed occasionally repeated, but in a different setting.

Yet it will readily be perceived that the different parts have an inner connection, and supplement each other both in subject and method. The fundamental idea running through them all is expressed in the third. As need scarcely be remarked, the lecture is not printed in the summary form in which it was delivered. I trust that the gain in accuracy and fulness of statement has not been at the expense of clearness.

The lectures are dominated by a uniform conception of the orderly nature of economic development, and by a similarity in the method of treating material. In both respects this accords with the practice which I have consistently followed ever since the inception of my academic activity and which during continued scientific work has become more and more clearly and firmly established. With the present publication I accede to the wish expressed by many of my former auditors in the only form at present possible, a form of whose insufficiency I myself am fully conscious.

In preparing a second edition one thing was clear: the book must be expanded in the direction in which it had been most effective. At its first appearance I had hoped that the little volume might exert some influence upon the method of treating scientific problems; and indeed there has appeared in recent years quite a series of writings by younger authors (some of whom were seemingly wholly unacquainted with my book), in which the results of the investigations here published are taken into account. This is outwardly evidenced by the use of the concepts and the technical expressions that I introduced into the literature of the subject, as if they were old, familiar, scientific furniture. It is perhaps justifiable to infer from this that the book has exercised some influence upon academic teaching.

But it seems to have found its chief circulation in the wider circles of the educated public, particularly among college students, who have used it as a sort of introduction to economics, and as a preparation for economic thinking. That naturally decided me to keep their wants very particularly in view in revising the book. In order to avoid misconceptions, however, I wish to state expressly that the employment of the book for this purpose requires the concurrent use of a good systematic treatise on the principles of political economy.

The better to meet the need of the larger class just mentioned, I have given some of the lectures of the first edition a simpler form, expanding them where necessary, and eliminating needless detail. Extensive alteration, however, has been confined to the lecture on the Organization of Work and the Formation of Social Classes. Here uniformity of treatment seemed to recommend a division into two chapters (VIII and IX), and such extensive additions as would serve to round off each independently of the other. The lecture on the Social Organization of the Population of Frankfurt in the Middle Ages has been omitted because it disturbed the greater uniformity aimed at for the complete work, and because, as a purely historical account, it is better suited to a collection of sketches in social and economic history, for which opportunity may perhaps be found later.

On the other hand three unpublished lectures have been added (Chaps. I, V, and VII). The first of these deals with the pre-economic period, and is intended to furnish the substructure for the system of economic stages which is developed in the third chapter. Its main features were sketched as early as 1885, in a lecture I delivered at the University of Basel on the beginnings of social history. . . . The second agrees in the major part of its matter, and also to a large extent in its form, with the report upon handicrafts that I presented at the last general meeting of the Social Science Club in Cologne. It seems advisable to give it a place in order to afford the reader at one point at least an insight into the great changes that are in progress in the field of modern industrial life. The third [entitled " Union of Labour and Labour in Common "] is an attempt to lay before a wider circle of readers, in the form in which I finally presented it to my university classes, a chapter from the theory of labour to which I have given considerable attention.

All the lectures in this volume, both old and new, were originally sections of university lectures. Every lecturer knows what a wonderful compilation his note-book is, how from semester to semester certain portions must be removed and reconstructed, how some parts are never approached without an inward struggle, and how finally the remaining difficulties are surmounted and the whole given a form satisfactory alike to teacher and students. To the lecture-room first of all belong the fruits of the scientific labours of the German university professor; but he also naturally wishes to submit what he has laboriously accomplished to the critical judgment of specialists; and for my part I feel in such cases the further need of testing the maturity of my conceptions by seeing whether they can be made intelligibly acceptable to a wider range of readers. So that all the lectures that have been taken over from the first edition were actually delivered before a more popular audience, while Chapters I and VII are essays in the same style. In the extent of their subject-matter, however, they all reach far beyond what can be offered directly to students in a university lecture.

In conclusion I may allude to two attacks that have been delivered by historians against some parts of the third and fourth lectures. The blame surely does not rest with me if these gentlemen have failed to perceive that this work treats of economic theory, not of economic history. He who, in the outline of a period of development extending over thousands of years, expects a minute and exhaustive presentation of the actual condition of any particular people and century, need blame only himself if he is disappointed. In the first edition I expressed myself clearly enough, I think, regarding the logical character of the economic stages. In the present edition I have taken occasion, however, to give the passages in question such a form that in future they cannot with good intentions be misunderstood. . . . Though for the central idea of my theory of development it is altogether immaterial whether I have in every particular characterized the economy of the Greeks and Romans correctly or not, or whether the guild handicraft of the Middle Ages was chiefly wage-work or chiefly independent hand-work (" price-work ").

PREFACE TO THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION.

In the present edition, bearing in mind the way in which this book came into existence and has since expanded, I felt strongly impelled to mark my appreciation of the recognition it has gained, as indicated by several editions and by translations into French, English, Russian, and Bohemian, by preparing additional chapters to remove a number of gaps still noticeable in the last issue. If I have not yielded to the temptation, it is chiefly for the reason that a larger bulk would necessarily prejudice the wider circulation of the volume.

The most disturbing want has been met by the insertion of a new chapter on the economic life of primitive peoples (Chapter II). The chapter differs from the more detailed one in volume 3 of the Yearbook of the Gehe Stiftung in its more summary form and in the addition of some not unimportant facts.

All the other chapters have been carefully revised and many slight improvements made. More extensive alterations are confined to Chapters I, III, VII, and VIII.

May the book in its present form satisfy its old friends and add new ones to the number!

CARL BÜCHER.

LEIPZIG, Oct. 15, 1900.

CHAPTER I.

PRIMITIVE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

ALL scientific investigation of industry starts with the assumption that man has a peculiar "economic nature" belonging to no other living creature. From this economic nature a principle is supposed to spring, which controls all his actions that are directed to the satisfaction of his wants. This is the economic principle, the fundamental principle of economic activity. This principle reveals itself in man's endeavour always and everywhere to attain the highest possible satisfaction with the least possible sacrifice (labour)—the "principle of least sacrifice."

According to this view all man's economic actions are actions directed toward an end and guided by considerations of profit. Whether or not the final impulse to economic labour is to be sought in the instincts of man (the instinct of self-preservation and of self-interest), the satisfaction of these instincts is always the result of a series of successive mental operations. Man estimates the extent of the discomfort that would arise from the non-satisfaction of a want felt by him; he measures the discomfort that the labour necessary to meet the want can cause him; he compares the discomforts with each other, and resolves to undertake the labour only when the accompanying sacrifice is less than the sacrifice of remaining unsatisfied. Moreover, upon undertaking the labour he again chooses the least burdensome among the various possible methods of procedure, and thus has a further series of considerations, estimations, comparisons, and judgments to enter upon.

In fact the whole science of political economy proceeds on the assumption that economic actions have behind them a rational motive and call into play the higher mental faculties; and it has evolved a kind of psychology of labour, by means of which it seeks to explain those actions in their typical progress. Economic activity is, therefore, something especially human; indeed the question whether the lower animals display similar activity, seems never to have been broached. The economic nature of man is something absolute, inseparable from the very character of man.[1]

Yet even among civilized mankind, from whose manifold activity the principle of economy has been deduced, indications are not wanting to show that the economic nature must be characteristic of different individuals in different degree. Between the industrious and the indolent, the provident and the improvident, the sparing and the spendthrift, there are innumerable gradations; and if we only observe the conduct of the child towards his possessions, we are easily convinced that the "economic nature" must be acquired anew by each human being, and that it is a result of education and custom, in which individuals differ no less than in their whole physical and mental development.

Having once reached this point, we shall scarcely be able to postpone the question, whether indeed that "economic nature" does not, for mankind in general, signify something acquired rather than something given by nature; and whether we must not assume at the beginning of human evolution a period of purely instinctive satisfaction of wants reaching over many thousands of years, such as we are accustomed to take for granted in the case of the lower animal.

The answer to this question can be gained only by proceeding inductively. The picture of primitive man that we make for ourselves must be not an imaginary one—no Robinson Crusoe story such as is so often encountered in the deductions of the "classical" economists. Its lines must all be drawn from reality; they must show us the actuality of the assumed conditions under which uncivilized man lives and the impulses under which he is conceived to act and later also think. Civilized man has always had a great inclination to read his conceptions and feelings into the mind of primitive man; but he has only a limited capacity for understanding the latter's undeveloped mental life and for interpreting, as it were, his nature.

To be sure, aboriginal man in actual existence can nowhere now be found. Great as is the number of primitive peoples that have gradually come within our ken, none of them stands any longer at the lowest stage of savagery; all show traces of the first step in civilization, for all know the use of fire.

Many writers, it is true, have imagined, under the stimulus of evolutionist theories, that they had succeeded, now here, now there, in discovering populations preserving the original animal state down to the present. As late a writer as Sir John Lubbock is inclined to deny to several tribes of the South Sea Islands a knowledge of fire. O. Peschel has been at pains to prove that the instances adduced by Lubbock are incorrect;[2] and with him we may regard as valid the assertion that upon the whole earth the tribe that has not made use of fire is yet to be found. Even the prehistoric cave discoveries, which show us men of the Ice Age along with the bear, the aurochs, and the reindeer, show traces of the use of fire. Fire indeed is a powerful influence in the direction of civilization. It enlarges man's sphere of sustenance, teaches him to harden the points of the wooden arrows and spears, to hollow out the tree, and to frighten away the wild beasts.

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[1] "The elements of economic character are firmly rooted in the physical and intellectual organization of man, and change just as little as his outward character does, at least in the periods which come within the scope of the history of mankind."—Wagner, *Grundlegung d. polit. Oekonomie* (3. Aufl.), I, p. 82. [As for animal sociology, it can hardly be said to have advanced as yet beyond animal psychology.—ED.]

Other investigators have imagined they have discovered human beings who lived together in small groups in trees, had fruits for food, and used only stones and cudgels as weapons and instruments, after the fashion of the higher apes. Frederick Engels[3] is of the opinion that by this assumption alone can we explain the continued existence of man alongside the great beasts of prey. Lippert, who investigates the case more carefully,[4] finds, it is true, that in the myth of the Egyptians the tree plays a certain rôle as an abode of spirits; but he is prudent enough not to conclude from this that the ancestors of the Egyptians dwelt in trees,—more prudent than the philologist Lazarus Geiger, who discovered a relic of tree-dwelling in the hammock used by the South American Indians. It is true that in Sumatra, Luzon, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and

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[2] *Races of Man* (New York, 1888), pp. 137 ff. I know, indeed, that the American writer Teale (quoted by Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, I, p. 52) has contradicted him in one instance. Mundt-Lauff has also, according to Peschel in "Natur" for the year 1879, p. 478, denied the use of cooked food by the Negritos in the Philippines, but his assertions again have been refuted by A. Schadenberg in the Ztschr. f. Ethnologie, XII (1880), pp. 143-4. [No ethnologist would now claim fireless tribes as known in actual existence.—Ed.]

[3] *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums u. des Staats*, p. 7.

[4] As above, pp. 67 ff.

among the Gaberi negroes in Central Africa, huts have been found built in between the branches of large trees;[5] and the same is reported of individual forest tribes of South America.[6] But so far as these products of primitive architecture are not mere temporary protective structures that are supplemented by permanent dwelling-places upon the ground, they are by no means the most unfinished of habitations, and the peoples using them prove by many kinds of implements, utensils, and domestic animals, and some of them even by the agriculture they carry on, that they no longer stand at the first dawn of civilization.

After what has been said there can be no object in searching out uncivilized peoples and beginning with a description of them, after the example of Klemm who opens his General History of Civilization with the Forest Indians of Brazil, although it is not to be denied that these stand at a very low cultural stage indeed. In the same connection other investigators cite tribes standing at no higher stage: the Bushmen in South Africa, the Batuas in the Congo basin, the Veddahs in Ceylon, the Mincopies in the Andaman Islands, the Negritos in the Philippines, the Australians of the continent, the now extinct Tasmanians, the Kubus in Sumatra, and the Tierra-del-Fuegians. To whom to adjudge the palm for savagery might be difficult to decide. O. Peschel[7] finds individual elements of civilization among them all, even among the Botokudos, whom he himself considers still nearest the primitive state.

The assumption of such a primitive condition, in which, armed with no other resources than are at the command of the lower animal, man has to join in the struggle for existence, is one of the necessary expedients of all sciences that aim at a history of man's development; and this is true of sociology and especially of political economy. We must, however, abandon the attempt to exemplify the primitive condition by any definite people. On the other hand, there is more prospect of scientific results in an endeavour to collect the common characteristics of the human beings standing lowest in the scale, in order, by starting with them, to arrive at a picture of the beginnings of economic life and the formation of society. But in this it is by no means necessary to confine ourselves to the above-mentioned representatives of the lowest manner of life; for every delimitation of that kind would challenge objections and contract the field of vision. Moreover the various elements of mental culture and material civilization are by no means so mutually dependent that all must necessarily develop at an equal pace, and thus we find among almost all primitive peoples characteristics that can have sprung only from the most ancient mode of life. The collection of these characteristics, and their combination into a typical picture, must, however, be our first task.

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[5] Nachtigal, *Sahara u. Sudan*, II, pp. 628 ff. Finsch, *Samoafahrten*, pp. 271 f. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, I, pp. 101, 105, 245, 386; II, p. 83. [Its different arrangement precludes citation from the admirable English edition: *The History of Mankind*, 2 vols., London, 1896-97.—Ed.]

[6] Waitz, *Anthropologie d. Naturvölker*, III, p. 393.

[7] *Races of Man*, pp. 149 ff.

Hitherto the process has usually been made too simple by deriving the characteristics of primitive man from civilized economic man. The many wants of man in a state of nature, so it has been argued, demanded for their satisfaction exertions beyond the capacity of the individual; protection from wild beasts or from the unchained elements could likewise be attained only by the labour of many. Accordingly writers have spoken of a collective carrying-on of the struggle for existence, and thus have had " primitive society " and a sort of communistic economy complete.

But man has undoubtedly existed through immeasurable periods of time without labouring. If so disposed, one can find plenty of districts upon the earth where the sago-palm, the plantain-tree, the breadfruit-tree, the cocoa- and date-palm, still allow him to live with a minimum of exertion. It is in such districts that tradition is fondest of placing paradise, the original home of mankind; and even modern research cannot dispense with the assumption that mankind was at first bound to such regions of natural existence and only by further development became capable of bringing the whole earth into subjection.

Of unions into organized society we find, moreover, hardly a trace among the lowest races accessible to our observation. In little groups[8] like herds of animals they roam about in search of food, find a resting-place for the night in caves, beneath a tree, behind a screen of brushwood erected in a few minutes to shelter them from the wind, or often in a mere hollow scooped in the ground, and nourish themselves chiefly with fruits and roots, though all kinds of animal food, even down to snails, maggots, grasshoppers, and ants are eaten also. The men as a rule are armed simply with bow and arrow or with a throwing-stick; the chief implement of the women is the digging-stick, a pointed piece of wood, which they use in searching for roots. Shy when they come in contact with members of a higher race, often malicious and cruel, they lead a restless life, in which the body, it is true, attains the maximum of agility and dexterity, but in which technical skill advances only with extreme sluggishness and one-sidedness. The majority of peoples of this type know nothing whatever of pottery and the working of metals. Even of wood, bast, stone, and bone they make but limited use, and this use leads in no way to a stock of utensils and tools, which indeed it would be impossible to carry about, because of their nomadic life, bearing as it does the character of one continuous search for food.[9]

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[8] Comp. on this point E. Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, p. 37.

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[9] In order to supplement this general account by a few details I will here introduce a portion of the description of the Negritos in the Philippines published in the work by A. Schadenberg, cited above. I give for the most part his own words:—The women among the Etas bear easily and quickly. Until able to walk, the child is carried by the mother, generally on the left thigh, in which case it assumes a sort of riding posture; or upon the back, as soon as it is able to hold itself on. The mother nurses it for about two years. At about the tenth year puberty comes; the Negrito youth is then tattooed, and from the moment when this decoration of his body is finished he is independent. He accordingly looks about him for a mate, who has in the majority of cases been selected for him beforehand and who, if possible, belongs to the same "family." The members of a "family," which generally numbers twenty to thirty persons, are under the control of an elective chieftain, who decides upon the camping-places and the time for breaking up. The family life is patriarchal in character. The father has unlimited power over the members of his family; he can chastise them and even barter away his children; the woman occupies a subordinate position and is treated as a chattel. The Negritos carry on bartering with the Tagalas; in this way they get supplies, chiefly of iron, in exchange for honey and wax. By means of the iron thus acquired they prepare part of their weapons, which consist of hunting-knives, arrows, bows, and spears. The Negritos are also very clever at throwing stones, in which they are greatly assisted by their keenness of vision. A stone in the hand of an otherwise unarmed Negrito is thus an offensive and defensive weapon not to be despised. Their clothing is very scant, hardly more than a breech-clout. Domestic utensils for permanent use are scarcely found at all among the Etas; sometimes a clay vessel got by barter with the Malays, and as a rule a piece of bamboo from three to four metres in length for holding drinking-water. Their toes are prehensile, and are of great assistance to them in climbing. In the matter of food they are not fastidious; it is both animal and vegetable in character—roots, honey, frogs, deer, wild-boar, etc. A Spanish ecclesiastic describes them as follows: "The pure Aitos or Negritos lead a secluded life; they have no fixed dwelling-place and do not build huts. The father, the mother, and the children are all provided with arrows, each having his own, and they set out together

These peoples have been designated "lower nomads"; but it can scarcely be proven that actual hunting forms their chief means of sustenance. They all make use of vegetable food as far as it is at all obtainable, and with those who live in a warmer climate this food seems to predominate. Stores of such fruits and roots they do not gather, though a region of plentiful supplies attracts a greater number of members of the tribe, as a rich feeding-ground draws together many lower animals; when it is exhausted they scatter again. And similarly as to the mollusks and insects which they consume; each individual at once swallows what he finds; joint household life is as little known as is a house. It is only when a large animal has been killed or found dead (the fondness for meat in a state of decay is widespread) that the whole group assemble,[10] and each devours as much as he can;

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upon the hunt. When they kill a deer or a boar, they halt at the spot where the animal has fallen, scoop a hole in the ground, place the animal in it and then build a fire. Each one takes the piece of the animal that suits his taste best and roasts it at the fire. And so they go on eating until they have filled their bellies, and when thus satiated they sleep on the earth which they have hollowed out, as pigs do when they have gorged themselves. When they awake they go through the same operation, and so on until all the meat is devoured; then they set out upon the hunt again." They observe no fixed times for sleeping and eating, but follow necessity in both cases. They age early; at forty or fifty the mountain Negritos are decrepit, white-haired, bent old men.—Compare further the descriptions of the Botokudos by Ehrenreich, Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XIX, pp. 1 ff; of the Bororos by K. v. d. Steinen, *Unter d. Naturvölk. Central-Brasil.*, pp. 358 ff.; of the Bushmen by Fritsch, as above, pp. 418 ff.; of the Veddahs by P. and F. Sarasin, *Die Weddas von Ceylon*; of the Australians by Brentano, Ztschr. f. Sozial- u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte, I, pp. 133-4.

[10] From the custom prevalent among some of the lower tribes of proclaiming the finding of food by means of loud calls, Lippert, as above, I, p. 246, concludes that "the consideration due to the family" is expressed in this way. In this connection it is to be observed that

but the method of hunting these animals strongly resembles the procedure of the wild beast stealing upon its prey. With their imperfect weapons these peoples are hardly ever in a position to kill an animal instantly; the chief task of the hunter consists in pursuing the wounded game until it sinks down exhausted.[11]

Regarding the constitution of the family among peoples of this class, there has been much discussion. Of late the opinion seems to be gaining ground that there exists among them a fellowship between man and wife that extends beyond a mere sexual relationship and is of life-long duration; while upon the other hand it cannot be denied that in case of a scarcity of food those loose groups easily split up, or at least individual members detach themselves from them. Only between mother and child is the relationship particularly close. The mother must always take her little one along with her on the march; and for that purpose she usually fastens it in some way on her back, a custom that is very general among all primitive peoples, even where they have gone over to agriculture. For several years the child must be nurtured at the breast or from the mother's mouth, but it soon acquires skill in procuring its food independently, and often separates itself from the community in its eighth or tenth year.

All the tribes involved in our survey belong to the smaller races of mankind, and in bodily condition give the

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many animals (for example, our domestic fowl) have the same custom. True, he lays stress upon the fact that no one thinks of collecting stores of provisions. Therefore, we are, further, not justified in agreeing to the proposal that has recently been made from several sides to designate these peoples as *gatherers of stores* (*Sammler*).

[11] Comp. G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Sud-Afrikas*, pp. 324, 425; Pogge, *Im Reiche d Muata Jamwo*, pp. 328-9; Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas*, pp. 260, 341; Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens*, pp. 665 ff.

impression of backward, stunted growth. We are not on that account, however, justified in regarding them as degenerate race fragments. The evidence rather goes to show that the more advanced races owe their higher physical development merely to the regular and more plentiful supply of food which agriculture and cattle-raising for centuries past have placed within their reach, while the peoples here in question have always remained at the same stage. Subject to all the vicissitudes of the weather and the fortune of the chase, they revel at times in abundance and devour incredible masses of food; still oftener, however, they suffer bitter want, and their only article of clothing, the breech-clout, is for them really the "hunger-strap" ("Schmachtriemen") of German story, which they tighten up in order to alleviate the pangs of gnawing hunger.[12]

How from this stage of primitive existence the path leads upward is manifest in countless typical examples furnished by ethnology. In addition to the collection of wild fruits and roots, the woman takes over the cultivation of food-plants. This she carries on at first with the customary digging-stick, later with a short-handled hoe. The man continues his hunting and fishing, which, in rich hunting-grounds and with more perfect weapons, he can make so productive that they furnish the greater part of his food. At times he supplements these by cattle-raising. In the procuring of food each sex has its sharply defined sphere of duties to which with advancing technical skill there are added in each case various industrial arts, which as a rule retain their connection with the original production and occupation. Among advanced primitive peoples all economic activity may be traced back to combinations of these elements; but in its details such labour is entirely dependent upon local natural conditions. We should therefore not be justified in any attempt to construct stages of development intended to hold equally good for negroes, Papuans, Polynesians, and Indians.

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[12] On the Bushmen comp. Fritsch, as above, p. 405; on the Australians, Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 332; on the Botokudos, Ehrenreich in the Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XIX (1887), p. 27.

But wherever we can observe it, the method in which primitive peoples satisfy their wants reminds us continually in many of its features of the instinctive doings of the lower animals. Everywhere their existence is still far from settled, and even the unsubstantial huts they erect are for the majority only temporary structures which, however much they vary from place to place and from tribe to tribe, always remain true to a type, and remind us of the nests of birds, which are deserted as soon as the brood is fledged.

When Lippert finds the fundamental and controlling impulse to cultural development in *material foresight*, he undoubtedly makes an advance upon earlier investigators; but the phrase itself is not happily chosen. It is utterly impossible to speak of foresight, in the sense of providing for the future, in connection with primitive peoples. Primitive man does not think of the future; he does not *think* at all; he only *wills*, that is, he wills to preserve his existence. The instinct of self-preservation and self-gratification is the prime agent of development, compared with which even the sexual instinct takes quite a secondary place.

Wherever it has been possible for Europeans to observe men in primitive conditions for any length of time they tell us of the incomparable dulness and mental inertness which strike the beholder; of their indifference to the sublimest phenomena of nature, their complete lack of interest in everything that lies outside the individual self. The savage is willing to eat, sleep, and, where necessary, to protect himself against the greatest inclemencies of the weather: this is his whole aim in life.

It is therefore entirely false and contrary to numerous well-accredited observations when Peschel straightway ascribes to savages a peculiar wealth of fanciful imaginings of a religious nature, and thinks that the closer the approach to the condition of nature the greater the range of belief. He evidently assumes that the course of the sun and the other phenomena of the heavens must be infinitely more impressive and stimulative of active thought to the primitive than to the civilized man. But that is by no means the case. Both among the Indians of Brazil and among the negroes, when travellers have asked about these things, the response has been that people never thought about them; and Herbert Spencer[13] has collected an abundance of examples which show that the lower races do not manifest any interest even in the most novel phenomena. The Patagonians, for example, displayed utter indifference when they were made to look into a mirror; and Dampier reports that the Australians whom he had taken on board of his ship paid attention to nothing but what they got to eat. Burton[14] calls the East Africans " Men who can think, but who, absorbed in providing for their bodily wants, hate the trouble of thinking. His [the East African's] mind, limited to the object seen, heard, and felt, will not, and apparently can not, escape from the circle of sense, nor will it occupy itself with aught but the present. Thus he is cut off from the pleasures of memory, and the world of fancy is altogether unknown to him."[15]

The same force, then, that impels the lower animal, the instinct for preserving its existence, is also the dominant instinctive impulse of primitive man. This instinct is limited in scope to the single individual; in respect of time, to the moment at which the want is felt. In other words: *the savage thinks only of himself, and thinks only of the present.* What lies beyond that is as good as closed to his mental vision. When, therefore, many observers reproach him with a boundless egoism, hardness of heart towards his fellows, greed, thievishness, inertness, carelessness with regard to the future, and forgetfulness, it means that sympathy, memory, and reasoning power are still entirely undeveloped. Nevertheless it will be wise for us to make these very characteristics our starting-point, in order to comprehend the relation of primitive man to the external world.

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[13] *Principles of Sociology*, vol. I, §§ 45-6.

[14] *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (New York, 1860), p. 489.

[15] Comp. the similar opinion of the missionary Cranz, *Historie von Grönland* (Frankfurt, 1780), p. 163, and Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization* (4th ed.), pp. 516-7.

In the first place, as concerns the *egoism* of the savage and his *hardness of heart* towards his nearest relations, this is a natural consequence of the restless nomadic life in which each individual cares only for himself. It shows itself most prominently in the extraordinarily widespread custom of *infanticide*, which extremely few primitive peoples are entirely free from.[16] The children impede the horde on the march and in the search for food. Therein lies the chief reason for their removal. Once become a custom, infanticide lives on in later stages of civilization; indisputable traces of it have been found not merely among the primitive peoples of Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and Polynesia, but even among the Arabs, the Romans, and the Greeks.

To infanticide is universally ascribed the exceptionally slow increase of the uncivilized races. But this is also dependent upon their short lives, and long lactation periods, during which, as is well known, conception rarely occurs, and this it is which forms the chief cause of their protracted tarrying at the same stage of civilization. That the natural bond between parents and children is nowhere very firm is seen also in the extremely common custom of adoption.[17] It is even said, for example, that in the " families " of the Mincopies the children of other parents are in the majority. It is significant that between their own and their adopted children they make, as a rule, not the slightest difference. Adoption may have arisen from the substitution of child-exposure for infanticide. If the natural mother was not in a position to take the new-born child along with her, perhaps another woman who was childless could, and thus the life of the child was saved.

Recent ethnographers have been at great pains to prove that the strength of maternal love is a feature common to all stages of civilization. It is, indeed, a matter of regret to us that we find wanting in our own species a feeling that exhibits itself in such a pleasing way among many families of lower animals. But there have been too many observations showing that among the lower races the mere care for one's own existence outweighs all other mental emotions, in fact that beside it nothing else is of the least importance. All observers are amazed and even indignant at the indifference with which children, when once they can shift for themselves, separate from their blood-relations.[18] Yet we have here only the reverse side of that hardness of heart which "enables husbands to refuse food to their wives, and fathers, to deny it to their hungering children, when they themselves would but feast upon it."

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[16] Comp. Lippert, II, pp. 201 ff.; Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, I, pp. 108, 154, 252, 277, 306, 338, 425.

[17] Comp. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, pp. 95-6.

[18] Comp. the striking example in Ratzel, *Volkerkunde*, I, p. 677, of a boy of Tierra del Fuego who, when taken on board a European ship, did not show the slightest grief over the separation, while his parents were delighted to get a few necklaces and some biscuits in return for him. The selling of children and women into slavery does not occur in Africa alone. Martius, as above, p 123. Comp. Post, *Afr. Jurisprudenz*, I, p. 94.

This same trait of unbounded selfishness is manifest in the regardlessness with which many primitive peoples leave behind them on the march, or expose in solitary places, the *sick* and the *aged* who might be an impediment to the vigorous.[19] This trait has often been interpreted as a sign of superstition, as due to the fear of evil powers to whom the illnesses are ascribed. And in fact in the case of tribes that have become settled and whose means of subsistence would admit of the care of the sick, appearances favour such an explanation. But at the same time it is forgotten that customs, once firmly rooted, perpetuate themselves with great persistence, even when the causes that gave rise to them have long since passed away.

From exposure to intentional killing is only a short step. Indeed we find even among peoples on a higher plane of civilization that old age is deplored as a state of extreme joylessness. Barbarism had no affection between relatives to alleviate this condition, but it had it in its power to shorten it; and so, along with exposure, we find the burying, or the killing, or even the devouring of the aged and sick, as numberless examples from Herodotus down to modern times attest. Indeed primitive man was able to look upon the solemn performance of this horrible act as a behest of piety.[20]

When we see how this unbroken nomadic life forced man to devote his whole activity to the securing of food,

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[19] Lippert, as above, pp. 229 ff., has treated the subject so exhaustively that I may refrain from citing examples. Comp also Fritsch, pp 116, 334, 351; Waitz, as above, II, p 401

[20] Comp. the examples cited by Lippert, p, 232, and Martius, as above, p 126. Also Ehrenreich, *Beiträge z. Volkerkunde Brasil.*, pp. 69-70; Waitz, as above, I, p. 189 —*Introd to Anthropol* (trans), p. 161.

and forbade the concurrent development of those feelings which we regard as the most natural, and how it even succeeded in giving the appearance of religious duty to what we consider the most abominable crime, we begin to conceive how loose must have been the personal bond that held together those little roving groups of human beings. Sexual intercourse could not grow to be such a bond; for what we call love was entirely wanting in it.[21] Domestic life, the conception of property and labour in common were as good as non-existent. These could originate only when the circle of wants advanced beyond the mere food requirement. But this took a much longer time than the majority are willing to admit. The needs of primitive peoples with regard to clothing and house-shelter are most markedly of an altogether secondary nature.

Turning now to the no less common characteristic of *improvidence*, we must certainly at first glance be struck with astonishment. One would think that hunger, which often brings such great torture to the savage, would of itself have been sufficient to induce him to store up for future use the food that at times he possesses in superabundance. But the observations that have been made all indicate that he never thinks of that. "They are not accustomed," says Heckewelder[22] of the North American Indians, "to laying in stores of provisions except some Indian corn, dry beans, and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and are not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war." And of the South American tribes another observer reports:[23] "It is contrary to their nature to be in possession of food-supplies for longer than one day at most." With many negro tribes it is looked upon as improper to store up food for future need, which belief, it is true, they base upon the superstition that the fragments left over may attract spirits.[24]

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[21] The many writers who write nowadays about the family pay altogether too little attention to this point, to which prominence has justly been given by Lubbock, as above, pp. 72 ff. In the same way they overlooked the connection between the family and the economy of the home [Comp p. 10 above.—Ed]

[22] Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, etc New edition (Phil , 1881), pp. 198, 212 (Memoirs of Hist Soc of Penn., vol 12)

Where these peoples, through the short-sighted greed of gain of Europeans, are placed in possession of modern weapons, they usually work incredible havoc with the game in their hunting-grounds. The extermination of the boundless buffalo herds of North America is well known. "The greatest quantities of meat were left lying unused in the thickets," only for the natives in winter-time, when deep snow prevented hunting, to fall a prey to awful hunger, in which even the bark of trees and the roots of grass were not despised. And to-day the natives of Africa, in districts where they carry on a profitable trade with Europeans, are ruthlessly destroying the sources of their incomes, the elephant and the caoutchouc-tree.

Even among the more advanced tribes and individuals this characteristic does not fail. "When the carriers received fresh rations," relates P. Pogge,[26] "I am certain that they lived better for the first few days than I did. The best goats and fowl were devoured. If I gave them rations for a fortnight, the rule was to consume them in riotous living during the first three or four days, only afterwards either to steal from the supply-trains, to beg from me, or to go hungry." In Wadai everything that remains over from the sultan's table is buried,[27] and at the sacrificial feasts of the Indians the guests were obliged to eat up their meat and bread clean. "Overloading of the stomach and vomiting are not unusual on such occasions." [28]

Closely connected with this waste of supplies is the use that primitive man makes of his *time*. It is entirely erroneous, though customary, to imagine that primitive people are particularly expert in measuring time by the position of the sun. They do not measure time at all, and accordingly do not make divisions in it. No primitive people observe fixed meal-times, according to which civilized man regulates his time for work.[29] Even such a relatively advanced tribe as the Bedouins has no conception of time. They eat when they are hungry. Livingstone in one place calls Africa "the blissful region where time is absolutely of no account and where men may sit down and rest themselves when they are tired." [30] "Even the most trivial work, though it is urgently necessary, is postponed by the negro to as late a date as possible. The native dreams away the day in laziness and idleness, although he knows quite well that for the night he needs his draught of water and his log of wood; nevertheless until sundown he will certainly not disturb himself, and only then, or perhaps not before darkness, will he finally procure himself the necessaries." [31]

In these words we have touched upon the reproach of inertia to which primitive man is universally subject.[32]

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[23] Appun, *Unter den Tropen*, p. 365.

[24] Lippert, as above, I, pp. 39-40.

[26] As above, p. 14; comp. p 6. Also Wissmann, Wolf, etc., *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 29.

[27] Nachtigal, *Sahara u. Sudan*, III, p. 230.

[28] Heckewelder, as above, p. 213. [Dr. Bucher, quoting from the German translation, has evidently mistaken the meaning of the passage cited. The vomiting and fasting referred to by Heckewelder are preparatory to the ceremonies, the vomiting being self-induced.—ED.]

[29] Comp. W. Wundt, *Ethics*, I (London, 1897), pp 171-2.

[30] *Expedit to the Zambesi* (New York, 1866), p. 104.

[31] W. Junker's *Travels in Africa*; comp. Eng trans., II, p. 168.

[32] For details see my work *Arbeit u. Rhythmus* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1899).

What has here appeared to observers as *laziness* is again lack of forethought, living for the moment. Why should the savage exert himself when once his wants are satisfied, particularly when he is no longer hungry? This does not imply that he is inactive. With his wretched facilities the individual often performs on the whole as much work as the individual civilized man; but he does not perform it regularly, nor in ordered succession, but by fits and starts, when necessity forces him to it, or a feeling of exaltation takes possession of him, and even then not as a serious duty of life, but rather in a playful fashion.

In general, primitive man follows only the prompting of the moment; his conduct is purely impulsive, mere reflex action, so to speak. The nearer his wants and their satisfaction lie together, the better he feels. Primitive man is a child; he thinks not of the future, nor of the past; he forgets easily, each new impression blots out its predecessor. All the sufferings of life, which he has to experience so often, can scarcely cloud for a moment his naturally cheerful temperament. "Of the New Caledonians, Fijians, Tahitians, and New Zealanders we read that they are always laughing and joking. Throughout Africa the negro has the same trait, and of other races, in other lands, the descriptions of various travellers are: 'full of fun and merriment,' 'full of life and spirits,' 'merry and talkative,' 'skylarking in all ways,' 'boisterous gaiety,' 'laughing immoderately at trifles.' "[33]

It is significant, as has often been remarked, that natives of Africa lose their cheerfulness when they have been for some time in the service of Europeans, and become sullen and morose. The explanation of Fritsch[34] is that servants

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[33] Spencer, as above, § 34. Considerable material also in his *Descriptive Sociology* in the chapter on "Moral Sentiments."

[34] As above, p. 56.

of this kind gradually acquire from their masters the habit of troubling themselves about things to come, and that their temperament cannot endure engrossment in such cares.[35]

Such a hand-to-mouth existence cannot be burdened with *conceptions of value*, which always presupposes an act of judgment, an estimation of the future. It is well known how in America and Africa the natives often sold their land to foreign colonists for a gaudy trifle, a few glass beads of no value according to our economic standards; and even to-day the negro, though he stands no longer at the lowest stage, is in many instances ready to give away any piece of his property, no matter how important it may be for his existence, if he is offered some glittering bauble that happens to catch his eye.[36] On the other hand his covetousness knows no bounds, and it is a constant complaint of travellers that amid all the hospitality shown them they are simply plundered, because every village chieftain desires to be presented with everything he sees.[37] Here, again, is that naïve egoism in its complete regardlessness of self and others, that unbounded covetousness which has nothing in common with the love of gain of economic man. The impression of the moment is ever the sole controlling force; what is further removed is not thought of. Primitive man is incapable, it would seem, of entertaining two thoughts at the same time and of weighing the one against the other; he is always possessed by one alone and follows it with startling consistency.

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[35] Reference may also be made to the not infrequent examples of savages who had been brought up under civilized conditions voluntarily returning to their tribes and to the complete savagery of their people Comp Peschel, as above, pp. 152-3; Fritsch, as above, p. 423; K. E. Jung in Petermanns Mitth, XXIV (1878), p. 67.

[36] Comp. Fritsch, as above, pp 305-6

[37] Says Burton, as above, p 499: "In trading with [the African] . . . all display of wealth must be avoided A man who would purchase the smallest article avoids showing anything beyond its equivalent."

The collection of experiences, the transmission of knowledge, is therefore exceedingly difficult, and therein lies the chief reason why such peoples can remain at the same stage for thousands of years without showing any appreciable advance. The acquisition of the first elements of civilization is often conceived as an easy matter; it is imagined that every invention, every advance in house-construction, in the art of clothing, in the use of tools, that an individual makes, must pass over as an imperishable treasure into the common possession of the tribe and there continue to fructify. The invention of pottery, the taming of domestic animals, the smelting of iron ore have even been made the beginnings of entirely new epochs of civilization.

Yet how imperfectly does such a conception appreciate the conditions under which primitive man lives! We may indeed assume that he possesses a peculiar fondness for the stone axe which with endless exertion he has formed in the course perhaps of a whole year, and that it seems to him like a part of his own being;[38] but it is a mistake to think that the precious possession will now pass to children and children's children, and thus constitute the basis for further advance. However certain it is that in connection with such things the first notions of "mine and thine" are developed, yet many are the observations indicating that these conceptions do not go beyond the individual, and that they perish with him. *The possession passes into the grave with the possessor*, whose personal equipment it formed in life. That is a custom which is met with in all parts of the

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[38] Comp. *Arbeit u. Rhythmus* (2d ed.), p. 16.

earth, and of which many peoples have preserved traces even down into civilized times.[39]

In the first place it is prevalent among all American peoples to such an extent that the survivors are often left in extreme need. The aborigines of California, who are among the lowest people of their race, place along with the dead all the weapons and utensils which he had made use of in life. "It is a curious paraphernalia," says an observer, "that follows the Wintum into the grave: knives, forks, vinegar-jars, empty whiskey-bottles, preserve-jars, bows, arrows, etc.; and if the dead has been an industrious housewife, a few baskets of acorns are scattered over as well." "At the grave of the Tehuelche" (Patagonia), runs another account, "all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, and his poncho, his ornaments, his bolas and implements of every kind are brought together into a heap and burned." And of a third and still lower tribe, the Bororo in Brazil, a recent very reliable observer says:[40] "A great loss befalls a family when one of its members dies. For everything that the dead man used is burned, thrown into the river, or packed in with the corpse in order that the departed spirit may have no occasion whatever to return. The cabin is then completely gutted. But the surviving members of the family receive fresh presents; bows and arrows are made for them, and when a jaguar is killed, the skin is given to the brother of the last deceased woman or to the uncle of the last deceased man."

Among the Bagobos in southern Mindanao (one of the

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[39] Comp. in general, Andree, *Ethnogr. Parallelen u. Vergleiche* (Stuttgart, 1878), pp. 26-7; Schurtz, *Grundrisz einer Entsteh. Gesch. d. Geldes* (Weimar, 1898), pp. 56 ff; Pauckow, Ztschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin, XXXI, pp. 172-3.

[40] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvolkern Brasiliens* (2d ed.), p. 389. Comp. also Ehrenreich, *Beitrage zur Volkerkunde Brasiliens*, pp 30, 66; Heckewelder, as above, pp. 270-1, 274-5.

Philippines) the dead man is buried in his best clothes, and with a slave, who is killed for the purpose. "The cooking-utensils that the deceased used during his lifetime are filled with rice and placed, along with his betel-sacks, upon the grave; his other things are left in the house untouched. On penalty of death no one may henceforth enter either the house or the burial-place; and it is equally forbidden to cut from the trees surrounding the house. The house itself is allowed to go to ruin." [41]

In Australia and Africa the custom is very common for all the stores of the deceased to be eaten up by the assembly of the mourners; in other parts the utensils are destroyed, while the food is thrown away. Many negro tribes bury the dead in the hut in which he lived, and leave the dwelling, now deserted by the survivors, to decay; others destroy the hut.[42] If a chieftain dies, the whole village migrates; and this is true even of the principal towns of the more important kingdoms, such as those of the Muata-Yamwo and the Kasembe. In the Lunda kingdom the old royal Kipanga is burned down, and a new provisional one at once erected, for which the newly chosen ruler has to kindle a fresh fire by rubbing together pieces of wood, as it is not permissible to use the old fire any longer. The principal or residence town changes its location with each new ruler.[43] Among the ancient Peruvians,

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[41] Schadenberg in the Ztschr. f. Ethnol, XVII (1885), pp. 12-13. The same thing is found in Halamahera, p. 83; and among the hill tribes of India, Jellinghaus in the same review, III, pp. 372, 374.

[42] Examples may be found in M. Buchner, *Kamerun*, p. 28; Fritsch, as above, p. 535; Bastian, *Loangoküste*, I, p. 164; Livingstone, as above, p. 158. From Australia: Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, pp. 102-3; Ztschr. f. Ethnol., XXI, p. 23; Kubary, *Ethnogr. Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. Karolin. Inselgruppe u. Nachbarschaft* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 70-71, note.

[43] Pogge, as above, pp. 228, 234. Livingstone in Petermanns Mitth., XXI (1875), p. 104.

as well, the conception prevailed that with each new Inca the world, so to speak, began anew. The palaces of the dead Inca, with all their stores of wealth, were closed for ever; the ruler for the time being never made use of the treasures that his ancestors had amassed.

Though we see from this that the origin and preservation of the first elements of civilization among primitive peoples were attended with the greatest difficulties, and that the possibility of rising to better conditions of existence and higher modes of life could not even be conceived by them, yet it must not be forgotten that the observations that have been sifted and presented here have been taken from peoples of very varied character and different cultural stages. To raise himself of his own strength to the plane of the Tongan or Tahitian, the Australian of the continent would probably have required many thousands of years; and a similar gulf separates the Bushman from the Congo negro and Wanyamweza. But this very fact, it seems to me, speaks for the persistence of the presumptive psychic conditions under which the satisfaction of the wants of uncivilized man is accomplished; and we are undoubtedly justified in tracing back the whole circle of this class of conceptions to a condition that must have prevailed among mankind for æons before tribes and peoples could have originated.

From all that we know of it, this condition means exactly the opposite of "economy." For economy implies always a community of men rendered possible by the possession of property; it is a taking counsel, a caring not only for the moment but also for the future, a careful division and suitable bestowal of time; economy means work, valuation of things, regulation of their use, accumulation of wealth, transmission of the achievements of civilization from generation to generation. And even among the higher primitive peoples we have found all this widely wanting; among the lower races we have hardly met with its faint beginnings. Let us strike out of the life of the Bushman or of the Veddah the use of fire, and bow and arrow, and nothing remains but a life made up of the individual search for food. Each individual has to rely entirely upon himself for his sustenance. Naked and unarmed he roams with his fellows, like certain species of wild animals, through a limited stretch of territory, and uses his feet for holding and climbing as dexterously as he uses his hands.[44] All, male and female, devour raw what they catch with their hands or dig out of the ground with their nails: smaller animals, roots, and fruits. Now they unite in little bands or larger herds; now they separate again, according to the richness of the pasturage or hunting-ground. But these unions do not develop into communities, nor do they lighten the existence of the individual.

This picture may not have many charms for him who shares the civilization of the present; but we are simply forced by the material empirically gathered together so to construct it. Nor are any of its lines imaginative. We have eliminated from the life of the lowest tribes only what admittedly belongs to civilization—the use of weapons and of fire. Though we were obliged to admit that even among the higher primitive peoples there is exceeding much that is non-economic, that at all events the conscious application of the economic principle forms with them rather the exception than the rule, we shall not be able in the case of the so-called " lower nomads " and their predecessors just sketched to make use of the notion of economy at all. With them we have to fix a pre-economic

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[44] R. Andree, *Der Fuss als Greiforgan*, in his *Ethnogr. Parallelen u. Vergl.* (New Series), pp. 228 ff.

stage of development, that is not yet economy. As every child must have his name, we will call this the *stage of individual search for food.*

How economic activity was evolved from the individual search for food can to-day hardly be imagined. The thought may suggest itself that the turning-point must be where production with a more distant end in view takes the place of the mere seizing of the gifts of nature for immediate enjoyment, and where work, as the intelligent application of physical power, replaces the instinctive activity of the bodily organs. Very little would be gained, however, by this purely theoretical distinction. Labour among primitive peoples is something very ill-defined. The further we follow it back, the more closely it approaches in form and substance to *play.*

In all probability there are instincts similar to those that are found among the more intelligent of the lower animals, that impel man to extend his activities beyond the mere search for food, especially the instinct for imitating and for experimenting.[46] The taming of domestic animals, for example, begins not with the useful animals, but with such species as man keeps merely for amusement or the worship of gods. Industrial activity seems everywhere to start with the painting of the body, tattooing, piercing or otherwise disfiguring separate parts of the body, and gradually to advance to the production of ornaments, masks, drawing on bark, petrograms, and similar play-products. In these things there is everywhere displayed a peculiar tendency to imitate the animals which the savage meets with in his immediate surroundings, and which he looks upon as his equals. The partly prehistoric rock drawings and carvings of the Bushmen, the Indians, and the Australians

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[46] Comp. K. Groos, *Die Spiele d. Tiere* (Jena, 1896).

Where a direct state tax arose, it was regularly a tax on wealth, generally a species of land-tax. Such was the Athenian *εἰσφορά*, the Roman *tributum civium*, and the scot or the bede of the Middle Ages. Along with these demand was made upon the wealth of the individual for direct services to the State or community, such as the furnishing of ships, the institution of festivals and entertainments (liturgies). The idea of taxing income, however natural and self-evident it may appear to us, would have been simply inconceivable to our ancestors.

By a process extending over centuries this independent household economy is transformed into the *system of direct exchange;* in the place of production solely for domestic use steps custom production. We have designated this stage *town economy*, because it reached its typical development in the towns of the Germanic and Latin countries during the Middle Ages. Still it must not be forgotten that even in ancient times beginnings of such a development are perceptible, and that at a later date they also appeared in the more advanced Slavic countries, albeit in considerably divergent form.

The transition to this economic stage is seen at the stage of domestic economy itself in the loss by the separate household, founded upon the cultivation of the soil, of a part of its independence through inability longer to satisfy all its needs with its own labour, and through the necessity of permanent and regular reinforcement from the products of other estates. Yet there do not spring up at once establishments independent of the soil, whose members would derive their income entirely from the working up of industrial commodities for others, or the professional performance of services, or the conducting of exchange. On the contrary, each proprietor still seeks, as far as possible, to gain his livelihood from the land; if his wants go beyond this, he calls into requisition any special manual skill he may possess, or any particular productive advantage of his district, whether in field, forest, or water, in order to produce a surplus of some particular article. One will produce grain, another wine, a third salt, a fourth fish, a fifth linen or some other product of domestic industry. In this manner separate establishments come into existence specially developed in some one direction, and dependent upon a regular, reciprocal barter of their surplus products. This exchange does not at first demand an organized system of trade. But it does require more flexible commercial methods than were offered by the early laws. These are furnished by *markets* which still arise, in the main, under the household system.

A market is the coming together of a large number of buyers and sellers in a definite place and at a definite time. Whether this occur in connection with religious feasts and other popular gatherings, or whether it owes its origin to the favourable commercial situation of a locality, it is always an opportunity for producer and consumer to meet with their mutual trade requirements; and such in its general features it has remained down to the present day. Markets and fixed trade are mutually exclusive. Where a merchant class exists, no markets are needed; where there are markets, merchants are superfluous. Only in cases where a country must import articles for which there is a demand and which it does not itself produce can there be developed at the early stage of household economy a distinct though not very numerous class, uniting under their control the purchase, transport, and sale of these goods, and utilizing for this last purpose the trade opportunities presented by the markets.

What changes, then, were wrought in this condition of things by the mediæval town, and in what does the eco-

called in a skilled master workman from outside and induced him to settle by exemption from taxation and other privileges. If he required considerable initial capital, the town itself came to his aid, and at its own expense built work- and sale-shops and established mills, grinding-works, cloth-frames, bleaching-places, dye-houses, fulling-mills, etc.,—all with a view to satisfying the greatest possible variety of wants by home production.

Although direct dealing with the consumer of his wares[25] tended necessarily to keep alive in the artisan a sense of personal responsibility, an effort was made to brace this moral relationship by special ordinances. Handwork is an office that must be administered for the general welfare. The master shall furnish " honest " work. So far as the personal services of the craftsman remained available to his customers, a regular rate was fixed governing the amount he could claim in wages and board while on his itinerancy. In cases where the customer furnished him with the raw material in his own home, as, for instance, tin to the pewterer, silver and gold to the goldsmith, or yarn to the weaver, provision was made that it should not be adulterated. Where, on the contrary, the artisan supplied the material there were erected in the market, about the churches, at the town gates, or in particular streets, public sale-booths which often served also as work-shops (bread-stands, meat-stalls, drapers' and cloth shops, furriers' booths, shoemakers' benches, etc.). It was a market rule that those vending the same wares should do their selling alongside one another in open and mutual competition and under the supervision of the market wardens and overseers, and this rule was extended to craftsmen who merely worked at home on orders, in that for the most part they lived side by side on the same street. Many cities have preserved to the present day the remembrance of this condition of things in the names of their streets (such as Shoemaker, Turner, Weaver, Cooper, Butcher, Fisher Streets), many of which led directly into the old market square. In this way the greatest part of the town, or even the whole of it, bore the outward aspect of one large market. It is well known that the many prescriptions regarding the raw material to be used, the method of doing work, the length and breadth of cloths, and the direct regulation of prices must have served for the protection of the consumer.[26]

Just as the urban craftsman enjoyed within the town and the extramural judicial district (*Bannmeile*) the exclusive right of selling the products of his handicraft, so the urban consumer possessed for the same area the exclusive right to purchase imported commodities. This right can be exercised, to be sure, only when the imported goods actually come to market and stand on sale for the proper length of time. To effect this a law of staple is introduced; foreselling in the country places or before the town gates is forbidden; selling to middlemen, artisans, and strangers is permitted only after the consumers are supplied, and then usually with the limitation that the latter, if they so wish, may have a share; and lastly, the withdrawing of goods once brought to market was forbidden, or permitted only after they had remained three days unsold.[27]

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[25] Here and there this was further secured by the regulation that not even the wife of the craftsman might represent him in selling. Comp. Gramich, *Verf. u. Verw. d. St. Wurzburg vom. XIII. bis XV. Jhdt.*, pp. 38 f.

[26] For the sake of brevity we refer for all details in this connection to Stieda in the Jhb. f. N.-Ök. u. Statistik, XXVII, pp. 91 ff.

[27] These ordinances were most carefully wrought out for the corn trade. See Schmoller, Jhb. f. Gesetzg. Verw. u. Volksw., XX, pp. 708 ff.

ers. More accurate does it seem, especially in view of the varieties of this process to be mentioned later, to employ the expression *labour in common.*[14] In this phrase the personal element, which here comes into prominence, is more clearly expressed.

Union of labour is then the union of different classes of work in one person; labour in common is the concurrent employment of several workers in the accomplishment of one task. In union of labour the same producer turns out various products or combines production with trading or with personal service; in labour in common various labourers produce in common the like product. In the one case the uniting point is in the subject of the work, the labourer, in the other the community lies in the object of the labour.

The two processes are independent of each other and of division of labour. They, of course, play their chief rôle during primitive stages of development and in the lower strata of economically organized society. Two great stages in the economic life of nations might indeed be distinguished: a lower one, in which the principle of union of labour and labour in common comes preëminently into play; and a higher one, with the principle of division of labour predominant. In the same way two spheres of social existence may be distinguished in contemporary economic life: one with pronounced division of labour, the other with union of labour and labour in common.

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In a separate consideration of each of these two phenomena we had better begin with *union of labour.* It appears early in the history of peoples. It is universally met with directly the stage of individual search for food is passed,

"subjective" (personal) union of labour; while the first case would be designated as "objective" (material) union of labour

[14] *Arbeitsgemeinschaft.*

and when economic motives, be they even of the crudest kind, become discernible in men's transactions. For at that point we everywhere notice the sharp separation of two distinct spheres of production, each of which again contains many subdepartments. One embraces men's work, the other women's work.[15] Essentially the same arrangement, with unimportant variations in detail, is found among all more advanced primitive peoples, and we cannot deny that there is a certain instinctive system about it. Of a *division* of labour between man and wife one cannot seriously speak, for from all we know none of the occupations assigned to either of the two sexes has ever been carried on by the other.

It must be assumed that this condition of things developed quite naturally. In any case the statement is false that the stronger man "imposed" upon the woman the tasks falling to him. Much rather is it correct to say that each sex has of its own impulse—it might perhaps be said under the stress of environment—created in the course of time its own department of production, developed the technical details connected with it, collected the experiences, and transmitted them to the following generation of the same sex. Thus these two combinations of tasks, through continued hereditary transmission within the same sex, have almost been evolved into sexual characteristics or functions. The hereditary task of the woman, in which the man was not instructed, formed a species of natural equipment that made her valued by the man and gave her a price. Though it is true that from this grew the conception of the wife as property of the husband, it is none the less true that the important part played by the wife in production has been not the least important

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[15] A detailed discussion of these, pp. 30 ff., 55.

therefore find no expression in a change in the number of inhabitants of individual localities.

If we take a collective view of the internal migrations of a *large country*, without regard to their effect on the distribution of the inhabitants over the surface, their routes appear to us as a close variegated web in which the interwoven threads cross and recross continually. Into the rather simple warp stretched from the country places and towns to the large cities and industrial centres is woven a many-coloured woof whose threads run hither and thither between the smaller centres of population. Or, to use a different figure, the broad and majestically surging surface-current, which alone we see, is not the only one; beneath it numerous lesser currents sport at will.

Up to the present these latter have received scarcely any attention, certainly not so much as they deserve, even in cases where they happen to have been statistically ascertained. The Bavarian census of 1871 shows the following situation:

	Residents native to Locality of Enumeration.	Born Elsewhere.	Total.
In the self-governing cities............	301,494	361,899	663,393
In other places of over 2,000 population.	205,887	157,000	362,887
Total	507,381	518,899	1,026,280
In the rural municipalities............	2,467,765	1,357,981	3,825,746
Grand total.......................	2,975,146	1,876,880	4,852,026

From these figures it is plainly evident that the absolute number of persons who during the last generation migrated into rural municipalities is far more than twice as great as the number who had migrated to the cities. The same relation probably holds good for all larger countries.

But the significant feature in this connection is not that

the country places receive as well as give in this interchange of population; it lies in two other considerations. The one is that they give out a larger population than they receive; the other, that their additions are made chiefly from the rural municipalities, while those leaving them find their way in part to the more distant cities. The excess of decrease over increase thus accrues to the benefit of communities of higher order; so much of the population enters into a sphere of life economically and socially different.

If we call the total population born in a given place and domiciled anywhere within the borders of the country that locality's *native population*, then according to the conditions of interchange of population just presented the native population of the country places is greater than their actual population, that of the cities, smaller. Thus in Bavaria, according to the census of 1871, the native population of the rural municipalities amounted to 103.5 per cent. of the enumerated population, that of the cities to only 61 per cent.[11] In the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg[12] according to the census of December 1st, 1880,

The influx from other places amounted in the cities to 25,370 persons
The exodus to " " " " " cities " 10,208 "
The influx from " " " " " country " 57,366 "
The exodus to " " " " " country " 72,528 "

A balancing of the account of the internal migrations thus gives the cities a surplus, and the country municipalities a deficit, of 15,162 persons. In the economy of population one is the complement of the other, just as in the case of two brothers of different temperament, one of whom regularly spends what the other has laboriously

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[11] Mayr, as above, pp. 53, 54 of the introduction.

[12] Comp. *Statist. Nachrichten über d. Groszh. Oldenburg*, XIX, p. 64.

in accord with the designs of a greater whole, namely, of a state-regulated national economy.

This process begins with the development of the modern State and modern national administration. Hitherto each city had developed within itself all the branches of city life not forbidden by local conditions; now one city becomes a permanent royal residence, others become seats of district and provincial administrations, of prisons, of higher educational institutions and of all kinds of special branches of administration, while still others become garrison cities, border fortresses, fair-towns, watering-places, junction-points of commercial routes, etc. They take over definite functions for the whole country and for all other places, though these functions are not always specifically urban. The cities may also form alliances with rural residence centres. This process has been especially prominent since the fuller development of city industry on a large scale and the extraordinary increase and perfection of the means of communication. In this new national era the total national production endeavours so to distribute itself over the territory controlled by it that each of its branches may find the location best suited to it. Factory and house-industry districts arise, and separate valleys and whole regions take on a semi-urban character. Certain cities develop special branches of industry and trade reaching out far beyond the local, and often even the national, demand. In others, again, all industry and business life decline; they sink down to the level of villages, so that the historical rights of burgess that still attach to their name appear in striking contrast with their position as places of trade and with the number of their inhabitants. The distinctions between city and country are blotted out. This happens in the neighbourhood of rising industrial cities through the planting of factories and workmen's dwellings in the suburbs and beyond; in the neighbourhood of the declining "rural cities" through the approach of the latter to the condition of surrounding country places, and through the rise of populous industrial towns. On the whole, however, the number of centres of population and of objective points for internal migrations is to-day relatively much smaller than in the second half of the Middle Ages.[36]

But in still another respect does the redistribution of population resulting from the internal migrations of the present time differ from that witnessed by our ancestors from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. In consequence of the greater certainty of a living and of far-reaching measures for the health of the people the increase in population is to-day more rapid than in mediæval times. It

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[36] The German Empire had in 1890 a total of 2,285 "cities." Of these there were 26 with more than 100,000 inhabitants, 22 with from 50,000 to 100,000, 104 with from 20,000 to 50,000, and 169 with between 10,000 and 20,000. Besides these there were 56 villages and suburban municipalities with from 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, 11 of them with more than 20,000.—In Prussia there were in that year 46 "cities" with less than 1,000 inhabitants, 14 of these being in the Province of Posen, 12 in Silesia, 10 in Hesse-Nassau, 3 in Brandenburg, 2 each in West Prussia and Westphalia, 1 each in Saxony, Hanover and the Rhineland (Schleiden with 515 inhabitants). Alongside these dwarflike cities there were 37 rural municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants.—How far some of the old cities have declined is shown by the following figures for the Grand Duchy of Baden. There the census of 1885 gave 114 "cities," only 63 of these having a population of over 2,000, and 9 with over 10,000. Of the remaining 51 "cities" 42 had from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants, 4 had from 500 to 1,000, and 5 below 500 (among these last being Kleinlaufenburg with 441, Neufreistett with 427, Blumenfeld with 349, Fürstenberg with 341, Hauenstein with 157). For every city there were on an average 14 villages. On the other hand, there were altogether 129 municipalities with over 2,000 inhabitants, 66 of these being "villages." Of the old cities only 55 are thus cities according to the modern idea, and of the villages four per cent are from the point of view of population to be reckoned in with the cities.