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## FOOTNOTES FOR THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### Charting the Progress of Animism: E. B. Tylor on "The Common Religion of Mankind"

At the beginning of my archival research on the history of British anthropology, back in 1969, I discovered in the papers of E. B. Tylor, in the Pitt Rivers Museum of Oxford, some page and galley proofs for a book entitled The Natural History of Religion, some of them dated 1899, others 1904. Here, it seemed, was a portion of the actual text of what Andrew Lang in the Tylor Festschrift described as "the great work with which he has long been occupied" (Thomas 1907). Lang expected that Tylor's magnum opus would be a revision of twenty lectures that constituted the two series of Gifford Lectures in Aberdeen in 1890 and 1891. Unfortunately, the proofs covered only portions of four chapters, and the manuscript materials elsewhere in the Tylor papers included only fragments of two further ones. Inquiries at the Oxford University Press proved fruitless, and I was left with the mystery of an unfinished book.

One explanation of its unfinished state was, of course, the mental incapacity that marred the last decade or more of Tylor's long life. But as I have suggested elsewhere (Stocking 1991), there are other contexts in which to place this incompleteness, one of which might be called "theoretical ennui." Referring back to the detailed analytic contents of the Gifford lectures published in Tylor's bibliography (Thomas 1907), one can see that they were largely a rehash of the major arguments which Tylor had elaborated two decades previously in Primitive Culture; the major difference was the addition of material on the evolution of marriage institutions, and an attempt to place his own thesis in relation to the seventeenth and eighteenth century debate on "natural religion."

A decade further on, the argument was much the same. In "The History of the Doctrine of Natural Religion," the opening chapter of the surviving proofs, Tylor attacked eighteenth-century deists for assuming that men in a natural state held beliefs analogous to "the transcendental doctrines of cultured theology." In the second, he offered his own view of "The Common Religion of Mankind." Here, thirty five years after its first formulation, Tylor reduced the idea of "animism" to a series of synoptic charts. Seeking to "arrange the evidence" so as "to gain clear views of the nature and development of the religions of the world," and "finding detailed descriptions to fail in keeping before the mind even the best-marked theologies," Tylor had "recourse to schedules in which the beliefs and ordinances of particular religions, and even of religion as whole, were briefly catalogued." Reproduced on the next page, the first of these was to serve "the anthropological student as a list of the religious elements whose course he has to trace along lines of belief and custom."

"However tentatively drawn up," the opening synthetic chart brought "into view at the outset of the inquiry an argument influencing its whole course." Once it could be shown "that the multitude of religions spread over the world are built up of like elements," then the "theoretical walls of separation" would "fall away between the animistic ideas current in savage belief and those recorded in the sacred books of cultured nations." Although their "development

# CHART OF ANIMISM.

## NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS

## MORAL, POLITICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND CEREMONIAL DEVELOPMENTS DERIVED FROM OR ALLIED WITH BELIEF IN SPIRITUAL BEINGS

<p><b>SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS</b></p>	<p>VAPOROUS OR ETHEREAL FORM, FILM, OR SHADE.          VISIBILITY IN DREAMS OR VISIONS, INVISIBILITY.          MATERIALITY OR IMMATERIALITY.          EMBODIMENT IN MAN, ANIMAL, PLANT, AERIAL OR GLORIFIED BODY.          EMBODIMENT IN INERT IMAGE OR OTHER OBJECT.</p>		
<p><b>SOULS</b></p>	<p><b>DURING LIFE</b></p> <p>IMAGE-SOUL (DREAM, VISION, SHADE, REFLEXION, ETC.).          LIFE-SOUL (BREATH, BLOOD, PUPIL, MOTH, ETC.).          MULTIPLE SOUL.          METAPHYSICAL SOUL, MIND  <u>SOULS OF MEN, ANIMALS, OBJECTS.</u></p> <p>CAUSES OF          LIFE, DEATH-HEALTH, SICKNESS.          ACTION, SENSIBILITY.          SLEEP, WAKING-DREAMS, APPARITIONS.</p> <p><u>SOULS OF MEN, ANIMALS, OBJECTS.</u></p> <p><b>AFTER DEATH</b></p> <p>GHOSTLY EXISTENCE.          CONTINUANCE OF LIFE.          RESURRECTION, RE-BIRTH, TRANSMIGRATION, ANIMAL DESCENT.          MORAL RETRIBUTION IN PARADISE, PURGATORY, HELL.          DEIFICATION AS MANES, PATRON-SPIRITS, ETC.  <u>GUARDIANSHIP OR HOSTILITY TO MAN.</u></p> <p>HABITATION IN          HOME OR TOMB.          EARTHLY REGION, HADES, HEAVEN.</p> <p>HUMAN OR NON-HUMAN ORIGIN.  <u>HUMAN, ANIMAL, OR MONSTER TYPES.</u></p>	<p><b>WORSHIP</b></p>	<p>INTERCOURSE WITH SOULS AND GHOSTS.          BURIAL RITES FOR SOULS.          PRAYER TO AND PRAISE OF SOULS AND OTHER SPIRITS.          SACRIFICE AS ACTUAL TRANSMISSION, GIFT, TRIBUTE.          SACRIFICE AS ACT OF HOMAGE, REVERENCE, FAITH.          INSPIRATION AND POSSESSION BY SPIRITS, EXORCISM.          ASCETICISM, PENANCE, MUTILATION, CEREMONIAL, AVOIDANCE          AND ABSTINENCE, TABU.          PURIFICATION, CONFESSION, DEVOTIONAL BELIEF, FORM OF CREED.</p> <p>OBJECTS OF WORSHIP.          RELICS OF BODY OF DEAD.          SACRED MAN OR ANIMAL.          IMAGE, FETISH.          NATURAL OBJECTS, HEAVENLY BODIES, MOUNTAINS, ROCKS,          WATERS, ETC.</p>
<p><b>DEMONS</b></p>	<p>ACTIVE IN          SERVICE OR INJURY TO MAN.          CAUSATION OF DISEASE, OBSESSION AND POSSESSION.          ORACLE INSPIRATION.          AGENCY OF MAGIC.          AGENCY OF GOOD AND EVIL.          SERVICE OF HIGHER DEITIES.</p>	<p><b>MYTH</b></p>	<p>SCHEMES OF ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF WORLD          AND MAN IN FORM OF TRADITION.          TALES OF GODS, DEMONS, HEROES,          RELIGION, MORALITY, CUSTOM, LAW, ETC., EMBODIED IN MYTH.</p>
<p><b>NATURE SPIRITS</b></p>	<p><u>ANIMATING AND CONTROLLING, EMBODIED IN, INHABITING.</u></p> <p>ROCKS, FORESTS, STREAMS, TREES, WILD ANIMALS, FISH, FRUITS, ETC.</p> <p>ANIMAL AND PLANT TOTEM-ANCESTRY.          ELVES, GNOMES, FAIRIES, ETC.</p>	<p><b>MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM.</b></p>	<p>MORAL INFLUENCE OF ANCESTRAL SPIRITS ON FAMILY AND TRIBE.          RULES OF MARRIAGE AND DESCENT, TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, TOTEMISM.          ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY, ANIMAL KINSHIP.          DIVINE INTERVENTION IN HUMAN AFFAIRS, FATE.          RETRIBUTION OF GOOD AND EVIL ACTIONS IN PRESENT LIFE.          RETRIBUTION OF GOOD AND EVIL ACTIONS IN FUTURE LIFE.          DIVINE SANCTION OF KINGS, LEADERS, JUDGES, PROPHETS, PRIESTS.          DIVINE JUSTICE, MORAL, CIVIL, AND CRIMINAL LAWS, ORDEAL AND OATH.          ORACLE, PROPHECY, REVELATION.          ECCLESIASTICAL INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY.          SACERDOTAL GOVERNMENT, THEOCRACY.          NATIONALITY OF DEITIES.          RELIGIOUS ORDINANCE AND BELIEF LEGALLY ENFORCED.</p>
<p><b>GREAT POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES</b></p>	<p><u>NATURE-DEITIES, ANIMATING, CONTROLLING, INHABITING.</u></p> <p>EARTH, SKY, SEA, SUN, MOON, STARS.          WINDS, RAIN, THUNDER, LIGHTNING.          FORESTS, RIVERS, LAKES, MOUNTAINS, VOLCANOS, EARTHQUAKES.          SEASONS, PLENTY AND FAMINE, HEALTH AND DISEASE.</p> <p><u>ANCESTRAL AND TRIBAL DEITIES.</u></p> <p><u>CREATORS AND DIVINE PATRONS OF</u></p> <p>NATURAL PHENOMENA, MEN, ANIMALS, PLANTS.          EVENTS OF HUMAN LIFE, WAR AND PEACE.          AGRICULTURE, NAVIGATION, HANDICRAFTS, ARTS,          INSTITUTIONS, KNOWLEDGE.</p>	<p><b>PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM.</b></p>	<p>DERIVATION OF ANIMISM.          CAUSATION, FREE WILL, DETERMINISM, PREDESTINATION.          DUALISM OF GOOD AND EVIL.          PHILOSOPHICAL MONISM.</p>
<p><b>SUPREME UNIVERSAL DUAL OR SOLE DEITIES</b></p>	<p>UNIVERSAL CREATION, ANIMATION, CAUSATION.</p> <p>GOVERNMENT OF SUBORDINATE SPIRITUAL BEINGS.</p>		

and combination" might have varied widely, "the fact of one classification underlying the religion of the savage and the citizen, the slave and the conquerer, the convert and the missionary, points to a common groundwork of them all."

This Tylor proceeded to demonstrate in a series of four charts of particular religions, "taken as representatives of the animistic belief of peoples at widely differing stages of culture," from the Stone Age to his own day. To instantiate the former, Tylor looked to the recently extinct Tasmanians (cf. Stocking 1987), who "may reasonable be placed first as types of the animism of the Lower Stone Age." Basing himself largely on H. Ling Roth's monographic summary (1890), Tylor found, not surprisingly, that Tasmanian religion was very spare. Because it was still "comparatively near its source," the "theology of the lowest culture" was "meagre and loosely defined," especially on the side of moral and political and philosophical developments, which, according to Tylor's theory of animism, were not originally part of animistic belief, but a later accretion upon it. The "religions of the lower races" had not "history enough to lose touch of their direct origin from human nature and experiences, like the religions of the great nations whose doctrines and rites have been ramified and re-shaped through ages of ecclesiastical establishment."

<b>TASMANIAN ANIMISM.</b>	
<b>NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.</b>	<b>DEVELOPMENTS AND ALLIANCES.</b>
<b>SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.</b>	<b>WORSHIP.</b>
Shadowy.	Prayer, Chants.
Visible in Dream and Vision; Invisible	Burial Rites, Funeral Sacrifice for use of Dead.
<b>SOULS (AFTER DEATH).</b>	Relics of dead preserved for Influence.
Shadow, Dream.	Demoniacal Possession, Oracles, Exorcism.
Ghostly Existence.	
Re-birth.	
Continued Life in Earthly Regions;	
Star-life in Sky.	
Pass into Demons, Kindly or Hostile.	
<b>DEMONS.</b>	<b>MYTH.</b>
Human or non-Human Origin.	Creation Legends, &c., by Deities.
Guardianship, Favour, Hostility to Mankind.	Ancestral Legends.
Disease-Possession and Expulsion.	Transformation, Origin of Fire, &c.
Oracular Inspiration.	
<b>NATURE SPIRITS.</b>	
Inhabit Rocks, Forests, &c.	
<b>POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.</b>	
Nature-Gods, Thunder-God.	
Creative Deities and others.	

Next in sequence above the Tasmanians stood the Algonquin tribes of North America, who could be "conveniently selected as examples of modern Neolithic or Higher Stone Age Man." Here the problem was to get back to "times close to their first contact with white men," before "the Jesuit missionaries, by introducing the doctrine of the Great Spirit, had led the Indians to surmount their native theology by a picturesque but incongruous Deism." But if the Algonquins had not progressed to monotheism, they did fill quite a few more categories than the Tasmanians, including one for the social institution of "totem-exogamy":

<b>ALGONQUIN ANIMISM.</b>	
<b>NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.</b>	<b>RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT BELIEF.</b>
<b>SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.</b>	<b>WORSHIP.</b>
Vaporous or Shade. Visible in Dream and Visions or Invisible. Embodied in Man, Animal, Image, Fetish.	Prayer. Sacrifice by Transmission, Feast. Burial Rites. Avoid Sacred Animals and Plants. Asceticism, Fasting, Torture. Oracular Possession, Exorcism. Objects of Worship: Sacred Animal, Fetish, Idol, Sacrifice, Incense, Sacred Dances, &c.
<b>SOULS (DURING LIFE).</b>	
Human, Animal, Object. Shadow-soul, Phantom, Dream. Multiple Soul. Cause of Life and Death, Health and Sickness, Sleep and Dream.	
<b>(AFTER DEATH).</b>	
Souls or Ghosts of Men, Animals, Objects. Ghosts among Men, Kindly and Hostile. Continued Existence in Earthly Regions, Heaven, Hades. Transformation, Stars. Re-birth, Animal Descent. Deification as Ancestral and Patron-Spirits	<b>MYTH.</b>
	Creation, Transformation, Culture, by Deities.
<b>DEMONS.</b>	
Guardian and Familiar, Friendly and Hostile. Animal Demons. Possession, Oracular Inspiration. Magic by Spirits.	
<b>NATURE-SPIRITS.</b>	<b>SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.</b>
Spirits inhabiting and controlling Rocks, Waters, Forests. Animal Incarnation and Worship.	Totem-Exogamy.
<b>POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.</b>	
Nature-gods, Sun, Earth, Heaven, &c. Divine Ancestors, Creators, and Patrons	

Above the Algonquins, "Mexican Animism" stood for the chief beliefs and rites of the Bronze Age. Here again, Tylor was at some pains to insist that "the effects of Christian importation have to be guarded against," especially in the case of "the alleged Mexican belief in a Supreme Deity, which continues to be uncritically repeated."

## MEXICAN ANIMISM

### NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.

#### SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.

Vapour, Film, Visible in Dreams and Visions.  
Embodiment in Man, Animal, Image, Object.

#### SOULS (DURING LIFE).

Human, Animal, Object Souls.  
Breath, Heart, Phantom, Dream.  
Soul Cause of Life and Death, Health  
and Sickness, Sleep and Waking.

#### (AFTER DEATH).

Ghosts of Men, Animals, Objects.  
Guardian or Hostile Spirits, Manes.  
Inhabit Home, Hades, Heaven.  
Transformation, Stars, &c.  
Transmigration, Birds, Insects, &c.  
Spirit-Life according to Rank, Honorable Death,  
Condition in Life.

#### DEMONS.

Human, Animal.  
Guardian and Familiar, Friendly and Hostile.  
Obsession and Possession, Inspiration.  
Agency of Good and Evil.  
Magic.

#### NATURE SPIRITS.

Animate and Inhabit Rocks, Waters, Forests.  
Animal Incarnation and Worship.

#### POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.

Nature-Gods, Creators and Animators of  
Heaven, Earth, Sun, Moon, Stars,  
Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Winds.

#### ANCESTRAL AND TRIBAL GODS.

Patrons of Events of Human Life, War and Peace,  
Arts, Occupations, Knowledge.  
Moral Conduct.

### RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT-BELIEF.

#### WORSHIP.

Prayer.  
Sacrifice as Transmission, Homage,  
Divine Incorporation.  
Burial Rites and Offerings.  
Asceticism, Purification, Fasting,  
Torture, Confession.  
Obsession, Oracular Possession, Inspiration,  
Exorcism.  
Objects of Worship: Natural Object, Sacred Man  
or Animal, Image or Idol.  
Sacred Dances, Music, Games, Incense.

#### MYTH.

Creation, Transformation, Miraculous Events,  
Origin of Customs, Acts of Gods  
and Heroes, Divine Descent.

#### MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

Tribal Organization.  
National Deities.  
Divine Influence on Human Life.  
Oracle, Prophecy.  
Divine Authority of Kings and Chiefs, Priests.  
Theocracy.  
Ecclesiastical Influence on Society.  
Divine Justice in Moral, Civil, and  
Criminal Law.  
Religious Ceremonies in Social Life.  
Baptism, Marriage, Funeral Rites.

Foregoing as "premature" any attempt to schematize "the immense and complex material" of the Iron Age, Tylor offered instead "a narrower preliminary trial" to help "in arranging ideas of theological development." Rather than "introduce studies of unfamiliar faiths," Tylor sought to "appeal to those already well known." Even if they had not "paid any special attention to the anthropological view," Tylor's "educated English readers" already had "standards of comparison ready in their minds" in two groups of religions "with which they have been familiar from earlier life, the Classical and the Biblical." Noting that they were "complex in form and subtle in meaning, [and] varying in different periods and among different classes of society," and granting that an adequate study would require "closer definition of the relation of established



to popular religion," and to "the tenets of special sects and philosophical schools," Tylor offered his own "imperfect and tentative" classification:

<b>GRAECO-ROMAN ANIMISM.</b>	
<b>NATURE AND FUNCTION OF SPIRITS</b>	<b>RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT-BELIEF.</b>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SUBSTANCE OF SPIRITS.</b></p> <p>Vaporous, Ethereal, Film, Shade. Visible, Invisible-Material, Immaterial. Embodied in Men, Animal, Plant, Image, Object.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>SOULS (DURING LIFE).</b></p> <p>Human, Animal, Object Souls. Breath, Shadow, Phantom, Moth. Multiple Soul. Metaphysical Soul. Cause of Life, Sensibility, Mind, Sleep and Waking, Dream and Vision.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>(AFTER DEATH).</b></p> <p>Ghostly Existence among Men. Guardian or Hostile Spirits, Manes, Deification. Inhabit Home, Tomb, Earthly Region, Hades, Heaven. Continued Existence in Spirit-World. Transformation, Stars, Re-birth. Moral Retribution.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>DEMONS.</b></p> <p>Human, Animal, non-Human Origin and Type. Guardian and Familiar, Friendly or Hostile. Causation of Disease, Obsession, Possession, Inspiration Agency of Good and Evil. Magic.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>NATURE SPIRITS.</b></p> <p>Animate and Inhabit Rocks, Waters, Trees. Animal Deities.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>POLYTHEISTIC DEITIES.</b></p> <p>Nature-gods animating and controlling, Earth, Sea, Sky, Sun, Moon, Stars, Rivers, Lakes, Winds, &amp;c. Ancestral and Tribal Gods. Creators and Patrons of Natural Phenomenon and Events of Human Life, War and Peace. Arts, Knowledge.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>DIVINE SUPREMACY.</b></p> <p>Creation, Moral Government of World and Man. Government of Deities.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>WORSHIP.</b></p> <p>Prayer. Burial Rites. Sacrifice as Transmission, Homage. Asceticism, Purification, Possession. Obsession, Possession, Inspiration, Exorcism. Objects of Worship: Relics, Sacred Man or Animal, Natural Phenomenon, Image, Object.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>MYTH.</b></p> <p>Creation, Transformation, Civilization. Acts of Gods and Heroes, Divine Descent of Man.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE.</b></p> <p>Family Influence of Manes. Tribal and Family Organization. Divine Intervention, Fate. Divine Law, Moral, Civil, Criminal Ordeal and Oath. Judgement and Retribution in Present and Future Life. Ecclesiastical Power of Priesthood. Prophecy, Oracle. Theocracy. National Religion.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE.</b></p> <p>Idealism. Causation. Dualism of Good and Evil.</p>

Paradoxically, the higher the religion, the fuller were the categories of animism. Comparing the Greek and Roman schedule "point by point" with the earlier ones, "the remarkable result [came] into view that almost every principle of the savage animism is included in the classic." Similarly, "the fundamental doctrines of the souls animating man and the demons influencing him" held their place even in Christian animism, although "nature-spirits and

polytheistic gods" were relegated to the category of folklore, "on account of their non-recognition in the standards of doctrine." Paralleling the absorption of their powers "in the supreme functions," there was an "expansion in moral conduct, when laws of right and wrong during life, and the retribution after death, assumed in Christianity a sway hardly more than foreshadowed even in the classic mysteries." By this time, however, there was no longer any category for the "substance of spirits," and at the very end, Tylor hinted at the final supersession of animism in bracketed phrases penned in on the printed proofs.

## CHRISTIAN ANIMISM.

### NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF SPIRITS.

#### SOULS (DURING LIFE).

Breath, Phantom, Blood, Psyche, Mind.  
 Multiple Soul, Vegetal, Animal, Soul, and Spirit.  
 Human and Animal Soul.  
 Metaphysical Soul.  
 Causation of Life and Death, Action and Sense,  
 Health and Sickness, Sleep and Waking,  
 Dream and Apparition.

#### (AFTER DEATH.)

Human and Animal Souls.  
 Ghostly Existence.  
 Continued Existence in Earthly Region.  
 Resurrection, Re-birth.  
 Moral Purgation and Retribution.  
 Habitation in Home, Tomb, Earthly  
 Region, Hades or Hell, Heaven.  
 [Souls] Friendly or Hostile to Man.  
 Divine Patronage.

#### DEMONS.

Human and non-Human Origin and Type.  
 Good and Evil Angels.  
 Guardianship and Service or Hostility to Man.  
 Obsession, Possession, Causation of Disease.  
 Inspiration, Prophecy.  
 Service of Deity.  
 Agency of Good and Evil.  
 Magic.

### NATURE-SPIRITS AND POLYTHEISTIC

#### DEITIES (retained in folklore).

Minor Spirits of Rocks, Streams, Forests, &c.  
 Fairies, Elves, Goblins.  
 Major Spirits, Heaven, Thunder, &c.

#### MONOTHEISM.

Universal Creation and Causation.  
 Government of Subordinate Spirits.  
 Moral Rule of Universe.  
 [Hypostases of Deity.]

### RESULTS AND ALLIANCES OF SPIRIT BELIEF.

#### WORSHIP.

Prayer, Praise, Thanksgiving.  
 Sacrifice as Homage or Reverence.  
 Burial Rites.  
 Possession, Inspiration, Exorcism, Asceticism,  
 Penance, Purification, Confession.  
 Devotional Belief.  
 Objects of Worship: Relic, Image.

#### MYTH.

Mythic Element in Tradition of Origin and Changes of the World,  
 [Divine Intervention in the Course of Events,] and  
 Ancestral History of Man.

### MORAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

Divine Influence and Predestination.  
 Divine Laws, Moral, Civil, Criminal, Sanction of Rulers,  
 Regulation of Marriage and Society.  
 Divine Justice, Ordeal and Oath, Oracle,  
 Prophecy, Revelation.  
 Retribution in Present and Future Life.  
 Dualism of Good and Evil Spirits.  
 Ecclesiastical Power, Theocracy.  
 Religious Belief legally enforced.  
 Influence of Free-Will and Predestination on Conduct.

### PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE.

Development of Causation.  
 Liberty and Determinism.  
 Duality of Good and Evil.  
 [Philosophic Monism.]

Assimilating Hinduism to Graeco-Roman animism "in its framework of orders of spritual beings," and dismissing Buddhism as "essentially a scheme of moral conduct, philosophically sceptical in its origin," Tylor felt that his scheme, despite "its imperfections," followed to its extreme limits a single "great spiritual scheme, extending round the globe and reaching far back beyond the bounds of history":

The comparison of the foregoing schedules, few as they are, of religions of low and high civilization, yields a compact group of animistic beliefs common to them all. Judging from the evidence available as to other religions, I venture that a longer series would but strengthen and complete the impression that the fundamental unity of religion among mankind is firmly settled.

By the time these chapters were set in type, a different basis was being suggested for the fundamental unity of human religion. During the later 1890s the idea of animism had come under attack by the apostate Tylorian Andrew Lang, who used the comparative method to argue that the idea of God had been present in mankind from the beginning (1898). It was in this context that Tylor was so insistent on denying any trace of monotheism to the Algonquins and Mexicans, and that the last two chapters for which proofs survive were devoted to arguing "The Limits of Savage and Barbaric Religion" and to a study of "Deluge Legends." In both cases, Tylor fell back on diffusionist arguments to insist that monotheistic and biblical beliefs found out of their proper ethnographic (and paradigmatic) place were in fact the result of missionary influence. By this time, however, animism was coming under attack from other sources as well, and it may be that Tylor no longer had the intellectual stamina to carry further what he may have sensed was a losing battle. Be that as it may, The Natural History of Religion was never finished, and the proofs continued to gather dust until 1969--one of a series of unfinished books which silently mark turning points in the history of anthropology (cf. Stocking 1991). [G.W.S.]

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[The originals of these charts are contained in the Tylor Papers in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University, and are reproduced here with the kind permission of the Museum's Head Curator, Dr. Schuyler Jones]

## SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### I. Archiving Anthropology

W. C. Sturtevant  
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A Wenner-Gren Symposium called "Preserving the Anthropological Record: Issues and Strategies," was held at Rancho Sante Fe, California, February 28-March 4, 1992. The symposium was organized by Sydel Silverman (Wenner-Gren Foundation) and Nancy Parezo (Univ. of Arizona), and included also as participants: George Farr (N.E.H.), Don D. Fowler (Univ. of Nevada), Douglas R. Givens (St. Louis Community College, and Chair of the Committee on the History of Archaeology of the Society for American Archaeology), Robert V. Kemper (Southern Methodist Univ.), Shepard Krech III (Brown Univ.), Mary Elizabeth Ruwell (Natl. Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Inst.), William C. Sturtevant (Smithsonian Inst.), Donald Tuzin (Univ. of California, San Diego), John Van Willigen (Univ. of Kentucky), Joan Warnow-Blewett (Center for History of Physics), Annette B. Weiner (New York Univ.), Thomas H. Wilson (Center for African Art), Nathalie F. S. Woodbury (Amherst, Mass), Bonnie L. Wright (Cedar Mill Community Library, and John Yellen (N.S.F.).

The following statement was adopted at the conclusion of the symposium, to serve as a charter and justification for the improvement of anthropological practice:

Whereas, unpublished anthropological materials contain primary information needed for understanding the cultures and histories of the world's peoples past and present;

Whereas, these materials are irreplaceable and essential for future research and education;

Whereas, these materials are unique resources for studying the history of anthropology and its contributions to the development of the sciences and the humanities; and

Whereas anthropologists have a professional responsibility to serve as stewards for these materials for use by future generations;

Therefore, be it resolved that:

1. anthropologists should take steps to care for the unpublished materials in their possession and to make arrangements for the appropriate archival disposition of these materials;
2. professional organizations and institutions should adopt policies to (a) insure that their own unpublished materials be systematically preserved and (b) take the lead in implementing strategies for the documentation and preservation of the anthropological record.

The conclusions and recommendations of the symposium will be presented in a published volume. Discussions centered around two main purposes of conservation of the

anthropological record: to preserve the primary data on which anthropological research is based and will be based in the future; and to insure the continued availability of the materials needed for the future historiography of anthropology. These tasks are responsibilities of the individual anthropologists who generate the records, and of the scholarly organizations that represent and advance the profession. Individuals are particularly obligated to save their field notes (in all the sub-disciplines of anthropology) for future research uses, as well as to preserve the personal and scientific papers that will document their anthropological work and its contexts. Organizations can assist in this by suggesting models and procedures, and by sponsoring or providing catalogs, indices, union lists, and other access tools. Most anthropological societies evidently also need to institute procedures to facilitate the systematic archiving of their own organizational records.

The symposium participants focussed on the archiving of United States anthropology, but it was recognized that an international effort will ultimately be required. Some attention was devoted to mechanisms for facilitating access to these materials by scholars and others abroad, especially in the countries where the research of scholars from the United States is conducted. The variety of media in which anthropological data are recorded was also discussed, along with some of the problems and opportunities for preservation and access that are presented by rapidly changing technology, especially in electronic data storage and processing. A plan was drafted for consideration by anthropological organizations, looking towards the establishment of a discipline history center for anthropology, which might serve as an information clearing house and/or coordinate the work of archival repositories and anthropological professional societies.

The resolution quoted above, and a series of suggestions for future progress, were to have been submitted to a meeting of the Council of Presidents of anthropological societies in April, 1992.

## **II. Videotape Dialogues on the History of Anthropology**

The University of Florida Department of Anthropology and the Human Studies Film Archives of the Smithsonian Institution announces a collection of videotapes on the history of anthropology. The series is sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and is produced by Allan Burns and H. Russell Bernard.

In these videotaped dialogues, senior anthropologists review the decisions that led them to a career in anthropology. They discuss the influences of teachers and others during their undergraduate and graduate school years, reflect on the theoretical and methodological issues important during their early years in anthropology. and offer observations about the current state of the discipline. A special set of tapes focuses on the careers of four generations of Mexican anthropologists: Daniel Rubín de Borbolla, a friend of the revolutionary president, Lázaro Cárdenas; Fernando Cámara Barbachano, a Yucatecan anthropologist who was a student of de Borbolla; Andrés Medina, the director of the National School of Anthropology during the 1970s; and Manuel Gándara, an archeologist and current director of the National School of Anthropology.

The videotapes are unedited and contain rich material that reflects the humor and wisdom of each interviewee. These tapes will be useful in classes on the history of anthropology, in area courses, and in topical courses where those interviewed have had great impact. Each tape is between one and a half to two hours long. Purchasers sign a release stating that these tapes will be used only for research or education, and will not be duplicated, broadcast or used commercially. The following tapes are now available:

1. Mary Haas and Norman Markel, 9/30/84
2. Edgar Siskin and Norman Markel, 10/3/84
3. William Fenton and David Sapir, 10/1/84
4. Frederica de Laguna and Norman Markel, 9/30/84
5. Charles Wagley, 9/84
6. Walter Goldschmidt and Charles Wagley, 10/22/82
7. Charles Fairbanks and John Griffin, 9/20/82
8. Ruth Bunzell and Charles Wagley, 5/4/83
9. George Foster and Charles Wagley, 5/25/84
10. Elizabeth Colson and Charles Wagley, 5/24/84
11. Sherwood Washburn and Charles Wagley, 5/24/84
12. John Rowe and Charles Wagley, 5/24/84
13. Hugo Nutini and John Roberts, 12/4/88
14. John Roberts and Jeremy Sabloff, 12/5/88
15. Zunia Henry and Murray Wax, 1/29/88
16. Rosalie Wax with Murray Wax and Joan Cassell, 1/30/88
17. Murray Wax and H. Russell Bernard
18. Lauriston Sharp and Paul Doughty, 4/8/89
19. Conrad Arensberg and Lambros Comitas, 5/1/89
20. Lambros Comitas and H. Russell Bernard, 5/1/89
21. Daniel Rubín de Borbolla and Fernando Cámara, 5/19/89
22. Fernando Cámara and H. Russell Bernard, 5/18/89
23. Andrés Medina Hernández and Fernando Cámara, 5/19/89
24. Manuel Gándara and Fernando Cámara, 5/19/89
25. Stetson Kennedy and George Bedell, 5/5/89
26. Stanley Garn and Otto Von Mering, 1/24/90
27. J. Clyde Mitchell and H. Russell Bernard, 7/19/90

For each interview, send a blank VHS 1/2 inch cassette to:

Human Studies Film Archives  
National Museum of Natural History  
Smithsonian Institution Room E 307  
Washington, DC 20560

Clients will be invoiced \$40.00 for each cassette requested.

### III. Early Field Recordings

Douglas Givens notes an excellent source for the history of linguistics and ethnomusicology: Early field recordings, a catalogue of cylinder collections at the Indian University Archives of Traditional Music, edited by Anthony Seeger and Louise Spear (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

### RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

William Y. Adams (University of Kentucky) is writing a book on the philosophical roots of anthropology, with primary reference to American anthropology. It will be concerned mainly with the doctrines of progressivism, primitivism, rationalism, natural law, German idealism, and "Indianology" (i.e., the particularistic study of the Native American for his own sake). Special attention is given to the reasons why American anthropology is, and should be, different from British, French, German, and other national schools.

Bruce Berman (Queen's University, Kingston, Canada) and John Lonsdale (University of Cambridge) are working on a book about the intellectual and political rivalry between Louis Leakey and Jomo Kenyatta.

Julia Douthwaite (French Department, University of Notre Dame) is currently conducting research on the "wild girl of Champagne," (Marie-Angélique Leblanc, found in 1731) and on the representation of feral children, savages, and other marginal human types in eighteenth-century France.

Martyn Haines (Bailliol College, Oxford) is carrying on research on the sociology of S.N.H. Linguet, whose thought influenced Karl Marx, as well as on the history of "French Socialism and Anthropology."

Hal K. Rothman (Wichita State University) is currently conducting research into the early history of southwestern archeology, focussing on the emergence of federal agencies and their influence on science on the periphery. including such people as Edgar L. Hewett, William Douglass, John Wetherill, and Byron L. Cummings.

Hans F. Vermeulen (Centre of Non-Western Studies, University of Leiden) is doing doctoral research on the emergence of ethnology as a discipline in Göttingen circa 1770, and its early development until circa 1810.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICA ARCANA

### I. Recent Journal Numbers

Antropologische Verkenningen--Somewhat belatedly, we note that the Volume 7, Numbers 1 and 2 (Summer, 1988), was devoted to historical studies of Dutch Anthropology. The nine articles, all in Dutch (without English abstracts) include several by HAN subscribers, focussing on a number of individuals (Ten Kate, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, J.J. Fahrenfort, J.H.F. Kohlbrugge and H. T. Fischer), institutions, and area studies.

### II. Recent Dissertations

(Ph.D. except where otherwise indicated)

Ayati. Ata. "Histoire de l'anthropologie de l'Iran (University of Paris VIII)\*

Brochu, Micheline. "Anthropologie et idéologie: l'idéologie de la revue L'ethnographie de sa création á la guerre (University of Paris VIII)\*

Cross, Stephen J. "Designs for Living: Lawrence K. Frank and the Progressive Legacy in American Social Science" (Johns Hopkins University, Department of History of Science, 1992).

Haines, Martyn. "Marx, Engels, and anthropology: A historical study" (D. Phil. Politics, Bailliol College, Oxford)

Keller, Anne-Sophie. "L'histoire de l'anthropologie de la Guyane française" (University of Paris VIII)\*.

[\*Memoire de maîtrise ]

### II. Recent Work by Subscribers

[Except in the case of new subscribers, for whom we will include one or two orienting items, "recent" is taken to mean within the last two years. Please note that we do not list "forthcoming" items. To be certain of dates and page numbers, please wait until your works have actually appeared before sending offprints (preferably), or citations in the style used in History of Anthropology and most anthropological journals]

Benedict, Burton. 1991. Anthropology and the Lowie Museum. Museum Anthropology 15 (#4):26-29.

Bulmer, Martin, K. Bales, & K Sklar, eds. 1991. The social survey in historical perspective, 1880-1940. Cambridge University Press [15 essays treating developments in Britain and the United States, including one by Bulmer on "W.E.B. DuBois as a social investigator: The Philadelphia Negro, 1899, as well as chapters on Germany and France]



- DeMallie, Raymond. 1991. Introduction to the Bison Book Edition. In James Mooney, The ghost-dance religion and the Sioux outbreak of 1890, xv-xxvi. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Fogelson, Raymond. 1991. A. Irving Hallowell and the study of cultural dynamics. The Psychoanalytic Study of Society 16:9-17.
- Gaillard, Gerald. 1990. Répertoire de l'ethnologie française, 1950-1970, 2 vols. Paris: Editions du CNRS [vol. 1 is a series of comprehensive bibliographic listings of the activities of a large number of institutions, organizations, expeditions, research groups; vol. 2 contains four indices: persons, subject matter, geographic areas, institutions]
- Hinsley, Curtis. 1991. The museum origins of Harvard anthropology, 1866-1915. In C. A. Elliott & M. Rossiter, eds., Science at Harvard University. Lehigh University Press.
- Kehoe, Alice B. 1991. The invention of prehistory. Current Anthropology 32:467-76.
- Kennedy, K. A. R., A. Sonakia, J. Chiment & K. K. Verma. 1991. Is the Narmada hominid an Indian Homo Erectus? American Journal of Physical Anthropology 86(#4):475-496.
- Kloos, Peter. 1992. Into Africa: Dutch anthropology and the changing colonial situation. Antropologische Verkenningen 11:49-64.
- Meltzer, David J. & R. C. Dunnell. 1992. William Henry Holmes and the origins of American archaeology. Classics of Smithsonian Anthropology [Restores to print four of Holmes's most influential works].
- Murray, Stephen O., et al., eds. 1991. Oceanic homosexualities. New York: Garland Press (contains several historically oriented essays, including three on early twentieth century studies of shamanism by Bogoraz, Jochelson, and Czaplicka)
- Murray, S.O. & Keelung Hong 1991. American anthropologists looking through Taiwanese culture. Dialectical Anthropology 16:273-99
- Murray, S.O. 1992. Review of R. A. Hall, A life for language: A biographical memoir of Leonard Bloomfield, Word 43:138-45.
- Rothman, Hal K. 1992. Navajo National Monument: A place and its people. Santa Fe: National Park Services, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers #40.
- Strickwerda, Robert. 1991. Motivations, tactics, and audiences: Anthropological responses to the Mead/Freeman controversy. In D. W. Parson, ed., Argument in controversy, pp. 299-305. [Proceedings of the 7th SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation] Annandale, VA: Speech Communication Association.

- Stocking, G. W., Jr. 1991. Books unwritten, turning points unmarked: Notes toward an anti-history of anthropology. [David Skomp Distinguished Lecture in Anthropology] Bloomington: Indiana University, Department of Anthropology.
- Sturtevant, William C. 1991. Collecting and the development of anthropology. In K. R. Johnson, L. J. Hickey & C. A. Hoover, eds., Crossroads continents: the material culture of Siberia and Alaska, pp. 38-40. Washington & New Haven: Yale-Smithsonian Seminar on Material Culture.
- Winthrop, Robert H. 1991. Dictionary of concepts of in cultural anthropology. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Vermeulen, H.F., ed. 1991. Recente ontwikkelingen in de Leidse antropologie. Leiden: ICA Publikatie 91.

### III. Suggested by our Readers

[Although the subtitle does not indicate it, the assumption here is the same as in the preceding section: we list "recent" work--i.e., items appearing in the last several years.]

- Allsebrook, Mary. 1992. Born to rebel: The life of Harriet Boyd Hawes. Oxford: Oxbow Books [Biography of first woman to lead an excavation in the Aegean. Written by her daughter--A.C.]
- Berman, B. & J. Lonsdale, 1991. Louis Leakey's Mau Mau: A study in the politics of knowledge. History and Anthropology [G.W.S.]
- Blankenship, Roy, ed. 1991. The life and times of Frank G. Speck, 1881-1950. University of Pennsylvania, Department of Anthropology, Publications in Anthropology 4 [Known primarily for his ethnographic work, but also did some archaeology on the Eastern Seaboard. Essays by Witthoft, Fenton, Dodge, Weslager, Carpenter, Wallace, and Medoff--A.C. & W.C.S.]
- Bongle, Chris. 1991. Exotic memories: Literature, colonialism and the Fin de Siècle. Stanford University Press [A.B.]
- Carpenter, Edmund. 1991. Repatriation policy and the Heye collection. Museum Anthropology 15(3):15-18 [George Heye as a collector, and the history of the Museum of the American Indian--W.C.S.]
- Effert, F.R. 1991. J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong en de archeologie. In H. F. Vermeulen, ed. 1991. Recente ontwikkelingen in de Leidse antropologie, pp. 49-59. Leiden: ICA Publikatie 91 [H.F.V.]

- Emmons, G. T. [1991]. The Tlingit Indians., edited with additions by Frederica de Laguna, and a biography by Jean Low. University of Washington Press [product of 30 year effort to organize materials collected for the American Museum of Natural History in the 1880s and 90s--R.D.F.]
- Gagen-Torn, N. I. 1991. Andrei Belyi kak etnograf. Sovetskaia Etnografiia 6:87-91 [Andrei Bely, late 19th century symbolist poet, as an ethnographer--W.C.S.]
- Gold, Gerald. 1990. Finding French America: Quebec anthropology and the definition of a culture. Culture and the anthropological tradition: Essays in honor of Robert F. Spencer, pp. 97-21. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America [R.D.F.]
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- Harms, Volker. 1991. "Südseebilder"--zur Ethnographiegeschichte einer Foto-Sammlung aus den Jahren 1890-1910. Tribus 40:161-177. Stuttgart [Collection of A. Krämer in University of Tübingen--W.C.S.]
- Hartmann, Gayle H. & S. F. Urban, eds. 1991. The Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society: Its First Seventy-Five Years. Kiva 56:329-357 [A.C.]
- Johnson, Eldon. 1990. Minnesota anthropology to 1948. In R. H. Winthrop, ed., Culture and the anthropological tradition: Essays in honor of Robert F. Spencer, pp. 15-24. Lanham, Md. University Press of America [R.D.F.]
- Jaarsma, S. R. 1991. An ethnographer's tale: Ethnographic research in Netherlands (west) New Guinea (1950-1962) Oceania 62: 128-46 [I.B.]
- Kilgour, Maggie. 1990. From communion to cannibalism: an Anatomy of metaphors of incorporation. Princeton University Press [Treats the metaphor of incorporation in Western literature from Ovid to Melville--A.B.]
- Krebs, Edgardo C. 1990. George Catlin and South America: A look at his 'lost' years and his paintings of northeastern Argentina. American Art Journal 22 (4):4-39 [interesting but inconclusive study of factual basis for Catlin's claim to have travelled in Argentina in the 1850s--W.C.S.]
- Krech, Shepard, III & B. A. Hail, eds. 1991. Special Issue: Art and material culture of the North American Subarctic and adjacent regions. Arctic Anthropology 28(1) [includes papers by M. Lee, "Appropriating the primitive: Turn-of-the-century collection and display of native Alaskan art (pp. 6-15); B. Hail, "'I Saw These Things': The Victorian Collection of Emma Shaw Colcleugh (pp. 16-33); S. Krech, "The Fifth Earl of

Lonsdale's ethnographic collection: Some late nineteenth century biases" (pp. 34-47);  
D. Cole, "Tricks of the trade: Some reflections on anthropological collecting (pp. 48-  
52); W. Sturtevant, Comment [on the above four papers] (pp. 53-55)--W.C.S.]

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Olender, Maurice. 1992. The languages of paradise: Race, religion and philology in the nineteenth century. Trans. A. Goldhamer. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press [G.W.S.]

Puccini, Sandra. 1989. Il viaggio della Magenta intorno al globo (1865-1868). Enrico H. Giglioli e le sue osservazioni su usi e costumi dei popoli. La Conoscenza dell'Asia e Del Africa in Italia nei Secoli xviii e xix. 3:337-62 [G.W.S.].

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Purdue, James R., W. E. Klippel, & B. W. Styles. 1991. Beamers, bobwhites, and blue-points: Tributes to the career of Paul W. Parmalee. Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers 23 [Includes biography & bibliography of this prominent zooarchaeologist--A.C.]

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A.B. = Alice Bullard

H.F.V. = H. F. Vermeulen

A.C. = Andrew Christenson

R.D.F. = Raymond Fogelson

I.B. = Ira Bashkow

W.C.S. = William C. Sturtevant

G..W.S. = George W. Stocking

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Centre d'Etude de l'Histoire de l'Ethnologie--Gérald Gaillard (Maître de conférence d'anthropologie á la université de Lille I et chargé de cours á la université de Paris VIII) announces the formation in 1990 of this research center at the University of Paris VIII. So far, three master's theses (cf. above) have been produced; other theses and dissertations are in process. Gaillard announces also the establishment of a new series, "Territoire de l'autre," (Editions Berg Internationales), bearing on the history of anthropology. The first volume is a reprinting of Marcel Griaule's "Des flambeurs d'hommes" with a preface by Geneviève Calame-Griaule and an essay by Michel Perret.

Cheiron--The program for the XXIV annual meeting, June 18-21, 1992, at the University of Windsor, Windsor, Canada, includes one paper relating to the history of anthropology: Floyd W. Rudmin, "William McDougall in Colonial Borneo: An Early Applied Social Psychology of Peace" (McDougall was a member of Haddon's Torres Straits Expedition of 1898).

Encyclopedia of the History of Archaeology--Tim Murray, of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge, announces that he is editing The history of archaeology: An encyclopedia, which is scheduled for publication by Garland Publishing of New York in 1995.

## GLEANINGS FROM ACADEMIC GATHERINGS

Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde--At the twice-yearly congress in Munich, October 13-20, 1991, a symposium was held on the history of ethnology--the first such event sponsored by the society. The eight papers, all in German, included "On the relevance of history of ethnology" by H.-J. Hildebrandt (Mainz); "From customs to values: The development of anthropology in the French Enlightenment," by Brigitta Benzing (Göttingen); "The emergence of modern science and its influences on the ethnological formulations in eighteenth century Germany," by Sabine Vetter (Munich); "The early history of Völkerkunde in Germany, 1771-1791," by H. F. Vermeulen (Leiden); "Ethnology in Munich: Institutionalisation of a discipline, 1850-1933," by Wolfgang Smolka (Munich); "Relevant topics in the work of Ludwig Gumplowicz," by Dietrich Streck (Mainz); "Anthropology in the wars of the twentieth century," by Bernhard Streck (Mainz); "Current state of research on the relationship between Völkerkunde and National Socialism," by Lothar Pützstück (Cologne). It is planned to publish the papers in Volume 1 of the collected papers of the congress and to organize a second and bigger symposium in the second half of 1992 somewhere in Germany.