

Birla Central Library

PILANI (Jaipur State)

Class No :- 323.3

Book No :- L230

Accession No :- 13307

THE ORIGIN OF THE
INEQUALITY
OF THE SOCIAL CLASSES

THE ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY OF THE SOCIAL CLASSES

By

GUNNAR LANDTMAN, PH.D.

*E. O. Professor of Sociology at the University of Helsingfors, Finland.
Hon. member of the Royal Anthropological Institute and of the
Folklore Society, London. Author of "The Kiwai Papuans of
British New Guinea".*

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

BROADWAY HOUSE: 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.

First Published 1938

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., HERTFORD.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF PAPUA,
SIR HUBERT MURRAY, K.C.M.G.

in gratitude and admiration

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFACE	XV

A. THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

I. EQUALITY OF RANK PREVAILING AMONG THE LOWEST RACES	I
---	---

The scope and limitation of the idea of equality.—Natural variations and social inequalities.—In every society social influence varies to a great extent according to personal merits and demerits.—Opportunity never equal.—The task of sociology mainly descriptive and explanatory, not concerned with the valuation of phenomena.—Individual differences and legal barriers.—Complete social equality characterizing peoples in the lowest degree of culture.—Rousseau a bizarre eighteenth-century forerunner of modern sociology.—Equality as regards rank, property, and labour a distinctive feature of the Kiwai Papuans.—The sharing of game, fish, and garden produce with fellow-villagers.—Variations in social influence dependent solely on personal qualifications among the Papuans.—Social equality among other undeveloped peoples.

II. THE POSITION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—AGE-CLASSES	14
---	----

Political and social inferiority of women.—Unequal distribution of labour between the sexes.—Women generally excluded from political and religious affairs.—Rights denied to women.—Instances of women holding an influential position.—Such cases do not invalidate the general rule of their subjection.—Women's social standing comparatively favourable among the very lowest races.—An illustrative instance offered by the Kiwai Papuans.—The rights of parents over their children.—The authority of advanced age in general.—The reverence paid to old people often subject to important restrictions.—Age-classes, initiation ceremonies.—The initiation of girls.—Schurtz' opinion of the initiation ceremonies.—Initiation in the first place only refers to the attained age of puberty; the existence of only two real age-classes.—Privileges of the adult generation.—Food-regulations; change of name at initiation; mutilations and alterations of the outward appearance; dress, ornaments, and tattooing.—Significance of the hardships inflicted at initiation; symbolic death and rebirth.—Magic significance of mutilations, tattooing, and name-changing.

III. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION THROUGH PERSONAL QUALITIES	36
--	----

Definition of classes.—Classes defined in theoretical literature.—Differentiation through individual conditions.—Influence of old age, of supernatural power, of eloquence, of physical adroitness, of courage and skill in hunting.—Warlike renown the surest

road to eminence.—Manliness and strength of mind accompanied by recognition and advancement.—Personal dexterity not to be understood according to civilized ideas.—Trophies of the chase or war outward tokens of a man's superiority.—The preservation of heads and skulls as trophies.—Scalps and other similar trophies.—Significance of trophies.—Badges or traditional symbols for deeds of valour.—Weapons as badges.—Feather ornaments, horns, hair, and head-dresses.—Painting the body; the meaning of colours.—Hunters and man-slayers regarded as unclean.—Incisions and tattoo-marks denoting honourable achievements.—Other similar signs.—Precise heraldic meaning of certain badges and signs.—General significance of badges.—Honorary names and titles.—Their importance.—Actual privileges procured through personal distinction.—Marriage sometimes an advantage of individual superiority.—Obligatory trials of young men before marriage.—Polygyny accompanies expertness in hunting and fishing.—Other advantages of a similar kind.—Magic significance of trophies and ornamental badges.—Sinking in the social position through personal inferiority.—Names and signs of ignominy.—Tendency to hereditariness of social inequalities.—Varying degrees of importance attached to hereditariness.—Position of illegitimate children.—“Old” and “new” families.

IV. WEALTH AS INFLUENCING SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION 68

Combined influence of personal dissimilarities and inequality of wealth in the formation of classes.—Various theories in literature regarding influence of wealth upon social differentiation.—Fortune accompanied by respect and influence.—Hospitality and generosity highly valued.—Names and badges denoting wealth.—Distinctive equipment and attire of the rich.—Various advantages of wealth; polygyny.—The benefits of polygyny.—A plurality of wives highly respected.—The mutual position of the wives in a polygynous family.—Wealth constitutes a more permanent pre-eminence than personal qualities.—The retaining of property within a certain class.—The relation between nobility and wealth.—The poor and destitute sink to a subordinate position.

V. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADES 78

Division of labour contributing to the origin of classes.—No real division of work in the lowest communities.—Voluntary intra-tribal assistance.—Geographical specialization of labour.—Gradual development of a division of labour.—Varying degrees of social estimation assigned to different groups of workers.—Important handicrafts and such as require great skill are highly respected.—Hereditariness of trades.—Despised occupations degrade those engaged in them.—Among many peoples all handicrafts as a rule stand low in estimation.—The position of executioners.—Butchers.—Workers in leather.—Cooks.—Women's work accounted degrading.—Agricultural labourers.—Weavers.—Potters.—Barbers.—Griots or minstrels.—Importance of the division of labour.

VI. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADES (*concluded*) 92

The peculiar position of smiths; on the one hand they constitute a despised pariah caste, on the other hand they are regarded

CHAP.

PAGE

with superstitious awe and respect.—The mystery of the black-smith's trade.—The smiths as miracle-doctors and sorcerers.—The ground of the respect felt for smiths.—Their fame goes back to the beginning of their history.—Early traditions regarding smiths.—Their uncleanness.—The persons of smiths occasionally regarded as inviolable.—Sometimes they are debarred from communion with other people.—They generally constitute a professional class of their own.—Theories regarding the position of smiths.—The question whether smiths in general belong to the same race as the great mass of their people or not.—The various circumstances which have contributed to the conditions of the smiths.—Mystical attributes of iron and steel.—Various aspects of the belief in the magical properties of iron.—Explanation of these beliefs.

VII. SOCIAL INEQUALITY CAUSED BY THE AMALGAMATION OF TRIBES

102

Extra-tribal causes of the rise of classes.—Social differentiation brought about through the amalgamation of different ethnical elements.—The different customs and languages in the amalgamation of a conquering and a subjugated race.—The custom of making prisoners of war a fruitful source of slavery.—The classification of social strata into three main orders, the nobility or upper free class, the free commonalty and the slaves.

B. THE ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD

VIII. INTRODUCTION.—THE HUMAN NEED OF MEDIATORS WITH THE PRETERNATURAL WORLD

III

Magicians included in the priesthood.—Religious and magical beliefs and practices are universal among mankind.—Supernaturalistic practitioners, under varying nomenclature, found among all the lowest races.—Priesthood thus met with at an earlier stage than any other social class.—Priesthood compared with other classes.—The origin of priesthood referable to man's craving for supernatural assistance in the struggle of life.—The ideas of savages regarding natural occurrences and phenomena ; regarding illness and death.—Notions of this sort contributing to the origin of priesthood.—The priests necessary mediators with the supernatural powers.—The assistance of the priests required to direct worship, to procure favourable weather, to heal the sick, to explain counsels from the gods, to inflict evil upon enemies.—The significance of priesthood in the mental life of savages.—Psychological explanation of the origin of priesthood.

IX. THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF PRIESTS

125

Worship of the dead and worship of gods of nature as influencing the origin of priesthood.—Worship of deified men in the first place confined to the separate families.—No regular priesthood met with on the basis of mere family-worship.—Origin of ancestral gods as worshipped by whole tribes.—Departed persons sometimes transformed into malevolent spirits.—Nature-worship not concerned with relationship—In the earliest history of cult everybody performed the supernatural rites without the assistance of priests.—First differentiation of priesthood.—Family-worship conducted by some member of the family.—King-priests.—Their origin.—They constitute one

beginning of a professional priesthood.—Forerunners of a regular priesthood.—Ecstatic persons perform priestly duties.—Early priesthood often not permanent.—Observance of “sacred places”.—“Holy men.”—In early stages of cult almost anybody may become a priest.—Professional priesthood evolved with the growth of ritual observances.—Origin of priests common to whole tribes.—Neighbouring races feared as sorcerers.—Tylor’s theory of the belief in the magical propensities of neighbours.—It does not explain every case of such beliefs.—Mysterious powers of strangers more believed in than those of well-known people.

X. QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED BY ASPIRANTS TO PRIESTHOOD.—INITIATION OF PRIESTS 149

Priesthood to a certain extent an hereditary institution.—The sacerdotal dignity passing over to descendants of the second generation.—The faculty of conversing with the spirits generally a condition for assuming priesthood.—Tutelary spirits.—The powers of priests communicated by the gods.—This taking place in dreams ; by other means.—Wonder-working a principal condition for priesthood.—Outward signs indicating the possession of mysterious powers.—Mental qualifications of priests : eccentric disposition and faculty of falling into convulsions.—Bringing on ecstasy by fasting or narcotics.—Primitive ideas regarding ecstasy.—Rites generally performed during ecstatic manifestations.—Notions of savages regarding insanity.—Neophytes instructed for the priestly office.—Those inspired by the gods less in want of instruction.—Preparation of a novice in many cases begins early in life.—Length of time of preparation.—Two phases of priestly education.—The knowledge imparted to the candidates.—Preparing the minds of neophytes for intercourse with the gods.—Consecratory ceremonies.—The parallel drawn by Lévy-Bruhl between the initiation of young men and the priestly novitiate : death and new birth taking place in both cases.

XI. HOW PRIESTS GAIN REPUTATION.—ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD AS A DISTINCT ORDER 176

Authority of priesthood.—Priests recruited from the most intelligent elements of the people.—They secure the popular confidence in their powers by utilizing their knowledge of natural phenomena ; by collecting all kinds of information regarding their clients and acting in collusion with each other ; by making their utterances sufficiently ambiguous to admit of several interpretations ; by resorting to various kinds of excuses.—The priests are the sources of many superstitions.—Their prestige is increased by the mystery in which they envelop their proceedings ; by the fear inspired in the people ; by their bizarre external appearance ; by the impression produced by their ecstatic orgies.—Religious and magical rites often take place in the dark.—The priests attach themselves to the kings and noble classes.—Their number is often recruited from the most noble families.—The influence of the priests dependent upon their power of wonder-working.—Priests who lose their power forfeit their office and are sometimes punished.—The killing of priests.—Priests who have to give up their vocation after attaining a certain age.—The question whether priests are imposters or not.—The views of scientists and field-chroniclers in this respect.—The sucking cure.—The self-deception and power of imagination of savages.—The priests are themselves victims of the popular superstitions.—The hereditary succession and the preparation

CHAP.

PAGE

of priests for the office contribute to the distinct status of priesthood.—Habitual practices obligatory upon priests.—Ascetic regulations as to sexual life.—Great liberties sometimes accorded to priests in sexual respect.—Fasting.—The use of narcotics for religious ends.—Food restrictions.—The exterior appearance of priests as betokening their separateness.—The length of the hair of priests.—Badges.—The separate language of priests.—Specific modes of burial.

XII. CLASSIFICATION OF PRIESTS AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRIESTLY FUNCTIONS 205

Two types of supernaturalistic practitioners.—Definitions of priests and sorcerers in theoretical literature.—Certain writers associate the difference between these classes with that between higher and lower aspects of spiritual evolution; others with the difference between the good and evil nature of the practices.—The difference is based upon functionary dissimilarities.—Priests and sorcerers, religion and magic defined.—The types of priests and sorcerers in reality blend into one another.—In a few cases they are distinct.—Instances of priests who also practise magic; of sorcerers who display priestly traits.—The enmity generally prevailing between a good and an evil-minded class of the priesthood.—This distinction often arbitrary.—The attribute of good not confined to priests; nor that of evil to magicians.—Divination, medical art, and weather-making as exercised by the regular priests or by special performers.—Distribution of priestly functions dependent upon the way in which they are performed.—Divination.—Medical arts.—Weather-making, and distinction between different branches of this practice.—The priests preside over ordeals.—They are sometimes entrusted with a regular judicatory dignity.—Qualifications of women for the priesthood.—Among certain peoples only priesthood is confined to men.—Female priests principally devote themselves to divination and healing diseases.—Women considered to be endowed with mysterious powers in a higher degree than men.—Certain classes of priestly functions confined to one or other of the sexes.—Male priests who assume women's attire and impersonate women.

C. THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY

XIII. THEORY.—INTRA-TRIBAL SLAVERY 227

The essential attributes of slavery; opinions expressed in theoretical literature.—Definition of slavery.—Necessity of keeping slavery distinct from other subjected states.—Distribution of slavery within different economic cultures.—Intra-tribal and extra-tribal slavery.—Debtor slavery.—Causes of indebtedness among nature peoples.—Pawn-slaves; their position, treatment, and chances of redemption.—Pawn-slavery tends to include an ever-increasing number of the debtor's relatives.—Insolvent debtors reduced to real slavery.—The selling of persons into slavery.—Slavery a punishment for crimes.—Enslavement of criminals has developed from an earlier practice of personal retaliation.—The form of punishment often determined according to the utility accruing to the party interested.—Parallelism between the position of an offender who cannot pay indemnity and that of an insolvent debtor.—Discharging fines by means of pawn-slavery.—The joint liability of the members of the same family or clan appearing in connection with the punishment of crimes.—A convicted offender sometimes escapes slavery by providing a substitute.

CHAP. XIV.	EXTRA-TRIBAL SLAVERY.—ENSLAVEMENT THROUGH CAPTIVITY IN WAR	PAGE 248
---------------	--	-------------

The common practice of enslaving war prisoners.—The slave class among many peoples composed of an ethnical element differing from the leading classes.—Rules and practices referring to the enslavement of enemies.—The capture of prisoners constitutes an essential purpose of warfare among many uncivilized peoples.—According to a certain theory, slavery originates from captivity in war.—Different kinds of warfare and fighting among savages.—Certain savages are known to kill all the enemies they can in real war.—Torturing captured enemies.—Primitive warfare frequently accompanied by cannibal practices.—Supernaturalistic ideas connected with cannibalism.—Varying treatment of prisoners of war among different peoples.—Delay in putting a captive to death may cause him to be kept alive as a slave.—Various reasons for postponing the assassination of captives.—Spencer's theory that enslavement of prisoners has developed from the practice of keeping them alive with the view of eating them subsequently : the discovery has been made that their services might be more valuable than their flesh.—Exactng ransom for captives.—The origin of the slave trade.—Prisoners put to profitable work.—The principle of utility influencing the fate of captives.—Only certain groups of prisoners permitted to remain alive.—Women and children are the earliest captives enslaved.—The treatment of captive chiefs and warriors.—Adoption of captives.

XV.	FURTHER SOURCES OF SLAVERY.—CLASSIFICATION OF THE SLAVE ORDER	PAGE 265
-----	---	-------------

Kidnapping and enslaving defenceless persons.—A general rule of protection and subservience characterizing the social relations in many native communities.—The slave trade, its effects upon slavery in general.—The influence of Europeans upon the slave trade in different parts of the world.—Market value of slaves.—Hereditariness of slavery.—The position of the children of mixed, free and slave marriages.—General position and treatment of the slave class.—Occupations for which slaves are used.—Superstitious ideas and fear of desertion influencing the treatment of slaves.—Rights of slave-owners and of slaves.—Outward marks indicating the slave status.—Distinctive hair-dress, painting, tattooing, clothing, movable ornaments, different terms of address, different modes of burial.—Legal and economic disabilities of slaves.—The owner responsible for the actions of his slave.—Proprietary rights of slaves.—Among certain peoples slaves may rise to respectability and wealth.—In many communities slavery constitutes an unalterable state.—"Slaves without a master."—"King's slaves."—Manumission of slaves.—Concubinage of female slaves.—Marriages of slaves.—Mixed, free and slave marriages.—Two distinct categories of slaves : domestic slaves and foreign or trading slaves.—Their different treatment.—The question whether either intertribal or extra-tribal slavery constitutes the original source or slavery.

D. THE ORIGIN OF NOBILITY

XVI.	NOBILITY OR THE UPPER FREE CLASS.—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE MAIN CLASSES	PAGE 287
------	--	-------------

Conquest in war and the origin of nobility.—Wealth generally accruing to people possessed of power.—It constitutes in itself

CHAP.

PAGE

a source of social promotion.—The upper or richer classes distinguishing themselves by better dwellings, finer clothing, distinctive head- and hair-dress.—Rank indicated by colours, tattooing, certain bodily deformations, a variety of movable ornaments, certain weapons, distinctive insignia.—Bands of musicians a means of conferring pomp upon grandees when appearing in state.—An official or court nobility is frequently connected with rulers.—Specific marriage rules and conditions characterizing nobility.—Official and legal privileges of nobility.—Regard for distinguished ancestry.—A certain sub-order of nobility composed of chiefs of subjugated tribes.—The upper classes generally distinguished by different food, by ownership in slaves, by exemption from work.—The physical and mental type of the upper classes differing from that of the common people.—A separate aristocratic language.—Religious attributes and tabu of nobility.—Submission of the humbler classes.—Distinct burial customs.—Different existence in future life.—Subdivisions of the main classes.—Transition from one class to another.

E. THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

XVII. COUNCIL OF THE INFLUENTIAL MEN AND CHIEFTAINSHIP

309

Two different types of government met with among native races: one-man rule and "the elders' council" or "the council of the influential men".—The latter type almost universal among the most primitive races.—Description of the council government of the Kiwai Papuans.—Instances of the council system from a great many other undeveloped tribes.—The council also acts as a court of justice.—Other forms of the organization of the judicial authority.—The beginnings of popular or national assemblies.—The tribal council composed of heads of families.—Personal leadership originally of a temporary character.—A chief's personal qualifications greatly influencing his ascension to power as well as his maintenance of it.—Hereditary chieftainship.—Women as rulers.—The tribal council frequently subsists as an administrative organ under monarchical rule.—The council occasionally invested with considerable power.—Separate village and tribal councils; corresponding higher and lower grades of chiefs.—Undeveloped communities kept together by the social instinct and mutual advantage.—Authority of chiefs often greater under the stress of war.—Appointment of a special chief in war.—Pretentious habitations of chiefs.—Distinctive clothing; colours; hair-dress; emblems and insignia; weapons; bands of musicians; umbrellas and baldachins; a special court language.—Brother and sister marriages in royal families.—The holy character of many kings; extreme degrees of autocracy.—Pompous obsequies.—Court ceremonial; subservience of the common people.—Tabu rules obligatory upon divine rulers.

NOTES 327

AUTHORITIES QUOTED 405

SUBJECT INDEX 435

PREFACE

Owing to the rapid and thorough changes which during the last generation or two have completely broken up the old forms of aboriginal culture in nearly every part of the world, descriptions of savage peoples usually prove in a short time to contain information about the past. Practically all of the earlier literary accounts—in certain respects very important ones—are in our days documents referring to a world which to a great extent has disappeared. In these circumstances I have hesitated as to the form in which to present the ethnological material on which my treatise is founded, as in many cases it must seem incongruous to retain the original present tense in descriptions which concern a well-nigh unrecognizable past. I have, however, found it necessary, as a general rule, not to alter the tense used in my primary sources.

The material which in the various chapters relates to the Kiwai Papuans was collected by me during my investigations among them in 1910-1912.

I desire to express my great obligation to Miss Dora Starke, M.A., Lecturer in the University of London, and to Miss Marjory Bonar for the understanding and discernment with which they have helped me in writing this book in English.

G. L.

THE ORIGIN OF THE
INEQUALITY
OF THE SOCIAL CLASSES

A. THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

CHAPTER I

EQUALITY OF RANK PREVAILING AMONG THE LOWEST RACES

Ever since mankind began to meditate on the social conditions in which they lived, the question of equality has occupied a prominent place in their thoughts. Wherever the activities of social life bring people in contact with one another the question of precedence or equality will arise. We know that this question makes itself felt in the mind of savage natives, whose lives are in fact notably influenced by their attitude towards equality. And throughout the history of humanity social dissimilarities and class-conflicts have characterized the evolution of probably every nation and community.

During these endless and apparently inevitable controversies equality has appeared to many thinkers as a coveted boon apt to lay the foundation of an adequate and rightful state of things. It is particularly before the imagination of the inferior social layers that equality has loomed as an ideal heralding a changed and better world. In any case it is apparent that equality in the history of human thought has meant something more than the mere watchword of the present-day social agitator. In the light of Christianity all mankind is united in equality before religion. Philosophers of all ages have pronounced true human merit and virtue to be independent of rank and class. And in the utopian constructions of the perfect state, equality is represented as a marked feature of the latter or at least of its divisions.

A decided limitation, however, is necessary when applying the idea of equality to matters regarding society. It is possible that in an absolute sense the term "equal" can be used of certain abstract notions only, as, for instance, logical or mathematical conceptions. We find it imaginable, on the other hand, that in the physical world there are not to be found any two objects of the same kind which would prove to be exactly equal, when put under the microscope, for instance, or otherwise. So much the less could equality be expected between any two human beings, considering their unlimited variation of qualities, physical and mental. Men differ in their spiritual just as much as in their anatomical and physiological characteristics. They vary as to size, shape, and movements, but also as to intellect, will-power, and desires—their very features

proclaim their inequality. Initial equality between human beings, as between any living things, is an impossibility, seeing that Nature's products are all diverse and unequal. Jean Jacques Rousseau's doctrine that all men are created equal, had to be given up long ago in the sense that all are born with the same mental capacity and energy or ingredients of character.

While the natural dissimilarities of individuals must not be entirely overlooked by us, it is not with that aspect of inequality, on the other hand, that sociology is directly concerned. In matters of inequality its interests in the first place refer to the differences separating human beings as regards their position in society.

It is true that, in a certain measure, individual and social differences go together. In every society a man's social status is more or less influenced by his personal qualifications. People hold an individual of superior ability in higher esteem than others, and value his opinion, whereas the worthless is looked down upon. From the sociological point of view such an individual inequality appears in every respect natural, and consequently unavoidable. We may safely venture the assertion that no human society has ever existed or will ever exist where the social standing and influence of the different individuals does not vary according to their personal merits or demerits.

Nor would any sensible person ever think of wishing for the abolition of such social dissimilarities. Besides, to equalize the influence exercised by different individuals in a community would be utterly impossible. If we were to suppose the variations of individual authority once really done away with, we should very soon find these social differences restored and every man returned to his level, on account of existing natural inequalities.

It has often been stated in literature that the only social equality that could be even theoretically claimed is that of opportunity. Equal opportunity, however, in an absolute sense, does not exist in fact and never has, in any social order, on account of the divergent personal qualifications of different individuals. We must remember that personal qualities in a considerable degree determine "opportunity". In the full sense of the word, opportunity is never equal.

Personal diversity as regards social superiority or inferiority, such as has been alleged above, is not calculated to cause any feeling of injustice in the opinion of the impartial onlooker, as it only endows each man with the valuation which he personally deserves. An inequality there is, but one without a sting.

It is not unusual in theoretical literature to emphasize the importance of "natural inequalities" in society. "Their effect is highly beneficial," writes Lester F. Ward. They simply tend to make men different from one another, which he thinks desirable, as it gives breath to human activity.¹ R. H. Tawney characterizes

individual differences as a source of social energy and thinks that they are more likely to ripen and find expression, if social inequalities are as far as practicable diminished. The abolition of capricious favours and arbitrary restrictions enlarges the field of opportunity.²

As regards the task of sociology we do not consider it to include any endeavour to form an opinion concerning the *value* of the various social institutions and phenomena, looked upon from an ethical-utilitarian or any other point of view. Sociology, to our thinking, in the first place aims at laying down the realities of its subject, which essentially must happen in a descriptive sense, and trying to throw light upon the course and conditions of evolution.

Thus individual differences in character and intelligence on the one hand and social inequalities arising from them on the other hand, only appear in the light of natural and intrinsic variations of social standard. Quite differently must stratifications purposely enforced and kept up by society itself be looked upon. ~~The equality which is the principal object of sociological interest is not equality of capability and attainment but of conditions and circumstances. The inequality in question here, is not inequality of personal gifts but of established social gradations. The important kind of equality is equality of right, which is not the same as general levelling and homogeneity.~~

The inequality which has caused so much social hatred and animosity and which is the only inequality seriously meant in scientific debate is that which has its source in the organization of society. This has often been called an arbitrary, artificial, or conventional inequality, founded as it is on principles which elude determination.

Generally there are legal barriers separating the different social strata, and when fully developed such inequalities are founded on class domination and class subordination. But particularly in the case of classes custom and convention appear as no inadequate substitutes for positive enactments and doctrines. Rules and habits without any sanction in law have often proved to be very efficient in maintaining distance between superior and inferior classes.³

By many social reformers the abolition of social classes, being the objects of so much strife and discord, has been set forth as a desirable goal for future attainments. The question of a community without social ranks, however, by no means exclusively belongs to a hypothetical future, but offers actual reality, if we move backwards in the course of evolution and direct our attention to the earliest known organizations of society. I consider it one of the most remarkable facts ascertained and elucidated by sociology, that a condition of almost complete social equality reigns among peoples in the lowest degree of culture. The state in which not only the rudest but also certain partially advanced savage tribes live has not favoured

the differentiation of rank, which appertains to a somewhat higher degree of evolution.

Native tribes who represent an undeveloped stage offer us a twofold social interest: they give us the opportunity of studying the structure of a community where there exists equality of rank, and they enable us to follow the differentiation of social inequality and the rise of social classes right from the beginning of evolution. Alfred Russell Wallace long ago expressed how striking the fact is, "that among people in a very low stage of civilization we find some approach to such a perfect social state."⁴

Not only the non-existence of social ranks but certain other features of the life of undeveloped native tribes undoubtedly suggest attributes of the utopian social state of philosophy. Such is the high moral standard of some of these tribes and, above all, such the seemingly happy and untroubled life some of them lead surrounded by a luxurious tropical nature. No wonder that they have acquired the admiration of so many enthusiastic travellers.

Thus in a limited respect Rousseau was not so very wrong, after all, in his praise of the state of nature, although he mainly constructed his views out of his own mind. Not entirely so, however, for in *Discours sur l'Origine et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, for instance, he to some slight extent follows the same method as modern sociologists in trying to corroborate his ideas regarding primitive stages by references to existing savage tribes. For this purpose he even makes use of a few books describing native tribes which are still quoted in modern sociological works (in the present book, for instance); such source-books consulted by him are, among others, F. Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, and P. Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*. In some parts of his writings Rousseau undoubtedly appears as a fantastic eighteenth-century forerunner of modern sociology.

Every reader of ethnology knows how often in descriptions of savage peoples one meets with such statements as, for instance, "they have no ranks" or "~~every man is the equal of everyone else~~". Too general and meagre information without corroborating details leaves the possibility of doubt whether the writer actually has investigated the organization of the people in question so as to be able to vouch for the accuracy of the categorical form he has given his statement. Ambiguous and sweeping observations of the above description call to mind analogous allegations from one generation ago regarding tribes "without religion", the erroneousness of which has been amply proved by subsequent research.

If, originally, I felt inclined to be sceptical as to the existence of native tribes with no rank distinctions whatsoever, my doubts were dispersed through my researches among the Kiwai Papuans of New Guinea to whose social organization I paid particular attention.

The complete absence of any differentiation of classes is one of the main characteristics of these natives.

When inquiring into the occurrence of peoples with a complete equality of rank I believe it expedient not only to lay down the outward facts regarding peoples who are to be reckoned to this group but to explain, in some detail, how such a community is in reality organized. For this purpose of illustrating the theoretical aspect of the question by means of a representative account of a community without classes I will describe the social structure of the Kiwais, its features and functions, from the point of view in question.

It will be noticed that the community of these Papuans is throughout founded on the principle of co-ordination, and that it offers a "nature-born instance" of some of the traits of the traditional ideal state. We believe that certain features of Kiwai sociology—even if only a very few of them—would, in fact, have pleased the great Jean Jacques, had he been in a position to acquaint himself with these natives.

The social equality of the Kiwai Papuans manifests itself the more completely and convincingly as it implies not only the non-existence of any differentiation as regards social standing but also the non-existence of any division of labour and of any disparity regarding the distribution of property.

In social respect every man is on a footing of equality with all the rest, and no one has any authority over his fellows. Every man does the same work and no one employs servants; there is hardly any need to do so, since the assistance of a man's wife, or wives, and children is sufficient for carrying on the garden work without any great exertion on his part. Related persons, besides, are continually helping each other. Custom also requires anyone to come and assist a fellow-villager for a day or two, if he is engaged in some particularly arduous work. An invitation to this effect is always accepted, although no payment is given; the participants are, however, entertained with food and sometimes with tobacco, and everyone knows that he and the whole village will profit in the future from the common work. The building of a house and other greater enterprises are always undertaken in common, assistance being given by those who will not benefit directly from the work when completed. As a rule a man is not directly paid for anything he may manufacture for somebody else. One exception seems to be when a man appeals to someone known to be versed in witchcraft, asking him, for instance, to injure an enemy; then he generally puts down some presents of value before the sorcerer. Very faint beginnings only of a division of labour can be traced, except that existing between the sexes, as we will describe in another chapter.

There are no rich and no poor people, because hardly any

property exists such as would constitute difference in wealth. Some of the most valuable possessions, like houses and the large canoes, are owned jointly by a group of people, and other belongings consist merely of implements, household utensils, weapons and articles of personal attire, the holding of which in greater number is of no special advantage to the owner. We even meet with a conscious desire among the people to maintain social equality. The only notable difference from a social point of view is that between the sexes as also between the older and younger generation, and these variances we will consider later. But although there exists no class inequality among the Kiwais, yet a natural dissimilarity is apparent between different men as regards their social influence; this distinction, however, depends on personal qualifications and circumstances and does not entitle a man to any social precedence (cf. next chapter).

Not even the regulation of ownership in land is calculated to differentiate the population into divergent orders.

All land in the Kiwai district is divided among the different villages, the boundaries being marked out by some river or creek, some conspicuous tree, etc. The mere idea of land without an owner is quite strange to the Kiwais. This is also the case with the inland hunting-grounds and swamps where fish and crabs, etc., are caught.

Within the boundaries of the different villages the land is divided among individual owners, except large swamps, which generally belong to the whole community, and certain plots of land which may be owned by a group of people together.

There is an unlimited sufficiency of cultivable land for everyone, particularly as a small area only is needed for sustaining a family, owing to the great fertility of the soil. Every man is the owner of more land than he can use. If a man cannot work his garden himself, for instance, on account of physical disability, his wife or children will do it for him or, if he is unmarried, he will hand his plantation over to his brothers or somebody else, who then provides him regularly with the necessities of life and inherits the ground after his death.

Tracts of woodland belonging to different fellow-villagers are more or less clearly indicated by natural landmarks (trees, creeks, etc.); often a footpath forms a boundary. Garden plots belonging to different people are often separated from one another by ditches dug with that intention. The old men are the authorities resorted to in cases of dispute, for they know to whose fathers the various allotments used to belong.

Without the permission of the owner of the ground, a man is not allowed to cut down a tree growing near the village, but farther away in the bush anyone may fell trees. Hunting is free

everywhere, particularly that of pigs, which cause much destruction in the gardens, and, in fact, hunters often frequent grounds belonging to other villages. Nor is fishing in the large swamps subjected to any restrictions, although people from different villages generally do not fish in the same swamp, or at least not in the same portion of it. A hunter or fisherman may occasionally give a small part of his spoil to the owner of the ground where it has been obtained.

A man's most valuable possession is his landed property, and in former times transference of land from one owner to another was wellnigh unknown except by inheritance. As the sons in a family grow up, they are given land by their father, who keeps the rest of it for himself, definite partition of the inheritance taking place at his death or sometimes later still. If the father becomes too old to work his gardens himself, the whole of the plantations are taken over by the sons, who then support him till his death. The sons have claim to the land, which prevents their father from disposing of it at will. There exists a universal notion that the ground really belongs to the family or kin, and consequently any alienation of it to an outsider would conflict with the rules of the community.

These circumstances give the explanation why a woman can never own land in the full sense of the word, as through her marrying her ground would pass out of the family.

On account of the fact that everybody owns an abundant sufficiency of land for all his needs, there is no inducement for anyone to try to appropriate ground belonging to somebody else. Every attempt in that direction would also be indignantly resisted by the rest of the community. There hardly exists any idea more deeply rooted with the people than the principle of everyone's right to his land. In that respect, too, equality reigns in the Kiwai country.

One of the most prominent features of social intercourse is the custom of sharing any kind of game or fish, and to some extent garden produce also, with fellow-villagers, particularly certain groups of them. A large catch of game is divided among the people in a certain ostentatious way (not by the hunter or harpooner himself, but a friend of his): a comparatively small piece only is meted out to the different shares at each round, fresh portions being added to them over and over again until everything is finished. The primary allotments are meant for the various totem groups, who subsequently divide their shares among the individual families. Often the actual hunter or fisherman can retain only a rather small ration of the spoil himself. His reward is the universal, although silent, recognition which is bestowed upon a generous donor, and the keen self-satisfaction which can be seen radiating from his features indicates a powerful inducement for the propagation of the custom. Besides, it is a duty of the most obligatory character to return gifts in due form on some following occasion, provided

that the recipient is an active harpooner or huntsman himself. For this purpose it is customary for the people to keep a tally of the portions of game, etc., they have received, in order not to neglect the liabilities incumbent on them.

The distribution of game, etc., can thus be looked upon as compulsory: the traditions of the people even contain the story of a man who was punished because he kept secret the killing of a pig in order to retain the flesh for his exclusive use. If a man who considers himself to have a claim of this kind upon another man, feels himself neglected when the other fellow is distributing game, he is sure to crave revenge, generally by means of secret sorcery. The custom of distributing food is therefore a necessity to which one submits, among other things, for the sake of one's own safety.

Those who benefit the most from this custom are the old and helpless people. The bounties of an abundant nature permit the natives to take care of those needing help without any particular exertion on the part of anybody.

Besides food, all sorts of other presents are exchanged between people, particularly if they are close friends or kinsfolk of a certain lineage. If a man gives a boy a present, the latter, when grown up, is bound to bring him return presents, not once only, but repeatedly for an indefinite period, notwithstanding the length of time which may have elapsed since he received the gifts. People connected by certain ties of relationship (for instance, a maternal uncle and a sister's son) must give each other whatever things the other person wishes for.

Although there exists no class inequality among the Kiwais, yet a natural dissimilarity makes itself felt between different men as regards their social influence, but this distinction depends on personal qualifications and circumstances, and does not entitle a man to any social precedence. One who is able to entertain many guests enjoys a greater reputation than others; he has many gardens and is "little more high". "Me fellow look along kaikai," my native informants explained in their pidgin-English when giving the cause of social pre-eminence. For this reason a man is greatly assisted in his social ambitions by a plurality of wives: "another woman go garden, another woman go take firewood, another woman go catch fish, another woman go cook him—husband he sing out plenty people come kaikai." Great warriors, too, who have killed many people and captured many heads, compel respect and recognition from the others. "People think, he strong man; inside no all same water, inside all same fire; nobody come near; he big man, more high." To the same group belong successful hunters and harpooners and also those renowned as sorcerers. Among the influential people are, furthermore, such as distinguish themselves

through their eloquence, for the others like to listen to them and follow their advice.

In every community there exist, on the other hand, individuals who are more or less looked down upon. Among these we find persons suffering from physical or mental disability, idlers who are good for nothing, widowers who have not married again and therefore have no one to help them in their work, braggarts who bore the others, etc.—all these are “down little bit”.

There cannot be any doubt that an analogous variation as regards the social standing of different individuals and groups makes itself felt within all uncivilized communities, even such as are not divided into any classes.

From various quarters of the world we learn of primitive native tribes living in a state of social equality. In most cases this information is given categorically but with very few elucidating particulars.

Referring to the natives of the former German New Guinea, Neuhauss observes that in their communities our social dreamers will find their theories turned into reality. There is no superabundance, no poverty, no supremacy, no subordination, no master, no servant; everywhere a marked communism.⁵

Speaking of the Australian tribes in general, Oldfield says, “Each member is esteemed by the rest only according to his dexterity in throwing and evading a spear. No man claims any peculiar privileges, or seeks to be exempt from the laws which are binding on the others.”⁶ “There is no distinction of rank among them,” we read in another collective account of the Australians.⁷ Similar statements meet us from different parts of the Australian continent. Among the Lincoln Port natives “all grown-up men are perfectly equal, and this is so well understood that none ever attempt to assume any command over their fellows; but whatever wishes they may entertain with regard to the conduct and actions of others, they must be expressed in the shape of entreaty or persuasion.”⁸ In the Kurnai tribe, similarly, influence is, as a rule, only attached to age: “It follows from this,” writes Howitt, “that there is no hereditary authority and no hereditary chieftain.”⁹ In Central Australia “every member of the community is at liberty to act as he likes, except, in so far as he may be influenced by the general opinions or wishes of the tribe.”¹⁰

The Bushmen and Hottentots, also, are devoid of any distinction of classes. “No one,” we learn of the former people, “obtains any ascendancy over the rest by hereditary rank; bodily strength alone procures distinction among them.”¹¹ “Universal equality prevails in his horde,” is a consonant observation respecting the same people,¹² and yet another explorer, somewhat more circumstantially,

gives us the same account: "The most complete equality reigns within these small bands, not only as regards authority, but also with reference to possession; no one owns anything in his private capacity, whatever anyone possesses is shared by the rest, everything belongs to all."¹³ A recent investigator states regarding two Bushman tribes that "there are no class distinctions among the Naron and Anen, nor, excepting the medicine-men, are there any trades."¹⁴ Again respecting the Hottentots, it is stated that "in a country where there is no difference in birth or rank, every inhabitant is necessarily on an equality."¹⁵

E. G. Man, in his description of the Andaman Islanders, does not explicitly affirm that they have no classes, but such an inference may be derived from his statement. Mentioning the native chief, he says social status is not merely dependent "on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, etc., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality."¹⁶ This statement is confirmed by Portman, who asserts that "every man is a law unto himself in general, but the elders of the tribe have a certain authority. The Andamanese are not fond of obeying other persons, and only band together and obey one Elder when it is manifestly to their interest to do so."¹⁷

To the same conclusion we arrive, when regarding the wild or forest Vedda. Several authors inform us that these aborigines live in pairs or small family septs and only occasionally assemble together,¹⁸ which implies that they cannot be divided into classes. Bailey makes mention of "the equality of rank" prevailing among them,¹⁹ and P. and F. Sarasin remark that they have no slavery nor any system of castes;²⁰ the latter statement is also made by Emerson Tennent.²¹

Unanimous reports prove that the Fuegians live in a state of complete equality. "They did not appear," writes Captain Cook, "to have among them any government or subordination: none was more respected than another."²² Another early explorer expresses the same opinion: "There is no superiority of one over another, among the Fuegians, except that acquired gradually by age, sagacity, and daring conduct."²³ Darwin makes mention of "the perfect equality among the individuals composing the Fuegian tribes",²⁴ and in yet another description we read of them, that "there is neither king, chief, aristocracy, castes, social hierarchy, or slaves; it is a régime of equality in its whole genuineness."²⁵

Respecting the Western Eskimo we learn that "slavery, even in its mildest aspect, is totally unknown; every one is on a perfect level with the rest of his countrymen."²⁶ "An Inuit," to refer to another source, "is subject to no man's control."²⁷ It is true that among the Central Eskimo, according to Dr. Boas, men who are not able to provide for themselves are sometimes

adopted by others and may almost be considered as servants. "The position, however," the author adds, "is a voluntary one, and therefore these men are not less esteemed than the self-dependent providers."²⁸ The Eskimo on Hudson's Bay "live in a state of perfect freedom; no one apparently claiming superiority over, or acknowledging the least subordination to another."²⁹ Describing the Greenlanders, Crantz declares that "no one desires to usurp the least authority over another, to prescribe to him in the least, to call him to account for his actions, or to demand any rates or taxes for the public want or weal. For they have no overplus nor riches; they have a natural antipathy against all compulsion, and the whole country stands open to each of them."³⁰ Astrup writes of a tribe in the vicinity of Smith's Strait, in North-Western Greenland, that their community is based upon the principles of a complete equality.³¹

I believe that the peoples mentioned above can with a high degree of certainty be indicated as living in a state of social equality in the sense that there is no differentiation of rank among them. Although we must receive with a certain reservation assertions that a complete class equality reigns among one or another people, or statements to that effect, yet some further tribes can in all probability be adduced as making at least a near approach to a state of social co-ordination.

In India the Kookies "have no caste or class distinctions; all eat and drink together, and one man is as good as another."³² Concerning the wild tribes of the Nagas we read, not acknowledging any regular chiefs, and every man being his own master, his passions and inclinations are ruled by his brute force and his dexterity with the spear, to which weapon he has immediate resort for the adjustment of the slightest quarrel.³³ Another writer tells us respecting the same people, "although each village community has a nominal head or chief, it is evident their chiefs have no absolute power over the people. Every man is his own master, avenges his own quarrels."³⁴ No distinction of rank, we are told, exists among the Puttoos, who are a hunting tribe inhabiting certain of the tributary Mehals of Cuttack.³⁵ They have no distinction of castes. Of all the tribes of the Malay peninsula those inhabiting the mountain Jarai on the frontier of Siam are said to be the lowest. This population is subdivided into hordes of thirty families each, who roam about the forests of the mountain, living on wild roots or honey, and shooting with arrows the smaller game. They seldom stay above a fortnight in one spot. There is a perfect equality among them, and they acknowledge no leader, consulting age and experience just when it suits their purposes.³⁶ The tribe of the Bapuku in West Africa is said to have formed "a republic in which there existed no invidious distinctions of rank and wealth, where the men were all

equal, and all property was common".³⁷ The whole people of the Bakwiri in Cameroon "still forms an undifferentiated bulk, classes or estates being unknown; they have not even slaves."³⁸ Among the Blackfoot Indians "all men were free and equal, and office was not hereditary".³⁹ The Apache "constituted a 'pure democracy' in which every man was the equal of every other".⁴⁰ Social classes do not exist among the Choroti Indians in South America, nor any distinction between rich and poor. All members of this primitive society are equally rich and equally poor. Social rank and classes in the strict sense of the words do not exist among the Tobas either, just as they are unknown to the Avas.⁴¹

The non-existence of ranks among many primitive peoples is on the whole in harmony with the conditions under which they live. Among the rude hunting tribes there is little or no use for servants or workmen, everybody performs himself all the work necessary for his sustenance, with the help that he may receive from his wife. No distinction of labour between differing classes of society exists in the lowest stages, which question we will have occasion to consider more closely further on. Another concomitant factor is the scattered organization of most primitive races. We are told that the lowest savages as a rule live in comparatively small numbers together, although some kind of connection is generally preserved between the groups. Westermarck has collected material showing that this is the mode of living of the Fuegians, certain South American Indians, Eskimos, and Siberian tribes, the Veddas, certain tribes in the East Indian archipelago and Malacca, the Bushmen, African pygmies, Australians, and Tasmanians. Besides, it is repeatedly stated, he remarks, that the families belonging to the same groups do not always keep together, but often disperse in search of food and may remain separated even for a considerable time.⁴² Naturally such conditions of life have not been favourable to the differentiation of ranks.

The equality of class prevailing among the lowest races has often been pointed out in theoretical literature, although on the whole more or less casually. Among scholars who have drawn attention to the level structure of early society are Post,⁴³ Gumpłowicz,⁴⁴ Grosse,⁴⁵ and Fahlbeck.⁴⁶ "The more primitive societies are, the greater is the similarity between the individuals of which they are composed," is the opinion of Durkheim.⁴⁷ Krause thinks that all members within "die Grossfamilie" are equal by right; the patriarch only and sometimes the sorcerer hold a certain personal prominence. There is no division of labour except the natural one; all men and all women do the same work. For this reason possession, also, is approximately equal; there is no difference as to wealth. Consequently, no one covets anything belonging to anybody else; there is no thieving.⁴⁸ "Rank is entirely absent in

the lowest grades of early society," says Tozzer ; " there is in general no such thing as division into social classes. The difference inherent in persons is one of prestige only, and this depends primarily on personal ability and character." ⁴⁹ The characteristics of the primitive hunting and fishing tribes which are styled " Wildbeuter " by Thurnwald include, according to him, a " homogeneous society without stratification ".⁵⁰ Morris Ginsberg declares that in the lowest stages " there is no differentiation of rank " and that " in the simpler communities we find no differences of status apart from the distinction between members of the groups and strangers, and the distinction based on age, sex, or marriage divisions ".⁵¹

CHAPTER II

THE POSITION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN—AGE CLASSES

Among peoples who have no distinction of rank, not all individuals, however, are necessarily on an equal footing as regards authority and influence, apart from the divergencies of station accruing from different personal endowments. In fact, the existence of social equality or inequality is a question relating exclusively to the position of the adult men. Among most races, whether civilized or uncivilized, the women occupy a position of political and social inferiority in relation to the men. In books of travel, particularly those of an earlier date, we frequently meet with statements such as that in some savage tribe or another, "the women are in a state of abject slavery," or "the women are the tribal beasts of burden who perform all the real work". Such instances show in what light the social conditions of the women in many uncivilized communities appear to the casual observer, and how often they are believed to be entirely subjected to the rule of the men.

One circumstance which seems convincingly to reveal the subordinate position of women and which evidently in many cases has influenced the opinion of the chronicler, is the unequal distribution of labour between the sexes which imposes the hardest drudgery on the women. The division of occupations between man and woman has often been specified in detail both in descriptions of individual tribes and in theoretical works and seems in principle to show comparatively little variation among uncivilized races. What seems especially to have attracted the notice of many eye-witnesses is the custom, very common among uncivilized races, of burdening the wife with the heaviest load, when the family is wandering from one place to another. This sight necessarily appears strange and unnatural to the European onlooker.

In this respect the Kiwai Papuans offer an illustration. It is an everyday episode of village life, when the families are returning from their garden work, to see the wife almost staggering under her burden of three or four baskets of garden produce, firewood, etc., on her back, and in many cases a little baby right on top, while her husband proudly walks in front, carrying only his bow, arrows, and stone-headed club, and possibly a firebrand, at which he lights his pipe, and a small basket for his private use. Only on longer wanderings does he share part of his wife's load, but even then

he looks almost ashamed of having to do so. In the case of the Papuans, at all events, we must not form our opinion too rashly regarding this seeming partiality displayed in connection with wandering and transport. Primarily, at any rate, the custom derives from a natural division of labour, inasmuch as the man must be free from all obstruction in order to protect the family instantly in case of need against a hostile attack, or to use his weapons against edible game. The people even showed me how the women were instructed, in such an eventuality, to crouch underneath the man's arm, when he seizes his bow, and hide behind him. Among the Papuans the social position of the women is on the whole one of comparative equality with the men, in spite of the incongruous distribution of occupations.

✓ Aristotle, long ago, dwelt upon the causes which determine women's position in society. A father's rule over his children is a royal rule, he wrote in his *Politics*, whereas a husband's rule over his wife is a constitutional rule. "For although there may be exceptions to the order of nature, the male is by nature fitter for command than the female," and again, "the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind."¹

In the most varied respect the men among uncultured races have the advantage over the women. It seems to be an almost universally acknowledged rule that the women are in particular excluded from all matters bearing a public or political character on the one hand, and from the sphere of secret beliefs and ceremonies connected with supernatural life on the other. Women have as a rule no share in the counsels of men, and being regarded as degraded and impure creatures they must not come in contact with anything sacred. But there are many exceptions to the principles debarring women from the preponderatingly male provinces of tribal administration and religion.

In certain cases rights commonly enjoyed by the men are denied to the women. Among some peoples, for instance, certain food-regulations are for some reason or other obligatory for the women. Thus in different parts of South Australia special kinds of food were forbidden to women altogether, and also to youths who had not yet been made men,² and in Fiji the common people as well as the women of all classes were by custom debarred from cannibalism.³ Among the Ba-Huana in Central Africa frogs are eaten by the women, but should a man of that tribe be found eating one, he would be laughed to scorn. The Ba-Mabala have a long list of articles of food forbidden to women.⁴ The *wergeld* for killing a woman is among certain peoples less than that for killing a man,⁵ while in a few cases we learn that the female sex is more

highly valued,⁶ possibly owing to the high price of women as objects of purchase.

The subjugation of women evidently depends upon a number of concomitant circumstances. We need only refer to Westermarck's minute investigation of the subject, in which he chiefly attributes the status of wives to men's superiority in strength and courage, to elements of the sexual impulse itself which lead to domination on the part of the man and to submission on the part of the woman, to certain economic conditions and, finally, to superstitious and low ideas held universally about the female sex.⁷

Westermarck, admitting that among the lower races a woman as a rule is always more or less in a state of dependence, at the same time points out that the authority which savage husbands possess over their wives is not always so great as it is said to be. Even in cases where his power over his wife is described as absolute, custom has not left her entirely destitute of rights. Besides, the so-called absolute authority of husbands over their wives is not to be taken too literally. Among many peoples the married woman, although in the power of her husband, is known to enjoy a remarkable degree of independence, to be treated by him with consideration, and to exercise no small influence upon him. In several cases she is stated to be his equal, and in a few his superior. The various occupations of life are divided between the sexes according to rules; and though the formation of these rules no doubt has been more or less influenced by the egoism of the stronger sex, the essential principle from which they spring lies deeper. They are in conformity with the indications which nature itself has given.⁸

Old women, too, are generally included in the reverence paid to advanced age, and share the influence held by the old. An instance is given in the following statement referring to certain East Australian tribes, "Respect for age is universal among the aborigines. Old men, and even old women, exercise great authority among assembled tribes, and 'rule the big war' with their voices, when both spears and boomerangs are ready to be thrown."⁹ Among the Marindanim a certain authority is enjoyed by the old women, for they also are warders of the old customs and for this reason influence public opinion in no little degree.¹⁰ The social precedence granted the old people will be examined later in this chapter.

Although the women are generally excluded from the management of political affairs, it is not very rare for them to make their influence felt even in matters of public concern. Among certain Indians of the Rocky Mountain region, for instance, the women are present at their councils and join in the debates, although they have to speak in a low voice, their words being repeated aloud by a reporter. On occasions of less ceremony, they even sometimes address the assembly without any such intervention, "and give

their admonitions with a freedom of tongue highly edifying. In a few instances, matrons of superior character have obtained an influence similar to that of chiefs."¹¹ The Iroquois matrons, likewise, had their representative in the public councils; and they exercised a negative, or what we call a veto power, in the important question of declaration of war. They had the right also to interpose in bringing about a peace." "This was," a writer says, "an extraordinary feature in a government organized on the war principle, and among a race which both in the domestic circle and in the cornfield laid heavy burdens on their females."¹² At the councils of the Makah Indians the men generally do all the talking, although women are permitted to speak on matters where they are themselves concerned.¹³ Among the Australian natives the old women exercise a certain amount of political power by influencing the leaders of their tribe.¹⁴ In Sparta the woman was more on an equality with the man than was the case in other Greek states. The influence attained by women was sometimes even stigmatized as petticoat government.¹⁵ In Chapter XVII we will more closely regard the tribal councils as a form of early government.

Several peoples in a rude stage of evolution also have been led by women as chiefs. If the head of the Lillooet Indians had no son he was succeeded by his eldest daughter. A woman noted for wealth or who gave a large village feast, was sometimes called a chief.¹⁶ Women who were chiefs are mentioned among the Pomo Indians of California.¹⁷ According to Dobrizhoffer, the Abipones "do not scorn to be governed by a woman of noble birth".¹⁸ Among the Fuegians an investigator met with an old woman exercising authority over the rest of the people.¹⁹ The Begoun Arabs were in Burckhardt's time headed by a widow, who enjoyed great respect.²⁰ The organization of chieftainship will be more closely studied by us in Chapter XVII.

Instances like those given above cannot, however, invalidate the general rule, that women are in a great degree subject to the domination of men. The explanation of the woman's position demonstrates clearly *why* she is in a subordinate condition, but it does not do away with the fact that she *is* in such a position. If invariably the woman has to perform the hardest labours of the field and household work, if she carries the heaviest load, when the family is travelling from one place to another, it does not make much difference to her position whether the man refrains from work because he prefers to use her as a servant, or because he must constantly be on the alert to hunt or fight for the family. As the main principle, we must remember, that the division of labour between the sexes is not based on equal terms, woman's work being generally but little regarded, in accordance with the inferiority ascribed to her. The degree of equality assigned to the women

among certain peoples is, perhaps, more an equality in principle and spirit than one existing in practice.

A circumstance which deserves attention is the change of opinion which has taken place in theoretical literature regarding the position of woman in the lowest societies. According to the popular idea the women among the rudest savages are in a state of utter subjugation to the men and treated like slaves, and a few decades ago this view was common in ethnological works also. Such an opinion, however, has not proved correct as a rule. On the contrary, the social standing of the women has been found to be considerably better among the most primitive tribes than among many culturally more advanced peoples. Westermarck, who has altered the theory maintained by him regarding this question in the earlier editions of his *History of Human Marriage*, in the *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* opposes the view that a people's civilization may be measured by the position held by their women. By many of the lowest races the women are treated with far greater consideration than among many of the higher savages and barbarians.²¹ Briffault, too, combats "the old fallacy that the status of women is an index of the degree of civilization". In particular he emphasizes the great share which the women have in primitive industry of which several branches exclusively belong to their sphere of work. He draws attention to the function of "woman as warrior", and he is of opinion that the women are the chief traders as well as the chief medical practitioners and surgeons in uncultured societies.²² In the same manner Thurnwald acknowledges the importance of the various trades practised by women among uncivilized races, and he, too, throws light upon the characteristics of their position from many points of view: women's callings, their own organizations as well as political influence and privileges, their weapons, languages, etc.²³

The opinion prevalent in modern ethnological literature regarding the comparatively favourable position of woman in uncivilized society can be illustrated by an account of the conditions in which the women of the Kiwai Papuans live.

As regards their treatment and the consideration in which they are held, the Kiwai women may almost be set down as the men's equals. It is true that not infrequently a man may strike his wife in a burst of passion with whatever weapon is at hand, but such behaviour is always much resented, not only by the woman's relatives, but also by the whole community, and the man is generally soon brought to reason. Occasional outbreaks of temper rarely seem to affect seriously the harmony between husband and wife, because sensitiveness in this respect does not seem to be very great on either side. A badly-treated woman can find refuge with her own people, and in many cases the husband has to come round,

if he is not prepared to lose her for good, an alternative often rather serious to himself.

If a man kills his wife who has misconducted herself, for instance, no one can call him to account, but if she dies from his hand without guilt on her part, he must give compensation to her family. This is also the case if the wife dies in childbirth, for the husband is considered responsible as the maker of "that thing" from which she died. Expressions of affectionate and even tender relations between husband and wife could often be noted. A man must pay his wife due regard; it is, for instance, considered very bad form if he swears at her before people. His obligation to his wife also appears in the occasional gifts of game and garden produce with which he remembers her people. This is a way of rewarding her as the assistant in all his work, the mother of his children, and the source of the most powerful magical medicines he commands (which are all of a sexual character), and by this means he hopes to ensure good luck in the future also.

The women, also when married, possess property of their own like the men, with the exception that land is always owned by men; a woman, even a girl left an orphan or a widow, can only have the use of it. Without the permission of his wife a man cannot appropriate a thing manufactured by her or given her by somebody else; she has the right to do with it whatever she likes, without consulting him; in just the same way, she has no voice in matters concerning his belongings. Each one is considered to be the owner of the things he or she exclusively employs in daily work or otherwise, and objects in common use belong to both together. Even provisions, etc., brought home by the woman should not be taken away by the man without her knowledge. When a husband begins a meal, he does not help himself to any food, but expects his wife to hand him some, saying that it belongs to him.

The woman's right of ownership does not include landed property in the full sense. While unmarried she generally obtains the use of a garden for her sustenance, as, for instance, at the death of her father, but because she is in most such cases a minor, the garden is as a rule cultivated for her benefit by some near relative acting as her guardian. At her marriage the ground is transferred to a brother of hers, because it would otherwise pass out of the family. For the same reason a widow only enjoys the right of using part of her late husband's ground until she marries again or dies.

A son inherits all his parents' personal property. In fact, a daughter does not even seem to be entitled to any of her mother's things by right, and cannot keep any of them without her brother's consent, although he often lets her have some, giving the others to his wife or wives. If the sister is married, she generally gets nothing at all. In the event of the parents leaving a grown daughter and a

minor son, the former takes care of these effects, keeping them till her brother is of age ; then she hands them over to him, i.e. those still remaining.

The women are excluded from any participation in public affairs, and with the exception of a few very old hags, who are always associated with every *dárimo*, or men's house, they are kept in ignorance of nearly all the great ceremonies. A woman would be killed if she got to know anything about the tribal mysteries, and the same would happen to the traitor among the men who gave them away. In order to keep the women ignorant of these matters, the men dupe them with invented explanations, also using among themselves expressions with a hidden meaning, or secret words which must never be mentioned to women.

Although naturally debarred from the proceedings of the ruling council, the women may join in the less formal parleys of the men when these are sitting together debating common affairs. In many cases the women are listened to attentively, and may earn approval even from the leaders. Some of them express themselves with great fluency and capacity, particularly when they are urging on the men to various enterprises. The wives of the "big men" have a certain standing in the community ; among other things they will resent it if visitors do not speak to them also.

Besides the social position of the women, that of the generation under age shows that complete equality need not necessarily exist between the members of a community, even where there is no division into ranks. The social standing of both these groups, the women and the minors, is in the main independent of the existence or non-existence of rank-classes, and the relations between the adult members of a tribe and those under age offer another instance of separate groups, of which the one is socially subject to the other.

First we have in this connection to note the rights of parents over their children. Westermarck has made a careful study of the relations between parents and their offspring in that respect and shows us how it takes form in different stages of development. He points out that among savage and barbarous races the extent of the father's power is subject to great variations. Among some peoples a father may destroy his new-born child ; among others infanticide is prohibited by custom. Among some he may sell his children ; among others such a right is denied him. Frequently he gives away his daughter in marriage without consulting her wishes ; but in other cases her own consent is required, or she is allowed to choose her husband herself. When passing from the savage and barbarous races of men to those next above them in civilization, we find paternal or parental authority and filial reverence at their height.²⁴

Among the Kiwai Papuans the relationship between parents and children seems on the whole marked by great solidarity and mutual affection. Both in real life and in the traditions many pathetic instances occur of parental tenderness and sacrifice for their young ones. The children, too, appear to be devoted to their parents, show them respect and obedience, and take care of them in their old age. There was no mistaking the pride with which the boys used to speak of their fathers. The father is the teacher of his son in the routine of everyday life and occupations. He takes his son at an early age to his garden work, and soon on hunting and fishing expeditions as well, imparting to him the while all manner of useful knowledge. It is a common sight to see a father walking about, leading his little son by the hand, and evidently talking to him about the various matters in which the boy needs instruction. The same tuition is given to the girls by their mothers. Only the parents, and possibly the nearest relatives of these, are allowed to chastise a child at all severely. Even a father may not thrash his child too ruthlessly without arousing the people's resentment, and in the case of real ill-treatment of it the mother's relatives will generally intervene, if they are not too much afraid of the man, and take his child away. The natives are fond of arranging feasts in celebration of the most varying events, and parents are in the habit of marking every notable incident in their son's career by a "kaikai".

Not only the father but in certain cases any senior member of the family exercises authority over the younger ones. Among the Cherkesses of the Caucasus, for instance, the younger brother pays great reverence to the elder; he stands up when his brother comes into the room and speaks to him only when addressed.²⁵

It is a general rule among most peoples that a certain authority, independent of relationship, always accompanies a more advanced age. Among the Kiwai Papuans, for instance, children have to show deference to every old person, and they stand in awe of them because of their supposed powers. In former times, particularly, the young people were kept under strict discipline, and the purpose of their initiation ceremonies was largely to inculcate in their minds veneration for the tribal beliefs and rules, the guardians of which the old people were. When a boy or youth had to pass a group of men sitting together, one could see him crouching by in a stooping position, afraid of rousing the angry attention of some elder who could easily harm him by means of sorcery at the slightest cause of displeasure.

From all parts of the world we meet with reports that the older are paid respect by and have precedence of the younger. Thus in all parts of Australia "age is treated with special reverence", or "custom requires the young men to pay implicit obedience to their elders", etc.²⁶ In the New Hebrides²⁷ and the Nicobar Islands²⁸

the old men exercise much influence over the people. Among the Kamchadales, before the Russian conquest, the old men were invested with the principal authority.²⁹ The Kiangans of Luzon show their old people great deference, probably because the latter act as priests and have intimate knowledge of the religious rites.³⁰ In South Guinea old people are greatly venerated. "Children are trained from their earliest years to venerate age. One of the greatest offences of which a middle-aged or young person can be guilty of is to insult, or to treat with even implied disrespect, an aged person. This profound respect for age gives this class of man a predominant and controlling influence in all matters of general interest."³¹ Among the Barea and Kunama the respect shown to a person is meted out according to his age; the youths never mix in the parleys of the aged and even elderly men listen with reverence to the old.³² Several Indian tribes, such as the Patagonians,³³ Chavantes,³⁴ Souromo,³⁵ and others,³⁶ are said to pay particular respect to their old people. The Eskimos of Alaska³⁷ and the Greenlanders,³⁸ who have no ranks among themselves, maintain a due reverence for the aged, and a similar picture is offered by the Fuegians: "In each family the word of the old man is accepted law by the young people; they never dispute authority."³⁹ With reference to the ancient Egyptians and Lacedemonians Herodotus wrote, "the younger of them when they meet the elder give way and move out of the path, and when their elders approach they rise out of their seat."⁴⁰ In Leviticus it says: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man."⁴¹ Even the gods are represented as showing respect for age. In the Iliad we read: "Also the immortals favour elder men,"⁴² and in the Odyssey Jove says to Neptune: "The gods are by no means wanting in respect for you. It would be monstrous were they to insult one so old and honoured as you are."⁴³

The authority given to old people in many cases tends to make them as it were self-constituted counsellors of their tribes. In fact, among races which have no established political government, the elders and in general those distinguished through personal superiority represent the first formation of a ruling power. This question will be the object of closer study in Chapter XVII.

The reverence paid to old people is, however, often subject to important restrictions. Among many peoples it seems to be the rule that age only exercises influence so long as it is seconded by superior personal qualities and the person is in full possession of his mental powers. Regarding the Australians, for instance, an explorer stated:

"I have not found that age is invariably productive of influence, unless the individual has previously signalized himself among his people, and taken up a commanding position when youth and strength enabled

him to support his pretensions, and unless he be still in full possession of his vigour of mind and energy of character, though no longer endowed with personal strength. The grey-head appears to be usually treated with respect as long as the owner is no incumbrance to those around him." 44

As soon as a man's energy is seriously declining, not only does his influence grow less, but he may even be killed or abandoned to perish. Of peoples exemplifying the one or the other of these usages we may mention tribes in Australia,⁴⁵ Polynesia,⁴⁶ Africa,⁴⁷ North and South America.⁴⁸

Westermarck, who has collected a great number of facts relative to the abandoning or killing of parents and old people in general, shows us that, however cruel this custom may be, something is certainly to be said in its favour. It is particularly common among nomadic hunting tribes, owing to the hardships incidental to their life and the inability of decrepit persons to keep up with the march. In many cases, what appears to us an atrocious practice may in reality be an act of kindness, and is commonly approved of and even insisted upon, by the old people themselves.⁴⁹ We can fully understand such a seemingly unnatural wish when learning, for instance, of the popular belief reported from Old Fiji, that persons enter upon the delights of the future life with the same faculties, mental and physical, as they possess at the hour of death, and that the spiritual life thus commences where the corporeal existence terminates. With these views it is natural that they should desire to pass through this change before their mental and bodily powers are so enfeebled by age as to deprive them of their capacity for enjoyment.⁵⁰

Among the Papuans one finds distinctly how a person's influence is declining at his attaining advanced age. Decreasing power of dominance is automatically reflected in lessening respect and consideration among an old man's adherents. After a period of intense vitality during youth and manhood incipient age is marked by an increasing apathy, and the powerful ambition of a former hero gradually dies away. The very oldest men form a group of their own ; they remember their famed past and like to speak of it, but harbour no longer any pretensions or claims as regards the rest of the tribe. It is only in their capacity of counsellors regarding certain customs and the performers of some of the most secret ceremonies that the oldest men and women play a social part.

The custom of classifying people in the distinct groups of the young generation and the grown-up men and women is met with in different parts of the world, as also the usage of receiving the young people at the age of puberty into the privileges of manhood and womanhood through more or less solemn ceremonies. Schurtz has given a well-known detailed account of the degrees of distinction

to which the men and in certain cases the women are admitted, according to age and after undergoing certain ceremonies of initiation. According to him the typical age-classes are three, viz. children, pubescent unmarried youths, and married adults.⁵¹ Crawley has contributed an interesting analysis of the various ceremonies which take place at the initiation of young men and women into maturity. The candidates must, so to speak, divest themselves of all that belongs to childhood and enter into the position of adults.⁵²

In Australia, where the distinction between the classes differing in age is very prominent, great attention is also paid to the initiation ceremonies. The number of initiatory rites and their nature vary to a great extent among different tribes of the Australians,⁵³ and in many cases it seems almost impossible to form a clear idea of what these wellnigh interminable rites really mean. In the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes the ceremonies are four in number. The first is throwing the boy up in the air; shortly after this, sometimes even before it, the boy has his nasal septum bored through. Several years later two much more important ceremonies are performed, circumcision and subincision. Certain very painful ceremonies are attached to these rites. The Engwuru, the last of the initiatory ceremonies, is in reality a long series of rites concerned with the totems, and terminating in an ordeal by fire.⁵⁴ Among the Northern Central tribes the more important ceremonies are two in number, they are those of circumcision and subincision. Two other ceremonies are sometimes associated with initiation; these are, however, of secondary importance.⁵⁵ In the Port Lincoln district, also, circumcision constitutes a noticeable part of the initiation rites,⁵⁶ as in general among the Australian natives.⁵⁷

Among several tribes in Victoria, as on the whole in the eastern and south-eastern coastal districts, the initiatory ceremony essentially consisted in knocking out one or more of the upper front teeth.⁵⁸ Several writers have made mention of this practice in connection with the initiation ceremonies.⁵⁹ Among the Central Australian natives the knocking out of teeth has nothing to do with initiation. It may be performed, and is, in fact, practised by both men and women, but has no sacred significance of any kind.⁶⁰

The initiation of the Larakia youths in North-Central Australia takes the form of more or less disagreeable tests, which are evidently designed to try the strength and endurance of those passing through them.⁶¹ Among the Eaglehawk and Crow, "almost every tribe had details in the man-making ceremonies peculiar to itself." Before they were admitted, the neophytes had to undergo all sorts of severe ordeals, the primary objects of which "were evidently to enforce self-restraint and to try courage". Some kinds of mutilation or cutting of the flesh were frequently practised. Piercing the septum of the nose was the most common practice of this kind, and also

the knocking out of one or more front teeth. The amputation of one or two joints of the little finger of one hand was practised upon the young men of some tribes of the Queensland coast.⁶² It is, on the whole, a very general rule that young people have to undergo severe hardships and tests at their initiation, thus giving proofs of their courage and hardiness. Among the natives of Victoria it is customary on these occasions to shave the youth's head, with the exception of a narrow strip, and he must for a time go naked.⁶³ In certain cases fasting is imposed upon the young men before their initiation,⁶⁴ in other cases they are not permitted to eat certain kinds of food.⁶⁵

A very prominent feature of the Australian man-making ceremonies is the conferring of a new name or title upon the neophyte. In certain cases he receives a new individual name, in other cases he is called by the name of the class to which he temporarily belongs. Sometimes his name is changed several times in succession at each new ceremony.⁶⁶

Similar, to a certain extent, are the rites through which young persons in other parts of the world are admitted into manhood and womanhood. The inhabitants of the Western islands of Torres Straits, according to Dr. Haddon, have several grades of rank to be passed, the first series of ceremonies, however, being the all-important ones. During the probationary period the boys have to live in seclusion and are subject to hardships; certain taboos and rules as regards their conduct are generally enforced. They are also instructed in the lore and customs of their people.⁶⁷ A complicated system of ceremonial, the chief feature of which is seclusion, is similarly observed throughout the Western islands by girls at puberty.⁶⁸

Among the Kiwai Papuans a boy's initiation into manhood does not take place on one particular occasion, but he is initiated separately into each of the great secret ceremonies as they occur. None of the ceremonies has exclusive reference to the youths, but many of them contain one or more episodes, generally of an awe-inspiring nature, in which they are admitted into the secrets involved. The appellation used of a boy is changed according as he passes the different stages of his initiation and advances in age generally: as uninitiated, partially initiated, as an unmarried young man, a married young man, and a "proper man". Part of the so-called *mogúru* ceremony seems to constitute a special preparation for marriage, and before that a young man must not marry, although he generally does not do so until he has passed through the following and last great ceremony called the *mimta*. After the *mogúru* a young man begins to sleep in the *dárimo*, the men's house. The main episodes of the *mimta* are accompanied by very severe ordeals which the "new boys" have to undergo. They are repeatedly frightened

into a state of panic terror, while in other rites they are scorched with burning torches and thrown naked upon a great mass of thorny bushes and creepers which are also heaped over them. They also have to fast and to swallow various magical medicines. Many of the boys faint during these trials. The purpose of the rites is to harden the young men and make them able to endure any suffering. As one of my Kiwai informants said, in his "pidgin-English", the boys are to be made "strong for garden, strong for fight; no matter he big sore, blood he come—he walk about; no matter wind he blow—he look out canoe, he look out outrigger; that boy he no fright". The preparation of the boys includes their instruction in some of the secret lore of the tribe. The actual age-classes are only two, although as a matter of course, among the Papuans as everywhere, a certain additional grouping of the people exists according to age and importance. Besides, it is very usual to celebrate noteworthy occurrences in private and tribal life by feasts and rites. Naturally a person's store of knowledge, apart from the information imparted to him in connection with his initiation, is being added to during the whole progress of his life.

The puberty ceremonies among the Kayans of Borneo are distinguished by certain food-restrictions, and a number of painful operations are performed.⁶⁹ Of a similar description are the ceremonies of the Andaman Islanders, among whom the names of those initiated are changed.⁷⁰

Among the Wanika in East Africa the young men, when they have reached a certain age, smear their bodies with white and grey paint and remain in the woods until they have killed a man. After that they wash themselves and return home, where they then feast and carouse to their heart's content.⁷¹ In the native tribes of Liberia there are initiation schools in which boys and girls are taught the lore of their people as well as respect for tribal custom and the wisdom of the elders. The boy generally renounces the name of his childhood and adopts a new one. Ordinarily the boys are circumcised at these schools, which are situated in the forest, not too far from the village.⁷² The Ba-Yaka circumcise their boys at puberty. The name of the patient is changed; his old name must not be used again, or it is supposed that if it were used he would become sterile. After circumcision the boys are considered unclean, and are secluded in the bush until their wounds have healed. During this time they wear grass skirts, do not work, and may not enter a village.⁷³ Immediately a Kafir youth reaches the age of virility, i.e. when genital discharges are experienced for the first time, he has to undergo certain ceremonies.⁷⁴

The Fuegians had formerly the usage of submitting the young boys on attaining puberty to a kind of initiation. The principal feature of the initiatory period was a long fasting. After becoming

a young man the neophyte was called by a different title, and he had the right to marry.⁷⁵ Among the Guaycuru in Brazil there were three degrees of rank principally depending upon age. The inaugural ceremony to the highest degree was the most formidable one, during which the candidate had to undergo severe ordeals without betraying the slightest sense of pain. While the boys belonged to one of another of these degrees they bore distinctive names.⁷⁶ Young Mauhés⁷⁷ and Warraus⁷⁸ were initiated among the men after similar tests. Among the Caribs of British Guiana⁷⁹ and the Uapé on the Amazon⁸⁰ boys as well as girls are subject to painful ceremonies at puberty.

Initiation rites occur frequently among the Indians of North America. These ceremonies include in general boys as well as girls; the different customs vary, as always, very considerably among different peoples. Thus, with reference to the Salish Indians, Tout remarks that in puberty rites and observances no two of the tribes seem to follow the same customs.⁸¹ Among several tribes the puberty rites include fasting, or at least certain taboos or restrictions in the matter of food. Very generally the pubescent boy or girl is secluded from the rest of the household for a certain space of time.⁸² The object of many of the observances during the period of probation seems to be the protection of the boys and girls from malignant spirits and other evil influences, which is sometimes expressly stated to be the case.⁸³ Puberty ceremonies of this nature are practised by the Lilloet,⁸⁴ Mission,⁸⁵ Maidu,⁸⁶ Siciatl,⁸⁷ Streelis,⁸⁸ and Stlatiumh tribes.⁸⁹ Among the Cross River natives circumcision is performed upon both males and females as a mark of initiation. The custom of removing one of the incisor teeth is also practised in the district.⁹⁰ Circumcision is a universal practise among the Akikuyu; it is performed upon both sexes as soon as they reach puberty. A new title is given to the boys and girls after that period.⁹¹

The initiation of the girls is generally mentioned in descriptions together with that of the boys. During their initiation period the girls, too, are usually secluded and have to submit to certain taboos in the matter of food, etc. In *Balder the Beautiful* Sir James Frazer publishes a great collection of instances regarding the seclusion of girls at puberty.⁹² The initiatory rites of girls are, as a rule, of a much milder character than those of the boys. Schurtz has expressed the opinion that the initiation of the girls, which takes place under much simpler forms, is but a feebler copy of that of the boys, with shorter periods of preparation and easier tests.⁹³ In regard to the initiation of girls among the Australian aborigines, for instance, we learn from different parts of the continent that the rites in their case are evidently the equivalents of the initiation ceremonies practised upon boys, although differing more or less.⁹⁴

Schurtz has made a sharp distinction between the ceremonies

which attend the initiation of the youths and those which have reference to their marriage. As we have seen, one of his age-classes, viz. the pubescent youth, occupies the period of life between these two great events. Schurtz thinks that "the mere fact of approaching puberty would scarcely lead to such complicated usages and formalities, if it were not that entrance into the youths' closely united group should at the same time be emphasized".⁹⁵ His theory is further as follows. While kinship organization with its numerous complicated restrictions aims to prevent the marriage of close blood relations, the age-class system separates the elder generation from the younger. The married, whose task it is to procreate and foster the children, maintain fixed sexual unions and are protected from the rivalry of the youths. This can only be attained by allowing the intercourse of the young men and girls freedom from all fetters, permitting unbound love, from which gradually more settled accouplements and nuptial ties develop, and, accordingly, free love ceases. This system implies a primitive, but of its kind most remarkable and in a measure successful endeavour to minimize, as much as possible, the dangers of sexual life threatening the community, and this is done by assigning to each one his share in enjoyment and duties.⁹⁶

There is no doubt as to the ingenuity of Schurtz's theory which, however, appears to a certain extent speculative and construed. Thus it seems doubtful to what extent Schurtz' intermediary age-class, the adolescent unmarried youth, does exist at all as a regular institution as far as the female part of it is concerned. In polygynous communities, at all events, where the competition for obtaining a wife is very great, every girl, virtually, gets married as soon as grown up. The intermediary age-class, on the other hand, cannot be composed of young men only. And with what partners do they practise the wholesale free love which forms such an important feature of Schurtz' class-system?

In our opinion, there is no reason for, or even possibility of, separating initiation and marriage as completely as Schurtz does, either as to their intrinsic affinity or still less as regards the intervening span of time. Schurtz admits that the boundary between the second and the third age-class (the pubescent youth and the married adult) is no longer presupposed through natural conditions, but depends upon social agreement and personal discretion. He declares that the girls belong to the middle age-class a much shorter time than the boys, and that "Die Jünglingsweihe" is generally celebrated in a much more imposing way than marriage. But what appears uncertain is whether the marriage rites are comparable at all with the initiation ceremonies from the age-class point of view.

It is true, that among a great many peoples, although not universally, marriages are celebrated as one of the principal festive

occasions appertaining particularly to private life. But the marriage rites have a purpose and significance of their own apart from the idea of age-classes. Besides, it is a very common habit among native races to celebrate noteworthy events in private and social life by feasts and rites (cf. p. 26). Among such festive occasions marriage naturally ranks as one of the foremost, but these customs include the commemoration of many minor occurrences too, and it is comparatively faintly that they convey the idea of dividing the people into different groups.

A study of the puberty observances of different peoples leads to the opinion that initiation implies one dominant idea: the preparation of the young men and women for the adults' life as a whole, to which belongs first of all marriage. We cannot regard marriage as essentially distinct from the initiation of the youth, but rather as a natural fulfilment of some of the notions underlying the puberty and initiatory rites.

That the initiation has, in a certain sense, direct reference to matrimony appears from the fact that in many cases it is emphatically what gives the person who has gone through the requisite ceremonies the right to marry. Often even the initiation is an indispensable condition for entering the married state.⁹⁷ Marriage is also in numerous instances the natural continuation of the initiation ceremonies, almost invariably so with the girls. Sometimes, indeed, it is said that anyone who desires to marry must undergo circumcision or the other ceremonies which are usually connected with the maturity initiations,⁹⁸ sometimes it is even categorically stated that the object of the puberty ceremonies is a preparation for matrimony.⁹⁹ In other cases the initiation rites are regarded as affording evidence of the young men's fitness and ability to support a family.¹⁰⁰ As we shall see in the next chapter, it is very commonly the case that a man must submit to some special test before he is allowed to bring home the object of his choice, and although such a test, by which he proves his ability to provide for a wife, etc., has reference to a man's marriage, it is in many cases so like the usual initiation ceremonies that it is difficult to distinguish between them. This also shows the connection existing between such customs.

We do not believe that there is sufficient evidence regarding the existence of a state of free sexual intercourse within the adult unmarried generation as a universal custom among undeveloped peoples. On the contrary, the normal rule seems to be that the girls are subject to strict supervision, which is particularly the case where brides are acquired by means of some form of compensation. If an illicit association between a boy and girl is detected, the anger is invariably on the part of the people of the latter, whereas the boy's parents may even feel proud of their son's achievements.

It is true that almost universally intimate relations between

the young pair form a prelude to marriage. But such customs cannot be regarded as implying a general rule acknowledged by the community at large. Still less can they be recorded as instances of free love.

Schurtz is right in stating that the purpose of marriage is to regulate the procreation of the children. But what we do not understand is why this object of matrimony presupposes the existence of an established state of free love among the adult unmarried youth. Marriage is the safeguard of the geniture of the new generation, but this is one of the fundamental principles of wedlock in a universal sense independent of the existence or non-existence of age-classes.

For all these reasons we hold the opinion that there is only one real or, at least, one decidedly predominant initiation, i.e. that of the youth into manhood and womanhood, and that, consequently, there exist only two real age-classes, i.e. the uninitiated minors and the initiated adults, the latter comprehending both married and unmarried individuals. Neither of these age-classes is strictly homogeneous, and within the elder class there occur, in addition to marriage, various more or less important ceremonies and rites calculated to commemorate significant events and, in a certain minor degree, to set apart special groups and individuals.

We have adduced the right to marry as separating the older age-class from the younger, and we see that this right, among a people with fixed age-classes, belongs, as a rule, only to such as have undergone initiation. Particularly from Australia we learn of instances showing that the elders make their influence felt in the general competition to obtain a wife. "Reverence for age and authority," we read in an account of the Australian natives, "has greatly aided the elderly men in monopolizing the wives of the class with which they intermarry."¹⁰¹ Another investigator writes, "Still more oppressive are the prerogatives of the elders concerning the relations between the sexes. Polygyny is among the Australians decidedly a privilege of the old and influential men. While these as a rule ensure the possession of several spouses, the number of women does not suffice to provide the others with even one each. Consequently, the younger men, in many cases, have to remain single for a long time or live together with much older women, whom they have inherited from departed relatives (levirate), or who have been voluntarily ceded to them by elder members of their group."¹⁰²

There are also other privileges which distinguish the adult from the youth. One of the greatest changes which initiation causes in the life of a savage is contained in the opportunity thenceforth open to him to take part in the public life of his tribe and, depending on his personal gifts and status, to exercise influence upon the course

of social affairs. Thurnwald is of opinion, that among most nature peoples the men advanced in age wield the decisive authority in matters of tribal control, and that among the low group of nature people this is exclusively the case.¹⁰³ Referring to the Australian natives another investigator states that the initiation procedure is calculated to give prominence to the political power of the group of old men. One of the principal outcomes of these rites is to maintain and strengthen the authority of the elders.¹⁰⁴ As to the general purpose of the initiation rites we may quote what Spencer and Gillen write with special reference to the Engwura ceremony of the Arunta and Ilpirra: "Evidently the main objects of it are, firstly, to bring the young men under the control of the old men, whose commands they have to obey implicitly; secondly, to teach them habits of self-restraint and hardihood; and thirdly, to reveal to the younger men, who have arrived at mature age, the secrets of the tribe."¹⁰⁵

It is only after the initiation that an Australian native is permitted to take part in any of the performances which are regarded as sacred,¹⁰⁶ or in the fights, councils, hunting-parties, or dancing-feasts of the elders.¹⁰⁷ The knowledge of the traditions and mysterious rites of a tribe may also be regarded as a prerogative of the grown-up men, whose duty it is to see to the strict observance of custom.¹⁰⁸ During the initiation period the neophytes are in many cases taught to put themselves in communication with various spirits and to use secret ceremonial objects such as masks and bull-roarers.

Very general is the precedence accorded the old men in the matter of food.¹⁰⁹ In Australia a native is in many cases strictly bound by rules in regard to the kind of food permitted him. Certain varieties of food are prohibited to the young people, being exclusively reserved for the elders.¹¹⁰ Among the Narrinyeri thirteen different sorts of game are forbidden to boys,¹¹¹ and among the tribes in the interior of East Australia no young men were allowed to eat the flesh or eggs of the emu.¹¹² In the parts visited by Lumholtz young men were prohibited from eating eels and large lizards,¹¹³ while Cunow mentions certain vegetables and, above all, various kinds of meat as forbidden to the young men and girls.¹¹⁴ The threatened penalty is that the transgressor after eating the forbidden food will be afflicted with sores over all the body,¹¹⁵ or become prematurely grey.¹¹⁶ Among the Uapé Indians, also, the children, more particularly the females, are restricted to a particular diet; they are not allowed to eat any kind of game, or fish, except the very small bony species; their food principally consists of manioc-cake and fruits.¹¹⁷

As we have seen, young men and women are often given a new name at their initiation, and these names constitute in many cases an outward distinction between the older and younger classes of the population. This is especially the case where the initiated, as

frequently happens, are not provided with an individual name, but only with a title indicating the age-class to which they belong.

The mutilations and alterations of the outward appearance, included in the painful man-making ceremonies, in certain cases go so far as to become distinct marks for signifying the various age-classes and distinguishing them from one another. Occasionally this distinction appears in the outward equipment, too, of the different classes. In Victoria lads are allowed to wear the ornaments belonging to men only when they have gone through the several stages of initiation.¹¹⁸ It is stated that a native in certain Australian tribes is privileged to carry an additional number of implements and weapons according as he advances in life.¹¹⁹ In Yap boys before puberty and slaves are not allowed to wear a particular kind of apron.¹²⁰ Among the Masai necklaces of iron and ear-rings are worn to make a distinction between girls and women. No Masai elder may wear ear-rings of a certain description unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown-up children may wear them.¹²¹ The Yakomas wear clothes only when grown up, although even then their costume is extremely simple.¹²² Among a number of Indian coast tribes the women wear, as a symbol of maturity, a labret in a slit cut in the lower lip. The incision is first made either in childhood or at puberty, and when maturity is attained, a block of wood is inserted.¹²³ Young unmarried women of the Akikuyu wear beads in the upper part of their ears and small sticks in the lobe, but a married woman, as soon as her first child has been circumcised, discards these sticks for hoops of beads. Young men are allowed to wear ornaments as soon as they are circumcised.¹²⁴

Similarly, by means of their head-dress, certain tribes denote different ages. Among the Narrinyeri, boys are not allowed to cut or comb their hair from the time they are about 10 years of age until they undergo the rites by which they are admitted to the class of men.¹²⁵ At the age of puberty the boys among the New England Indians were permitted to wear their hair long; previous to that period it was cut in various ways.¹²⁶ Young unmarried women of the Akikuyu shave the whole head with the exception of a very small patch on the apex, on which they fix a small portion of a bullock's shoulder-bone. When a woman's child has been circumcised she may shave her whole head.¹²⁷ Among the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil the hair of a girl was cut off as soon as she became marriageable, after which the hair was permitted to grow again.¹²⁸

Tattooing and incisions of the skin, which are practised on the most dissimilar occasions and for different purposes, serve sometimes to distinguish different age-classes from each other. The parallel lines cut by certain Australians across the body, "always indicate a certain rank determined by age. Young boys below a

certain age are not decorated, but in course of time they get a few lines across the breast and stomach. Gradually the number of lines is increased, and at last when the lad is full grown, crescents are cut round the papillæ of the breast." ¹²⁹ The Samoans considered a young man to be in his minority until he was tattooed. ¹³⁰ In New Zealand a boy was tattooed when he grew up to manhood; ¹³¹ young natives have but few tattoo marks, and slaves have scarcely any; but the older men, especially the more distinguished chiefs, are so covered with them that the natural expression of face is almost hidden under an ornamental mask. ¹³² All Kisumu girls are tattooed just below the navel. When, however, a woman first becomes pregnant, more elaborate tattooings are added in front as far up as the breasts, and a belt of markings is carried right round the waist. ¹³³ Among the Tupinamba of Brazil, when a girl became marriageable, her hair was cut off and her back scarified, and she wore a necklace of animal teeth till the hair had grown again. The scars thus made were considered honourable adornments. ¹³⁴

Some comments are to be added regarding the purport of certain of the initiation rites.

The hardships and ordeals, which form a very general part of the initiation of the young men, in the first place, as a matter of course, imply proofs of their fortitude and tenacity. But sometimes the tests seem to serve a certain purificatory object. Nothing that can bring harm to a person in the position which he occupies at the initiation may come in contact with him. ¹³⁵ The object of some of the observances seems to be the protection of the boys and girls from malignant spirits and other evil influences, which is sometimes expressly stated to be the case. ¹³⁶

In certain instances, as we have seen, the ill-treatment of the young men is carried as far as to cause them to fall into a swoon. It is possible that such an event reveals the fulfilment of one of the ideas which certain scholars have attributed to the initiation rites, i.e. death and regeneration. To the primitive, says Lévy-Bruhl, "death is not an irreparable breach separating the individual from the world of the living for ever. It merely signifies an abrupt and profound change in the individual, which does not prevent him from continuing to exist in spite of the decay of his body. It is such a 'death' as this that the young men die in the course of their initiation tests, to be born again immediately afterwards: it is a mystic change of individuality." ¹³⁷ Schurtz has given examples of the idea of regeneration being represented in the initiation rites, and he thinks this particularly the case where the neophytes are driven into a state of terror or distraction. ¹³⁸ Referring to Melanesian customs Rivers draws attention to the frequent occurrence of features which point to the ritual of initiation as being symbolic of death and rebirth.

Thus, "a candidate, who leaves his family in order to be initiated, is mourned for as if he were dead, and there are frequent features of the ritual which point to its being in a large measure a symbolization of death."¹³⁹

The purpose of circumcision, according to Schurtz, is to facilitate conception and, anyhow, to have a favourable effect on their health. In an analogous manner it is usual in certain parts of Australia to widen the vagina of the girls artificially. Other mutilations of the male sexual organs, frequently occurring among Australian natives, seem on the other hand to purport the reduction of the power of procreation and to counteract an undesirable increase of the tribe.¹⁴⁰ Among many peoples circumcision has nothing to do with puberty rites.¹⁴¹

The practice of knocking out one or more teeth at initiation, according to Crawley's view, is originally intended to secure the rest of the teeth, in especial reference to the adult's food which is now to be eaten.¹⁴²

In the practice of cutting off a finger-joint or other forms of mutilation Crawley sees "the common custom of sacrificing a part of the body, by way of ensuring the security of the rest and of assisting, by casting it away, the renunciation of the 'old man'."¹⁴³ Ceremonial mutilations and blood-letting practices are by Karsten thought to be purification ceremonies by which persons who are in some critical condition rid their organism of dangerous and polluting spirits. Not only does bleeding purify, but the very scars which remain after the operation possess some mysterious power to keep off evil influences.¹⁴⁴

The South American Indians believe that tattooing, too, the indelible marks and patterns of which they wear in the face or on other parts of the body, will protect them against all sorts of evil influences.¹⁴⁵

Painting the body is in Schurtz' opinion a usage in which the ghostly and uncanny condition of the neophytes is reflected.¹⁴⁶

The magical significance of ornaments and head-dresses will be considered in the next chapter.

Sir James Frazer's theory regarding the idea of names is as follows. Unable to discriminate clearly between words and things, the savage commonly fancies that the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two in such a way that magic may be wrought on a man just as easily through his name as through his hair, his nails, or any other material part of his person. In fact, primitive man regards his name as a vital portion of himself and takes care of it accordingly.¹⁴⁷ H. T. Rose characterizes naming as a kind of touching, "for the name is part of the thing, to the primitive

thinker." ¹⁴⁸ The name being a universal mark of identity, says Crawley, and often conceived of as a part of the organism, is frequently changed at puberty. The new name—sometimes there has not been a previous one—is practically a new life.¹⁴⁹ Schurtz points out that the change of name still further emphasizes the idea of regeneration manifesting itself in the initiation rites.¹⁵⁰ Some people change their names in illness or other misfortune as recommended by their diviners.¹⁵¹

We have noticed how women and young people under age form groups in the community which are inferior to the rest of the population as regards advantages and rights. Without doubt we see here an instance of social inequality. But we cannot characterize these groups of the people as social classes in the sense in which we have conceived this word in the present work and which will be explained in the next chapter.

Women do not fall under any division of rank-classes. They belong to all classes and occupy in each a more or less subordinate position, but form no class of their own. Equally obvious it is that the minors in a community stand outside the idea of rank-classes. The tendency towards hereditariness which distinguishes ranks is obviously excluded in their case. When growing up the children relinquish the subordinate position which they have occupied while minors. Like the women they belong to all classes, and it is within each of these that they are subject to the elders until coming of age.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION THROUGH PERSONAL QUALITIES

After inquiring into the social equality prevailing in the lowest human societies our task is to investigate the first beginnings of social inequality. The earliest form of inequality, as we have seen, is the variation of social status depending on different personal endowments. Such individual dissimilarities naturally do not form any social classes, and it is only in conjunction with certain economic and industrial factors that they co-operate in building up classes. But they *are* a deviation from the fundamental social parity, they imply their own description of inequality, and they contribute to a successive process of differentiation. In the social divergencies of individuals and private groups we recognize one of the origins from which social classes or ranks have arisen. Classes are a product of evolution, and in many cases a long course of differentiation has taken place before classes with distinct characteristics have developed.

By classes, in the application of the term to early stages of social evolution, I understand more or less homogeneous divisions of the population, separated from each other in respect to precedence and privileges. As a rule these different groups represent different employments, whether it be that special avocations are reserved for certain classes, or that there is merely a general division of work between them.¹ To each class is usually assigned a certain rank. When the difference of class is complete, this rank is hereditary, at least to a certain extent. Inequality in standing and influence may exist without these advantages being necessarily hereditary, but in such cases the difference depends upon individual conditions and does not create classes. Without hereditariness, or a tendency to hereditariness, the social position of the citizen varies with the personal conditions on which it is based.

In theoretical works varying points of view are represented in regard to the question of classes and their definition. Aristotle ascribes class inequality to characteristic peculiarities in human nature itself. "For that some should rule, and others be ruled," he says in the first book of his *Politics*, "is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule."² Rousseau writes on the origin of society with its system of classes his historical words, "Le premier qui ayant enclos un terrain, s'avisait de dire, ceci est à moi, et trouva

des gens assez simples pour le croire, fut le vrai fondateur de la société civile." 3

Of modern authors Hiller defines classes as

"any comparatively permanent division in society which is differentiated by relatively persistent dissimilarities in rank and separated from other strata by social distance. When a class system is well established it has the following characteristics: an assumption of superiority and the appropriation of certain rights by a portion of the population; the acceptance of inferiority by another portion; standards of conduct recognizing the place or status of each class, and rationalizations to explain and justify the existing arrangements. The most usual criteria of classes are ancestry, race, occupation, wealth and political privileges or inequalities." 4 "Social classes," writes Ginsberg, "may be described as portions of the community, or collections of individuals, standing to each other in the relation of equality, and marked off from other portions by accepted or sanctioned standards of inferiority and superiority. Within each class there is a fundamental equality which overrides minor differences and subgradations, but between them there is a gap which can only be bridged with difficulty." 5 "A caste," in Hayes' definition, "is a social class, membership in which (a) is determined by birth and (b) involves particular customary restrictions and privileges having the force of mores. The existence in a society of one caste, distinguished by particular restrictions and privileges, implies the existence of another or of others, distinguished by different restrictions and privileges. That is, a caste is a part of a system of restrictions and privileges based upon birth, characterizing a society.—A class is a part of society toward which among the other members of the society a particular attitude prevails." 6

By the rank or status which a member of a group occupies North understands the rights and privileges he enjoys or the degree of appreciation or honour in which he is held by the other members of the group.⁷

Direct reference to the modern culture society is involved in Mac Iver's definition of class, in which he first mentions certain "occupational categories" (artists, doctors, engineers, etc.) which form "vertical" divisions of the community. But the divisions which are of real moment for the understanding of the class principle are the "horizontal" divisions, those which involve comparative status, a graded order. Wherever social intercourse is limited by considerations of status, by distinctions between "higher" and "lower", there the class principle is at work. Classes are marked off from each other by a sense of social "distance", and they generally involve differences as regards income levels, occupational distinctions, etc. Reference must also be made to the sense of status sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinctive modes of life, which draws class apart from class.⁸ Classes in modern societies are by Ginsberg described as groups of individuals

who, through common descent, similarity of occupation, wealth and education, have come to have a similar mode of life, a similar stock of ideas, feelings, attitudes and forms of behaviour and who, on any or all these grounds, meet one another on equal terms and regard themselves, although with varying degrees of explicitness, as belonging to one group.⁹

The following are a few reflections by means of which certain writers have thrown light upon the conception of class. Mac Iver thinks that the sentiment of class is above all a sentiment of disparity. It does unite those who feel distinct from other classes. Above all it unites the "superior" against the "inferior". It emanates from the belief in superiority, so that class-division is really imposed on the lower by the higher classes.¹⁰ It is Spann's idea that in the system of class or estate, every lower estate is spiritually included in the related higher estate, for instance, the rank and file in the officer, the vicar in the bishop, the workman in the engineer and the employer. Thus the leading principle in all questions regarding estate or order is subordination of the spiritually lower to the spiritually higher.¹¹

Regarding the origin of social classes Gumpłowicz' much-quoted theory is that a division into classes is always originally connected with ethnical dissimilarities and the subjugation of one tribe by an alien tribe. Social inequality has arisen through the fusion of different nationalities by means of war: the conquerors form the dominant class in the general community, the conquered the subjected class.¹² Gumpłowicz' and Ratzehofer's similar theories are strongly advocated by Lester F. Ward.¹³ The same principle in explaining the rise of classes has been maintained by Peschel,¹⁴ Post,¹⁵ and Fahlbeck.¹⁶ Spencer thinks that definite class-distinctions do not exist where life is permanently peaceful. They are initiated by war through the formation of a slave-class.¹⁷ Westermarck believes that "castes are frequently, if not always, the consequences of foreign conquest and subjugation, the conquerors becoming the nobility, and the subjugated the commonalty or slaves,"¹⁸ and Dow holds a similar opinion.¹⁹

The question of the origin of classes has hitherto on the whole been more or less cursorily treated in works chiefly concerned with other subjects. We will now endeavour to examine the various circumstances which have contributed to the rise and development of social differentiation. First we shall regard the question of personal qualities having a tendency to raise certain individuals at the expense of others, and of the hereditariness of the precedence so acquired. We shall moreover pay attention to the question of wealth as contributing to differentiate groups of citizens from each other. Further we shall notice how the arising of a division of work and trade has gone hand in hand with such development. And

finally we shall consider the question of how the amalgamation of different peoples has been a factor in creating class inequality.

We have previously pointed out that the lowest races now living are without rank-classes, and there can be no doubt whatever that such a state of things was characteristic of the earliest conditions of the human race in its entirety.

Various influences have tended to differentiate in social respects a people in the nature state. The first to raise themselves above their surroundings were those who by their own eminent qualities for a longer or shorter time made their influence felt over their fellow-tribesmen. The leading position which such persons occupied was undoubtedly more or less contingent and uncertain. It depended upon the confidence reposed in them by the people and could as easily be lost as won. Personal pre-eminence begins and ends with the person who possesses it. And yet, in the dominant position which a member of a primitive community acquires for himself by his personal superiority we cannot but see a species of social inequality conducive to the development of social classes.

In theoretical literature it has been noticed how personal superiority constitutes the first advance to social distinction. Rousseau writes, "Whoever sings or dances best; whoever is the handsomest, the strongest, the most dexterous, or the most eloquent, becomes the most distinguished; and this was the first step toward inequality, and at the same time toward vice."²⁰ "Personal qualities," Nieboer remarks, referring to hunting and fishing tribes, "are the only cause of social differentiation."²¹ Post mentions as the first cause of hereditary nobility, that certain families raise themselves by their pre-eminent personal qualities.²²

In the preceding chapter we have seen how old age and the experience which it has won confers distinction and power. Other personal attributes, also, raise a man above his tribesmen. Supposed supernatural gifts are frequently combined with influence in worldly affairs as well. Those who are feared for their magical powers, or for their connection with the gods, are also generally listened to in matters of political or social concern. In Chapter IX we shall see how the priesthood, which also includes sorcerers or magicians, already in the lowest stage of development is represented among the population. In many primitive tribes we notice how medicine men and magicians of various descriptions exercise influence over their countrymen.²³ Among the Fuegians, for instance, "there is no superiority of one over another—except that acquired by age, sagacity, and daring conduct; but the doctor-wizard of each party has much influence over his companions."²⁴ Referring to the classless Eskimo an explorer says that if, besides the aged, there is any one who can exercise a certain power of decision, it is their priest, the Ankut.²⁵ In Aneitum of the New Hebrides famous disease-makers

are among the most influential men.²⁶ Similarly, among the rude Adelaide and Encounter Bay aborigines of Australia, those who practise magic are said to exercise a certain amount of influence, which is also the case with their old men and with those possessing superior strength and courage.²⁷ Respecting the Wakamba in East Africa we learn that "above all, the reputation of being a magician and rain-maker is the surest means by which a Wakamba can attain power and importance, and secure the obedience of his countrymen".²⁸

From descriptions of the lower races we learn that eloquence is held in much esteem, and that the possession of this gift can establish a man in the highest degree of personal consideration. This was the case, for instance, among the Iroquois, of which it is said that by the cultivation and exercise of eloquence "was opened the pathway to distinction; and the chief or warrior gifted with its magical power could elevate himself as rapidly as he who gained renown on the warpath."²⁹ Among the Guarani "a good orator, if he had the reputation of courage, obtained influence enough to form an independent community, and place himself at its head".³⁰ So also among the Araucanians, "oratory is particularly held in high estimation, and—is the highroad to honour, and the management of public affairs."³¹ Much to the same effect is stated with reference to able speakers among the Bechuana³² and the New Zealand aborigines.³³

Physical power and dexterity are among all uncivilized races held in high estimation, and naturally may be of great service to a man during his adventurous life. Whoever gives proof of his superior strength, whoever excites admiration by his bravery and gains renown as a skilful hunter or a victorious warrior, compels respect and recognition from his tribesmen, and will make his voice heard among them. "A nobility of weapons," says Grosse, "must everywhere arise where warlike efficiency is indispensable for the safety of the community."³⁴ Schurtz, too, lays stress upon warlike capacity as a means by which a man may raise himself; he considers, moreover, that the best prospects in this respect are to be found in communities where a ruling power is already established.³⁵

Among a hunting people it is self-evident that courage and skill in bringing down game must confer consequence. Thus we gather concerning the Aleuts that "the most respected and influential were those who were most successful in the chase. The great ambition of the Aleut was to be a great hunter. Those who were unsuccessful were looked upon with more or less contempt."³⁶ Among the Wintun of California, whenever a man is so fortunate as to kill a black bear, they celebrate "the black-bear dance" at which the lucky hunter is a hero.³⁷ A similar custom is observed in Beli in Central Africa when a young man has killed a buffalo, an elephant,

a lion, or a leopard.³⁸ A Hottentot who has singly encountered and slain some big game is considered a hero. He looks upon himself as raised to the height of human glory and "demands the homage which Hottentot custom assigns to his high dignity, and which all his countrymen constantly pay him".³⁹ The killing of a lion is by the Kafirs regarded as very heroic, although the hunter after his exploit is considered unclean and has to undergo a purification ceremony.⁴⁰ Sir James Frazer has examined a great many instances of taboos observed by hunters and fishers after the game has been killed and the fish caught. In certain cases the object of these taboos is clearly to prevent the souls of the slain animals causing harm.⁴¹

Among most savage peoples, however, warlike renown is what is most eagerly striven after as the surest road to eminence. The American Indians, in particular, afford an example of how a man's worth is gauged according to his achievements in war. "Only courage and intrepidity," we read regarding the Caribs in British Guiana, "can confer a claim to respect; the more a hero distinguished himself by boldness and temerity, so much the more was his name glorified in the war-songs."⁴² In Nicaragua those Indians who had been victorious in single combat in the sight of the armies were called by a special name. Like knights they were highly esteemed and honoured.⁴³ Among the Abipones, whoever has given proofs of warlike valour is initiated into warlike honours with certain ceremonies.⁴⁴ A Sioux was elevated to a grade of merit or bravery if, besides giving feasts to his tribesmen, he had killed several of the foe and had brought home many horses.⁴⁵ Among the Indians of North Carolina⁴⁶ as also in the Blackfoot tribe⁴⁷ bravery was rewarded by social recognition. With respect to the Bamanwato in South Africa, it is stated that "those who have distinguished themselves in war, having something to talk about, are generally the most eager to be heard, and all the abusive epithets they can command are heaped upon their less distinguished fellows, chiefly the young men".⁴⁸ In Borneo "personal merit and bravery will carry a Dyak of any origin to the very highest position attainable in a community so democratic".⁴⁹ Among the Bataks of Sumatra personal qualifications and mental endowments appear to confer the most real and extensive power. The frequency of their wars and their popular consultations afford so comparatively wide a scope for the exercise of these qualities, that they naturally gain an easy ascendancy.⁵⁰ From the Western tribe of Torres Straits Dr. Haddon reports that great warriors, bullies, or men with extra mental ability became the recognized leaders, although they possessed no real power or authority.⁵¹ Statements to the same effect are made of the Australians.⁵² Respecting the former Maoris it is said that the very existence of a tribe depended upon the courage and ability of its leading chiefs and warriors. Hence it was that the warriors

of great reputation known as *toas*, and whose deeds are recorded in the memory of the Maori people, played a very leading part. So much so, that at one period their influence was wellnigh equal to that of the sacred hereditary chiefs.⁵³

Manliness and strength of mind are always accompanied by recognition and advancement, and sometimes this can be shown in other ways than by warlike exploits. Thus, for instance, the Mandan Indians inflicted torture upon their young men in order that they might thereby show the degree of fortitude they possessed. "The chiefs and dignitaries of the tribe are looking on, to decide who are the hardest and stoutest hearted—who can hang the longest by his flesh before he faints, and who will be soonest up, after he has been down—that they may know whom to appoint to lead a war party, or place at the most honourable and desperate post."⁵⁴ The Yucatan Indians tattooed their bodies "and the more they did so the more gallant and strong they thought themselves, as tattooing was accompanied with much pain. Those who omitted it were sneered at."⁵⁵ Before a Guaycuru could be admitted to the rank of a warrior, he had to give proof of his courage by showing that he could endure pain as if he were insensible to it. This he did by cutting and piercing himself in the tenderest parts.⁵⁶

Personal dexterity which obtains consideration must not, when it is a question of savage tribes, be always understood according to civilized ideas. Theft, murder, and treacheries, which call for the same ability as does warlike efficiency, are by no means invariably reprobated, but on the contrary, obtain in many instances a certain recognition. This is chiefly the case when they are practised upon some member of a strange tribe, which at times is even expressly anticipated.⁵⁷ Among the Cherkesses of the Caucasus an expert thief boasts of his successful theft with as much pride as of his bravery; it is only the unskilful one who is punished with public scorn.⁵⁸ By the Tchuktchi stealing is considered reputable, provided a man does not steal in his own tribe.⁵⁹ Of the Kookies it is reported that the practice of thieving is held in high estimation, by reason that the same sagacity and address necessary to give success to the thief are also of importance to the warrior.⁶⁰ "The Arab robber," says Burckhardt, "considers his profession as honourable; and the term *harámy* (robber) is one of the most flattering titles that could be conferred upon a youthful hero."⁶¹ A Somali thinks it a point of honour to steal as many cattle with as little personal risk as possible, and those who expose themselves unnecessarily are only accounted foolhardy.⁶² The Balantes in West Africa are said to hold thievery in honour. The most adroit are the most considered. The young men who have acquired a high degree of dexterity will find no difficulty in procuring a wife.⁶³ Among the Blackfoot Indians taking horses from the foe "at once became what may be

called an established industry. Success brought wealth and fame." ⁶⁴ A Tlinkit thief does not lose his reputation. ⁶⁵ The Osage Indians are said to "deem it one of the attributes of a great man to pilfer from his neighbours or friends and avoid detection". ⁶⁶ And among the Yuki, "thievery is a virtue—as it was with the ancient Spartans, provided the thief is sly enough not to get caught." ⁶⁷

Even as the slaying of an enemy in war is glorious, so a certain respect is generally associated with the killing of a man, without any special reference to the circumstances in which the killing was committed. Thus among the Ba-Huana in West Africa, "murder which may be compensated is not considered disgraceful; on the contrary, a murderer is respected as a clever and brave man." ⁶⁸ To a Maori, "the mere deliberate killing of a man—however small the provocation—is not murder; it is in fact generally regarded as a somewhat praiseworthy action." ⁶⁹ Neither among the Tungus was murder, following after a previous quarrel, considered a capital crime. The murderer was flogged, and had to support the family of the dead man, but he not only escaped censure, but was even considered to have shown bravery. ⁷⁰

Of the honour which a man gains for himself through his exploits in the chase or in war, the trophies of which he has become possessed serve as tokens. These memorials of bravery and address, which allow a man's achievements to appear in the sight of all, tend outwardly to manifest his superiority over those of his fellow-tribesmen who cannot make a display of similar decorations.

Hunting trophies are thus proofs of the bringing down of one or another animal, the killing of which is calculated to bring honour to the hunter. Such trophies are met with among numerous peoples. The Moxo tribes in Brazil wore "strings of the teeth and pieces of skin from the beasts which they had killed". ⁷¹ Most highly considered among the Bororó were the great teeth of the jaguar as breast-ornaments. Of jaguar claws a circlet was made to go round the head. ⁷² Von Martius relates that he once vainly endeavoured to purchase a necklace of the teeth of beasts worn by a Miraha; this ornament, which was a proof of successful bravery in hunting, and which exalted the wearer in the eyes of his tribesmen, was considered too valuable to be sold. ⁷³ Among the Ioways, the most precious trophies, next to the scalps, were "the claws of that most ferocious and dangerous animal, the grizzly bear, which, like the scalps, are worn as trophies—as proofs that the wearer has vanquished so-formidable an enemy". ⁷⁴ A Hottentot hunter wears, fastened to his hair, the bladder of the beast he has killed. ⁷⁵ As a European hunter fastens the feathers of some rare bird in his hat, so the Bushman sticks them into his hair. Claws, teeth, and small horns he makes into a necklace. ⁷⁶ Trophies of the chase consist

among the Abarambo of the skulls of slain animals. They are fastened to trees in the vicinity of the hunter's residence "and are as a real blazon, attesting his courage in hunting".⁷⁷

Spencer has appropriately pointed out the significance of trophies of the chase as means of distinction when saying, "Trophies of such kinds, even among ourselves, give to their owner some influence over those around him. A traveller who has brought from Africa a pair of elephant's tusks, or the formidable horn of a rhinoceros, impresses those who come in contact with him as a man of courage and resource, and, therefore, as one not to be trifled with. A vague kind of governing power accrues to him. Naturally, by primitive men, whose lives are predatory and whose respective values largely depend on their powers as hunters, animal-trophies are still more prized and tend, in greater degrees, to bring honour and influence."⁷⁸

Trophies which denote the vanquishing of a human enemy are, however, still more highly valued than hunting trophies. The reason for this is explained by Spencer in the following manner:—

"As among the uncivilized and semi-civilized, human enemies are more to be feared than beast-enemies, and conquests over men are therefore occasions of greater triumphs than conquests over animals, it results that proofs of such conquests are usually still more valued. A brave who returns from battle does not obtain honour if his boasts are unsupported by evidence; but if he proves that he has killed his man by bringing back some part of him—especially a part which the corpse cannot yield in duplicate—he raises his character in the tribe and increases his power."⁷⁹

As thus stated by Spencer, a war-trophy, in order that its significance may be complete, must afford a certain proof that an enemy has been killed. Therefore a man was, in the first instance, careful to secure such a trophy of victory as could leave no doubt of its authenticity. This is the manifest intention of the Bavenda warriors who bring home the right arm of their victims as proof of their prowess, if they think that their victory has not been witnessed.⁸⁰ The evidence of victory is no doubt one reason why in warfare a man cuts off the whole head of a slain enemy, to be preserved as a trophy. Such a custom we find among natives in America⁸¹ and Australasia⁸² and among certain other peoples as well.⁸³ The Angahmee Nagahs consider it a point of honour to recover the skulls of friends who have fallen in an attack made on their villages. Prisoners are always decapitated if they refuse to accompany or return with the victors to their homes.⁸⁴ Among the natives of British Borneo any man who took a head was looked upon as very brave, no matter in what way he had obtained it. A woman's, or child's head was considered just as good as a man's. It sometimes

happened that people bought prisoners or captives in order to kill them and get possession of their heads.⁸⁵

In order to preserve the heads, different methods are resorted to. Several peoples dry or otherwise prepare the severed heads in such a way that they retain more or less their original appearance. They are generally afterwards kept in the conqueror's dwelling, in the men's house or in some sanctuary; in exceptional cases we learn that the victor wears them on his person.⁸⁶ The Abiponés draw the skin from the skull and stuff it with grass. After being dried a little in the air, it looks like a wig, and is preserved as a trophy.⁸⁷ A similar custom is observed by the Jibaros of Ecuador.⁸⁸

In other cases the skulls are cleaned from the flesh, after which they are preserved like the dried heads.⁸⁹ Herodotus tells us that the Scythians sawed off the skulls of their greatest enemies all below the eyebrows and cleared out the inside; they then made use of them as drinking cups.⁹⁰ The same practice is known to have existed among certain Teutonic peoples. Certain traditions of the Kiwai Papuans mention cases of skulls being used as drinking vessels.⁹¹ Cannibals sometimes preserve the bones of their captives after cooking and eating the flesh.⁹²

It must, however, have been inconvenient to the victorious warrior, when desirous of adorning himself with trophies which attested his deeds of valour, to carry about with him so large a portion of his enemy's body as the head or skull. Undoubtedly it was some such reason which led to the taking of trophies which could easily be worn on a man's person or dress and which yet constituted so essential a part of the vanquished foe that all doubt as to the deed having been actually accomplished was excluded.⁹³ The custom of taking scalps, for instance, must evidently be explained in this manner.⁹⁴ It is well known how universal this practice is, especially among the Indians of North America. Scalping is performed by them very much in the same way everywhere. They cut off a patch of the skin from the top of the victim's head when killed or, at least, disabled in battle, and preserve it, with the hair on it, as a trophy. The scalp, or parts of it, are generally used to decorate the victor's dress, weapons, or implements.⁹⁵ According to Herodotus scalp-taking was also practised by the ancient Scythians. A Scythian warrior, after bringing to his king the head of an enemy killed in battle, "takes off the skin of the head by cutting it round about the ears and then taking hold of the scalp and shaking it off; afterwards he scrapes off the flesh with the rib of an ox, and works the skin about with his hands; and when he has thus tempered it, he keeps it as a napkin to wipe his hands upon, and hangs it from the bridle of the horse on which he himself rides, and takes pride in it." Herodotus moreover says of the Scythians

that "many also take the skins off the whole bodies of men and stretch them on pieces of wood and carry them about on their horses".⁹⁶

Originally the scalps must have indicated the veritable killing of a man's enemies, one for each scalp. More than one scalp was not allowed having reference to the same deed; but the warrior contented himself with this token of victory instead of bearing about with him an altogether too inconvenient proof of his prowess in battle. Many circumstances regarding the taking of scalps indicate that this was the case. It is said, for instance, that the Dacotahs, if they have the time and the person killed is of importance, will take the entire scalp, including the eyebrows and ears,⁹⁷ and this is manifestly done for the purpose of securing unimpeachable evidence that an illustrious enemy has been killed. Among the Mandans a genuine scalp must include and show the crown and centre of the head, "of which they all profess to be strict judges, and able to decide whether an endeavour has been made to produce two or more scalps from the head." The proof is regarded "as proof positive that its possessor has killed an enemy in battle", and it is expressly stated that "a scalp, to be a genuine one, must have been taken from the head of an *enemy*, and that enemy *dead*".⁹⁸ The same is reported with regard to scalp-taking among the Black-foot Indians.⁹⁹

The peculiar condition of certain other trophies is in itself a proof that not more than one such may be taken from the same slaughtered enemy. A successful Bechuana warrior brings a piece of flesh from the person he has killed, with the skin cut from the body, having the navel in it.¹⁰⁰ Among the Wahehe it was formerly the custom to cut off the right hand of each slain enemy, but one of the Sultans objected to this on the ground that it was possible to pass off a hand of a woman as that of a warrior, and ordained that the testicles should be severed instead. After the battle every successful warrior placed the testicles of the men he had killed on the point of his spear and showed them to the Sultan. After inspection, they were buried separately.¹⁰¹

To the same category of trophies as scalps belong other small portions of an enemy's body which a victor carries off as proof of his deed. Many Indians, such as the tribes of North Carolina¹⁰² and of Paraguay¹⁰³ as well as the Moxo¹⁰⁴ and the Bororó of Brazil,¹⁰⁵ wear strings of the teeth of enemies as a decoration. The Dahomeans¹⁰⁶ and certain other peoples¹⁰⁷ wear among other trophies the jawbones of their enemies, which they fasten upon their arms or implements. In Tahiti they strip the skin with the beard from the chins of slain enemies, and carry it off as a trophy.¹⁰⁸ To quote Herodotus, the ancient Scythians, who had a great number of various trophies, took the skin together with the finger-nails

off the right hands of their enemies when they were dead, and made them into covers for their quivers.¹⁰⁹

Nothing can be more natural than that such trophies, on the savage's plane of life, should possess great importance as influencing a man's position among his fellows. Unquestionably they are a powerful factor in contributing to the attainment of personal distinction. A trophy, to quote a writer on the Mandan Indians, although his words no doubt have a far wider range, may often-times be of great service to a man living in a community where there is no historian to chronicle the names of the famous.¹¹⁰ To the Indian, writes another investigator, "the scalp took was the visible proof of his personal bravery, the palpable sign of accomplished revenge; it was like his war medal gained honourably from his enemies."¹¹¹ Numerous examples show the effectiveness of trophies in the above sense; "the character of a hunter or warrior is often established according to the number of his trophies," or "those who have the most heads excel the most in renown", etc.¹¹² Sometimes the taking of a trophy from an enemy seems to be an honour quite independent of that of vanquishing him. "To kill your adversary," we read in a description of the Shoshones, "is of no importance unless the scalp is brought from the field of battle, and were a warrior to slay any number of his enemies in action, and others were to obtain the scalps or first touch the dead, they would have all the honours, since they have borne off the trophy."¹¹³ Describing how a victory was celebrated in Samoa an explorer writes:

"The excitement of the successful warrior is intense as he passes before the chief with his bleeding trophy, capering in the most fantastic evolutions, with blackened face and oiled body—all the while shouting in his loudest voice, 'Ou te mau tagata, ou te mau tagata,' 'I have my man, I have my man!' To a young Samoan, this is the realization of his highest ambition. Then again, when the war is over, and he returns to his village, to hear his companions rehearse the exploit, and the girls pronounce him 'toa', 'brave,'—then it is that you see in their very perfection the complacent dignity and latent pride that lurk within that brown-skinned islander."¹¹⁴

The Wild Dyaks practise head-hunting in order to show their bravery and manliness: that it may be said so-and-so has obtained heads. "When they quarrel, it is a constant phrase, 'How many heads did your father or grandfather get?' If less than their own number, well then, you have no occasion to be proud."¹¹⁵ In the Mishmee Hills of India the wealth of a chief is calculated according to the number of heads which he has taken, and these also form a kind of currency among the tribes, slaves and knives being purchased for so many heads each. A young man pays the price of his wife in heads.¹¹⁶ Among the Indians west of the Mississippi, when the

election of a chief takes place, the preference is generally given to those who can exhibit the greatest number of trophies ;¹¹⁷ though age has also a great weight. And among the Mundrucus a man who can exhibit ten heads is eligible for the rank of a chief.¹¹⁸

From trophies have developed special marks of distinction, or badges, for glorious deeds. These differ from trophies inasmuch as they do not constitute a direct spoil obtained in the execution of the deed to which they have reference. They are symbols, or traditional tokens, the significance of which is known at all events in the tribe, although they do not necessarily stand in direct connection with the actions indicated by them. It is obvious that there would be difficulty in always maintaining a strict line of demarcation between trophies and ornamental badges, and we often meet with examples of distinguishing marks which occupy a place between the two.¹¹⁹ Badges are derived from trophies, with which, in early stages, they are identical, says Spencer. "We cannot doubt that the buffalo-horns decorating the head of a Mandan chief and indicating his dignity, were at first worn as spoils of the chase in which he prided himself : implying a genesis of a badge out of a trophy, which gives meaning to the head-dresses of certain divine and human personages among ancient peoples."¹²⁰

There are wellnigh innumerable kinds of badges or tokens for bravery of some of which we will give instances. Usually the brave are allowed to indicate their deed of valour by means of certain ornaments which it is their privilege to wear, or else by their dress. Thus a Danakali, who has prevailed over his foe, dons a leopard skin, decorated with monkey-tails, "and tricks himself out with feathers in all the variety of savage fancy, the lobe of his ear being pierced for the reception of pewter rings, which denote the number of his victories achieved."¹²¹ Galla warriors who have been rewarded for feats of arms wear a mantle made of a lion's mane and a panther's fell and ornamented with silver.¹²² The Guechas, or warriors, of the Chibchas had their lips, noses, and ears pierced, and hung from them strings of gold quills, the number of which corresponded with that of the enemies they had killed in battle.¹²³ In Amhara in North-East Africa a warrior, for each enemy slain, is entitled to some conspicuous personal badge, which forms his greatest pride. A ring or a bracelet, gained even by acts the most dastardly, raises him accordingly in the estimation of relatives and companions in arms.¹²⁴ Ivory ear-rings as badges to denote the taking of heads are used in Timor, where they are said to command much respect for their wearers.¹²⁵ Among the Masai, warriors of a certain title who have killed many enemies are allowed to wear bells or a bracelet called *il-torongen*.¹²⁶ In the south part of Nias a brave warrior is rewarded with a highly valued neck-ring.¹²⁷ If a Dahomey warrior has killed an enemy in war he attaches a cownie to the stock of his gun, which is reckoned

an honourable distinction.¹²⁸ In a similar case a man of the Angahme Nagahs has three or four rows of cowries fastened to his dress.¹²⁹ Whenever a Dyak has distinguished himself in securing heads, he is entitled to decorate the upper part of his ears with a pair of the canine teeth of the Borneo leopard. This decoration is greatly coveted among the Dyaks in Koetei.¹³⁰ Ornaments are used as badges among the Omahas of the Sioux Indians.¹³¹ When among the Alforas of Ceram a man has made conquest of a head, he obtains the privilege of adorning his costume with paintings, and his smooth wooden shield with shells. The paintings are the special privilege of those whose hands have dripped with human blood, and are looked upon as the reward of deeds of glory.¹³² There exist minute descriptions of the ancient Mexicans indicating by their dress, their weapons, and their ornaments the different grades of rank to which a distinguished warrior might attain.¹³³ The warriors of the ancient Chichimecs in Central America wore a bone at their waist, and on the bone, in testimony of their courage, they made a mark for every enemy that they killed.¹³⁴ Among the Galla and other tribes in North-East Africa a well-appointed war equipment was the appropriate reward of warlike achievements.¹³⁵

Weapons are among certain peoples regarded as badges which may only be worn by the braves. Thus, for instance, it is a rule that a Dyak youth cannot wear a sword till he has been on one or more head-hunting expeditions. A *mandau*, or sword, is early presented to him, "but not till he has washed it in the blood of an enemy can he presume to carry it as a part of his everyday equipment."¹³⁶ The possession of a sword is among the Apono a mark of manhood, and all the young men think it honourable to obtain a sword before they acquire a wife.¹³⁷ Among the Incas, men who had distinguished themselves were in certain cases recompensed with weapons and titles of honour.¹³⁸ Indians of Nicaragua considered weapons as marks of honour, for we learn that the punishment adjudged to a coward was to be disarmed and turned out of the army.¹³⁹

The feather ornaments with which savages of many different nationalities decorate themselves are in numerous cases the tokens of accomplished deeds. Referring to a theory set forth by Spencer and corroborated by Von den Steinen, Hirn is of opinion that the simplest ornaments have been trophies of war and the chase. The feather crowns of the chiefs, for instance, are to be regarded as a later development of proudly arranged spoils of the chase by which a successful hunter proclaims his achievements.¹⁴⁰ It is very general to indicate eminence in war and hunting by means of feather decorations. Such a custom especially characterized the American Indians, but it is also found among tribes in other parts of the world. "Feathers of honour" have been used, for instance, among

the Iroquois,¹⁴¹ the Omaha,¹⁴² the ancient Mexicans,¹⁴³ and the Indians of Chile.¹⁴⁴ With the Dacotahs the number of eagle's feathers worn denote the number of enemies of grizzly bears killed. No one will wear an eagle's feather unless entitled to it, as they believe it will fly away from their heads if worn unlawfully.¹⁴⁵ As many acts of valour as a man of the Mandans has performed, so many eagle's feathers he may wear in his hair.¹⁴⁶ The Payaguas wear on their heads feather tufts, and those who have killed some enemy place them vertically in their head-dress.¹⁴⁷ A Somali may stick an ostrich feather in his hair as a token of distinction for each enemy killed by him, and the killing of an elephant is honoured in a similar way.¹⁴⁸ Warriors of the Igbos on the Niger wear red caps, decorated with white and red feathers, "each feather denoting an enemy slain in actual warfare."¹⁴⁹ Among the Kafirs the king presents the most valiant among the chiefs with plumes of feathers. These they wear upon their heads as marks of honour, they are then obeyed as commanders.¹⁵⁰ If, among the Angahme Nagahs, a man has killed another in battle, he is entitled to wear one feather of a certain bird stuck in his hair and an additional one for every man he subsequently kills; these feathers are also fastened to their shields.¹⁵¹ A Noeforeze who has taken the greatest number of heads is the lion of the day among his people; he may wear the greatest number of parrot's feathers as an ornament and mark of honour.¹⁵² In Doren in New Guinea whoever has cut off the head of many foes is entitled to wear feathers of the white cockatoo.¹⁵³

Horns are sometimes worn on the head-dress with the same symbolic significance as feathers. Among the Mandan, Sioux, Crow, Blackfoot and Assiniboin Indians as a rule only chiefs of a very great renown wear the head-dress surmounted with horns, but sometimes this privilege is also granted a brave or warrior whose pre-eminent valour, worth, and power is admitted by all the nation.¹⁵⁴

By means of his hair and head-dress a warrior may, among many peoples, indicate deeds of valour and renown. Those among the Galla, for instance, who slay an enemy in battle, or kill a rhinoceros or elephant, are allowed as a mark of distinction to wear the *guttu*, i.e. plaits of hair made to stand upright on the top of the head.¹⁵⁵ Formerly in Abyssinia young soldiers were not allowed to dress their hair until they had killed a man, when they shaved the whole of the head, leaving only a single plait; another plait was added for each man killed, till they had reached the number of five, when they were privileged to wear a whole head of hair.¹⁵⁶ A similar custom is reported from Nicaragua, where an Indian who had conquered an enemy in single combat in the sight of the armies had his head shaved, leaving only on the top a crown of hair as long as from the upper joint of the forefinger to the tip of the same, and in the middle of this crown a tuft of longer hair which looked like a

tassel.¹⁵⁷ Panama Indians who have killed an enemy cut off their own hair as a distinguishing mark of triumph.¹⁵⁸ The Dacotahs, who generally wear their hair braided, unbraided it if they kill an enemy.¹⁵⁹ Tacitus states that the Catti, from the time they arrived at years of maturity, let their hair and beard grow; they did not divest themselves of this votive badge, "the promise of valour," till they had slain an enemy.¹⁶⁰ In ancient Mexico one could judge of the meritorious actions performed by warriors of different ranks from the way in which they dressed their hair.¹⁶¹

Painting is very generally used as the means by which a warrior may distinguish himself with symbols of his achievements. Different colours and designs have a traditional significance which is understood by one and all within the tribe. Thus a young Indian of the Mandans who is the first to kill an enemy upon the war-path, paints a spiral line round his arm, of whatever colour he pleases.¹⁶² And a Galla warrior who has returned victorious to his village is washed by the women with a mixture of fat and milk, after which his face is painted red and white.¹⁶³

It is worthy of remark that the colours with which warriors on such occasions are painted are most frequently described as red—among brown races also black. Evidently the red colour, as is especially the case among the Sioux Indians, has reference to blood and wounds.¹⁶⁴ "The red colour, so often used in military dress," says Hirn, "tends . . . to arouse increased vigour by direct psychological as well as associative action. Perhaps also, as some old authors suggest, the use of red may have had a negative importance by concealing the wounds and the blood which else might depress the men and encourage the enemies."¹⁶⁵ The Fijians looked upon the mere bloodstain, however acquired, as a mark of honourable distinction.¹⁶⁶ If a Dacotah takes the scalp of a slain enemy, a broad red streak is painted across the eagle-feathers which denote his deed; if the enemy is shot, a round red spot is painted upon it; if the person killed was of prominence or reputation, the feathers are dyed red.¹⁶⁷ Among the same people the yellow squares in the pattern of their moccasins imply that some horses of that colour have been captured. If in the yellow squares there are small spots of red, these signify that some of the horses were wounded by their pursuing owners.¹⁶⁸ An Omaha warrior who disembowelled a fallen enemy with a knife was among other privileges permitted to redden his knife and dance as a grizzly bear, and similarly a man who struck down a foe with a hatchet, bow, etc., was allowed to redden the weapon and carry it to the dance if he so wished.¹⁶⁹

The black colour used in warlike painting seems generally to indicate enemies killed.¹⁷⁰ There appears to be good reason to associate the employment of this colour with the notion, prevalent among many peoples, that a man who has killed another is in certain

circumstances unclean, however praiseworthy the action itself may be reckoned. Hunters, also, who gave killed some big game, are in certain cases impure for a space of time, as we have seen.¹⁷¹

Sir James Frazer has paid attention to the rules of conduct which are often imposed on warriors in savage tribes after a victory. He thinks that the motive for such restrictions laid on the victors is a dread of the angry spirits of the slain. The general effect of the aboos is to seclude or isolate the tabooed persons from ordinary society. They are temporarily cut off from free intercourse with their fellows and especially from their wives, and must undergo certain rites of purification before they are readmitted to society. Numerous instances are examined regarding taboos laid on warriors after killing their foes and on manslayers in general. The manslayer is unclean, and his purification takes place for the purpose of averting or appeasing the ghosts of the slain. In other cases the ghosts are driven away.¹⁷² Westermarck, too, points out the common idea that the shedder of human blood—whether an ordinary murderer or the slayer of a foe—is unclean. The ghost of the victim persecutes him, or actually cleaves to him like a miasma; and he must undergo rites of purification to get rid of the infection. Until this is done, he is among many peoples regarded as a source of danger, and is consequently cut off from free intercourse with his fellows.¹⁷³ The Sioux Indians afford an example illustrating the idea of the uncleanness of manslayers. The great respect which on the occasion of the scalp dance these Indians pay to the holders of scalps, the compassionate and mournful song which they howl to the manes of their unfortunate victims as well as the precise care and solemnity with which they afterwards bury the scalps, sufficiently convince the eye-witness that they have a superstitious dread of the spirits of their slain enemies and many conciliatory offices to perform to insure their own peace.¹⁷⁴ Among the natives of Washington's islands even the heroic deed of killing one of the highest of the enemy, is tabooed for ten days.¹⁷⁵ A Galla who has killed an enemy in war has to make an expiatory sacrifice to the manes of the slain man.¹⁷⁶

In regard to the Lillooet Indians we read that when a man had killed an enemy, he painted his whole face black. It was believed that if he did not do so, he would become blind.¹⁷⁷ After a similar deed the Dacotahs unbraided their hair and blacken themselves. "They dress like mourners, yet rejoice."¹⁷⁸ An Omaha who is the first to seize an enemy is allowed to blacken his body, and then mark spots here and there with white clay. And the second who performed the same deed blackened his body from the waist to the shoulders and rubbed white clay along the tops of the latter. Those who disembowelled fallen enemies blackened their bodies in a certain way.¹⁷⁹ The Panama Indians, after killing an enemy,

painted themselves black, continuing so painted until the first new moon.¹⁸⁰ Painting their faces black for two or three days is also practised by young Fijian warriors, who have earned their first distinction by killing an enemy.¹⁸¹

In this connection we have to note the custom of making incisions or tattoo marks in the skin as testimonies to the bearers' heroism. Originally, as Hirn has shown, incisions or scars were evidently made so as to resemble real wounds, which all the world over have been considered as honourable adornments for a man.¹⁸² Explaining that scars resulting from wounds received in battle are held in honour all the world over and displayed with pride, Spencer points out that anxiety to get honour sometimes leads to the making of scars artificially.¹⁸³ Decorations of this kind are reported from many peoples. Thus among the ancient Tupinamba the slaying of an enemy gave a warrior the right to make with a sharp tooth a deep incision in his skin, which he filled up with colour.¹⁸⁴ If a man of the Karamojo in Uganda kills another in battle, he is decorated by having his right shoulder scarified.¹⁸⁵ Warriors of the Bachapins in South Africa who have killed a man are allowed to mark their thigh with a long scar, which is rendered indelible and of a bluish colour by means of wood ashes rubbed into the fresh wound.¹⁸⁶ Among the Bechuanas proper, when they celebrate a victory, the priest makes a long cut with an assagai in the skin of each warrior who has killed an adversary, which for the remainder of his life is a visible token of his heroism.¹⁸⁷ For every wild animal that a young Damara destroys, his father makes four small oblong incisions on the front of the son's body as marks of honour and distinction.¹⁸⁸

Tattooing, as is well known, is a custom very generally diffused among various peoples. It has probably had its rise from many different sources and is practised for the most varying purposes, which we cannot here consider. What in this connection interests us is the fact that tattooing often constitutes a reward for martial prowess, and in such cases it seems, like scars and incisions, to have frequently represented real wounds. In fact, there is no definite distinction between scars and tattooing. Numerous instances demonstrate how successful warriors ornament themselves with tattooed emblems, more especially when they have taken life. Tattooing is applied by different peoples to the most dissimilar parts of the body, now on the forehead, now on the chest, the shoulders, the arms, or the backs of the hands and fingers; it exhibits also the greatest variation in regard to pattern.¹⁸⁹

Besides the marks of distinction above-named, others of varying kinds are found among many peoples. Among the Dyaks of Borneo a head-hunter was entitled to decorate the upper part of his ears with a pair of the canine teeth of the leopard.¹⁹⁰ The bravest of the Indians of Chile are said to have bored their lips.¹⁹¹

Among the Tapuyas of Brazil to wear long nails was a privilege of royalty and the relations of royalty as well as of those who had signalized themselves in war.¹⁹² Of detachable badges of glory the olive wreaths which among the ancient Greeks were given as prizes to the victors in the Olympic games possessed great social significance, as is evident from the ovations accorded to the victor, partly in Olympia, partly in his native land.¹⁹³ In Central Celebes the head of a hornbill fastened upon the sheath of the sword was a mark of distinction for famous head-hunters.¹⁹⁴

By means of their badges of merit and the marks upon their bodies savages understand in many cases how to characterize very precisely the deeds to which they have reference. The Sioux Indians, for instance, by means of the decorations on their moccasins are able particularly to announce that horses have been captured or enemies slain, or that the wearer has been wounded, etc.¹⁹⁵ Among the same tribe the wing feathers of the bald-headed eagle worn by warriors denote the slaughter of male enemies, and the black-eagle feathers denote the slaughter of females. If the enemy was scalped, a broad streak is painted across the feathers, if shot, a round red spot is painted upon it, if the person killed was of prominence, the feathers are dyed red.¹⁹⁶ The Karamojo in Uganda, also, by their tattoo marks denote the distinction of having killed a man or a woman in war; if a man was the victim, the conqueror is decorated by having his right shoulder scarified, if it was a woman, then his left shoulder is marked.¹⁹⁷ Very generally the number of heads taken or other meritorious actions performed, are recorded through corresponding symbols.¹⁹⁸

As trophies confer distinction upon the bearer, so the same is naturally the case as regards badges and marks of honour. Since those can only be borne by those who are privileged on account of their achievements, they may be regarded as a recognition on the part of the community of the merits of a skilled hunter or warrior. They constitute the direct reward for valiant deeds performed, and it is therefore natural that they should lead to influence. A man who is in possession of numerous badges is one "whose voice is loud in council". We see also how such tokens of glory are respected in all parts of the world. Among the Motu of New Guinea, who tattooed their braves as a decoration of honour, raids were sometimes made on small villages along the coast for the purpose simply of killing some of the inhabitants in order that the young men might come back and be tattooed. It was no uncommon thing to hear men quarrelling, and one saying to another, "Who are you that you should talk? Where are your tattoo marks? Whom have you killed that you should speak to me?"¹⁹⁹ In Atiu Island certain symbols, which were worn by warriors of great reputation, "conferred upon the wearer certain rights over

any woman he might meet, so long as he wore that symbol." ²⁰⁰ An investigator describes in the following terms how young Fijians who have killed their first man and accordingly are allowed to besmear their faces with black, are received in their native town :

"The young fellow, thus decorated, strutted proudly through the town, an object of envy to his comrades, and of tender interest to the girls of his tribe. The old men shouted approval after him, the women 'lulilu', admiringly as he passed by, and the boys looked up to him as a superior being, and longed for the time when they might emulate his deeds. This decoration might be called the Fijian Victoria Cross." ²⁰¹

Closely related to badges of merit are the honorary names which many peoples confer upon their braves after the performance of some gallant deed.²⁰² In certain cases a title of honour is given to a man in addition to the name by which he was previously known. This was the custom in Tahiti where, according to Ellis, there were a number of men celebrated for their prowess in war who were called *aito*, fighting-men or warriors. "This title, the result of achievements in battle, was highly respected, and proportionately sought after by the daring and ambitious."²⁰³ In Fiji there were four titles of honour given to the shedders of blood. *Koroi* was a man who had taken one life, *Koli* the slayer of ten, *Visa* the slayer of twenty, and *Wungka* the slayer of thirty.²⁰⁴ Titles of honour are reported also from the Malays of Sumatra ²⁰⁵ and the Masai.²⁰⁶ In the tribes of Victoria "the feat of having killed two or three emus in early life attaches to the individual a characteristic name".²⁰⁷ The Tupinamba in Brazil had the custom of assuming as many names as they had killed enemies : those who carried a large number of such names are regarded as the foremost of the nation.²⁰⁸ Those of the Indians of Nicaragua who acquitted themselves well in battle, or who had triumphed in a hand-to-hand conflict with an enemy, took the title of *Tapaliqui*.²⁰⁹ Among the Wyandot Indians "no person may change his name, but everyone—may win a second name commemorative of deed or circumstance, which is a kind of title."²¹⁰ Young men of the Creek were considered to be in a kind of disgrace until they had performed some warlike exploit that procured them a war-name.²¹¹ The Incas gave titles of honour to those who had done good service in war.²¹²

, Among other tribes a new name is given to a man on the occasion of any great achievement in place of his previous name. Thus among the Shoshones the young warrior is impatient to change the name of his childhood by some exploit of his own. Any important action, the stealing of horses, the scalping of an enemy, or the killing of a brown bear, entitles him at once to a new name, which

he then selects for himself and which is confirmed by the nation. Sometimes, however, the two names subsist together.²¹³ Natchez warriors change their names as often as they perform new exploits, and the new names have always some relation to the action by which they have merited this distinction.²¹⁴ Other Indian tribes follow a similar custom.²¹⁵

Names are in many cases regarded as closely connected with personality. Just as the young men, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter, on their initiation take a new name in order to exchange the state of childhood for that of manhood, so the name is changed for a similar reason when a young man performs his first exploit, and both of these events sometimes coincide as regards time. The youthful hero divests himself of his former nature and becomes now a man and a warrior. A similar change of personality is indicated when a man who has killed an illustrious enemy assumes that enemy's name. In this custom is presented an example of faith in transmission of properties. The opinion of Crawley is evidently well founded, viz. that a warrior who has slain a foe takes his name in order to "add to his own personality the properties of the owner, and sometimes to avoid reprisals by so doing".²¹⁶ This custom of assuming the names of slain enemies has been reported from many peoples. Among the Guaranies, for instance, who generally kill their prisoners of war, he who strikes the first blow at one of these butcheries, takes from that time the name of the victim.²¹⁷ From Fiji we learn that if a man of distinguished rank has been killed in a battle, the slayer is allowed to take his name, or he is honoured by being styled the comb, the dog, the canoe, or the fort of some great living chief.²¹⁸ In the Marshall islands, a man assumes the name of a foe killed by him in war.²¹⁹ Among the Galla it was customary for warriors to take the name of a victorious hero or that of his chief.²²⁰

The importance of names of honour and titles may be likened to the importance of trophies and marks of honour.²²¹ Among uncivilized races those who have acquired for themselves titles of honour raise themselves above the rest of the community and can more easily make their opinion carry weight. In the Malay tribes of Sumatra, for instance, the braves who have acquired certain titles of honour occupy a leading position above their countrymen and are given preference in various respects.²²²

We see how persons who are distinguished by their eminent qualities not only secure for themselves authority and influence, but also in many cases actual benefits and privileges. The brave call forth admiration and recognition, they have a voice in the council, and make themselves powerful to a certain extent even beyond the circle of their own followers. Although, for instance, one often sees that the Indians in time of war exert themselves to

the utmost to kill the bravest and hardiest of their opponents in order to free themselves from their most dangerous enemies, it not seldom happens that they will spare such an enemy on account of his heroism, or for some similar reason, when he has fallen into their hands. Instances of this kind are reported from the Blackfoot²²³ and Iroquois.²²⁴ The latter as well as the Wyandot sometimes caused their prisoners of war to run the gauntlet as a test whether they should be killed or adopted into the tribe. Those who behaved manfully were from that moment treated with affection and kindness, but those who fell from exhaustion were put to death.²²⁵ Among the Maoris it has sometimes happened that enemies taken in battle have been invested with the dignity of chieftainship, though virtually slaves to their conquerors. "This has arisen," it is explained, "from the valorous temper of the captured, who is accordingly enrolled in the tribe, some women of rank are given him in marriage, together with lands, slaves, dresses and canoes as dowries."²²⁶ There are reasons for believing that one cause of redoubtable warriors being spared from otherwise imminent death may be found in a superstitious dread of the consequences of killing them. Among the native tribes of Guatemala certain criminals were punished with slavery, unless they so distinguished themselves by war-like deeds that they were set at liberty.²²⁷

Perhaps the most usual proof that a man secures advantages in the community through his personal exploits is that such a man finds it easier than do others to obtain a wife. There are numerous examples showing that a man who distinguishes himself by his prowess as a hunter or warrior is likely to find favour in the sight of the opposite sex. He generally has no difficulty in finding a bride, while, on the other hand, inferior hunters and warriors must submit to remain single. It is a very general rule that a young man cannot marry until he has come to be an expert hunter, so as to be able to support a wife, or a brave warrior who can undertake to protect her. This gives him standing with the parents who would naturally be more willing to give their daughter to a good provider and supporter, and it ingratiates him also with the maiden of his choice, who regards him with great pride and admiration.²²⁸ The Atforas, of the island of Ceram, are said, like the Dyaks, to have

"a passion for collecting human heads, and esteem these valuables above every other booty that can be offered them. The most acceptable present that a lover can bring to his fair one is a fancy article of this kind; and if he cannot get a whole one, she will modestly content herself with a portion thereof. Five or six young men will frequently form a company to go on a head-hunt, and divide among them any specimen they may procure."²²⁹

In many tribes a young man cannot marry till he has given proof of his abilities and merit by destroying a dangerous beast of prey or by

presenting the object of his affection or her parents with some game of his own killing, from the quantity of which his qualifications as a hunter may be estimated.²³⁰ The proof may also consist in presenting the maiden with a head taken by the suitor, and in countries from which this custom is reported, such a present is often said to be the best recommendation of a lover and the most acceptable offering he can make to his fair one.²³¹ In certain cases some superstitious ideas seem to be connected with these conditions for the marriage of a young man, for it is said, for instance, of the Koyukun Indians in Yukon, that a youth " must not marry until he has killed a deer, as otherwise he will have no children ".²³²

Skill and strength are all the more obligatory conditions for marriage, as among many peoples the young men have to undergo a special trial before their wooing is accepted.²³³ This is the case, for instance, with some aboriginal tribes on the Amazon, who cause their marriageable young men to shoot with bow and arrows, and if they do not show themselves good marksmen, the girls refuse them, on the ground that they will not be able to shoot fish and game enough for the family.²³⁴ Before a man of the Macushi in British Guiana may marry he must cut down a tree in a very short space of time and similarly clear a certain piece of ground.²³⁵ Among the Ahts a man must lift and carry a large stone, in the presence of the people, before he may woo the chief's daughter,²³⁶ and among the Chavantes, if several suitors appear for the same girl, he who shows the greatest strength in carrying or throwing a heavy piece of wood wins the bride.²³⁷ Formerly, among the Eskimo about Bering Strait, when the husband and a lover quarrelled about a woman, they were disarmed by the neighbours and then settled the matter with their fists, or by wrestling, the victor in the struggle taking the woman.²³⁸ Similar customs show how marriage in many cases constitutes a reward or privilege obtainable through the exhibition of superior qualities.

Moreover, among many peoples, hunters and fishermen who by reason of their expertness are able to support a plurality of wives enjoy the privilege of polygyny. Thus among the Kutchins " a good hunter, who can accumulate beads, and a good wrestler, who can win brides by force, may have from two to five wives ".²³⁹ Among the Aleuts the best hunter or fisherman has the greatest number of wives,²⁴⁰ and among the Illinois Indians a man may have two wives if he is a good hunter.²⁴¹ Every young Bororó who wishes to marry must have killed either five peccaries or one jaguar, thus giving proof that he can support a family. If he kills five jaguars, he has the right to have two wives, although this privilege seems rarely to be used.²⁴² In Yeso a successful Aino hunter or fisher sometimes keeps two wives. If a woman finds her husband a poor Nimrod she abandons him.²⁴³ Among certain Australian

tribes the man who is most skilful is considered to be entitled to more wives than any of the others.²⁴⁴

The foregoing examples have shown how men who distinguish themselves by eminent qualities, especially as hunters and warriors, enjoy the privilege of marrying, or at least that they can more easily than others provide themselves with a wife, or even with more than one. But other advantages may also accrue to those who are renowned by reason of personal attributes of a high order. Private ownership of land is explained as in certain cases originating in the strongest and most influential men taking by their own authority for themselves and their adherents ground that was previously common property. Thus among the Ahts there is no strict notion of individual property in land, although in several instances claims to portions of the same have been put forward by individuals. A noted hunter, for instance, in a small tribe where there are few to question his right, will sometimes regard the country along one side of a stream as his own special hunting-ground ; or the land will be claimed by the head of a powerful family who will allow none but his own friends to hunt over it.²⁴⁵ A few more examples of advantages obtainable through personal qualities may be given. Among the Tencteri, who were a Teutonic tribe of excellent horsemen, horses were not, like other things, inherited by the eldest son, but by the bravest and most warlike.²⁴⁶ The winner at the Olympic games in ancient Greece, was generally, as is well known, for the remainder of his life a privileged person in his native town.²⁴⁷ Respecting the Crow Indians we read that a brave who had accomplished one or more prominent deeds of valour acquired favourable notice in the tribe. Indeed, his standing was altogether proportionate to his war record. At all tribal gatherings he was privileged to recite a list of his experiences ; he might have them painted on the windbreak of his lodge ; parents would come to him, requesting that he name their children ; ambitious youths paid him for part of his war medicine ; on every public occasion he would be selected for some post of honour, etc.²⁴⁸ Any Panama Indian wounded in battle, when fighting in presence of the chief, was made a *cabra*, a man enjoying certain lands and privileges not accorded to the common people, and his wife became an *espave* or principal woman. It is even said that " nobility is conferred on him who is wounded in war, and he is further rewarded with lands, with some distinguished woman, and with military command ; he is deemed more illustrious than others." ²⁴⁹ Throughout the world we see that kings and chieftains reward their followers in a similar manner when these have displayed bravery in battle or have otherwise distinguished themselves. This constitutes a feature in connection with the history of nobility.

In certain cases distinction is conferred upon famous warriors

or hunters after death, and the memory of their achievements is often perpetuated by means of inscriptions upon their graves or in some other way. In the Ethnographical collection in the British Museum is preserved the skull of a Blood Indian painted red as a mark of honour to the deceased. If among the Kiwai Papuans a dead man has been a great warrior who has captured many skulls, one of these may be put at his head and another at his feet in his grave, and a great harpooner is in the same manner honoured with two trumpet-shells, the instruments with which he has signalled his success when returning from the reefs.²⁵⁰ On the grave of a Dor warrior the number of enemies killed by him is carved in the trunk of a tree.²⁵¹ If a departed Afo has been a famous warrior, a picture representing him is placed on his grave and honoured as a new fetish.²⁵² According to the belief of certain peoples, besides the ancient Teutons and the Mohammedans, who are best known in this respect, sensual pleasures in the future state will be in proportion to individual merit: the brave warrior, the expert hunter, and those slain in battle in defence of their country, having the highest claims, will be the most distinguished; while those of subordinate pretensions will occupy subordinate stations.²⁵³ Aztec soldiers who fell in battle were thought to be transported at once to the region of ineffable bliss in the bright mansions of the Sun.²⁵⁴ Those Aztec warriors who died for the sake of their country, with their arms in their hands, were imagined to be the happiest souls in another life.²⁵⁵

It is evident that some trophies and ornamental badges in addition to conferring social distinction on their bearers have a magical or other specific meaning of their own which deserves attention.

We have first to note that heads or skulls are not invariably taken for the mere sake of serving as trophies. There are facts which support Crawley's suggestion that in certain cases it is believed that "the original owner of the head (or scalp) becomes the minister of his slayer; in some cases that he will serve him in the life to come".²⁵⁶

In other cases the appropriation and use of "trophies" may serve another purpose besides the honour implied, namely the transmission of properties. Such a thought seems to be implied in the custom of some Queensland tribes flaying a slain enemy and preserving the skin as a powerful "medicine". They cover their patients with it as with a blanket.²⁵⁷

Regarding trophies of the chase and of war Hirn remarks that "the chief aim of the decoration is, of course, not to make the man more beautiful and charming, but only to show off his skill and courage, and thus to inspire respect and fear. It is needless to

point out that in times of war such decorations must be of eminent advantage by inspiring their wearer with pride at the same time that they strike his enemies with terror." ²⁵⁸ Hirn also intimates how ornaments and paintings are much appreciated among the lower races as means of frightening the enemy. Warlike tribes endeavour to make themselves dreaded by their enemies by staining their bodies with ghastly colours, blood-red, azure, or black. Tattooing may, of course, often aim at the same end. To the same group belong certain descriptions of detached ornaments which are only worn in order to make the appearance more frightful. ²⁵⁹

Karsten has emphasized the magic significance of various ornaments worn by the South American Indians. Magic power is often thought to be seated in animals, and naturally the power is located particularly in those parts of the animal's body where the vital power is concentrated, above all the skin, the claws, and the teeth. In using such ornaments as marks of distinction, the Indian, at the same time, believes that he can enhance his own power by the power inherent in the various objects such as the skin and teeth. The head-ornaments of eagle feathers worn formerly by the Indian chiefs in North America, evidently had a similar significance. ²⁶⁰

The hair is, as it were, one of the seats of the spirit or soul, so also the whole head. To possess a lock of a person's hair is the same thing as to possess his soul; to take the scalp of a man is to obtain possession of his spirit. There exists the idea that the scalp-lock is identical with the entire spirit. Nails partake of the same "sacred" nature as the hair, the whole skin the same. The spirit or soul of the killed enemy is collected in the whole head, but the hairy surface, as it were, is the cream of the thing, and particularly saturated with spiritual power. ²⁶¹

Feather and other ornaments, besides serving as personal ornaments, have importance as amulets. All of them serve the purpose of conjuring the evil spirits and counteracting their malignant influences. Feathers and plumes, according to the Indian idea, not only afford an efficacious protection against evil spirits but are powerful means whereby men can conjure and exorcize them. The magical power ascribed to feathers depends on a very natural consideration: the feathers are the hair of the bird and they have the same magical power as the human hair. The value of feathers of birds and teeth of animals depends on the fact that they are supposed to convey to the wearer the spiritual strength and qualities of the animals to which they have belonged. ²⁶²

The use of ear-, lip-, and nose-ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, etc., essentially depends on the same magical ideas. It is particularly important to protect those parts of the face and head where there seems to be a natural opening which may serve as an entrance for the mysterious intruders. These critical parts are, therefore,

guarded by means of things which have the character of magical charms.²⁶³

To a primitive mind the idea is quite natural that the strength of a ferocious beast is especially concentrated in its teeth and claws with which it tears its victim to pieces. What has been said of the human hair and nails holds true of the claws and teeth of animals : in these parts of the beast, according to the Indian idea, the soul or spirit of the animal is present in the most real sense. Human teeth, too, have for the same reason been objects of superstitious practices.²⁶⁴

Regarding names and their magical meaning, cf. p. 56.

In the same way as the possession of eminent qualities is calculated to raise one man above his surroundings, so qualities of a contemptible nature sink another to an inferior station. Here, too, we see an example of social inequality as a result of personal conditions. Every elevation of an individual presupposes that others become subordinate to him, but despicable qualities may work direct degradation. With reference to the Andaman islanders Radcliffe Brown states that there is a number of actions and qualities which lower a man to a position of inferiority in the camp and make him entirely lose the esteem of his fellows. Such are laziness, marital unfaithfulness, lack of respect to others and particularly to elders, meanness or niggardliness, and bad temper.²⁶⁵

Just as courage is universally respected, so cowardice is despised among most peoples. This contempt sometimes grows to such a pitch that a man who fails to satisfy the demands of the tribe in respect of courage is treated almost as an outcast. The greatest disgrace that could befall a Teuton was to have abandoned his shield in battle. A person branded with this ignominy was not permitted to join their religious rites, or enter their assemblies ; so that many after escaping from battle put an end to their infamy by the halter.²⁶⁶ When Aristodemos, who saved his life at Thermopylai, returned to Sparta, no one would give him light for a fire or speak with him, and he suffered the shame of being called Aristodemos the coward.²⁶⁷ Among the Indians of Nicaragua cowards were disarmed and turned out of the army.²⁶⁸ A coward among the Crow Indians was the object of supreme contempt ; he was jeered at by his joking relatives and compared with a menstruating woman.²⁶⁹ In Nias those who showed pusillanimity several times in succession were with wife and children expelled from the community.²⁷⁰ A man of the Tuareg never dared to reappear among his fellow-tribesmen, if he had deserted them in the fight.²⁷¹ We are told that a Galla, who has not killed anyone, is despised by all his acquaintances, and his wife still more so ;

when she goes to get wood or to draw water, the wife of a man who has killed someone lies in wait for her by the side of her house, and takes her load from her by force, without her daring either to defend herself or even to cry for help; on the contrary, she endeavours to revenge herself on her husband, and he can have no peace in his house till he brings reliable evidence that he has killed a man.²⁷² The holiest duty an Australian native is called upon to perform is that of avenging the death of his nearest relation. But if there be any hesitation on his part, he is, so to say, boycotted by all. His wives will have nothing to say to him, the old women rail at him, and the girls will not even bestow a glance upon him.²⁷³

We notice that the sinking in social position through personal qualities comes to pass in a manner analogous to elevation in the same. Thus we find that ignominious names or terms are given to those who are considered to have deserved them. For instance, those among the Creek Indians who have not distinguished themselves in war and consequently have no name of honour are styled "old women", which is the greatest term of reproach that can be used to them. Another term, *Esté dogo*, i.e. "You are nobody", is also a very offensive expression, in comparison with which it is a common and harmless invective to say "You are a liar"; but to use either of the other two expressions would at once cause a quarrel.²⁷⁴

More generally outward marks and signs of ignominy seem to be used, and in many cases they originate from punishments inflicted upon offenders. In Nicaragua a thief had his hair cut off, and became a slave to the person that he had robbed.²⁷⁵ Among the Lillooet Indians who cut the hair of slaves, the husband of a woman who had committed adultery sometimes cut one side of her hair close to the scalp as a punishment.²⁷⁶ The ancient Mexicans used to shave a drunkard if he was of low caste, and this is said to have been a punishment to which they were very sensitive. Among the same people he who told a lie to the special prejudice of another, had a part of his lip cut off, and sometimes his ears.²⁷⁷ In Honduras the punishment of a thief was to take away what he had of his own, and if the theft was very great, they cut off his ears and hands.²⁷⁸ A Chibcha Indian who showed cowardice in war was dressed in woman's clothes, and had to do woman's work.²⁷⁹

Spencer has shown that the custom of mutilating prisoners and slaves has in many cases been a sequence to trophy-taking from the slain.²⁸⁰ Thus, among the Ioway and other Indians, living prisoners are sometimes scalped and may occasionally survive, but with the signal disgrace of having lost a patch of the skin and hair from the top of their heads.²⁸¹

In like manner as the honour of the brave is reflected in the blissful existence they are believed to lead after death, so the dishonour and punishment of the coward is thought to continue

after death. The Fijians imagined that in spirit-land the man whose club had no blood-stain on it was condemned to employ himself and the club in pounding a heap of filth to everlasting times.²⁸²

Incompetent persons and such as are unable to support themselves sink to a despised group. Among the Tuscarora in North Carolina those who from want of capacity or deficiency of force of character were cowardly and lazy, having no claim to respect and consideration as hunters and warriors, occupied an inferior social position in the community. They were compelled to perform all the hard labour and attend to the common drudgeries of life.²⁸³ In Greenland a poor wretch that cannot catch seals is despised to the last degree, and is obliged to subsist on women's diet and sometimes to serve the other men like a handmaid.²⁸⁴ Among the Central Eskimo cripples are found in this position.²⁸⁵ Among certain tribes of the Malays a mischief-maker or worthless person in sometimes expelled by his family, and if he is not disposed to migrate there is nothing for him to do but to take service with some one of the chiefs to whom he is related.²⁸⁶

Infraction of the code in regard to an unmarried girl was among the Bakoko in Uganda one of the most heinous crimes known to their law. While the man was fined, the girl had to leave her home, and for ever remained an outcast.²⁸⁷ In a similar case a girl among the Kalmouks of the Altai is no longer regarded by her father as his daughter, but is obliged to do all the common work like a servant.²⁸⁸

The precedence which a man wins by his personal exploits and success is extended originally to himself alone. A social inequality which is founded upon personal conditions does not at first continue through several generations. In all communities are found individuals or groups of individuals who by their personal superiority raise themselves above the rest of the population, while others take a lower stand on account of their inferior qualities; but these strata of the population are so varying that they cannot be termed classes. One cannot fail, however, to notice how inequalities like these often include a tendency to hereditariness, and thus become more lasting. It is evident that social inequality on the ground of personal circumstances has in many cases developed into enduring class inequality. The qualifications which elevate an individual above his surroundings may be inherent characteristics of his kin and thus make their influence felt in successive generations. Consequently, the position to which such a family or group attains would have a more durable basis in its inborn supremacy which is not only apt to maintain any ascendance but also to continue the process of differentiation and elevation. In addition family-renown means a more lasting acknowledgment on the part of the community. The descendant of a celebrated family, even if he himself is not superior to his fellows,

has at the outset a certain advantage in the consideration which his kin enjoys.

The importance attached by uncivilized peoples to heredity as contributing to a man's repute varies very considerably. In the lowest stage, and in general among peoples with a scarcely developed class-system, the consideration paid to heredity is generally slight, although it nevertheless occurs to a certain extent. But the more class inequality has developed, so much the greater is the feeling for birth. Concerning the Dyaks we are informed that hereditary rank is very little regarded in comparison with actual superiority. Should a brave warrior have a valiant son, the latter is looked upon with the more respect for the sake of his father's glory, but the unworthy scion of ten renowned generations will be readily ousted in favour of a low-born hero.²⁸⁹ In Victoria an aboriginal must as a rule steal or buy a wife, but if he is the offspring of a distinguished man, a girl may have been promised to him.²⁹⁰ Among certain Indian tribes like the Dacotah,²⁹¹ the Haidah,²⁹² and Northern Columbians²⁹³ it is customary for the rank of a brave or soldier to descend by inheritance, but this position is greatly dependent on personal qualities. Birth made a distinction among the Abipones, but was not of itself a sufficient qualification to admit a man to the rank of a leader.²⁹⁴ Although in principle the members of an Arab tribe are all equal, descent from the family of the Prophet or from certain well-known heroes confers a privileged rank.²⁹⁵

Other tribes, again, furnish examples of far more decided hereditariness in regard to the advantages won by a man's forefathers. Among the Panama Indians, as we have seen, nobility is conferred upon those wounded in battle, they are richly rewarded, and the son of such a father, following the profession of arms, may inherit all his honours.²⁹⁶ The natives of Central Africa pay great respect to the oldest members of important families, "on account of their years, but more from a certain respect for 'family' which the African has very strongly."²⁹⁷ A striking illustration of the pride with which the Hawaiians regard illustrious descent is given by Ellis in describing the single combats which were not unusual in the wars of these natives :

"There the challenger, when he beheld his antagonist approaching, would exclaim, 'who are you, that come to contend with me? I am so-and-so, who slew such a one, whose name is famous to the farthest of these islands; the son of such a one, who achieved such an action; are you to come to add to our fame?' etc. The other would answer, 'I am such a one, the son of so-and-so, who performed such-and-such an action, celebrated in every island.'" ²⁹⁸

An instance of respect for birth is the fact that among many peoples illegitimate children are not acknowledged as on the same

level with others, but occupy a despised position.²⁹⁹ We perceive in this a circumstance which has contributed to the origin of classes. Concerning the Karok Indians of California we learn, notwithstanding the vicious system of intercourse among the young, "bastards are universally shunned and despised. They and the children for whose mothers no money was paid—who are illegitimate in fact, according to Karok ideas—constitute a class of social outcasts, Indian pariahs, who can intermarry only among themselves."³⁰⁰ Among the Hupa, too, the lot of a "bastard" is a hard one. He is called "slave" or "ward". As soon as the child is old enough it is taken from the mother and becomes the property of some one of her male relatives. Though not condemned to absolute slavery, the bastard has no privileges in the family. All his earnings go to his patron, and he can marry only in his own class. He is subject to abuse and contumely.³⁰¹ Among the Mongols, who are by custom allowed to have concubines living together with their legal wives, children by the former are not considered legitimate and do not inherit anything from their father.³⁰² Although in Athens, after office was open to all classes, no difference was made between citizens as regards constitutional law, yet as regards civil law children born out of wedlock stood lower than those who were legitimate.³⁰³

A similar regard for birth explains the difference made by many peoples between "old" and "new" families, of which the latter are in most cases socially inferior to the former. The "new" families are generally such as have settled later and have been received into the community without being given the same privileges as are enjoyed by the original citizens. Among the Algonquis the lowest class were those who did not belong to the tribal community by right of birth, but were either strangers themselves or descendants of aliens. Their condition, in some respects, resembled that of slaves. They could claim no property in the land, and were more or less subject to the orders of the born natives.³⁰⁴ In Nicaragua several languages were formerly spoken, the *Cholotecan* being the ancient and original, "and therefore," Herrera says, "those that spoke it held the Estates, and had the Cacao Nuts, which were the Money and Wealth of the Country."³⁰⁵ The Tartars of the Caucasus have an hereditary nobility, entitled *Begs*, and it is said that the common people have a great veneration for the *old Beg* families, which feeling does not at all extend to the *new Begs*.³⁰⁶ In ancient Athens free people who settled there without enjoying the rights of citizenship were obliged to choose for themselves a *Prostates* or patron, to whom they probably were under certain obligations of service. Those who had no patron were liable to be sold as slaves. Among the citizens again there was distinction made between the new and the old. The privileges of the former were in the first generation and, at an earlier period in the second generation also, to some extent curtailed.³⁰⁷

Similar conditions prevailed in Rome. The foreigner, if he had not made submission to a Roman patron and thus lived as a client, was beyond the pale of the law both in person and in property.³⁰⁸ Among the Teutons foreigners who had immigrated lost freedom if they remained longer than a year in the same place,³⁰⁹ and medieval Europe furnishes similar instances.³¹⁰

We see thus that the privileges that an individual has acquired by his personal qualities may become through the tendency to hereditariness in a greater or less degree confirmed to his descendants. Respect for the deeds performed by a man's forefathers is the first step in the direction of hereditary rank, and from this regard for known facts has developed an acknowledgment of the superiority and pre-eminence of certain families. With the existence of such hereditariness social classes have already come into existence, and that same hereditariness is a factor which more and more tends to separate the different classes from each other. In conjunction with this may be remarked several co-operating agencies, as class endogamy and certain economic, political, and religious conditions which we have to examine in connection with the origin of nobility.

CHAPTER IV

WEALTH AS INFLUENCING SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

In Chapter I we have seen that the equality of rank prevailing in the lowest stages of culture is accompanied by equal distribution of property. The very simple varieties of possession existing among undeveloped tribes do not produce any appreciable difference as regards wealth. But as soon as conditions for the accumulation of individual fortune are present we notice the tendency to unequal distribution of property and, in connection with it, inequality, i.e. incipient differentiation into classes.

It is in conjunction with the dissimilarity of individual endowments that inequality of wealth has conduced to the rise of social differentiation. As a matter of course the difference as regards property in many cases goes hand in hand with difference in personal qualities. A skilful hunter or fisher, or a victorious warrior, has naturally a better prospect of acquiring a fortune than one who is inferior to him in these respects. But property has at the same time given to social differentiation a stamp of its own in distinction from that depending on purely personal traits of character, and we have therefore specially to consider its influence upon the formation of classes. First of all we observe that difference in property renders the grouping of classes far more permanent than would be the case under the influence of personal superiority or inferiority alone.

The importance of wealth as contributing to the origin of ranks has been commented on in literature. In his *Politics* Aristotle wrote, "Those who have too much of the goods of fortune, strength, wealth, friends and the like, are neither willing nor able to submit to authority. . . . On the other hand, the very poor, who are in the opposite extreme, are too degraded. So that one class cannot obey and can only rule despotically; the other knows not to command and must be ruled like slaves. Thus arises a city, not of freemen, but of masters and slaves, the one despising, the other envying."¹ Grosse says, "While among the lower hunting peoples every man has as little property and as many rights as another, among the higher hunting peoples a differentiation of rank and power has been developed, together with inequality of possession."² According to Letourneau, as soon as values existed, equality vanished, and there were rich and poor. Capital was transmitted from parents to children, sometimes from uncle to nephew; "hence arose the institution of hereditary castes, and the individual separated his private interests more and more from those of the community."³

Among most peoples there is an evident consciousness that the possession of wealth constitutes a distinction between different sections of the population. This becomes clear, for instance, from their proverbs. Thus the Badaga of the Neilgherry Hills say, "To a rich man even the wild elephant makes obeisance; but against the poor the little ant lifts a stone," and again, "A poor man has no friends."⁴ The Ewe-speaking negroes express it, "Poor and rich do not go together."⁵ Of a very similar character are numerous proverbs of European peoples. The Guanches of Teneriffe have the following tradition of the origin of social classes: "At the beginning of the world God created a certain number of men and women, and gave to them the flocks that were necessary for their subsistence. Afterwards he created some others, to whom he gave nothing. When they demanded their share, God said to them, 'Serve the others, and they will give you what you need.' This was the origin of master and servants—in other words of nobles and common people."⁶

Just as in the earliest stages of social differentiation we see that eminent personal qualities confer precedence, so we find that wealth is accompanied by respect and influence in the community. Of the almost countless instances of this we will name a few. "There is no superiority of one person over another among the Patagonians, but those who have more property than others, or who are related to the chief, have influence over the rest, although they are not considered to be their superiors."⁷ Among the classless tribes of West Washington and North-West Oregon "wealth gives a certain power . . . and influence is purchased by its lavish distribution".⁸ The Californian and Columbian Indians consider that "in almost all affairs of life it is the man of wealth who is the one of importance," social position depending upon the possession of riches.⁹ Similar statements have been made of the Eskimo of Alaska¹⁰ and the Koryak.¹¹ Among the Balante and other tribes of West Africa "power, or rather wealth, makes the law, for it is the one with the greatest number of captives who enforces his will".¹² The family chiefs of the Danakil occupy no privileged position, if not distinguished through the possession of rich herds.¹³ Although there is a perfect social equality among the Nicobarese, the rich are respected and have some degree of authority.¹⁴ In certain parts of New Guinea a man of importance would naturally be in the way of acquiring more wealth than other men, "and this would tend to increase his power and his influence."¹⁵ Among the New Caledonians the reputation of a man of noble birth depends on the extent of the cultivated land owned by him, and a man is indicated as a great chief if he has many pieces of ground under cultivation and possesses large plantations of coco-nut.¹⁶ It is reported from certain tribes of Madagascar that the punishment of criminals is generally heavier in the case of a poor offender than a rich¹⁷ (cf. Chapter XVI).

Explorers have remarked that it is not always wealth by itself which brings consideration and authority, but rather liberality and hospitality, though for the development of these virtues on a larger scale wealth is a necessity. Hospitality and generosity are in general highly valued among most peoples, and he who is always ready to entertain his friends or to bestow gifts upon them easily acquires an influential position. There seems to be every reason to look upon such displays of liberality bestowed on fellow-tribesmen as a developed form of the practice of distributing game and agricultural produce which are so common among the lower races and of which we have given certain instances in Chapter I.¹⁸ Possession of wealth, we read concerning certain Indian tribes, is considered honourable, and it is the endeavour of each Indian to acquire a fortune. But it is not so much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivities which make wealth a desirable object to the Indian. The more property a man distributes at these festivals or potlatches, as they are called, the higher he rises in social estimation.¹⁹ Certain other qualities were prized by the Crow, not as substitutes for valour but as additional embellishments of the warrior's character. Foremost among these was liberality, and there was corresponding contempt for the miser.²⁰ The significance of the "potlatch" is also described by Tozzer with reference to the Haida and Tlinkit Indians.²¹ The ability to give potlatches and to return at a premium the gifts bestowed by others determines the status of a Lummi Indian. The *siem* or rich man, of whom there are a few in every village, is not so much one who hoards his riches, but rather one who gives them away wisely by choosing men as recipients who will return them to him with liberal additions.²² In the coast tribes of British Columbia "at the feasts the chiefs and heads of families give away and destroy a great deal of property; this raises them greatly in the estimation of their own and the people of the other tribes summoned to the feast."²³ A Mandan Indian may distinguish himself through innumerable acts of valour, but if he does not distribute presents to his tribesmen they will not pay him respect.²⁴ Among the Lillooet Indians,²⁵ the Omaha,²⁶ and the Taculli²⁷ the term "chief" is also applied to men who have gained influence by the bestowal of gifts and the frequent giving of feasts. The Masai have a rank of honour called the *Gaminini*, to be chosen member of which they must frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.²⁸ Wealth alone does not give a Bedouin any importance among his people. A poor man, if he be hospitable and liberal according to his means, obtains infinitely more consideration and influence among his tribe than an avaricious and wealthy miser, who receives a guest with coldness, and allows his poor friends to starve.²⁹

As special names and badges are conferred upon those who differ from others through their personal superiority, so they are often

bestowed on those who differ in point of wealth. The Somali, for instance, distinguish persons in different degrees of affluence by different names, through which they are divided into groups of varying consideration. He who attracts notice by riches or by a corresponding number of sacrifices is reckoned among the *salâthin* or is called a *sirkal*, which has the same meaning as "gentleman". Men who are obliged to work for their daily bread are called *dshingal*, and those who are often without means of support are *dagag*, that is, beggars. The lowest class of all is the *barkelâ*, which means "without ears", for among this people the possession of the ears denotes consequence.³⁰ With each step in rank that a man of the Ahts acquires by giving away property to his countrymen there is usually a change of name, "and thus bearing different names, the industrious or acquisitive native may rise from one honour to another, till finally he reaches a high position."³¹

We generally hear that the rich are known from the poor by their equipment and attire, sometimes also by their distinctive marks and badges. It is only natural that the dress of the rich should be more costly than that of the poor, more complete, of better material, more richly ornamented, etc. As an example we may quote how in certain districts of Guinea very poor people and slaves use no other wearing apparel than the skins of goats, sheep, monkeys, or other animals, fastened at the waist by a string; and these being brought between the legs, are tied to the band behind. The more respectable part of the community in Houssa wear very large full robes and trousers, made of extremely narrow country cloth, but beautifully dyed, and a cap of white cotton.³² All Bedouin women, it is said, "are equally fond of ear-rings, nose-rings, and bracelets. The poor have their ornaments made of horn, some wear common glass beads; but the richer use articles of silver, amber, coral, or mother-of-pearl."³³ Among the Lillooet Indians the wealthiest men "wore robes of unsmoked buckskin elaborately painted with pictures of animals, birds, etc., in red and brown. Others used marmot-skin robes, the hair side worn next to the body, and the outside painted with pictures in red, white, and yellow. . . . The poorest people wore robes woven of sagebrush-bark or of dry willow-bark shredded and woven, after being mixed with down and short feathers of duck and grouse."³⁴ The Masai have a highly valued armlet called *ol-masangus*, which no elder may wear unless he has large herds of cattle and many children. He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this armlet as a sign of his wealth.³⁵ As the necklaces of grizzly-bear claws worn by the Dakota are costly, they signify wealth without being symbols of chieftainship.³⁶ We are told that among the Gold Coast natives rich people have the privilege of using ivory blowing-horns and of carrying two shields, a favour not allowed to any one who has not qualified

himself by giving feasts to his tribesmen. They owe their advance only to themselves and their money, this honour being always open to those who can bear the expense.³⁷

Wealth enables the possessor to acquire all kinds of advantages which the poor must do without and constitutes therefore in itself a source of new distinctions. One factor that accompanies riches, and which at least to a certain extent is itself a source of wealth, is polygyny. Westermarck has shown how this form of wedlock in the countries where it exists is especially a prerogative of wealth and rank. There are in fact innumerable instances to prove that the great majority of those who have several wives and concubines are the rich and renowned, in certain cases also the aged, while the poor must be content with one wife or even none at all.³⁸ The reason why the poor man cannot possess several wives is that he is not able to pay the purchase-money for them,³⁹ that he cannot maintain a number of wives,⁴⁰ occasionally also that he is without means to defray the wedding expenses, or something of the kind.⁴¹

Although polygyny presupposes wealth, we see on the other hand how a number of wives can in various ways contribute to a man's opulence and social position. Westermarck gives different reasons why a man may desire to possess more than one wife.⁴² In the first place we have to consider that a plurality of wives means so many more labourers. An Indian with one wife only, it is stated regarding the Asiniboin tribe of the Dakota, "cannot amass property, as the wife is constantly occupied in household labours, and has no time for preparing skins for trading." A plurality of wives is therefore required by a good hunter.⁴³ The more wives a man has, the more and larger fields he can cultivate, the more robes and furs they can tan for him, and the better they can look after the household.⁴⁴ Students of native tribes have expressed the opinion that polygyny alone makes it possible for a man to practice hospitality on a large scale and to distribute presents as required by custom, and that a plurality of wives therefore lays the foundation of his repute and fame.⁴⁵

The dowry of the wives directly contributes to the wealth of the family.⁴⁶ Children, also, when grown up, add to the riches of their father through their labour and give him prominence and respectability in society,⁴⁷ and therefore a numerous family is greatly coveted among many peoples. It is recorded that the more children, especially male children, a Chinese has, the more he is revered, a large family of sons being regarded as a mark of divine favour.⁴⁸ Daughters bring their father wealth and influence through the purchase-money given for them and through the number of new relations added to the family when they are married. Thus, for example, "the more daughters a Sotho has, the more cattle he will some time get."⁴⁹ The headmen among the North-West Australians are said to possess a considerable amount of authority "having many wives and the

power of giving women away to be wives of others".⁵⁰ The more wives a Blackfoot Indian had, the richer he was. "He could always find young men to hunt for him."⁵¹ We even learn that among the Aleuts the office of chief was generally conferred on him who was most remarkable for his personal qualities, or who possessed great influence by the number of his friends. "Hence the person who had the largest family would generally be chosen."⁵²

"If you have no brothers, do not go to a place of quarrels," says a proverb of the Badaga,⁵³ and as a matter of fact we see how on all occasions of life reliable supporters are of great consequence for a man among barbarous races. The possession of several wives will connect a man with other families of his own or alien tribes. We not only learn that a man who has a number of wives can entertain a considerable number of guests, which is a sign of greatness,⁵⁴ but also that the special interest of enriching oneself and having many relations is one of the chief purposes of polygyny.⁵⁵ "To have a father-in-law in Africa," an early explorer states, "means to have a friend in need. . . . The more wives a man has, the more power he gains in this way, and women are chiefly valuable because by their means amicable and commercial relations are cultivated and subsist between the tribes."⁵⁶ Intermarriage with other tribes is sought by the higher classes of the Ahts to strengthen the foreign connections of their own tribe, while the poorer orders are unable to do otherwise than marry among their own people.⁵⁷

With regard to all this the fact will be easily accounted for that polygyny, wherever it exists, is highly respected and leads to social importance and power.⁵⁸ As Westermarck has pointed out, statements such as "a man's greatness is ever proportionate to the number of his wives", or "polygyny is held to be the test of his wealth and consequence", are often met with in descriptions of native tribes.⁵⁹ On the other hand we see that men who have not been able to acquire even one wife stand low in popular estimation. A poor Kafir, for instance, without a wife, is despised and has no voice in the Kraal.⁶⁰ In Fiji, and throughout the Pacific generally, "a man is considered miserable indeed who has no wife."⁶¹ Among the Cherkesses of the Caucasus celibacy is thought dishonourable; whoever remains single in mature age is scornfully treated by his fellow-tribesmen.⁶² The Tupi of Brazil did not suffer anyone to participate in the drinking-feast while he remained single.⁶³ Among the Kiwai Papuans widowers who have not married again and therefore, have no one to help them in their work, belong to the group of individuals looked down upon.⁶⁴

In connection with polygyny we have to note a circumstance which in a way represents a form of inequality and differentiation, namely the mutual position of the wives in a polygynous family. In most cases the wives are not on a footing of equality, but the one

first married generally holds a certain precedence and enjoys privileges of her own. Among the Blackfoot Indians, for instance, the first woman a man marries is called his "sits-beside-him" wife. She is invested with authority over the other wives and does little except to direct the others in their work, and look after the comfort of her husband. Her place in the lodge is on his right-hand side, while the others have their places or seats near the door-way. This wife is even allowed at informal gatherings to take a whiff at the pipe, as it is passed around the circle, and to participate in the conversation.⁶⁵ In Liberia the first wife of a chief, the so-called *head-woman*, is alone to some extent on a par with him. She is the manageress of all domestic affairs, she exercises a certain supervision over the other wives of her husband, and often lends him a hand even in political matters, if she is not the actual ruler, which also happens.⁶⁶ Similar statements are made of the first wife of chiefs among the Slave Coast natives⁶⁷ and the Bakoko.⁶⁸ In polygynous Hottentot families the first wife married was the chief wife and took unlimited precedence. Her hut was regarded as the principal hut of the family, visiting friends off-saddled in front of it, and in it the husband received his guests. Her children were better clothed than, and given precedence to, those of the other wives, and received appreciably more of the paternal inheritance.⁶⁹ According to South African native law a husband of the middle class does not nominate the position in the family of his wives, but their rank and status follows in the order of their priority in marriage. It is only the chiefs who exercise the right of nominating the rank of their wives, and even among them there seems to be a diversity of practice in this respect. In the case of the common people in the Cape Province it is the rule that the first wife married is the Great wife.⁷⁰ It is said to be every Baluba girl's ambition to be a first wife, because she will occupy in her husband's household a prominent position from which nobody can displace her.⁷¹

Among the Kiwai Papuans, although in families with several wives the last wife may naturally receive a greater share of the husband's more ardent affection, the first one, nevertheless, maintains a certain general precedence. The husband is supposed to let her know before he marries again; from her, primarily, he receives the magical medicines of which women are the source (and which almost exclusively have a sexual character), and he constantly returns to her after associating with any of the others in order to keep the "proper road" open to those valuable medicines. Often the husband consults her alone in the various matters concerning the family, the others merely being informed of what has been decided. The first wife also directs the others in their work and can send them on errands.⁷² With regard to the Siamese and certain other nations we learn that the legitimate wife is considered and treated as the mother of all the children of her husband's other wives or concubines, and as

such receives their duty and respects.⁷³ In China, the first wife, who generally was of higher rank than the others, is invested with a certain amount of power over the others, and assigns to them their various domestic duties. Indeed, it is not usual for second or third wives to sit in her presence, without having first obtained her permission to do so. Upon the first wife of a Chinese gentleman of rank is bestowed a title which corresponds to that of her husband. It is customary for such ladies, when paying visits, to be escorted through the streets by a retinue equal in number to that to which their husbands are entitled. In the case of the demise of a first wife, the second does not succeed to her position.⁷⁴

Among the Maori the first wife was generally a lady of rank and always viewed as the head, however many there might be, and of whatever rank ; some were regarded as only servile ones.⁷⁵ One wife only, of appropriate rank, was by the Maori regarded as the head-wife, the others being scarcely more than her maids. The same is said regarding polygynous marriages in Tahiti and Fiji.⁷⁶ Certain peoples of the Indian Archipelago always regard the wife of the first marriage as the real mistress of the family, and the rest often little better than her handmaids. No man will give his daughter for a second or third wife to a man of his own rank, so that, generally, no wife but the first is of equal rank with the husband.⁷⁷ There are many additional instances showing the precedence of the first wife in polygynous families.⁷⁸

We have seen how the different degrees of wealth tend to divide rich and poor from each other into separate orders, and how the advantages that property brings with it are calculated to maintain and increase this division. Wealth is in point of fact a more important factor, with regard to the rise of classes, than merely personal qualities, for the reason that it preserves in a higher degree than these to coming generations the position attained by a preceding one. Although wealth by no means forms an unchangeable tenure, it constitutes a far more stable prerogative, and when certain families have for several generations maintained the same precedence of all others, the importance which always accompanies tradition gains in validity.⁷⁹

To the retaining of property within a certain class the custom contributes of which we hear from various uncivilized peoples, that rich persons in general marry only the rich, and that consequently the poor can wed within their own class only. Emin Pasha says with reference to the Dinka in Central Africa, " rich people will only give their daughters in marriage to men who possess cattle, and so they form a kind of clan bound together both by relationship and similarity of interests, to aid each other in case of any attack."⁸⁰ Concerning the Koryaks we read, that " in their marriages the rich match with

the rich and the poor with the poor, with little regard to intellect and beauty".⁸¹ In this custom we see an important feature of class-endogamy which, as is well known, has prevailed and prevails in many societies which are divided into separate classes or ranks.

Although many peoples, even in a somewhat low stage of development, make a distinction between nobility and wealth, we see, on the other hand, that these advantages are generally found existing side by side. It is noticeable that wealth in many cases constitutes a condition for nobility and is sometimes even rated higher than noble descent. We are informed, for instance, that among the negroes on the Gold Coast "the richest man is the most honoured, without the least regard to nobility".⁸² The village chiefs of the tribes of Equatorial Africa are said to be venerated because they are rich and of advanced age.⁸³ Respecting the Indian tribes of Oregon we are told that "generosity and wealth are two qualifications that give most consequence"; after these comes noble blood.⁸⁴ And among the Ahts inherited rank, unless accompanied with wealth, is a poor possession.⁸⁵ A Persian who acquires wealth is said in certain cases to be able to assume their title of nobility, *Chan*, but if a noble family becomes poor the title is forfeited, although some occasionally retain it even in the most humble positions.⁸⁶ Among the Tlinkit nobility is hereditary, but all the same it depends entirely upon wealth.⁸⁷

How nearly riches and nobility are allied is demonstrated by the fact that among several peoples a considerable hereditary property is said to be the only condition for the attainment of a position of nobility. Paulitschke writes concerning the Gallas that if a fairly large property is retained in a native family, and if to this is added the distinction of being chosen *abba boku*, or one of the king's confidential men, a rank of nobility is therewith of itself acquired for that family.⁸⁸

Among certain West African natives the rank of a cabboccer or chief "appears open to any one possessed of riches, who has the ambition to aspire to it".⁸⁹ The Kirghize are said to regard anybody who acquires wealth as being also noble.⁹⁰ Certain families of the Tlinkit occupy a higher rank than the others and constitute a kind of nobility, a precedence, however, which is less due to descent than to hereditary property.⁹¹

Analogous to the elevation of the rich into a privileged rank we notice the sinking of the poor and destitute to a subordinate position where they form a menial and dependent group. Certain cases of the downward segregation of an economic group offer some of the best instances of a differentiation arising from different degrees of wealth. The rich Mongols, for instance, who possess numerous flocks and herds require a great number of shepherds and herdsmen to look after them, a service which is only undertaken by the poorest

and most defenceless natives, and even by them only in cases of urgent necessity.⁹² When rich Kirghiz cannot otherwise procure herdsmen they bestow a number of cattle upon poor people who in return tend with them the cattle of their benefactors.⁹³ In later times, it is said of the same people, the number of the population has greatly increased, "and the numerous poor have been obliged to go into the service of the rich. Their position is equivalent to one of veritable bondage. They serve without receiving any salary, for the nourishment obtained alone."⁹⁴ The dependent class in Lower Congo "consists of poor free people who attach themselves to the strong man for protection, and in return acknowledge his authority. It is necessary to belong in some form to some man of influence and consideration, or the individual is open to depredation on all sides and obtains the support of none."⁹⁵ According to Fritsch the wealthy among all south African natives exercise a tyrannical influence over the poor who for their existence submit to a state of dependence.⁹⁶ Among the Central Eskimo unmarried men without any relations, cripples and those who have lost their sledges and dogs, undertake all sorts of minor occupations and may almost be considered as servants, although their position is a voluntary one.⁹⁷ The Charruas Indians are all equal, but it sometimes happens that some old woman who has no means of subsistence assists in various domestic and other work like a servant.⁹⁸ In the Blackfoot camps there were always a number of orphan boys, "who became the servants of wealthy men for a consideration; that is, they looked after their patron's horses and hunted, and in return they were provided with suitable food and clothing."⁹⁹ When, among the Todas, children have to pay the debts of their father, "they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense."¹⁰⁰ If a Kingsmill Islander has several children equal in rank, the eldest inherits twice as much land as the others or even the whole, and is obliged to support his brothers and sisters, who sink thus to a certain state of dependence.¹⁰¹

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADES

The various circumstances which are the cause of class distinctions have in general not worked isolated from one another. As we have stated before, varying degrees of personal ability and economic conditions have evidently in many cases co-operated in raising or lowering one group of the members of a community in relation to another. Other factors have contributed to the rise of class-inequality, and one such has been the development of trades and handicrafts. All concomitant agencies represent varying aspects of the same fact : that the best equipped—in whatsoever respects—is the one who gains the greatest advantage over his less well-equipped neighbour.

Division of labour brings with it a tendency to cause different groups of the population in some degree to separate from each other. And the preference which from various causes is given to one or the other calling has contributed to set up a scale of rank with regard to different categories of craftsmen. In general we find how different occupations characterize the different social strata in all stages.

In the lowest order of human communities there is no real division of labour except that which exists between the sexes.¹ Each household has to meet all economic and industrial requirements of its members with its own labour. One man may be more skilful than another in some one kind of work and so gain an advantage, but as a rule every man does for himself what he requires, and his only helper is the woman. "Each one," it is said of the Bodo and Dhimal people, "builds and furnishes his own house, makes the wooden implements he requires, and is his own barber, or his neighbour for him, and he for his neighbour. . . . His wife spins, weaves, and dyes the clothes of the family, and brews the beer which all members of it freely consume. Thus, all manufactures are domestic, and all arts."² Within the local group of the Andaman Islanders there is no such thing as division of labour, save between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, harpoon turtle, and to catch fish, cut a canoe, and to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage.³ Among the Australian natives it is the same. "Each of the principal men and priests seeks

for his food and administers to his wants (with such help as he gets from his wives), and has no one whom he can call servant." ⁴ Nor have the Nicobarese any actual division of labour, but all assist in whatever has to be done, from their earliest years. ⁵ Analogous reports come from numerous other uncivilized peoples. ⁶

It has been specially mentioned in descriptions of many peoples, not only of the lowest but also of somewhat advanced races, that no particular class of warriors exists, but that in time of war every man capable of bearing arms takes the field. ⁷

One prominent feature of work which occurs in all stages of culture but which seems to play a particularly great part in the economic life of savage peoples is the voluntary assistance which is rendered fellow-tribesmen in certain unusually arduous undertakings. We have mentioned such collective labours among the Kiwai Papuans (p. 5). Weule has examined cases of "Bittarbeit" practised among certain primitive peoples. ⁸ "Communal work" is an important factor in the economy of the Trobriand and Mailu natives, says Malinowski, who describes different forms of it. ⁹

A specific and very early form of division of labour is implied in a certain specialization as regards the industrial activities of different neighbouring tribes. Such a geographical or tribal distribution as regards the production of certain necessary articles occasionally leads to extensive intercommunication and trading between adjacent areas. An illustrative instance is given by the traffic carried on a generation ago between the Kiwai region of New Guinea and the Torres Straits islands. The principal articles of barter manufactured and delivered by the mainland tribes were canoes, while in the opposite direction mainly travelled stone-axes and stone-clubs which were manufactured by the Torres Straits Islanders. ¹⁰ Schurtz, ¹¹ Weule, ¹² Müller-Lyer, ¹³ Thurnwald, and others ¹⁴ have treated the question of the division of labour and commercial intercourse between different tribes.

A division of the common work within a tribe has developed gradually. While, for instance, all the men are capable of sustaining their part in any one of the different branches of labour, we see at the same time that one man from aptitude or inclination may apply himself by preference to one kind of work and another in like manner to another kind. Especially when some handiwork demands a certain skilfulness there is a tendency to leave it in the hands of certain competent persons, while, on the other hand, ordinary everyday work is done by each man for himself. The rich and powerful prefer to leave every kind of industrial employment to others, whereby division of occupations is brought about. Looking upon the question from a theoretical point of view Sumner and Keller conclude that those handicrafts which demand for their prosecution some uncommon knowledge of special training were the first to gain

identity. It has been thought that stone-workers were the first real specialists, because stone was probably the first substance worked which called for special skill. This seems to be a well-founded opinion considering the perfection of prehistoric stone implements.¹⁵

Many peoples exemplify the very commencement of different callings. Not all the men of the Kiwai Papuans are equally clever in the various handicrafts, and one commonly applies to some more competent worker when wanting an implement or weapon, etc., difficult to manufacture, bringing him the materials for it. Certain kinds of work—for instance, the making of a harpoon-shaft, a drum, or a canoe—require a good deal of skill and are therefore mastered only by comparatively few people. The same can be said as regards the decoration of the various objects and also scarification of the skin; certain persons, of whom there are always a few in every village, make a sort of speciality of these arts.¹⁶ Among the Marindanim some men display extraordinary skill in the making of household articles, arrows, drums, etc., others are known as trained painters, and again others can boast of their knowledge of many songs, myths, incantations, etc.¹⁷ The chief occupation of the Tlinkit men are hunting and fishing, various other kinds of work being done between whiles at home. Gradually, however, a division of labour has come to pass among them, so that one man performs a certain kind of work, another man another; thus in all places there are those who employ themselves specially with the fabrication of wooden articles, with silver and iron work, etc.¹⁸ The coast population of the Andaman Islands is divided into two groups, the one being chiefly employed in constructing canoes, etc., the other engaged in fishing and hunting, but each acquiring a certain knowledge of the duties of the other.¹⁹ Among the Indians of South Alaska and British Columbia different men and women are said to acquire adeptness in different industries and devote their leisure to their trade. Some of the men are expert house-carpenters, canoe-builders, etc., while others enjoy prestige as successful hunters or fishermen. Some of the women are basket-makers, carvers of household utensils, weavers, etc.²⁰ A certain division of labour prevails among the Lillooet Indians, "but many men cut and sewed their own clothes and moccasins and cut up and cleaned fish, etc."²¹ In ancient Peru there were particular tradesmen, tailors, shoemakers, weavers, or carpenters, but everyone learned what was needful for their persons and houses, and provided for themselves. All could weave and make their own garments, every man could till the ground, all built their own houses, and the women served their husbands equally. But such arts and trades as were not ordinary and necessary for the life of man, had their own companies and workmen, as goldsmiths, painters, potters, watermen, and players of instruments. There were also weavers and workmen for the more exquisite articles, which the noblemen

used.²² Among the Kalmouks of the Altai mountains in North Central Asia every man is supposed to know how to construct a tent, to carve vessels in wood, and to make leather straps, but the rich generally leave the execution of these works to their poor neighbours, who in return are supplied with food. Those who particularly distinguish themselves in one or other of these occupations are much sought after and offer us an example of the origin of a professional class of tradesmen.²³ The chiefs and rich men among the Sotho in South Africa summon persons willing to do agricultural work, and slaughter a number of oxen for their regalement.²⁴ Every man among the Noeforese can execute the necessary handicrafts, that of the smith only being distinct by itself, for it is not everyone who understands it.²⁵ Similarly among the Foolas of Sierra Leone, although the division of labour and separation of trades is almost unknown, yet some progress has been made in forming distinct occupations.²⁶

A certain differentiation also appears as regards the various occupations of the women. Thus, among the Bushmen, some women are more clever and industrious in making beads than others, some men handier at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done, and none devote their life to them.²⁷ Some of the Marind-anim women are far-famed as manufacturers of beautiful plait-works and of strong fishing-nets, etc.²⁸

With the division of labour and trades varying degrees of social estimation are assigned to the different groups of workers. One craft is valued more highly than another, and in consequence the man working at that craft enjoys greater consideration, while the contrary is the case with other trades. Although in this matter personal conditions play an important part, certain crafts are intrinsically calculated to win esteem or to be but slightly regarded. Naturally those occupations obtain most respect which call for courage, strength, and enterprise, qualities which are highly prized by all savage peoples. To this group belong skilful hunters and fishers, as many instances prove. The Kamchadales regarded those as heroes who distinguished themselves as hunters of the sea-lion, many devoting their energies to this chase, not for the sake of the spoil, but in order to win glory.²⁹ In Fiji a successful shark- or turtle-hunter gains much reputation.³⁰ In Central Africa fishing and hunting are looked upon as more dignified occupations than others.³¹ Among the Arabs, lion-hunting is held in great honour.³² "Formerly," we read concerning the Indians of Cape Flattery, "it was considered degrading for a chief, or the owner of slaves, to perform any labour, except hunting, fishing or killing whales; proficiency in any of these exercises was a consideration that enabled the most expert to aspire to the honour of being a chief or head man."³³

In general whalers and harpooners among the hunting and fishing tribes on the North Pacific coast form almost a privileged

class. Thus among the Nootka and Aht they possess a high rank which is handed down from father to son.³⁴ By the Konyag expert whalers were held in great reverence, and their bodies were after death used as charms for certain propitious purposes.³⁵ Young men of the Makah, previous to becoming whalers, have to go through a species of probation, some only of them attaining the dignity of whalers; while a second class devote themselves to halibut, and a third to salmon and inferior fish, the several occupations being kept distinct, at least in a great measure.³⁶

Equally natural it is that the profession of a warrior is counted honourable and holds a high position in social estimation.³⁷

The special importance which is attached to certain kinds of work, and the skill required for their execution is manifestly the reason why they generally stand in higher estimation than others. A work which demands a certain aptitude and a certain training, and which cannot therefore be done by everybody, tends in consequence to pass into a craft which is carried on only by a certain group of persons.³⁸ The class of carpenters and canoe-builders among the Polynesian islanders offers us an example. Thus the Kingsmill Islanders from the importance of their structures or buildings, hold the trade of a carpenter in great repute,³⁹ and the same is stated with regard to the Tahitians.⁴⁰ In Tonga only members of the distinguished classes of the *matabooles* and *moos* build canoes and houses, "for no person of so low a rank as a *tooa* can practise such respectable arts."⁴¹ This employment is also kept strictly hereditary. In Samoa⁴² and Fiji,⁴³ also, canoe- and house-building is a distinct trade, and in the latter island there is even said to be a particular god of carpenters.⁴⁴ From Central Australia are mentioned workmen who specialize in hut-building. Good hut-builders are in great demand and are borrowed from one camp to another. One famed specialist in hut-building had held that position for many years. He had learnt from his father and built as his father did, but he never worked with any white man.⁴⁵

Tattooing, also, which requires considerable skill in the executor, has in many places developed into a craft standing in more or less high estimation. Tattooing was specially appreciated by the New Zealand aborigines, who were known for their predilection for this art. "No man could tattoo himself, and the delicacy of touch and certainty of line were so difficult of attainment, that tattooing became an art or science, which was left in the hands of a few practitioners, who derived a good income from their business."⁴⁶ In Tonga tattooing, on account of the skilfulness required, is practised by the *Mooa*, or the class above the ordinary handicraftsmen, although it is not so highly thought of as in New Zealand.⁴⁷ In Samoa,⁴⁸ Melanesia, the Kingsmill Islands,⁴⁹ and in Bornabi⁵⁰ tattooing is a regular profession.

For similar reasons, probably, circumcision has in certain countries become an honourable profession of its own. Thus among the Akikuyu Indians "skilled old men, of whom there are always a few in every district, perform the operation on boys, and old women on girls. The position of circumcisor is an honourable one and is hereditary."⁵¹ The Kafir circumcisors constitute a professional class.⁵²

It is a very common trait among most uncivilized peoples that employments are hereditary. So far as we can see, this occurs preferably in the male line. The maternal legal bands which confine inheritance to the female line, have in the main not extended to trades or crafts, in regard to which inheritance goes generally from father to son, not from maternal uncle to nephew.⁵³ Trades, especially such as are considered ingenious and therefore worthy of respect, gradually become hereditary; sons take the same work as their fathers before them, there being no motive sufficiently strong to induce them to relinquish it. Only in more developed communities may positive laws sometimes oblige them to follow the business of their fathers. Regarding the craftsmen in ancient Greece, Rose writes, "The tradition was that a craft belonged to a family or clan. Not only do we hear of Asklépiadai (descendants or clansmen of Asklépios, who possess the art of medicine, Homêridai who specialize in reciting the poems of Homer and the other epic poets, and actual clans such as the Iamidai, who like their ancestor Iamos, son of Apollo, were professional seers, but the phrase 'children of painters' or the like is used, much like 'sons of the prophets' in Hebrew, to signify simply 'painters'. It is highly likely, of course, that craftsmen did commonly teach their children the art whereby they themselves got their living; indeed, we have not a few references to their doing so; but it is reasonable to assume, and it is not a mere assumption, that the great qualification which such children possessed was the hereditary ability to master the requisite magic; in other words, the possession, along with the family blood, of the family *mana*. . . . It is therefore likely that the practice of handing down a trade from father to son was largely dictated in the first place, not by simple motives of convenience, but by a more or less firm conviction that only the children of a craftsman could become craftsmen of his kind at all."⁵⁴

As naturally as highly respected trades are accompanied by consideration and rank, equally natural it is that employments which are despised should sink the persons engaged in them in social estimation. The statement of Herodotos, for instance, that the ancient Egyptians reckoned the pig an abominable animal and that they used to dip themselves and their garments in water, if in passing by they touched a pig, fully accounts for the fact that swineherds, also, were among that people regarded as unclean, so that they were

not allowed to enter any of the temples, or to marry the daughters of other families.⁵⁵

Beggars, who subsist upon the charity of others, and those who gain their living by dirty and repulsive work stand, as may be supposed, low in the social scale.

Less easy it is to explain why certain other occupations such as those of butchers, musicians, blacksmiths, etc., are despised, as is in general the case among uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples. These callings, also, are in most cases hereditary, which seems somewhat singular, as they appear to be so little desirable. The explanation evidently is that the sons of fathers who carry on a despised occupation, follow the father's calling not so much from choice as from necessity, because other paths are closed to them.⁵⁶ The more difference of position is developed, so much the more does prejudice attach to the members of the humbler classes. Those who are despised by the community are isolated from all others, marriage is not contracted between them and members of other classes, but they must marry among themselves; even their sons and daughters are branded. Under such circumstances the sons have no other choice than to take up their father's calling, and in many cases they do so the more willingly that, contempt notwithstanding, a superstitious power is very generally an attribute of the pariah classes. Respecting the ancient Mexicans Father Gomara states that "the poor taught their sons their own trades, not upon compulsion, but because they could do so without expense", and this motive may, in certain cases, hold good among other peoples also.⁵⁷

In general the list of despised avocations is much more comprehensive than that of the esteemed ones. Among most peoples it seems to be the rule that all handicrafts stand low in estimation; the upper classes do not engage in such, but devote themselves to war, hunting, supervision of husbandry, etc., or are almost without occupation. The extremely binding taboos which in many parts rest upon every member of the higher classes in all their doings, make it at times even impossible for them to engage in any sort of work whatever. The necessary trades must be carried on by those who cannot in any other way make their living, and such a state of things is not calculated to confer dignity upon work. In many cases it seems difficult in any other way to account for the fact that useful and important branches of industry are looked down upon. This contempt for industrial activity is easy to explain, writes Westermarck. A man who earns his livelihood by labour is considered to be lacking in those qualities which are alone admired—courage and strength; or work is associated with the idea of servile subjection.⁵⁸

In mediæval Europe executioners occupied a peculiar and distinct position; they were objects of execration and dread to the population. In Germany the executioner was isolated from the rest

of the community. No one would associate with him, men fled from his vicinity, even the touch of his hand was an abomination. The executioner was obliged to wear an easily recognized costume, and in church he must occupy a place at a distance from all others. As a rule he could only wed the daughters of other executioners, because no one else would bestow his child upon him. His sons—they also branded—were excluded from all other callings and were compelled therefore to follow in their father's steps. Executioners, on the other hand, were much sought after, because everywhere their services were in requisition.⁵⁹ In addition they enjoyed the reputation of being "weise Leute". The executioner was especially supposed to be skilful in the cure of diseases, whether of man or beast. He usually enveloped his healing art in a nimbus of mystery, and thereby gained the reputation of practising secret sorcery.⁶⁰ Among several uncivilized peoples, also, the executioner occupies an isolated position, at once feared and despised. Thus throughout the Kingdom of Masupis in East Africa no one was more feared or hated than the executioner.⁶¹ In the Caroline group the executioners belong to the very lowest class of the people,⁶² and in Bengal the *Dom* class, who are sometimes employed as executioners, are deemed unclean.⁶³

The reason why executioners are regarded with dread and aversion lies manifestly in the sinister nature of their calling. He whose profession it is to take life must expect such feelings in those surrounding him. Moreover, according to many peoples' conception, he who kills another is unclean. It has been pointed out above how even victorious warriors who have slain an enemy must sometimes cleanse themselves in order to escape the baneful influence of the spirits of the slain, although their deed itself is regarded as glorious.⁶⁴ Without doubt a similar idea lies at the bottom of the general conception that executioners are unclean, and that they, as Sir James Frazer has shown, have to take precautions against the ghosts of their victims.⁶⁵

To an analogous reason we have evidently to ascribe the fact that butchers are very generally regarded as impure. In the Canary Islands, for instance, none exercised the trade of a butcher except the dregs of the people. This employment was accounted so ignominious, that others would not so much as allow one of that profession to enter any of their houses, or to touch anything belonging to them. It was made unlawful for the butcher even to associate with any but those of their own trade; and when they wanted anything of another person, they were obliged to carry a staff with them, and point at the object required, standing at a considerable distance. As a compensation for this abject position, the natives were obliged to supply the butchers with everything they required. It was not lawful for any Canarian, except the butchers, to slaughter cattle.⁶⁶ From different parts of Arabia we learn that the butcher's trade, as well as certain

other handicrafts, passes for less than honest and is despised by all the rest of the people.⁶⁷ In the Caroline Islands the slaughterers—of the only species of animals killed, viz. dogs—together with the executioners are the members of a degraded class.⁶⁸

Not only the killing of a human being, but also the killing of an animal makes a person unclean for a longer or shorter period, as we have seen in an earlier chapter.⁶⁹ We perceive in this a feature calculated to throw light upon the degraded condition of the slaughterer.

The same uncleanness which is peculiar to executioners and butchers is attached to those callings which have to do with dead bodies or other work of a similar kind. The *Dom* class in Bengal who kill dogs and remove dead bodies are considered vile and unclean.⁷⁰ So, too, in ancient Germany were swine-gelders and the tanners of dog-skins.⁷¹ The skinning of carcasses was by the ancient Hebrews and the Arabs held in lower esteem than any other calling.⁷²

Tanners, and in general all workers in leather, are regarded with the same contempt. In Nepal the trade of a tanner stands in evil repute,⁷³ and in South Arabia it is only practised by a very low class.⁷⁴ Among the ancient Hebrews the tanner was obliged to carry on his evil-smelling and despised craft outside the precincts of the city.⁷⁵ The Hindus of Bengal consider all workers in leather unclean.⁷⁶ Among the Somali saddlers are a much despised class,⁷⁷ and sons of tanners must follow their father's trade.⁷⁸ In Bali dealers in leather are in like manner with other craftsmen held unclean. Being excluded from association with their fellow-citizens they occupy the outskirts of the villages.⁷⁹ Shoe- and sandal-makers are held in great contempt by certain peoples in West and North Central Africa.⁸⁰

Evidently the uncleanness which is ascribed to the above-mentioned craftsmen stands in connection with the nature of their work. As the primary cause of the contempt with which they are regarded, we may consider the uncleanness supposed to be transferred from dead bodies, or portions of the same, to those who handle them, although this belief was modified later on. Also the outward uncleanliness which is inherent in certain of these callings speaks in its degree for the fact of their being held in low esteem.

The profession of a cook belongs to a group of trades which is especially looked down upon in Polynesia and also in other regions where it occurs. In Tonga, for instance, the business of a cook is one of the lowest in these islands. The term "cook" is frequently applied to a man even though he be not a cook, to signify that he is of very low rank.⁸¹ In the Caroline and Gilbert Islands the cooks belong to the lowest class,⁸² and in New Zealand the work of cooking is generally assigned to the slaves.⁸³ If among the Indians of British Guiana a man is by some chance "obliged to cook, except so far as is absolutely necessary on an ordinary hunting excursion, and is

seen to do so by some other Indian, he feels as much shame as if he had been caught in some unworthy act".⁸⁴

We may, so we believe, conclude that the explanation of the low esteem in which cooks are held is that their work, like other domestic occupations, primarily belongs to the women. There may occur cases when the preparation of food is entrusted to others than those usually employed in this work, as, for instance, when fear of magic induces the chiefs to have their food cooked by a man.⁸⁵

We may look upon it as a rule that men lay themselves open to shame and contempt if they busy themselves with occupations which are considered as belonging to women. "It is a common belief," says Westermarck, "that if a man does a woman's work he himself will become effeminate; besides, he will be laughed at, and called a woman."⁸⁶ By the Singhalese "it is accounted a disgrace for the man to meddle or make with those affairs that properly do belong unto the women".⁸⁷ In Senegambia women's occupations are deeply despised; a man would be dishonoured if he were to prepare the "cous-cous" (an Arabian dish) or if he employed himself with the herds.⁸⁸ The Chibcha punished a man who showed cowardice in war by dressing him in woman's clothes, and making him do woman's work.⁸⁹ Among the Tuscarrora those who could not make themselves respected in the community were compelled to attend to all the common drudgeries, they were the cooks, they worked in the fields, etc.⁹⁰ A Greenlander for similar reasons was obliged to subsist on woman's diet and in certain cases even seems to have been forced to serve the others like a handmaid.⁹¹ Domestic occupations in general, which usually belong to the women, stand low in popular esteem. Among the New Zealand aborigines the freedmen, and personages of the highest rank, assist in every other occupation except those of drawing water, hewing wood, flax-dressing and cooking.⁹² Young Indians of the Creek are obliged to light the pipes, carry the wood, and help to make black-drink for the warriors, and to perform all the menial services until they are redeemed by achieving some warlike exploit.⁹³

One may in some measure attribute to the same contempt for work originally performed by women the fact that agricultural labourers among many peoples occupy a despised position.⁹⁴ As universally acknowledged, it is very frequently the women who among agricultural peoples cultivate the soil. "Whilst cattle-rearing, having developed out of the chase, is largely a masculine pursuit, agriculture, having developed out of collecting seeds and plants, originally devolves on the women," says Westermarck. Therefore "among hunting and pastoral tribes it would be quite out of place for a man to supply the household with vegetable food. On the other hand, when agriculture became an indispensable means to maintenance of life it at the same time became respectable."⁹⁵ "If

women are almost exclusively burdened with all that pertains to the cultivation of plants and trees," Lévy-Bruhl explains, "it is because, in the social group, they represent the principle of fertility. In order that the fields and the trees under culture might be productive, there must be a close relation or participation established between them and the social group which attends to them; the principle of fertility must pass over to them, and consequently the members of the group must have it within themselves. . . . The work of women alone makes fields and gardens fertile, for it is to their sex that this power is due." ⁹⁶ Schurtz has pointed out that in certain cases, at least, it has been the men's interest in tobacco which has induced them to participate in agricultural work. Thus among the Baronga, the tobacco gardens were the first plantations which the men personally cultivated, after which they gradually learnt to devote themselves to ordinary agricultural work as well. ⁹⁷

When agriculture became more developed, the women's bodily strength no longer sufficed, for which reason those who owned much land were obliged to take other labourers from among those employing themselves in such work, who thereby came to occupy a dependent and despised position. To their mean estate the circumstances also contributed that no particular skill was required, as almost anyone could perform such work and, further, that this kind of work was heavier than most others. In the Tonga Islands, to give an example, the peasants together with the cooks have the lowest calling of all; they are such by inheritance, for "the chiefs, under whom they live, necessarily require their services, and their children naturally succeed them, for it does not require any great talent to learn that pursuit". ⁹⁸ Among the Kands of Chutia Nagpur there is a low bastard class called by varying names, who are regarded as vile. "The poorest of them work as farm labourers, cultivating land belonging to the Kands and making over to their landlords half the produce as rent." ⁹⁹ Incapable and weak-minded men of the Tuscarora occupied an inferior social position and were compelled to perform various menial labours, as, for instance, field-work. ¹⁰⁰ The Dahomeans despise agriculture; only slaves and women are employed in it. ¹⁰¹ Not to work at all was by the ancient Thracians counted as most honourable and to be a cultivator of the soil was above all things dishonourable. ¹⁰²

One calling, of which the low estimation is difficult to explain, unless we can place it in the category of those appertaining originally to women, is that of the weaver. We cannot see any other special explanation of the weavers' degradation beyond the fact that handicrafts are in general considered mean. In Bengal rearers of the silk-worm and weavers of silk are considered unclean, which is also the case with the weavers of cotton piece-goods. ¹⁰³ Among the Kand the weavers, blacksmiths, etc., form a low pariah caste and do the

despised work of the hamlets. No Kand can engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands; these poor people are not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, among the Kafirs of Kafiristan,¹⁰⁵ the Southern Arabs¹⁰⁶ and the Fellani,¹⁰⁷ the weavers and certain other handicraftsmen occupy the position of degraded outcasts. Among the ancient Hebrews the trade of a weaver was closed to the high priest.¹⁰⁸ In Germany linen-weavers were formerly regarded as vile.¹⁰⁹ The Singhalese impute certain mysterious propensities to their weavers which may, in a degree, account for their peculiar reputation. We read that the weavers are also astrologers.¹¹⁰

Only on the ground of the mean estimation in which among most peoples handicraftsmen in general are held can we at present explain why the potter is in many cases spoken of as belonging to the despised classes. Thus among the Kand the potters are supplied by a lower race, who are degraded beneath the rest of the population and do all the dirty work.¹¹¹ The Hindus of Bengal reckon the potters unclean,¹¹² and so do the people of Bali¹¹³ as well as the southern Arabs.¹¹⁴

Barbers are among several peoples looked upon as unclean and treated accordingly. In India their reputation varies; while they are unclean in Bihar, they are not so in Bengal.¹¹⁵ In Ceylon the barbers form one of the utterly degraded groups of outcasts. They are looked upon as so vile that no human being would touch rice that has been cooked in their houses; and the people, on the occasion of festivals, tie up their dogs to prevent them prowling in search of food to the dwellings of these wretches.¹¹⁶ The Tonga barbers are of the degraded rank of *Tooa*.¹¹⁷ By the ancient Germans and Hebrews barbers were regarded as vile.¹¹⁸ The reason of the unfavourable reputation of the barbers seems to be that with their ordinary traffic they frequently combine all sorts of secret necromancies. Thus in ancient Germany the barbers at the same time practised quackery,¹¹⁹ and in some parts of India they even have certain priestly functions assigned to them.¹²⁰

A distinct type among peculiar and despised callings is represented by the griots or minstrels, professional musicians or singers who sometimes also appear as jugglers, charlatans, etc. Although their functions vary somewhat, their type is recognizable among many peoples, especially in Northern Africa, in Arabia, and India. They appear as musicians, singers, and dancers at family feasts and public festivals; sometimes they are not resident in one locality, but wander from place to place where their services may be in requisition, or as beggars; sometimes they are attached to some chief or other prominent person. In general they are recruited from both sexes. They are paid for chanting the praises of deceased great

men, and they relate the tribal traditions. In mediæval Europe there was a similar class of minstrels.

The griots are generally held in great contempt among all peoples, they belong to the most degraded section of the population and are excluded from every respectable society.¹²¹ In general they are also known to be people of very dissolute habits, devoted to the reckless use of ardent spirits and to prostitution.¹²² In India "all professional singing and dancing, when performed by women, with very few exceptions, is performed by prostitutes. Indeed, a prostitute and a professional dancer or singer are, in the common speech of the people, synonymous terms."¹²³ On account of their bad reputation they are excluded from marriage with members of other classes. No man gives his daughter to a griot, consequently they must marry among themselves only.¹²⁴ It is stated, for instance, that among the Jolof not even a slave would marry a girl of a griot family, a prejudice which is shared by some other professions also.¹²⁵ The separation of the griot class is likewise the reason why their calling is generally handed down within the same family. A son of a griot cannot easily enter another profession and must therefore follow that of his father.¹²⁶

However degraded the griots may be, we see at the same time that in many cases they are greatly feared by the population and even enjoy a certain influence.¹²⁷ Thus the *Bhats* (*Badi*) or bards are in certain parts of India "much dreaded by their employers on account of the power they have of distorting family history at public recitations, if they choose to do so, and of subjecting any member to general ridicule."¹²⁸ They belong to "the class of sturdy beggars who, if they do not get what they expect, lampoon the people of the house and abuse them. For these reasons they are, to some extent, feared, and are able to maintain themselves at the expense of their neighbours."¹²⁹ The griots of the interior of north Africa have understood how to become redoubtable by making themselves the leaders of public opinion through their *éloges* or satires, in both of which arts they are equally productive. If one of these men demands a horse or a rifle of the king, the latter does not dare to refuse it him.¹³⁰

Another more powerful factor contributes to the awe with which the griots are generally regarded, and that is the mysteriousness in which they veil themselves, and the sorcery supposed to be practised by them. The jugglers of Morocco mask all their actions in a mystic-religious nimbus and generally combine their wanderings with a pilgrimage to Mecca.¹³¹ In some parts of West Africa the griots are subjected to certain restrictions as regards their conduct, which shows the popular dread of their doings. The musicians or bards of the Jolof are not permitted to live within the walls of their towns, to keep cattle, or to drink sweet milk.¹³² In Yemen every Arab is

thought to become unclean who should carry on an intrigue with a griot woman.¹³³ From West Africa and India we learn that griots are regarded as men versed in witchcraft and the occult sciences ; they are also said to have communion with spirits and to be inspired by the gods.¹³⁴ Among several peoples the griots, in consequence of this superstitious dread, are not after death interred in the ordinary way, but are buried with the observance of certain precautionary measures. The Mandingo believe that if the griots " were buried in the ground, it would become barren ; if in the river, the water would be poisoned, and the fish would die. So they are buried in hollow trees." ¹³⁵ Jolof musicians are similarly " refused interment, on the allegation that nothing would grow where one of their caste had been buried " ¹³⁶ The dead bodies of griots among the same people are deposited in hollow trees, on account of the popular conviction, that the crops would infallibly fail if they were buried.¹³⁷ In Senegambia, too, the bodies of griots would poison the corn and the fruit as well as the water and the rivers ; for this reason they are neither interred nor thrown into the sea or the rivers.¹³⁸

According to Durkheim the development of trade and industry can be traced back to the influence of a continuously progressing division of labour. But such a division is not peculiar to the economic world only. We can observe its growing influence in the most varied fields of society, in the political, administrative, and judicial functions, which are growing more and more specialized, and in the æsthetic and scientific functions.¹³⁹ Jerusalem has adopted the view that division of labour means the line of demarcation between a stationary primitive era and the expanse of material and spiritual progress of which it forms the starting-point.¹⁴⁰

Müller-Lyer divided economic and industrial progress into the following epochs from the point of view of the division of labour. In the initial stage, among the lower races, the only form of a division of labour is that between the sexes. Among somewhat higher developed nature-peoples (Oceanians, Africans) we find specialization of industries implying a differentiation of the activities of the *men*, while those of the *women* remain homogeneous within the different economic groups. With the organization of professions among men begins a new epoch in the whole progress of culture, for it is only through the differentiation of labour that nobler cravings arise and have a chance of being satisfied. A third epoch follows, the differentiation of the works of women. This has begun at the most recent time—the Women's movement. As with animals and plants, so with human societies is differentiation the most exact measurer of grades and a definite standard for the height of culture.¹⁴¹

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADES (*concluded*).

Perhaps the most noteworthy idiosyncracies among all crafts in primitive culture are those presented by the smiths. Their peculiar position among almost all peoples has naturally called for attention in theoretical literature. It has been remarked how smiths on the one hand constitute a despised and dreaded pariah caste, while on the other hand they are almost as often the objects of a certain superstitious awe and respect. Even among the same people these two opposite conceptions of the smith can be intermingled. But wherever the profession of a smith is met with among uncivilized or half-civilized races as an original art, peculiar ideas are as a rule associated with those who practise it.

From different parts of Africa, from Arabia and India, we learn that blacksmiths are profoundly despised and that their trade is followed only by degraded helot classes.¹

Very generally we see that a certain mystery surrounds blacksmiths and their trade, and the contempt felt for them is in consequence mixed with fear. The blacksmiths are, or were, credited with supernatural attributes among most peoples who are acquainted with the use of iron as an indigenous craft. One is careful not to offend a smith, one fears to encounter him in a lonely place, and the smith is a haunt of necromancy.² In many parts of Africa smiths are looked upon as "wise persons",³ and the same has frequently been the case with regard to them in many places in Europe.⁴ Thus the runes of the ancient Finns always confer on the mythical smith Ilmarinen the epithet *seppä* or *seppo* which, according to Castrén, not only signifies smith, but also a master in general.⁵ Similarly *pondo*, the word for a blacksmith in the Malay and Javanese languages, means also learned and skilful.⁶

We gather especially that in many cases smiths are employed as physicians both for men and beasts. If, among the Teda, their doctor or priest knows no cure, recourse is had to the weapon burnisher.⁷ In Accra, on the Gold Coast, the blacksmith's forge is a place where thieves are detected and wounds are healed.⁸ The ancient Greeks held the smith's forge as a place of magic.⁹ In conformity with a general peasant lore in Europe certain magical rites are still performed in the furnace of a smithy. Horse-shoers, as well as ordinary blacksmiths, were formerly in many parts of Europe known as wonder-doctors for people and cattle.¹⁰

Sometimes smiths are connected with the shamans or even exercise priestly functions themselves. Thus, among the Yakuts, smiths stand in a close and peculiar relation to the shamans. Smiths are also able to cure diseases, to give counsel, and to make predictions. Smiths generally transmit the craft from father to son. In the ninth generation a smith obtains almost supernatural qualities, and the greater the number of a man's ancestors that were smiths, the more real these qualities are. In the legends mention is often made of smiths; they are called an honoured band. Spirits are, above all, afraid of the clink of iron and of the roar of the bellows in activity.¹¹ In Fan villages the blacksmith is at the same time a priest or medicine-man.¹² Among the Indian Cohatars there were smiths who exhibited their art in the temple of their god in order to propitiate his kindly influence for the ensuing years, and they had set up a forge and furnace in the temple.¹³

The extraordinary respect and the high rank which among many peoples are accorded to smiths may be accounted for by their skill, their supposed great knowledge, and their supernatural connections. We learn that the Mandingo blacksmiths stand high in the scale of society and are possessed of great privileges.¹⁴ By the Guinea tribes and the Fan the smiths are universally respected and treated with the utmost deference by all ranks.¹⁵ Among the Fellani and Haussa, who accord the smiths great consideration, their chief master occupies one of the highest posts at the court. (The Tèbu of the same country regard the smiths with great contempt.¹⁶) All over the Tawarek country an *énhad* or smith is generally the "prime minister" of every little chief.¹⁷ Among the Tuareg the smiths rank with the nobles.¹⁸ The Cohatars of the Neilgherry Hills consider the smiths their principal artisans, and they rank high among them.¹⁹ In Java the smiths were particularly honoured and occupied a high rank, "for they were considered rather as a privileged order than as artisans," and they were largely endowed with lands.²⁰ Among the Kalmuks of Altai the smiths enjoyed a high repute.²¹

The renown of the blacksmiths as regards their supernatural attributes goes back to the very beginning of their history. Several peoples have preserved traditions that the smiths originally acquired their wondrous skill through the assistance of divine beings and hence were exalted above the plane of ordinary mortals.²² Certain legends of the Buryat, for instance, tell us the origin of the blacksmith's art; in all of them it is said that gods or sons of gods were the first who smelted iron and constructed a forge.²³ Germanic traditions frequently make mention of invisible smiths, dwarfs, and other mysterious beings who wrought in iron.²⁴

Traditions of several peoples recount that in the oldest times already the smiths resorted to secret necromancies in carrying

on their art. According to a mythical legend the Idaeï Dactyli were the first who discovered the nature of iron and taught the manner of working it. They are considered to have lived in Phrygia about Mount Ida and to have been conjurers and magicians. "And because they were the first discoverers of many things of great use and advantage to mankind, they were adored and worshipped as gods."²⁵ With reference to ancient Greek beliefs we are informed by H. J. Rose that the Cretan *Telchînes* were mythical or half-mythical beings concerning whom ancient commentators are at variance whether they were skilful smiths, who made weapons and implements for the very gods themselves, or either wicked spirits or villainous men who had the evil eye. The *Kyklôpes*, also, who are *Hephaistos'* workmen in his divine smithy, are ugly brutes enough and have at least the name in common with Homer's man-eating giant. Here we can catch a glimpse of a far-off time when the Greek smith was an uncanny person more than suspected of using mysterious arts. The smith early became a specialist. In Homer there are five professions which have become differentiated, those of the seer, the physician, the carpenter, the bard, and the smith. In Greece *Hephaistos* was the patron of smiths.²⁶ "The sword is the darling weapon of the Germanic song. . . . It is called 'the work of giants', 'Wayland's work', 'the heirloom'; runes were cut upon it; it had will and passion; mystery was about it. It had its pedigree of owners; its fate seemed almost human." "Like *Vulcan* of old, the Germanic smith found his way into mythology and cult. In England we know him as *Wayland the Smith*; and our oldest English lyric, the song of the minstrel *Deor*, introduces him in its first verse. His legend or myth was a great Germanic favourite; in the north it is elaborated into one of the most striking poems, and allusions to it are frequent even in the scanty wreckage from the literature of our forefathers. Various accounts made *Weland* grandson of a king and a mermaid, and son of a giant—by no means a born thrall; and his deeds are deeds of a god. The legends of *Weland* seem to have begun in Low German territory; and when both *Beowulf* and *Waldere*, in our early epic, call their swords 'Wayland's work', we know that this is praise indeed. A later version of the *Siegfried* legend makes that splendid hero, the Germanic *Achilles*, learn the art of a smith."²⁷ *Wayland the smith* and *Volund* in Teutonic and Scandinavian folklore carried on their wonderful operations by means of supernatural powers. So did *Ilmarinen*, the great blacksmith of *Kalewala*. In *Kalewipoeg*, the ancient national epos of the Estonians, there is a detailed description of the forging of a famous sword at which spells and other secret arts were used to ensure the glory of the weapon.²⁸

Over the whole of Europe in the Middle Ages it was commonly believed that the armourers could work sorcery into a sword while

forging it, so that it should always be victorious. But even other kinds of smiths could introduce sorcery into iron. For this reason in certain parts smiths' apprentices who aspired to become masters were obliged to take a special oath never to use the black art. Even long after the time of the Middle Ages the belief was widespread that smiths were able to work spells.²⁹

A conception such as this, which has not even yet entirely died out in all parts of Europe, is current among many uncivilized peoples.³⁰ It is generally believed that smiths have access to supernatural forces, and they are consequently employed as wizards. Teda blacksmiths, for instance, are credited with the knowledge of charmed drinks and other black arts.³¹ The Somali fear the magical practices of their blacksmiths.³² In Abyssinia the credulous people hold a blacksmith and worker in iron to be endowed with supernatural powers, and to be able to transform himself at pleasure into the likeness of a wolf or a hyena.³³ Among the Jakuts an evil spirit is the patron of the smiths, and to him the smiths offer a cow of red colour and smear their tools with its blood, but the heart and the liver are roasted in the fire and afterwards hammered on the anvil until nothing remains of them.³⁴ In the ancient superstition of the Buryat the smiths played an important part, standing in close connection with the shamans.³⁵ Among the Teda the reputation of the smiths for supernatural powers has extended to their wives also, who are consulted by the people as oracles.³⁶

Man fears all that, like sorcery, is shrouded in a veil of mystery. Similarly as with other practisers of the black art the smith is among many peoples regarded as an unclean being from whose vicinity one flees in order not to be contaminated. No free Somali, for instance, enters the house of a blacksmith or shakes hands with him.³⁷ "If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or any other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand, for it is considered improper for him to take in his bare hand."³⁸ A Teda does not eat from the same vessel as a smith or sleep under his roof.³⁹ The Kands could not engage in the work of a blacksmith without degradation, nor eat food prepared by his hands.⁴⁰ In Yemen blacksmiths are deemed unclean, together with certain other artisans,⁴¹ and while in Bengal they are clean, they are not so in Bihar.⁴² From Doreh in New Guinea we learn that a smith's apprentice has to take a certain magic potion, without which he cannot become a skilful artisan; he is also forbidden to taste swine's flesh.⁴³ The uncleanness attributed to blacksmiths is evidently also the reason why the mere word "smith", as, for instance, among the Teda, is regarded as a term of abuse, possibly also as a spell. To call a Teda a smith is an infamy which only can be washed away in blood.⁴⁴

The superstitious awe entertained for smiths as unclean and

dangerous beings is also revealed by the fact that their persons are occasionally regarded as inviolable. Among the Teda, notwithstanding the contempt in which smiths are held, should anyone allow himself to insult a member of that fraternity, still less to strike or kill him, such an act would be reckoned unworthy and even culpable, as if directed against a woman.⁴⁵

One consequence of the sinister attributes charged upon smiths is that they stand almost outside the pale of the community, debarred from communion with other people.⁴⁶ In many cases the blacksmiths may only live in the outskirts of the villages.⁴⁷ They may contract marriages within their own families only, as no one outside them would give his daughter in marriage to a smith or himself marry a smith's daughter.⁴⁸

Owing to their isolated position we find it natural that the smiths, as is the case among numerous peoples, constitute a professional class of their own. Very generally, also, their office is strictly hereditary within the same families.⁴⁹ Sometimes, as among the Sotho,⁵⁰ certain New Guineans,⁵¹ and the Basuto,⁵² the aspirant to the mysteries of their art must pass through a process of initiation.

Many authors have endeavoured to give an explanation of the peculiar position of the smiths. Some connect the superstitious reverence for them with the wonder which in an undeveloped mind must be excited by the process of forging itself. Thus Schrader states, even as the extraordinary art which understands how to melt the hard metal in the fire, and to fabricate costly articles thereof, has been attributed to supernatural agencies, so it has not been possible either to conceive of the exercise of this art by merely mortal creatures without the aid of mysterious spells.⁵³ In speaking of the *Idaei Dactyli*, who are said to have introduced the art of forging iron into Europe, Rossignol says, "They were called magicians, enchanters, a name easily explaining itself. One only needs to imagine the wonder of the first people who saw ordinary earth in the hands of the first metallurgists transform into a solid, brilliant, and sounding substance, and it is easy to understand that they attributed to this art some supernatural potency."⁵⁴ In similar terms Hoeck speaks of the supernatural endowments ascribed to the *Dactyli*.⁵⁵

Other theoretical writers contend that the position occupied by the smiths is due to the fact that they belong to a different race than the great mass of their people. Lippert considers that smiths, on account of the nature of their avocation, are more than other handicraftsmen bound to certain places where they can obtain the necessary raw material, whereas the rest of the population can easily change their place of abode. Thus it comes about, he says, that smiths among many peoples represent a primitive

conservative element, that they constitute a living memorial of ancient times, of other race and other religion than those of the people in general, and the worship of their strange gods has for generations been associated with the mysterious smithy. The contempt for these strangers has on the part of the conquerors been converted into hatred, admiration of their skill into holy reverence, or mistrust of their gods into superstitious dread.⁵⁶ While differing from Lippert on certain points, Andrée agrees with him in assigning the peculiar position of the smiths to their descent from a different tribe to that of the rest of the population. His theory is that when a savage people, without any knowledge of farriery, had acquired by conquest a new territory, and found therein blacksmiths plying their vocation, they naturally regarded these artisans with wonder not unmixed with fear. On account of their obvious usefulness they were allowed, however, to continue to exercise their handicraft, although they were despised and looked upon as sorcerers. On the other hand, if an inferior people had learnt the art of manufacturing iron from one of higher standing, the smiths were regarded with special respect and reverence by the subjugated race.⁵⁷ Schurtz and Lawrence agree with Andrée in part.⁵⁸ Schurtz, however, is of opinion that the contempt felt for smiths must also be referred to the work itself. The reason is repugnance to any kind of heavy and methodical manual labour; to the children of nature all work is held as a rule in low esteem. Only those do hard work who are obliged to—workman and “poor devil” being almost synonymous terms. Thus the sinking of handicraftsmen as a class is inevitable.⁵⁹ Certain other writers record various traditions and suggestions to explain the prejudice against blacksmiths.⁶⁰

In considering the above-cited theoretical explanations we find facts contradictory to Lippert's theory, at least regarding its universal validity, viz., that the smiths constitute a permanently resident ancient folk element in those parts where iron is found, while the rest of the population has shifted. Thus we gather, for instance, from the Bari on the White Nile that the despised smiths wander about from one place to another with their families and make their abode wherever they can find work.⁶¹ Neither are they strictly bound to places where ore is obtained. The Denqa blacksmiths, for instance, also located in the vicinity of the White Nile, fetch iron from tribes in the interior of the country or get it for themselves from places at some distance from the river.⁶²

In other cases the smiths are expressly stated to be of the same tribe as the people among whom they live. Among the Teda, for example, the smiths are not in any way distinct from the rest of the population, and although they are greatly despised, there exists no doubt on either side as to their being of the same extraction.⁶³

On the other hand, smiths are as a matter of fact in several

instances reported to belong to another tribe than those surrounding them, although information on this head is often ambiguous. Almost all the blacksmiths of the Peuhls in Futa-Diallon are said to be prisoners from other parts, and the same is stated to be the case with their other artisans as well.⁶⁴ The Elkonono are a helot tribe of smiths kept in servitude to the Masai. They speak Masai, though they seem also to have a language of their own.⁶⁵ The same tribe is said to be kept in a state of subjection under the Wakuafi, for whom they make spears, swords, and knives; they are thought to be the remnant of an ancient powerful people.⁶⁶ Another tribe, the Tumulod who serve as blacksmiths, are tributaries to the Somali and stand under their jurisdiction.⁶⁷ In Abyssinia, round the lake Tsana, there are numerous blacksmiths of Jewish extraction,⁶⁸ and in Arabia the *sunni'a* or smiths' caste are not accounted of indigenous blood, their lineage being perhaps alien.⁶⁹ The Kands of India only engage in husbandry and war, but attached to each of their villages is a row of hovels inhabited by a lower race, who do all the dirty work and supply families of hereditary blacksmiths, weavers, and other handicraftsmen.⁷⁰

While seeking a reason for the contempt and fear with which smiths are regarded, we must remember that there are also other callings which are looked upon in the same way. In the last chapter we have recorded many instances showing that hard work is despised and that everyone avoids it if possible, for which reason it devolves upon the dependent poor.⁷¹ With regard to the smiths among the Somali and Bari, for instance, it is explicitly stated that they are despised because they do hard work.⁷² We also believe that the reputation of the smiths as wizards may be accounted for. As we have seen, some of the callings previously treated of by us have also been stigmatized as unclean or as allied to sorcery. Already in their outward appearance the smoke-begrimed, unkempt blacksmiths have an attribute which gives the impression of something mysterious. Burton says that "in Abyssinia all artisans are *Budah*, sorcerers, especially the blacksmiths".⁷³ In this respect we can also agree with previously cited authors that the very calling of the smiths, the use made of fire, the singular art of fusing a hard metal, the forge and its mysteriousness, are among children of nature calculated to call to life all sorts of fantasies.

And, finally, we have to pay attention to the fact that the metal wrought by the smith—iron—is universally connected with all kinds of magic ideas. Several authors have collected examples showing the mystical significance which many peoples attribute to iron. Steel has in this respect the same property as iron.⁷⁴ Rust itself is sometimes employed for magical purposes.⁷⁵ The very name of iron has in certain cases a magic power.⁷⁶ Very generally iron is used as a protective charm against witchcraft and similar malign

influences. It also averts the evil eye.⁷⁷ Evil spirits, ghosts, witches, giants, gnomes, fairies, elves, and dragons are kept at bay by iron, which destroys their power.⁷⁸

When witches transform themselves into animals—wolves, hares, or magpies⁷⁹—or into a whirlwind when they fly through the air,⁸⁰ such enchantment cannot be maintained, if one brings them into contact with iron or steel. Of iron objects horse-shoes are throughout a large portion of the world known as anti-witch charms *par excellence* as well as the approved symbols of good luck.⁸¹ A sacred lump of iron forms part of the regalia of several of the petty Sultans in the Malay peninsula, and the Malays are said to entertain for it a most extraordinary reverence not unmingled with superstitious terror.⁸²

Iron is specially employed as a means of protection for individuals who for divers reasons are not considered to have sufficient power of resistance to evil influences. Infants are thus protected by means of iron,⁸³ and the same is the case with sick persons.⁸⁴ Rust is sometimes used as a remedial substance. Plinius says it is usually obtained for such purposes by scraping old nails with a piece of moistened iron.⁸⁵ Wounds and bleeding are healed by means of iron.⁸⁶ Menstruous women who are particularly exposed to the evil of witchcraft trust to iron or steel as a charm.⁸⁷ Anyone going out into the dark takes a piece of steel with him as a protection.⁸⁸ And as a person is thought to be specially exposed to magical dangers while eating and drinking, he is protected from them by iron.⁸⁹ Scissors are by the Malays used to scare evil spirits from the dead.⁹⁰ Among the Eskimo broken spear-heads, etc., were worn by young girls as charms for the preservation of their chastity, while the same ornaments caused the married women to be prolific.⁹¹

Animals are on various occasions protected by the instrumentality of iron against evil things; for this purpose pieces of iron are placed at the doors of the stables or in mangers, the animals are made to pass over iron, etc.⁹² Iron is said to be used by the Malays to protect the Rice-spirit from evil.⁹³ It likewise gives a man power over birds,⁹⁴ as well as over weather, over hail, lightning, etc.⁹⁵

Iron also plays a prominent part at the performance of certain rites. Among some tribes of Borneo at the ceremony of giving a skull to a friend, a piece of iron is taken, an old parang-blade or a spear-head, or anything made of *iron*, the head and wings of a chicken are torn off with the iron, and the hand of the owner of the skull is smeared with the bloody weapon. This ceremony has for object the prevention of harm coming to the original owner.⁹⁶ In certain Malay tribes, among whom a lump of iron forms part of the regalia, the most solemn and binding oath is sworn upon that

lump when placed in water, and to the same lump the Malay wizards refer when they recite their most terrible denunciations.⁹⁷

In other cases iron, on account of its magical properties, must not come in contact with any sacred object or be used for any religious purpose. Thus Solomon's temple "was built of stone ready before it was brought thither : so that there was neither hammer nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building."⁹⁸ In Exodus we read, "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone : for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."⁹⁹ In ancient Rome iron was not allowed to be brought into contact with sacred persons or things ;¹⁰⁰ various signs point out that articles of bronze were used at divine service.¹⁰¹ The hair and nails of the Flamen Dialis, or special priest of Jupiter in Rome, could only be cut with a bronze implement. Professor Rose states that the foreign or new-fashioned material of iron was avoided ; there are reasons for thinking that this picturesque figure represents the Bronze Age.¹⁰² The wife of the priest of Jupiter, too, was not allowed on certain occasions to pare her nails with a knife.¹⁰³ According to Carminius the Etruscans used a bronze plough-share in laying the foundations of a city, and the Sabines employed a blade of bronze to cut the hair of the priests.¹⁰⁴ Several other instances to the same effect are quoted by Bréal.¹⁰⁵ In the ritual of the Arval brothers several purificatory sacrifices occur when for some reason or other they had been obliged to use iron in connection with their sacred objects.¹⁰⁶ In certain cases of sorcery, also, iron must not be used. In the cure of certain diseases the sick person must not be touched with anything made of iron,¹⁰⁷ and in digging up magic plants iron implements must occasionally not be used.¹⁰⁸

The reason why iron is considered to possess mysterious properties, which render it serviceable as a charm, has in general been referred to the fact that, according to a popular belief, spirits and similar agencies belonging to remote antiquity have an aversion to this metal as being comparatively new. "This superstitious objection to iron," Sir James Frazer writes, "perhaps dates from that early time in the history of society when iron was still a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike. For everything new is apt to excite the awe and dread of the savage."¹⁰⁹ A similar opinion has been expressed by Tylor,¹¹⁰ Bréal,¹¹¹ and Wuttke,¹¹² in reference to certain particular peoples. No doubt the awe with which iron is regarded is also to be connected with the impression of wonder which its properties must excite, especially in undeveloped minds. People believe that in iron dwell mystical powers, which they may make use of together with the iron.

Thus, according to our opinion, the idea of the magical properties of iron has influenced the conception formed of the workers in

this metal. The smiths' reputation of being on intimate terms with supernatural forces affords also the explanation why in certain cases they are despised and in others enjoy esteem. They are despised as handicraftsmen of low standing who occupy themselves with forbidden arts, but the fear which their mysterious power inspires can in certain cases rise to respect and awe, thus elevating them to an influential and dominating rank.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL INEQUALITY CAUSED BY THE AMALGAMATION OF TRIBES

In the foregoing chapters we have in the main examined intratribal causes of the rise of social inequality. During a longer or shorter process of development a social differentiation has come to pass in the various communities between different orders of the population, and as we have seen, this has been brought about by very dissimilar agencies. It remains to examine the extratribal causes of the rise of classes, viz. the amalgamation of different peoples, proximately through conquest. When one tribe is subjugated by another and is fused with it into a common people, this does not usually take place upon equal conditions, but the conquering tribe forms as a rule the higher classes in the general community, the conquered tribe the lower classes.

In Chapter III we have referred to Gumplowicz' theory that social classes are a result of the struggle continuously waged between different races. The stronger people conquer its less strong adversary and invariably form the upper layer in the new community, which incorporate both, while the conquered people become the subordinate layer. Gumplowicz' theory has been supported, among others, by Ratzehofer¹ and Lester F. Ward. The latter explains his views in the following way. One of the first effects of the conquest is the subdivision of the amalgamating group into a series of more or less distinct strata, called castes. The conquering race becomes the high caste and the conquered race the low caste. Between them there soon develops an intermediate caste, necessary to the life of the group. The slaves of Greece and Rome, the plebeians of later Rome, the serfs and villains of feudal times, and the labouring and menial classes of all ages, have belonged to a different race from that of the citizens, patricians, nobles, lords, and upper classes generally. They represent the conquered races of the world, and had occupied those social positions since long before there was any written history of the countries in which they lived. It is this fact that concealed their true origin for so long, and obscured the great ethnic principle that underlies the social classes. The idea prevailed universally that they were *naturally* inferior, and that the existence of social classes was a natural condition and must always continue. But it is now beginning to be seen that the existence of lower classes was the result of early subjugation in the struggle of races which took place in the savage state of man.²

Numerous peoples in different parts of the world, where the institution of classes exists, exemplify how social differentiation is connected with the bringing together of different ethnical elements. Such examples we obtain especially from Africa. In south Central Africa the Makololo are spread over the country possessed by them as the lords of the land. The rest of the inhabitants are subject to them and must render certain services and aid in tilling the soil. This species of servitude is, according to Livingstone, the consequence of a subjugation by force of arms.³ The Bechuana "possess servants, or more properly slaves, belonging to the Makalahari race, sometimes termed the Bakalahari, who formerly owned the country between the Zambezi and the Orange River".⁴ In Western Uganda and adjoining countries the Bahima, who are of alien origin, dominate as an aristocracy the aboriginal Bantu population. At the present time they speak, with a marked accent of their own, the Bantu language of the country.⁵ The Tigré, who are the lowest class among the Bogos, consist to a great extent of the original inhabitants of the country who were subjugated by the Bogos on their invasion.⁶ The nobility in Abyssinia is said to have come into existence through the subjugation of the aborigines by an invading tribe.⁷ Several tribes in Samhar are divided into a nobility and an inferior class, of which the former is said to come from Tsanadeglé, and the latter to belong to the original population.⁸ The lowest rank among the Beni Amer is called *Woréza* which means "man" or "servant", or according to their descent *O'Hassa* or *O'Bedawi*, which are the names of two subjugated tribes.⁹ The pariah among Somali, Danakil, and Galla are said to be descended from the native population which was brought into a state of subjection by the conquering tribes.¹⁰ The ruling class of the Azkár constitutes by far the smaller part of the population of their country, while the great mass of the people consists of a subject and degraded tribe called Imghad, or, in the Arab form, Merátha or even Metáthra.¹¹ It appears that the superior classes of the Kél-owi in Aír belong to the very powerful and numerous tribe of the Aurághen, whence their dialect is called Auraghíye even at the present day.¹² The Wahinda are said to be a foreign and ruling family who, coming from a distant country, probably in the neighbourhood of Somaliland, conquered the territories, and became the sultans of their present country. Their superiority to their subjects in figure, statue, and complexion also suggests a difference of origin.¹³ Among the Wavinga¹⁴ as well as the people of Darfur¹⁵ the chiefs are of an alien conquering race. In wide districts of East Africa and Sudan bands of Arab origin have established themselves amongst the indigenous tribes as overlords and ruling families.¹⁶ The Fulbe or Fellani in north Central Africa are a similar conquering race; among many tribes they constitute the ruling classes.¹⁷

From certain other parts of the world similar examples are forthcoming. Among the Kands there dwell a lower race of people who occupy a degraded position and do all the menial work. "They are supposed to be the remnants of a ruder race, whom the Kands found in possession of the Hills, when they themselves were pushed backwards by the Aryans from the plains."¹⁸ The country of the Kamtis, a hill tribe of Lakhimpur in Assam, is also occupied by certain lower tribes, "apparently the remains of the earlier population who had been subjugated by the Kamtis."¹⁹ In Siam there are, besides the Siamese, Laos, Cambodian, Burmese, and other races "who have been subjugated in war; and who are absolute vassals to their masters or to the sovereign."²⁰ The bulk of the population of Lombock consists of Sassaks who are a Malay race of the Mohammedan religion. The ruling classes, on the other hand, are natives of the adjacent island of Bali, and are of the Brahmanic religion.²¹ In speaking of the wars of the Hawaiians, Ellis says, "When the vanquished were completely routed, or nearly cut off, their country was *hoopahora*, portioned out, by the conqueror among the chiefs and warriors who had been his companions in the war, by whom it was settled. The wives and children of those whom they had defeated were frequently made slaves and attached to the soil for its cultivation, and, together with the captives, treated with great cruelty."²² From South Australia we have an instance representing, as it seems, a very early state of social inequality depending upon the amalgamation of alien communities. We are told that the Ikula tribe, situated at the head of the Great Australian Bight, is divided into four different classes, two of which seem to hold a superior position to the others. This seems to justify "the belief that we may have here a case of two communities having amalgamated, but not on equal terms, one having been more powerful than the other". The superior tribe retains for itself greater privileges than it granted to the tribe admitted to its community, such, for instance, as certain rights of intermarriage.²³ The Peruvian Incas are known to have been a conquering race superior to the other races of the land in intellectual power.²⁴

From Europe, too, we have similar examples of the rise of class-inequality. The population in Sicyon consisted partly of immigrant Dorians and partly of native Achæans, the former of which, previous to the time of the tyrant Clistenes, evidently enjoyed privileges in advance of the latter.²⁵ In Argos the organization of the community was of a similar character, and previous to the introduction of a democratic constitution the Achæans certainly had not the same rights as the Dorians.²⁶ In Orchomenos in Bœotia there were two groups of inhabitants, one of which had its name from a mythical king, the other from a river in the country, and it seems evident that the former of the two groups was the dominant, and

the latter the subject one.²⁷ In like manner, in Cyzicus the Ionian immigrants had made themselves masters of the original agricultural inhabitants.²⁸ The Perioeci and Helots in ancient Sparta are said to have been Achæans who under various conditions had lost their independence to the ever forward-pressing Dorians.²⁹ Among the clients in ancient Rome there were entire bodies of citizens of conquered towns who were admitted within the pale of the Roman community.³⁰ Slavery among the ancient Teutons is said to have risen out of captivity in war, and afterwards to have been largely maintained in the same way.³¹ The origin of the class of the Liten or Aldien, who among the Western Teutons occupied an intermediate position between the free men and the serfs, is referred to the voluntary submission of vanquished tribes or groups to the victors.³² It is well known that after the Norman conquest all the greatest estates and highest offices in England were transferred from Saxon to Norman owners. Thus in the course of William the Conqueror's reign a territorial aristocracy of foreign birth was established in the land.³³

It would be of interest to see how customs, languages, etc., stand in relation to each other at the amalgamation of different peoples. The comparatively meagre information which we possess in this respect affords us but slight guidance, but it shows how difficult it is to set up general rules applicable to all cases. Much depends manifestly upon the relative proportions of the different elements of the population, upon their disposition, aptness to learn, etc. Ratzehofer expresses the opinion that at the fusion of two peoples through war it is generally the conquerors who adopt the culture of the subjugated people.³⁴ As a rule the stronger of the ethnical groups will naturally endeavour to assert and maintain its own interests in various respects. This is shown in many cases as regards the regulations for contracting matrimony between persons belonging to different sections of the same nation. Among the Kano of Hausa, the ruling classes, as we have seen, consist of Fulbe or Fellani elements, while the lower classes seem to belong to the Kanuri or Bornu nations. The Fulbe, we are told, "marry the handsome daughters of the subjugated tribe, but would not condescend to give their own daughters to the men of that tribe in marriage."³⁵ The Filata on the Lower Niger, who have subjugated the Nufi people, marry Nufi women, but never give their women in marriage to Nufi men.³⁶ In the Ikula community of South Australia, which we have mentioned before, the superior group of the Budera and Kurá retains to itself certain special privileges of intermarriage.³⁷

With regard to the language which wins predominance in a nation where two elements are by means of conquest amalgamated, Gumpłowicz has given as his opinion that the language of the subjugated majority will be the victorious one.³⁸ But this he bases

upon the doubtful supposition that it is always the smaller number that rules over the larger.³⁹ As examples of the presumed validity of his theory Gumpłowicz cites the Varjags in Russia, the Longobarders in Italy, and the Normans, first in France and then in England. He admits, however, that there are also instances to the contrary.⁴⁰

Doubtless the conditions of language vary in a considerable degree in a mixed nation, depending upon a whole number of determining circumstances. Among peoples of lower standing it seems generally to be the stronger conquering races that force their language upon the vanquished ones. The inhabitants of Bellima in the Monbatta country principally belong to the race of the Bamba. They have a language of their own, but have adopted the customs as well as the speech of the ruling classes, who are Manbatta.⁴¹ The Wa-boni (known by other names also) and the Endorobo are helot tribes living in serfdom with the Masai and the Galla, and speaking the languages of their masters, though they are said to retain independent tongues of their own.⁴² The nobility of the Bogos, about one-third of their people, are of Agou origin and have forced their language upon the rest of the population.⁴³ Garcilasso de la Vega writes respecting the ancient Peruvians, "Amongst other things that the Kings Yncas established for the good government of their empire, was that all their vassals should learn the language of the court, being that which is known as the general language. . . . It should be understood that the Yncas had another special language which they spoke among themselves, but which the other Indians did not understand, nor was it lawful for any to learn it."⁴⁴ In Northern California the Hupa hold most of their neighbouring tribes in a state of semi-vassalage, exacting from them annual tribute. They compel all their tributaries to the number of about half a dozen, to speak Hupa in communication with them. "Although most of their petty tributaries had their own tongues originally, so vigorously were they put to school in the language of their masters that most of their vocabularies were sapped and reduced to bald categories of names."⁴⁵

The amalgamation of two nationalities has not invariably been brought about by the conquerors invading the country of the vanquished and settling there. More often, perhaps, it has come to pass as a result of taking prisoners of war. The lowest classes of the victorious tribes are recruited from such captives of the bow and spear, who have been carried off from their own country. In Dahomey, for instance, there are said to be very few people of pure native blood, those who may claim to be of the race are the king's family and the nobles. As a military nation, the officers are native, the soldiery aliens, prisoners of war, or purchased slaves.⁴⁶ Among the Monbatta the servant class is chiefly recruited from Morvu.⁴⁷

In point of fact we see that the subjugation of one tribe by another is one of the most important sources of slavery. This is the case whether the conquering tribe settles in the country of the conquered, or only carries off prisoners of war thence. Among the children of nature the fate of the vanquished, so far as an amalgamation between them and their conquerors takes place, is most frequently, though not always, to serve the stronger as slaves. In numerous cases, where we see that the lower classes among a people have originally sprung from a subjugated alien nationality, the conquered race has at first occupied a position of servitude before possibly penetrating to other classes of the population. The various origins of slavery will be examined by us in later chapters.

After viewing the initial differentiation of social inequalities we have to follow up our subject by trying to explain the rise of actual classes with more or less definite characteristics. Our first object will be to determine whether there exist any general types of classes which would embody the great number of social orders and ranks found among different peoples.

In various parts of the uncivilized and semi-civilized world we meet with very comprehensive systems of classes. Most renowned among these are, perhaps, the Indian castes which represent an extremely complicated sphere of study, including not only social, political, and religious, but also racial problems, as can be seen from the vast literature dealing with this group of questions. Our task being to elucidate the general principles of the development of classes we cannot enter upon any descriptive inquiry regarding the historical origin of classes or castes in any particular country, an investigation which, in the case of the Indian tribes and castes, would probably require a lifetime. But it appears to us evident, that in India castes came into existence in a manner analogous to that in which the corresponding thing happened in other parts of the world. For as far as we can see, there are no circumstances which would speak against the probability that the Indian castes have arisen under the influence of the same intratribal and extratribal agencies which in one form or another have been at work wherever the formation of classes has taken place.

Throughout Old Polynesia, likewise, we find a system of many different social classes and subdivisions.⁴⁸ There, too, the question of racial dissimilarities between the different ranks adds to the difficulty of the class problem. Extensive class systems are moreover met with in certain parts of the East Indian archipelago,⁴⁹ among certain West African peoples,⁵⁰ and certain American Indians.⁵¹

In studying the many miscellaneous ranks and subgradations, into which the above-named and other peoples are divided, we come

to the conclusion that they can be classified into three main orders. One of the best defined strata in any community with a plurality of ranks seems to be the lowest order which performs the greatest part of all manual labour. Where the position of this nethermost class is particularly degraded it is spoken of as slaves. The uppermost layer of a community forms another more or less distinct class which by law or tradition occupies a privileged position. In typical cases this rank can be styled the nobility. The intermediate station in society between the lowest and the highest class is held by the commonalty or the middle class.

We believe that these three great social strata, the nobility, the free commonalty, and the slave class, include all the various ranks and sub-orders into which peoples with a developed class system are divided. Out of the great number of classes and sub-classes existing among various peoples there are, as a matter of course, some which occupy an intermediate position between nobility and commonalty on the one side and commonalty and the slave class on the other side, or which constitute some form of combination of the chief orders. The universal prevalence of the gradation of communities into the three divisions named above, is illustrated by the fact that a great number of peoples, in different parts of the world, are expressly stated to be divided into a nobility, a free commonalty, and a slave class.⁵² Fahlbeck has expressed the same opinion, that since the beginning of class systems the existing rank-classes have been three in number, the nobility (warriors), the common free people, and the unfree. A fourth class, with characteristics of its own, is the priesthood.⁵³ With reference to the cultural community of the present time Cooley writes, "It may be well to divide the population roughly into three classes: the well-to-do at one extreme, those in actual want at the other, and the vast intermediate class who come under neither description."⁵⁴

Not all these three chief orders mentioned above are necessarily represented in every class-community. On the contrary, either the nobility or the slave class may be missing, in which case only a commonalty and either a nobility or a slave class are to be found.

Different classes in a noteworthy way presuppose one another. We cannot form an idea of slaves without a co-existing free population, nor of any oppressed class without oppressors. A nobility can hardly exist without a subordinate free class or commonalty, which makes its superiority as the highest free rank prominent. In an opposite way it is in the first place with the same free commonalty that the slave class stands in contrast. And the commonalty, which corresponds to the population as a whole in communities without distinction of classes, does not constitute any rank without the co-existence of a nobility or a slave class.

Another notable fact is that the intrinsic principles underlying the division of communities into the three main orders mentioned before, are recognizable from the very beginning of class-inequality right through the social history of mankind. Within the higher and highest civilization of our time, with a slave class non-existent, the corresponding three orders are the upper class, the middle class, and the class of manual labourers. Apart from variations as regards names and social standing, the functional significance of the trisectional division of modern society is much the same as that among uncivilized races.

Side by side with the horizontal social strata or ranks referred to above, priesthood occupies a specific position of its own which will be our subject of study in the next chapters.

B. THE ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD

CHAPTER VIII

INTRODUCTION: THE HUMAN NEED OF MEDIATORS WITH THE PRETERNATURAL WORLD

The object of the preceding chapters has been to throw light upon incipient social inequality before the process of differentiation has led to the formation of definite classes. We have also indicated that, according to our opinion, the multiformity of social ranks and subdivisions which are found within certain native cultures can be classified into three main orders, a nobility, a free commonalty, and a slave class. To this system of classes is to be added the priesthood which is characterized by marked attributes of its own.

When investigating the phases of the earliest priesthood our scope is marked out by the motley collection of "priests", "medicine-men", "wizards", "rain-doctors", or whatever names are used of those supernaturalistic practitioners appearing among all savage races. One of the first questions confronting us is whether all this galaxy of more or less picturesque figures must be included in our inquiry. Should not magicians and sorcerers be left out of a study of priesthood? There can be no hesitation on our part as to the necessity of taking into consideration every type of preternatural operator, independent of the names used of them and the nature of the practices in which they are engaged. One of the first and strongest impressions any student of primitive religion obtains is that of the confusedness of the supernatural conceptions, religious and magical, in the beliefs and rituals of savage races. Consequently, the persons, too, who put these beliefs into practice and perform these rites, are inextricably intermixed as regards the theoretical types represented by them. It is our belief that wherever practices with a supernatural bearing occur among native races, whether performed by private individuals or professional officiators, and independent of the character of the functions implied, they serve to illustrate, in some way or other, the nature of the supernatural life of the people in question and, accordingly, phases of the development of a priesthood. When searching for the first beginnings of a priesthood we have to trace them back to the very origin of religious and magical practices.

Our subject is in a way connected with the old question whether the actual existence of a religion can be looked upon as universal among all human races or not. In our days this question, however,

has lost the whole of the actuality it possessed a generation ago when, among others, Lord Avebury, in conformity with a certain "higher estimate" of religion held by him, denied the universal existence of religious ideas. His list of savages without a religion included the Tupinamba and certain other South American Indians, certain tribes in California and Canada, the Samoans, Solomon and Caroline Islanders, the Andamaners, certain Kafirs and tribes in East and Central Africa, the Hottentots, certain Eskimo, and others.¹ Spencer, too, was of opinion that, "among various savages, religious ideas do not exist," although "in such cases there is commonly a notion, here distinct and there vague, of something supernatural associated with the dead".² The knowledge regarding the religion of primitive races is naturally very much more complete at the present time than it was in Lord Avebury's and Spencer's age. As an example we may mention that in 1928 appeared a detailed monograph, embodying 260 pages, on *La Religion des Tupinamba*, by A. Métraux, the very tribe which heads the list of peoples among whom Lord Avebury believed no religion to be found. If, in accordance with Tylor, we regard religion as a "belief in spiritual beings",³ adding, with Sir James Frazer⁴ and Westermarck,⁵ a tendency to propitiate these beings or otherwise influence them in one's favour, by means of cult, there cannot be any doubt that religious beliefs and practices are found among all native tribes known. The universality of religion can be regarded as admitted in the whole of modern ethnological literature dealing with the subject.⁶ Besides, from the point of view of our subject, it is of equal importance to know whether magic has to be looked upon as occurring among all human races. In that respect uncertainty has never prevailed. Even Lord Avebury owned that there seems to be no degraded race without "a more or less vague belief in witchcraft", and that "divination and sorcery are so widely distributed that they may almost be said to have been universal".⁷

As a matter of fact there is an abundance of reports stating that supernaturalistic practitioners, under varying nomenclature, are met with among all the races and tribes which are traditionally reckoned as belonging to the lowest level of culture. It does not seem necessary here to support this statement with references.

What must be acknowledged, however, by every student of ethnology is that among many savage tribes of a low grade of culture religious life is very rudimentarily developed. Even among such a people as the Kiwai Papuans, while the initial period of religion, comprehending myths and legends of a supernatural world, is exceedingly rich, only the very beginnings of cult and ritual can be traced.⁸ Such conditions, existing among many undeveloped peoples, give us the opportunity of studying the rise and

development of the order of priestly functionaries from the very outset of their appearance.

One circumstance regarding the rise of priesthood which is calculated to attract attention is the fact that functionaries, unmistakably bearing the traits of that order, are met with at an earlier stage of evolution than representatives of any other social class. As a matter of fact, "seers," "medicine-men," "magicians," etc., are the first specialists to differentiate from the otherwise homogeneous body of primitive tribes, before the formation of social ranks or even general social inequality, and before the development of any further division of labour. Thus, individuals performing functions which appertain to a priesthood are met with among such undeveloped races as the Australians, Fuegians, Andamaners, and all others relegated to the lowest group, although, as previously stated, equality as regards social standing and distribution of labour reigns within all these tribes.

Priesthood is distinguished by much more specific characteristics of its own than any of the general social orders or ranks. The nobility, the free commonalty, and the slave class by no means constitute any uniform types in all communities where these strata are found. When classifying the different social ranks and subgradations of a community we often have to hesitate as to which of the main orders should include a certain individual or group, but we need hardly ever be doubtful whether anyone is connected with the priesthood or not.

All these circumstances are connected with the fact that priesthood not only forms a social order but also a profession, which is not the case with any of the mere rank-divisions. On the contrary, the occupations as well as the type of a nobility, middle class, and slave class greatly vary among different peoples, particularly such as belong to dissimilar economic and cultural groups. As a profession priesthood everywhere forms a very uniform body. On the one hand, the province of priesthood comprehends all professional functions referring to religious and magical practices. On the other hand, the priesthood is exclusively concerned with those matters, as other offices with which priests may in some cases be entrusted are all more or less intimately associated with their religious position.

While the character of the general or lay orders entirely varies according to the livelihood and occupations of the different peoples, the function of the priesthood is little or not at all influenced by the work and mode of living of the peoples to which they belong. Independent of outward conditions the priesthood within all cultures displays a remarkable conformity. Everywhere the authority of the priests is upheld by the same popular belief in their spiritual superiority and in the advantages obtainable through them. Everywhere their mediation is required in the craving for supernatural

assistance in the adversities and misfortunes of human life. The professional relation between the priests and their fellow-tribesmen is therefore, to a great extent, the same among all peoples. And the methods adopted by the priests in fulfilling their duties and asserting their interests show a remarkable correspondence throughout the world, although naturally varying on different levels of culture.

Although, as we have seen, the priesthood occupies an exceptional position in society, yet it displays, at the same time, certain of the traits characteristic of the other main classes. As a rule, the ordinary social classes have each their special functions, division of labour being one of the chief factors in determining the distinction of classes. In this respect priesthood corresponds with the other classes. It constitutes a functionary order, and similarly as in the case of the other social divisions, economic and class interests are attached to the activities of priesthood. The prosperity of the priestly order greatly depends upon the ability of its members, and this fact has no doubt influenced the development of priesthood.

Politically, too, a certain conformity exists between priesthood and the other classes. As a matter of course the standing of the priesthood in the community varies among different peoples, but what may be looked upon as a rule is that the sacerdotal order occupies a social rank in the same manner as do the other classes. We shall see in a later chapter that, among many peoples, the priests exercise great authority in political concerns also. And as political influence and high rank generally go together, they are, as a rule, among such peoples, on a footing of equality with the ruling classes. Among other peoples where they have less power, their standing corresponds with that of somewhat lower ranks. Thus, the varying influence enjoyed by the priestly order tends to raise them to a higher, or lower them to a minor rank within the pale of society, as is the case with the other classes. Whether the priesthood holds a higher or lower position in a community does not influence the specific character of that order.

We have previously noted that different rank-classes presuppose one another. Priesthood, on the other hand, is not particularly connected with any other class. Priests, as we have seen, are met with where there are no other classes at all. Moreover, the relation between the priests and any of the other classes is, as a rule, different from the mutual relation of those classes. The interconnection between higher and lower classes in society is generally marked by their opposite interests. The priests, on the other hand, are not necessarily at variance with any other class. On the contrary, they are in many cases in the position of being able to promote their own interests by meeting that need of divine or magical help which men in every class of society may think it their interest to have satisfied.

Priesthood owes its origin to the universal need felt by mankind of superhuman assistance in the struggle of life. Among all peoples the belief exists that, in certain circumstances, advantages of some kind or other are obtainable from the supernatural world. Equally universal is the desire to gain possession of those advantages. Man endeavours to influence by propitiation the beings which govern the universe or to control the course of events by magic of his own. Not all the benefits supposed to be obtainable in either of these ways consist of positive blessings; on the contrary, they may in the first place imply the prevention of an evil. The need for guidance in these matters has given rise to the various kinds of magical and religious practitioners among savage peoples which are to be considered as pioneers of an organized priesthood. But among civilized peoples, also, surviving traces of the same need characterize the authority of the priesthood.

Among savage races there has never been any lack of magical and religious methods by which to seek supernatural benefits. In spite of the universal belief in the existence of more or less infallible means of influencing fortune, certain persons are, as a rule, supposed to possess greater knowledge and power than others to secure the proper results. These individuals appear to us in the form of priests and magicians.

It is well known how entirely, in many cases, savages ascribe natural occurrences in their lives to supernatural causes.⁹ These questions have been largely investigated, particularly in connection with research concerning the origin of religion. "Primitive man," Lévy-Bruhl writes, "lives and acts in an environment of beings and objects, all of which, in addition to the properties that we recognize them to possess, are endowed with mystic attributes. He perceives their objective reality mingled with another reality. He feels himself surrounded by an infinity of imperceptible entities nearly always invisible to sight, and always redoubtable: oftentimes the souls of the dead are about him, and always he is encompassed by myriads of spirits of more or less defined personality."¹⁰ "The Congo natives," it is stated, "are entirely ignorant of the laws of Nature, all sensations are ascribed to the influence of spirits. All that is unaccountable to the native mind is at once enveloped with the property of magic. All ills and misfortunes are supposed to emanate from the evil spirit."¹¹ The same has been observed with reference to the aborigines of Liberia: the native pictures to himself the world as peopled by invisible spirits, to whom he ascribes all the misfortunes happening to him.¹² As one penetrates deeper into the sphere of thought of the Zulu, it will be perceived that the people are filled with the idea that they live in dependence upon spiritual beings, who exercise the greatest influence upon the fate of the whole community and also of that of each separate individual.¹³ Of the

Angahmi Naga it is said that "each god, or spirit, has in their estimation the power to afflict them with sickness, ill luck, and a variety of calamities, or to make them successful in their incursions, and prosperous in their undertakings or daily occupations".¹⁴ Surrounded by endless natural phenomena wholly unintelligible to them, the Wild Dyaks of Borneo "imagined minute emanations of the gods in all the energies of nature and circumstances of life—in prosperity and adversity, in health and disease".¹⁵ The inhabitants of the Society islands imagined that "they lived in a world of spirits, which surrounded them night and day, watching every action of their lives".¹⁶ Whatever the Pelew Islanders undertook, they had first to conciliate their god or, rather, to guard themselves against his anger.¹⁷ By the Australian natives "every natural phenomenon is believed to be the work of demons, some of which seem of a benign nature".¹⁸ The Mosquito Indians considered the Wulasha, or "devil", to be the cause of all misfortunes and contrarieties that happen.¹⁹ The Patagonians believe in a great number of demons wandering about the world, "and attribute to them all the evil that is done in it, whether to man or beast."²⁰

Among the influences that the spirits are believed to exercise upon the condition of mankind those appearing in certain natural phenomena make themselves particularly felt. Rain and wind, increase of vegetation and animal life, on which the prosperity of many peoples depends, are among the savages universally ascribed to the action of mystic powers. By the Tshi-speaking peoples in West Africa, Bobowissi, the lord of thunder and lightning, was believed to send storms and tornadoes and torrents of rain which destroyed the mud dwellings of the people.²¹ Among the Basiba, a tribe living west of the Victoria Nyanza, the benevolent god is believed to cause rain and make crops and bananas grow, whereas the evil god provokes lightning and storm and prevents the rain from falling.²² The Kafirs consider that lightning is governed by the spirit of the greatest of their departed chiefs,²³ and the Hottentots believe thunder to be occasioned by an evil spirit.²⁴ By the Munda Kohls bad growth is attributed to the same cause.²⁵ The Konds have a god of fountains who is invoked when the water dries up, a god of rain and a god of hunting.²⁶ It is a Vedda belief that their tutelary spirits give them the prey when hunting.²⁷ The Mantave Indian Islanders believe that the spirits "cause thunder and lightning, heavy winds and rains, conflagrations, inundations and earthquakes".²⁸ In the Bismarck Archipelago failure of crops and drought are ascribed to the agency of evil spirits.²⁹ In Bornabi they petition the spirit of some deceased chief to grant them success in fishing, and an abundant crop of breadfruit and yams.³⁰ The Kurnai think that whales are sent ashore for them by the spirits when these monsters happen to be stranded.³¹ Hudson Bay Eskimo assume that a great

spirit controls the reindeer.³² To the thinking of the ancient Semites the life-giving power of the god was not limited to vegetable nature, but to him also was ascribed the multiplication of flocks and herds.³³ Among the ancient Scandinavians Thor was the god of thunder and favourable showers, and Frey the god of crops and fertile vegetation.³⁴ The ancient Finns had a number of gods to whom they ascribed power over different departments of nature including the vegetable and animal worlds.³⁵

How illness and death impress the savage with the idea of a supernatural origin has been frequently described in ethnological literature.³⁶ Innumerable instances could be quoted to show that the savage cannot, as a rule, form a proper conception of illness, and that he is equally at a loss before the mystery of death. Yet over and over again cases of disease and death come before his eyes. The belief that these evils are due to supernatural causes provides the obvious explanation to the savage mind. It does not seem necessary to add fresh instances for the elucidation of the above conceptions. We only wish to state that among savage peoples two different ideas are met with as to the nature of disease and death. According to the one, gods or spirits, for different reasons and in different ways, cause these two evils among men. In accordance with the other view, the phenomena have their origin in the magic of evil-doers. So deeply rooted are these ideas among primitive peoples, that many of them are stated invariably to ascribe all disease and death either to the agency of spirits or to witchcraft.

The universal conviction among savages that all notable incidents in nature as well as in human life are governed by supernatural agencies has largely contributed to the origin of a priestly order. As far as the belief in the influence of spiritual beings and the potency of magic extends, so far extends also the need of adepts acquainted with the wishes of the spirits or skilled in witchcraft. People require the services of those able to give advice or take the lead in their mysterious machinations, hence the great importance attached to the supernaturalistic practitioners. So long as the people enjoy the assistance of their own mystery-men, they need not fear spirits or witches, since the spells of the latter can be averted by the incantations and devices of the former. It is easy to see what an important part the priest class play in early society and how urgently their help is needed in all circumstances of life.

• In many cases savages think themselves unable to communicate directly with the supernatural powers. Acknowledging their inferiority in this respect they regard their divines as the only mediators between them and the spiritual beings. Their "wise men" are their sole protectors without whom the ignorant population would be abandoned to all the misfortunes arising from the

anger of the spirits or from sorcery. Concerning the task of the medicine-men Maddox writes, "The ordinary individual distrusts his ability single-handed and alone to deal with the superior powers of the unseen world. The consequence is that generally he will delegate this task to some person possessed of greater wisdom, knowledge, and power. And among savage peoples the man who gains repute for dealing successfully with ghosts and spirits is an important personage. . . . Uncivilized people, who live under the immediate influence of nature and of blind chance, are interested above all in the means of escaping evil fortune and propitiating the forces of evil. They want protection from drought, lightning, storm, disease, death, and enemies. Not all can attain the means of winning good and averting ill. Some persons are endowed with the requisite knowledge, and are thus fitted to be intercessors between their fellow men and the unknown powers. These are the shamans, and their art is shamanism."³⁷ A similar notion has been expressed by Lippert.³⁸ According to a description of the old Bechuana they believed all space to be full of the spirits of their ancestors. Earth, air, and sky were crowded with ghosts who could exercise a baleful influence on the living, if they chose. It was necessary to keep on good terms with them, and so the need of magical rites arose, and there grew up a body of men, or rather a cult, professing to be skilled in such things. These persons claimed that they could control or avert the malignant operations of these spirits; their chief functions were the detection of wicked persons who were in communication with the ghosts themselves.³⁹ The belief of the Kafirs in "bewitching matter" produces the most distressing superstitious dread. "Hence the witch doctor or priest is a felt necessity; *someone to go between*, and turn aside threatened vengeance." The priests are the only recognized men who can appease the gods and remove the calamities sent by them.⁴⁰ An analogous description is given of the medicine-man of the Karamoja in Uganda,⁴¹ and also of certain dwarf tribes in Malaya.⁴² The Ipurina Indians in Brazil think their wizards alone able to conjure the spirits,⁴³ and, similarly, the shaman only is by the Hudson Bay Eskimo supposed to be capable of dealing with the great evil spirit.⁴⁴ By means of their Angakoks the Greenlanders expected advantages from supernatural beings.⁴⁵ The shamans of the ancient Finns were able to communicate with the spirits, whereas the supernatural world was closed to ordinary people.⁴⁶

A legend of the Buryat narrates that the first shamans were sent by the gods to men for the particular purpose of protecting them against the evil spirits.⁴⁷ The Oráon or Dhángur in Chota Nagpore demand of their priests that they look after and regulate the precautionary measures to be taken against malignant spirits.⁴⁸ Without their shamans the Tarahumare, a Mexican tribe, would feel

lost both in this life and after death.⁴⁹ Im Thurn says respecting certain Indians of Guiana, "It is almost impossible to over-estimate the dreadful sense of constant and unavoidable danger in which the Indian would live were it not for his trust in the protecting power of the peaman," who is the benevolent wizard-priest.⁵⁰ The doctor of the Tehuelche in Patagonia is expected by the people to conciliate or banish the evil spirit who constantly endeavours to inflict harm upon them.⁵¹ In Ashanti the people believe "that evils can only be removed, and desired benefits conferred by the fetishes; and that their friendly interposition must be sought through the medium of their servants or ministers."⁵² Among the Kafirs, "each tribe has its national priests, or 'intonga yakwomkulu', whose duty it is to protect the person of the chief, to avert all national calamities from the tribe, and especially to make the army strong to fight and conquer all its enemies."⁵³

The principal duty of the priests is to direct, or give advice as to communication with the supernatural existences. As all the dreaded spirits do not stand in the same relation to men, the assistance of the priests must often be called in to point out the special deities to which the people should offer their sacrifices. The genii are believed to bear ill-will to men, and therefore it is also the duty of the spiritual guardians to give directions as to the proper offerings. It is all the more necessary to know how to please the gods as they are generally held to be very particular about the proper form of prayer and sacrifice. This is said to be the case, for instance, with the gods of the Cheremisses, a Finnish tribe in Eastern Russia, which has up to this time preserved a number of pagan observances. Therefore even an expert shaman among them, when invoking the gods, asks forgiveness for involuntary mistakes regarding the form of his prayers.⁵⁴ A Russian writer, speaking of the origin of the Siberian shamans, says that ordinary people are not believed by the aborigines to know what sacrifices the spirits require, nor to understand the art of divination. The need of persons properly qualified to advise the people in these matters has given rise to the profession of the shaman.⁵⁵ The people of Nias, in the Malay Archipelago, believe that the benevolent spirits have power over the evil ones who cause all kinds of calamities. But it is difficult to know which of the good spirits should be invoked on a particular occasion of distress. This can only be found out through the medium of the priests.⁵⁶ Although, among the Lapps, each one in ordinary cases sacrifices for himself, the shaman is often consulted to point out the proper deity on each occasion as well as the kind of offering and the place of sacrifice.⁵⁷ The same duty is incumbent upon the priest of the Wotyak, a Finnish tribe in Eastern Russia.⁵⁸ Among the Eskimo about Bering Strait, "observance of various festivals and the attendant rites are usually executed according to the instructions

of shamans, who learn by the aid of their mysterious power what is acceptable to the shades and the *tunghât*," or tutelary spirits.⁵⁹

To the influence of the gods, as we have seen, various phenomena in nature are ascribed. The priests are also in many cases believed to be able to perform seeming miracles, either by influencing the gods or through their own powers. Many peoples regard their priests as indispensable for procuring rain or fine weather, for causing good growth or ensuring success in hunting and fishing. The Bantu, for instance, are said invariably to attribute the absence of rain "to supernatural causes—the displeasure of the vague beings in the unknown realms outside mortal vision, where goodwill must be won back by those who understand how to do it. . . . In every tribe there were skilled professional rain-makers whose services were in great request."⁶⁰ The people of Loango ask rain and fair weather of the priests as they do of the king.⁶¹ By the natives of the Upper Congo the fetish-men are believed to control rain and drought, to confer success in hunting, and to promote good growth.⁶² The Eskimo think their *Angakoks* able to produce favourable weather and success in hunting.⁶³ Tlinkit shamans make good weather and abundant fishing.⁶⁴ The Cherokee believe that their priests can bring rain, fine weather, heat, cooling breezes, thunder and lightning.⁶⁵ The sorcerers of the Southern Californians are likewise supposed to control the elements.⁶⁶ Indians of the upper Amazon credited their medicine-men with power to bring or send away rain, to destroy dogs or game, and to make the fish leave a river.⁶⁷ The Maori priests could rule the winds and render them favourable for fishing.⁶⁸ In Melanesia the mystery-men are believed to move the spirits "to interfere for wind or calm, sunshine or rain, as may be desired".⁶⁹ Different classes of magicians among the Jervis Islanders lure dugong, turtle, and fish by certain charms, or make wind and rain.⁷⁰ In the New Hebrides, "it is the sorcerers who make the rains, the sunshine, etc."⁷¹ The Australian wizards are invested with the power of commanding the rain.⁷² Among the Malays of Malacca the assistance of the *Pawangm*, or village sorcerer, is invoked in all agricultural operations, in fishing at sea, and in prospecting for minerals.⁷³ Certain of the Kirghiz wizards not only foretell, but also govern the weather and make the herds increase.⁷⁴ The sorcerers of the Lapps are believed to be able to procure or avert rain as well as to conjure up or drive away insects.⁷⁵

The need of priests and sorcerers appears convincingly when one examines the assistance universally required from them in cases of illness. The art of healing disorders through invocation of the spiritual beings or by magical practices, is naturally connected with the notions of the savage regarding illness, as laid down above.

From these ideas medicine-men derive their origin. There is a universal belief among uncivilized peoples that the help for illness consists in conciliation of the spirits or in the magic art, and consequently the only helpers are those who understand how to perform the appropriate rites. Among many peoples in different parts of the world priests and sorcerers are considered to be the most important personages in cases of illness, and sometimes they alone are said to be capable of giving assistance to their suffering fellow-tribesmen. Thus, according to the belief of certain peoples in Equatorial Africa, the evil genius which causes diseases of an epileptic character can only be driven out by the assistance of the fetish or medicine-man.⁷⁶ The priests of the Kimbunda in South-West Africa declare that they only are able to cure the sick, owing to their power over the spirits.⁷⁷ The Kafir tribe of Koossas contend that the task of driving away the evil spirits, which cause their diseases, must be performed by a magician.⁷⁸ When anyone among the Biyâr or Biâr in India falls ill, it is only the Ohjas, or priest-doctor, who can recognize the peculiar " Bhut " which is at the root of the mischief.⁷⁹ Among the Kond, " in cases of illness, as of every other species of misfortune, it is the duty of the priest to discover the real or supposed causes." ⁸⁰ Exactly the same is reported from certain Siberian peoples.⁸¹ The Sea Dyak believe all maladies to be inflicted by the passing or the touch of demons, who are enemies of mankind. In accordance with this idea of disease, the only person who can cure the sick man is the one who can cope with the unseen evil spirit. The Manang, or medicine-man, claims to be able to do this. He can charm or persuade or kill the evil spirit and rescue the departing soul from his clutches.⁸² When an Apache " is taken ill the medicine-men are in the zenith of their glory ".⁸³ Among the Ojibway the benevolent priest is alone supposed to have the power to expel the demon possessing a patient.⁸⁴ Almost the same is stated respecting the sorcerers of the Warraus in British Guiana ⁸⁵ and the Ipurina in Brazil.⁸⁶ When a Chacta is taken ill, he gives all he has for being attended by the medicine-man.⁸⁷ The Maori are told by their priests that the spirit is sure to remain in the body of a sick person, until the priests exorcise him.⁸⁸

In addition to the above examples we find it very often stated that the priesthood of native tribes includes the medical art.⁸⁹ By virtue of their extraordinary powers the priests are considered to be masters of the spiritual and magical causes of illness. This is the reason why their services are required in times of bodily distress.

The wisdom of the priests is frequently wanted to explain the directions of the supernatural powers as denoted by certain signs. There is a widespread belief that the gods sometimes communicate to the living information and advice respecting various events. Such divine suggestions may of course be extremely useful to men if

properly interpreted. They are generally transmitted by deceased ancestors and other friendly spirits.

The counsels of the gods are frequently conveyed in dreams. Tylor has collected many instances regarding the art of taking omens from dreams.⁹⁰ Communications in dreams from deceased relatives or nature-spirits occur very frequently among the Kiwai Papuans. The Maori are said to be "great observers of dreams, which were formerly thought to be sent by their gods to advertise them of coming events;"⁹¹ "commands given in that way are implicitly obeyed, and often influence their most important actions."⁹² It was a Tonga belief that the souls of Egies, or nobles, appeared in dreams and visions to their relatives and others.⁹³ The Barito river natives of Borneo consider dreams "the principal means of communication between the dead and their friends and relations, by which the former may make known their wishes and give them good advice".⁹⁴ The priests of the Párháriá, who inhabit the summit of the Rajmahal hills in India, declare truths respecting the future by an interpretation of their own dreams.⁹⁵ Several other tribes in India attribute dreams to the displeasure of deceased relatives who appear to them and prescribe offerings if not propitiated.⁹⁶ It frequently happens among the Zulu that the gods are thought to warn the people in dreams, and instances of such beliefs are supplied.⁹⁷ By the Nootka dreams are believed to be the visits of spirits or of the wandering souls of some living persons.⁹⁸ The Seelish Indians believe that a familiar spirit directs their actions by dreams or presentiments.⁹⁹ Among the Wotyak sick persons are believed to be informed in a dream what sacrifice is necessary for their recovery, and generally, among the same and other Finno-Ugrian tribes, various wishes and instructions are supposed to be communicated in dreams by the gods.¹⁰⁰

Besides giving warnings in dreams, the gods are believed to announce their wishes and guide men in other ways. Among several European peoples in former times, as is well known, divine signs were looked for in the entrails of certain animals, in the flight and cry of birds, etc. Similar auguration is practised among certain uncivilized peoples, as for instance the Guarani in Brazil,¹⁰¹ the Tahitians,¹⁰² Hervey Islanders,¹⁰³ Maori,¹⁰⁴ Kiwai Papuans,¹⁰⁵ certain inhabitants of the Malay archipelago, and others.¹⁰⁶ Some tribes in the interior of East Africa attribute earthquakes to the efforts of the spirit of some departed king endeavouring to break through the surface of the earth in order to inform descendants of an impending calamity.¹⁰⁷ When, among the Kafirs of Natal, a wild animal enters a kraal, which it is supposed it would not do of its own accord, it is "regarded as a messenger from the spirits to remind the people that they had done something wrong".¹⁰⁸

Finally, diseases are often regarded as signs of the displeasure

of the gods in the case of some neglect of religious duty. The gods, being sharp disciplinarians, are believed on such occasions to deal out all sorts of sufferings. Beliefs like this are reported of a great number of peoples.¹⁰⁹

The signs given by the gods to mankind are, however, as a rule, very difficult for ordinary people to understand. They have therefore to put in requisition the wisdom of their priests when desirous of interpreting the divine directions. Speaking of the Galla, Paulitschke explains how to the savage mind the mysteries of animate and inanimate nature, of the sky and of human life, require an interpreter who is able, through his wonderful power and genius, to pronounce the will and intentions of the supreme being. This interpreter, he says, is the sorcerer or magician.¹¹⁰ According to Robertson Smith and A. Bertholet, the Arabs believed that the skilled could read the omens in which the voice of the god might be uttered, and they listened to that voice of the god in the inspired rhymes of the soothsayers.¹¹¹ Regarding the Bafiôte in Congo it is said that not everyone is able to interpret the language and utterances of the fetish; this is the function of the priest.¹¹² Among the Zulu the priests play an important part as interpreters of communications from the spirits. The gods appear to men in the shape of a snake, and only the priests understand the modes of expression of that creature.¹¹³ In accordance with a similar belief, one of the first qualifications for the office of a priest among the Batak in Sumatra consists in an adequate skill in interpreting signs and omens.¹¹⁴ Among the Sea Dyak the priests are supposed to understand the language of the invisible spirits.¹¹⁵ In Minahassa, in Celebes,¹¹⁶ and among the Maori¹¹⁷ the priests had to interpret the omens in which the people believed.

The help of the priests and sorcerers is not only needed for protecting people against evil influences and for securing benefits from supernatural beings. The vindictive nature of savages impels them, likewise, to plot against their enemies, trying to bring upon them all the misfortunes in their power. For such purposes the aid of a powerful sorcerer is of great value. In a report of the Australian race it is stated that the principal object to which sorcery is applied is the taking of the lives of enemies.¹¹⁸ The doctors of Victoria are believed to be instructed by the spirits as to the mode of killing a man of a strange or hostile tribe.¹¹⁹ In Tahiti wizards were sometimes hired to destroy other persons.¹²⁰ In Fiji, too, the evil-working power of wizards or priests may be purchased.¹²¹ If a Fijian wishes to cause the destruction of an individual by other means than open violence or secret poison, the case is put into the hands of one of the sorcerers.¹²² Similar practices are reported from Hawaii,¹²³ the Pelew Islands,¹²⁴ and Melanesia.¹²⁵ Among the natives of the upper Congo the fetishmen are resorted to, should anyone desire to inflict evil

upon his enemies.¹²⁶ The Cherokee medicine-men are said to destroy life for remuneration.¹²⁷ The sorcerers among the Tarahumare in Mexico accept payment for services of this kind.¹²⁸ Among certain aboriginal tribes of Brazil there are said to be such as will give the medicine-men instructions to poison their enemies.¹²⁹

Considering the important services which the priests and sorcerers are able to render their tribesmen, it is no wonder that the sacerdotal office is looked upon with veneration and awe. The universal need of mediation between mankind and the supernatural world is supplied by priests and wizards who, as intercessors with the unknown powers, are constantly applied to for advice or active services. Thus, it is stated that the Batak of Sumatra will not engage in any undertaking, however trifling, without first consulting the priest.¹³⁰ The Maori priests, "in war and peace, in the day of plenty and of famine . . . were invariably looked up to as advisers."¹³¹ The savages of New Caledonia never entered upon an important undertaking, such as war, without endeavouring to prognosticate the issue, and it was the charge of the religious leader to find that out.¹³² In Hawaii, too, "war is seldom declared without the approbation of the gods, obtained through the medium of the priests."¹³³ The "pagés" of certain Indians on the Amazon are much consulted and believed in, and an Indian will give all he possesses to a "pagé" when he is threatened with any real or imaginary danger.¹³⁴ The word of the East African priest-doctor "is potent for life and death. At his command—or rather suggestion—the village is removed; men, women, and children are slain or enslaved; wars are begun and ended."¹³⁵ It is reported of other peoples, too, that they constantly ask the advice of their wizard doctors in the most varied matters.¹³⁶

In short, the ideas which give the psychological explanation of the origin of priesthood, are of fundamental significance in the mental life of the savages. Undeveloped peoples believe themselves exposed to every kind of influence from the spirits as well as to the secret machinations of their enemies, and the principal means of protection from these dangers is in trusting to the cunning of their priests and magicians. The belief in spirits and magic has an extraordinary power in ruling the actions of the lower races, and, to quote an early authority speaking of the inhabitants of Central Africa, "wherever supernaturalisms are in requisition, men will be found, for a consideration, to supply them."¹³⁷

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF PRIESTS

Apart from the magicians, priesthood is closely associated with gods. For this reason it will be perceived that the origin and development of priesthood, in a restricted sense of the word, and the origin and development of the belief in gods run, on the whole, along parallel lines. Different systems of religion, ancestor-worship, and worship of the gods of nature, in the first instance, have to a certain extent exercised a different influence upon the evolution of priesthood.

Ancestor-cult, in some form or other, can be regarded as universal among all savage races. It is well known that Spencer even thought that form of belief to be the root of every religion.¹

We have to consider it a characteristic fact that the worship of deified men is, as a rule, confined to the kindred group, and in the first place to the separate families. In general, ancestral gods are only worshipped by their descendants, as little or no connection is believed to exist between the dead and the living outside the consanguineous group. We are, in some cases, expressly told that the benevolence of ancestral gods on the whole comprehends their kindred only. Thus, we find the belief prevailing among the Maori that the spirits "confine their care almost exclusively to persons among the living with whom they are connected by ties of relationship".² In Hawaii the people imagined that the spirits of the dead chiefs sometimes returned to earth and watched over the welfare of their surviving relatives. The common people had no support to expect from the spirit-world, as the souls of that class were not supposed to exist after death.³ From Tonga we hear of the same belief.⁴ According to notions of the Cheremisses, wherever the dead may dwell, they never break the ties which connect them with their relatives. Their influence upon their families even grows more powerful after death than it was during their lifetime.⁵ The Selish Indians believe that "a familiar spirit is always with them on earth, taking care of them and directing their actions by dreams or presentiments during their lifetime, and after death remaining on earth to watch over their nearest friends".⁶ Among the Vedda, "every near relative becomes a spirit after death, who watches over the welfare of those who are left behind. Those, which include their ancestors and their children, they term their *néhya yakoon*, kindred spirits."⁷

The worship of ancestral gods within the separate families is not calculated to develop a priesthood extending its activities over a whole community or tribe, owing to the exclusive character of such

gods. The authority of the conductor of family-worship is in the first place restricted to the group worshipping the god to whom he is attached, i.e. the family itself.

Deification of ancestors, however, is not confined to families. Whole tribes frequently worship the spirits of departed men, but in that case the ancestral gods for the most part amalgamate with other classes of generally worshipped deities.

Such ancestral gods, which are worshipped by whole tribes, seem as a rule to have originated in a manner analogous to that of ancestors deified within their own families. In the same way as deceased members of families are believed to take special care of their surviving relatives, so persons who have in their lifetime distinguished themselves as protectors of their whole community are often supposed to go on guarding their people after death, and may become deified. In general it seems that men who have in some extraordinary way risen to fame in a tribe, are likely to be revered after death also.

There is every reason to think that ancestors worshipped by their surviving families constitute the original and fundamental type of deified men from which the type of ancestral spirits acknowledged by whole tribes have developed. Certain tribes seem to supply instances of the original unadulterated form of ancestor adoration, as, among them, all worship is exclusively restricted to the families or kindred groups. Thus the Korwás in India are said only to sacrifice "to the manes of their ancestors, and as this ceremony must necessarily be performed by the head of each family, they have no priests".⁸ Certain inhabitants of Cambodia have hardly any other worship than that paid to the *arac*, or friends long since departed, who are regarded as a kind of invisible and powerful protector.⁹

In other cases we find that private ancestral gods became, in certain circumstances, universally worshipped, and thus passed into tribal gods. Speaking of the religion of ancient Greece Martin P. Nilsson says, "It is quite natural that the god of the household and of the family should also become the god of the *gens*. Greek society was based upon the patriarchal family and the idea of consanguinity, and this idea had also to receive expression in the cult." "Every state had its mythological ancestor whose posterity its citizens were supposed to be. . . . When the population was redistributed into new groups on a different basis, a fictitious blood-relationship was imported into these."¹⁰ A Russian writer, describing how among the Mongols a development has taken place from family gods to tribal gods, states that formerly manes-worship was very general among the people. In the course of time, however, they began to believe that the spirits of the deceased either favoured the living or caused them mischief, and gradually there was originated a new kind of gods, or "Ongons". The mere veneration felt for the ancestral shades disappeared, and the people began, instead, to worship good and evil

Ongons, or the spirits of strange persons who did not belong to the families of the worshippers.¹¹ The dead of the Ostyak in Siberia receive divine honours for a longer or shorter time, as the shaman directs. But when a shaman dies, his descendants do their utmost to keep him in remembrance from generation to generation, and the ordinary custom of offering divine honours to the dead changes, in his favour, into a complete and decided canonization.¹² Among the Konds deceased ancestors are invoked to give prosperity to the labours, and victory to the arms, of their descendants. "But they are propitiated upon every occasion of public worship whatsoever; and it is said that a perfectly accomplished priest takes between three and four hours to recite his roll of gods and deified men." "The more distinguished fathers of the tribe, of its branches or of its subdivisions, are all remembered by the priests, their sanctity growing with the remoteness of the period of their deaths."¹³ The Rautia, in Chota Nagpore, believe that certain persons are liable, after death, to reappear as evil spirits, and it is said that some spirits of this kind "extend their influence over several families and eventually attain the rank of a tribal god."¹⁴ In Tahiti there was an intermediate class between the principal divinities and the gods of particular localities or professions; their origin is veiled in obscurity, but they are said to have been renowned men, who after death were deified by their descendants and subsequently became universally worshipped.¹⁵ In certain cases we learn that the household god of the king is adopted as a universally acknowledged tribal god. So it is among certain peoples of east Central Africa, where the relatives of the village chiefs are the village gods; "everyone that lives in the village recognizes these gods."¹⁶ Enumerating the principal gods of the Tongans an investigator mentions that several of these are, in particular, the gods of the king and his family.¹⁷

Among those men who after death receive divine honours are, in many cases, the renowned warriors and other great members of a tribe. In the Isle of Pines, besides the chiefs, noted warriors are supposed to maintain communication after death with their tribesmen, which is shown by the fact that the priests pretend to be inspired by them for their office.¹⁸ One class of gods among the Samoans were men whose past deeds won the gratitude and the worship of posterity.¹⁹ The Maori held that "the Atua who more particularly watch over the fortunes of a tribe are the spirits of its warriors and other great men. In war these spirits are supposed to attend the army and direct its movements; in actual conflict they hover over the combatants and inspire courage in the hearts of their own tribe."²⁰ Among the Kafirs, the ghosts of their departed chiefs and warriors are the principal objects of their national belief.²¹ The Tlinkit believe that the souls of the brave killed in battle occupy an upper rank among the spirits invoked by their shamans.²²

Most frequently, however, we are told that it is great rulers who are worshipped after death and are reckoned as particular protectors of their people. We read that among the Santal each hamlet has an original founder who is regarded as the father of the community and receives divine honours.²³ In Nias one of the gods is the image of the founder of the tribe.²⁴ Fustel de Coulanges gives us several instances of Roman and Greek cities, the founders of which were worshipped by the inhabitants.²⁵ "The most singular, and perhaps the most original worship of the Bhills, is that which they pay to their deceased ancestors or chiefs of note."²⁶ In Uganda deceased kings are demi-gods,²⁷ in Chicova, on the Zambezi, "they pray to departed chiefs and relatives."²⁸ A similar custom is reported from the Sandeh, north-west of the Albert Nyanza,²⁹ the Zulu,³⁰ and the Malagasy.³¹ The natives of Kuria, one of the Kingmill islands, seem to have believed "that their gods also had once been chiefs, who from the lapse of time had been forgotten".³² Of the inhabitants of Bornabi, it is asserted that "their prayers were usually addressed to the spirit of some deceased chief".³³ One of the most popular gods of Hawaii was *Lono*, an ancient king.³⁴ We are told that *Oro*, the mightiest god of war of the Tahitians, appears to have been a deified mortal, an origin which, with more or less probability, is also assigned to *Hiro*, another widely venerated god.³⁵ In Samoa most gods derive their origin from the post-mortal deification of chiefs.³⁶ The Maori believed that several high chiefs after death became deified.³⁷

In certain circumstances departed persons are transformed into malevolent spirits, of which many peoples live in terror. Very generally, persons who die a violent death are considered to become demons, and deformed and insane persons are also often referred after death to the same class of beings. The sudden interruption of life, without any subsequent propitiation of the spirit, seems to give rise to the idea of unappeased manes who inflict suffering upon men. Similarly the awe with which idiots and cripples are regarded among many peoples accounts for the belief that they may bring about mischief after death. Respecting notions of this kind, Crooke states that among the Chamars in Upper India, "persons who die in a sudden or unusual way become malevolent spirits (*bhuts*), and must be carefully propitiated."³⁸ The Rautia think that exorcists, women who die in childbirth, and persons killed by a tiger, are liable to reappear as *bhuts*.³⁹ By certain tribes in Western India evil spirits are held to "originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths, or been deformed, idiot or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments; or drunken, dissolute, or wicked during life."⁴⁰ In Cambodia, women dead in childbirth become dreaded ghosts.⁴¹ The Pelew Islanders fear the spirits of relatives killed in battle who have had their heads cut off; so, also, the spirits of

people murdered for revenge, those of women who die in childbed, and those of suicides, are greatly feared.⁴³ Among certain Australians "men who are slain in battle, and their bodies left to rot or be devoured by wild dogs, are supposed to become evil and wandering spirits".⁴³ The Blackfoot Indians imagine that enemies killed in battle become evil spirits who cause diseases among men.⁴⁴ It is a Kiwai belief that the spirits of people who have been drowned or killed by a crocodile or snake, and also those of suicides, try to lure friends into a death like to their own. A man who has been killed in a fight and whose head has been cut off becomes an *ítumu*, a highly malignant spirit. The blood which has spurted from the gash in his neck shines in the night like fire. Many people, mistaking this light for an ordinary fire, have walked right into the clutches of the monster.⁴⁵ In many parts of Europe, even at the present time, drowned persons as well as those who have been murdered and buried secretly, having in neither case been interred in consecrated ground, are believed to become spectres. The ghosts of suicides, misers, and criminals are also supposed to walk after death.

In some cases, what becomes of persons after death seems merely to be determined by the character which they bore while living. The Mongols believe that only those persons become *Ongons*, or spirits, after death who have made themselves renowned in life by their good or evil qualities. People who render their race great services pass into benevolent Ongons, whereas wicked men are thought of as malevolently disposed after death also.⁴⁶ Of certain tribes in Western India it is remarked that "the death of any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all in his neighbourhood, as he is sure to become a *bhut*, or demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life".⁴⁷ According to the ancestor-worship of the Romans it was not necessary to have been a virtuous man to be deified; the wicked, as well as the good man, became a god, but he retained in the second life all the evil propensities which had characterized him in the first.⁴⁸

As an idea kindred to that mentioned above, we may regard the belief that the manes of bad priests and sorcerers become malignant spirits. By the Rautia in India, exorcists are supposed to appear after death as *bhuts*.⁴⁹ The Páháriá, a tribe of Rajmahal, bury their priests in a special way in the forest, because their ghosts are believed to be exceedingly troublesome if the bodies are laid in the village cemetery.⁵⁰ The Yakut think that the shamans are transformed after death into evil spirits.⁵¹ Among the Eskimo about Bering Strait, thieves, sorcerers and bad shamans, witches, and the people who practise certain forbidden customs, are thought to be restless after death.⁵² The Patagonians believe that the souls of their wizards after death are of the number of the demons.⁵³

Whilst ancestor-worship originally tends to centralize the cult

within families or kindred groups, no such tendency is manifested by worship of gods in nature.⁵⁴ As they depend upon the more or less general occurrence of the phenomena which give rise to the belief in gods of nature, such gods are likely to be worshipped within larger or smaller divisions of people with little or no precedence given to certain kindred groups. Therefore the origin of the priesthood connected with the gods of nature is not influenced in any way by regard to family ties. Among most peoples, however, these two forms of religions are intermingled to a very great extent.⁵⁵

In the earliest history of cult no proper priesthood existed. Although various kinds of priestly practitioners belong to a very early period of religious evolution, all conclusions point to the rule that originally each man invoked the gods for himself. Cult therefore existed in some form or other before there were any professional men entrusted with the duty of conducting the different supernaturalistic observances.⁵⁶

Among certain peoples everyone still performs his religious rites for himself without the assistance of any priests. This is the case with the Kiwai Papuans who have no systematized ideas as to the supernatural world and no priests. No public cult exists, no prayers are said or offering made in which a larger or smaller group of the population participates. Individual worshippers will practise one and the same rite as long as it seems to be of any avail, then they will try some other form of appeal or magic. There are mythical beings who only appear to certain people. So simple are the religious practices that no particular training is necessary. Every man is his own priest and also sorcerer, guided to a great extent by the directions he receives from the spirits who visit him in dreams. The only religious leaders are the old people who conduct the great ceremonies and various other rites. Certain other individuals may also enjoy a reputation in these matters.⁵⁷

Nor are there any priests in Makin, of the Kingsmill group, "and the invocations are usually made by the head of the family, or by each individual for himself."⁵⁸ Among the Melanesians "there is no priestly order, and no persons who can properly be called priests. Any man can have access to some object of worship, and most men in fact do have it, either by discovery of their own or by knowledge imparted to them by those who have before employed it."⁵⁹ The Shendoo people, in the neighbourhood of Chittagong, "have no priests, each man performs his own sacrifice."⁶⁰ Regarding the cult of the Chukchee it is said that almost every third or fourth person arrogates to himself the right and the skill to act as a shaman. Besides this, every adult Chukchee knows how to handle a drum. It is fair to say that every man may play the shaman in all branches of the craft as far as his skill and inclination permit him to do so.

Family shamanism, being quite simple and primitive, probably antedated the shamanism of individuals having special skill and vocation, and the latter seems to have grown up based on the former.⁶¹ Among the Kamchadales, although they have a kind of shamans, everyone who feels inclined practises the same art.⁶² The pagan Mordvines in East Russia had no priests; everyone could name himself an *oziate*, or divine.⁶³ Among the ancient Finns everyone, as a rule, sacrificed for himself,⁶⁴ and the same was the case among the Lapps, in ordinary instances of sacrifice.⁶⁵ The Iglulik Eskimo had no shamans. They feared illness, but everybody doctored himself and tried to doctor others; "in that manner everyone was a physician, and there was no need of any shamans."⁶⁶ "There does not seem to be among the Dyaks any priestly order whose duty it is to officiate at religious ceremonies. Any man . . . who knows the form of address to be used to the deities on these occasions, may perform the sacrificial function."⁶⁷ "Every Bushman is a diviner, whereas among the Bechuana only the witch-doctors practise the calling."⁶⁸ Although there was a kind of priestly practitioner among the Patagonians, it sometimes happened that an ordinary member of a horde conducted the rites.⁶⁹ Among the Northern tribes of Nigeria "in the family private worship there is no organized priesthood, but many of the ideas connected with priesthood take their origin from the family cult. Thus the head of the family performs the religious offices. He decides when sacrifices shall be made to the ancestral spirits; and if the family has its own tutelary genius . . . he is its custodian."⁷⁰ The nomadic Semites, to whom the Hebrews belonged before they settled in Canaan, performed their simple acts of religion without any priestly aid.⁷¹ In ancient Rome every paterfamilias, or head of a household (originally, perhaps, the head of a clan), was himself a priest and quite capable, without outside help of any sort, of conducting the rites of his household or clan, which often were very elaborate and complex. "Since every paterfamilias was to a considerable extent a priest, and every magistrate had priestly functions, it followed that . . . any full citizen might be appointed to one of the priesthoods."⁷²

Everyone, in early times, being his own priest, surviving customs bear out the still more natural rule that he was also his own magician. It is a general belief among many peoples that almost everybody is able to practise magic. Thus in New Zealand, "the power of bewitching was not confined to the priests, but was supposed to be possessed by everyone, a simple wish often being sufficient,"⁷³ and any uninitiated person may officiate for the purpose of bringing wind.⁷⁴ In the Arunta, Ilpirra, and other of the Central Australian tribes "every man may have recourse to what is usually spoken of as sorcery, by means of which he may work harm of some kind to an enemy, and this power is not in any way confined to the

medicine-men".⁷⁵ Among the Ygorrote in Ysarog, "physicians and magicians, or persons supposed to be possessed of secret powers, are unknown; everyone helps himself."⁷⁶ In certain tribes of southern Central Africa everyone is a sorcerer, or can make himself one.⁷⁷ The Tehuelches in Patagonia by no means think that the wizard-doctors are alone able to practise sorcery; any man may become suspected of practising the art.⁷⁸

Among the persons who, in the earliest ages, attempted to interpret the wishes of the gods and to practise the magic art, those more expert than others, who managed to gain the confidence of their tribesmen seem, in the course of evolution, to have attained a certain preponderance over the rest. Thus, an investigator writes, with reference to the Tshi-speaking peoples of West Africa, "It must have happened that some men, more fortunate or more cunning in their predictions . . . acquired a local celebrity in the art. Such men would soon be consulted by their neighbours, pupils or apprentices would be attached to them . . . and thus would be gradually formed a special class which would assume the functions of intermediaries between the people and the gods."⁷⁹

Many tribes supply instances which illustrate the very beginning of such a differentiation of priesthood. Among certain northern tribes of Nigeria, for instance, where there is no organized priesthood, special powers have become associated with particular families. Thus among the Waja different families in a village may be noted for their abilities to control the weather, locusts, rats, and so on. The family particularly honoured by the community is that with which are lodged the secrets of a good harvest, and none may proceed to reap his crop until the head of that family gives the word. In time a tendency shows itself towards centralization of the priestly functions. Thus among the Berom we find that the charge of the family cult has passed out of the hands of certain families and when such a family wishes religious rites to be performed, it may even have to summon a priest from some neighbouring village. Again, the special importance of the crop would tend towards the centralization of the priestly functions in the hands of that particular family which had special agricultural powers.⁸⁰ Although among the Shendoo people each man offers his own sacrifice, "they have men among them supposed to be special favourites and oracles of their gods, and at certain times and seasons these men become possessed or filled by the divinity."⁸¹ The Abors in India have no hereditary priesthood, but "there are persons called Deodars who acquire the position of augurs or soothsayers from their superior knowledge of omens and how to observe them".⁸² Nor have the Gonds any institution that may properly be called priesthood, yet there are among them men, who from supposed superior power or other reasons, are held to be entitled to take the lead in worship.⁸³ There are no priests among the natives of

the Bismarck archipelago, but certain individuals profess to communicate with the gods and by their aid to make rain and plentiful fishing, to cause and heal diseases, and even to inflict death upon other men. They are said to be more or less listened to in their tribe.⁸⁴ In Melanesia, where there is no priestly order, any man can have access to some object of worship and, says Codrington, "if the object of worship, as in some sacrifices, is one common to the members of a community, the man who knows how to approach that object is in a way their priest and sacrifices for them all; but it is in respect of that particular function only that he has a sacred character."⁸⁵ Although among the Kiwai Papuans every man is his own priest and also sorcerer, a marked specialization often appears in the religious and magical powers of different persons; one man, for instance, may be able to raise the wind but cannot lay it, another can call forth rain but is unable to stop it. In their various needs the people therefore apply to those who are thought qualified to help them. Occasionally some old practitioner may be entrusted with the task of working for the whole community or part of it.⁸⁶ It has been remarked of the Arunta and Ipirra tribes in certain parts of Central Australia, that any native can use the pointing sticks by which magic is produced, "whereas in certain other parts there are only special individuals who can do so, and they act as sorcerers."⁸⁷ In the same tribes, every man may have recourse to what is usually spoken of as sorcery, by means of which he may work harm to an enemy, and this power is not in any way confined to the medicine-man. On the other hand, the latter are the only men who can counteract the evil influence of an enemy. There are, further, certain of the very old medicine-men who are supposed to be endowed with the special power of bringing down disease not only upon individuals, but upon whole groups of men and women.⁸⁸ Among the Mordvines in Russia it may happen that some old man becomes famous for his ability to perform sacrifices more adroitly and correctly than others, having so many times officiated in that capacity. Such deputing of the religious functions, however, does not form any general rule.⁸⁹ Those of the Koryak who were believed to fathom the wishes of the spirits more easily than the others, were called shamans.⁹⁰ Among the Northern tribes of Nigeria the means of divining are open for all, but the interpretation of omens is dependent on a secret knowledge which is passed on in certain families. The Yoruba divinatory cult, for example, has its own hierarchy.⁹¹

Within the separate families where ancestral gods are particularly worshipped, as stated above, one member is generally invested with the duty of sacrificing for the whole family. Spencer thinks that "though in the earliest stages sacrifices to the ghost of the dead man are made by descendants in general, yet . . . an inequality soon arises: the propitiatory function falls into the hand of one

member of the group." ⁹² As a rule the priestly functions are put into the hands of the paterfamilias, and the reason seems to be that he is the oldest and most experienced male member of the family, who is generally believed to stand in closer communication with the ancestors than the other members. Sometimes the oldest female member of the family may officiate as priest. ⁹³

The Korwás in India only sacrifice to the manes of their ancestors, and this ceremony must necessarily be performed by the head of each family. ⁹⁴ Among the Santals "offerings are made at home by each head of a family," ⁹⁵ and among the Râji, too, who have no priests, the religious rites are performed by the oldest male member of the family. ⁹⁶ With the Sereros ⁹⁷ in West Africa and the Galla ⁹⁸ it is the same, save that among the former people the oldest female member of a family may also officiate at the sacrifices. Among the Maori the heads of families in both the male and female line are said to form, as it were, the links of connection between the living and the spirits of the dead. ⁹⁹ In Samoa "the head of every family was, *ex officio*, a priest, besides those especially dedicated to the sacred office" ¹⁰⁰ Parallel accounts are given of the priestly duties of the fathers of families in Tahiti, ¹⁰¹ in the Pelew Islands ¹⁰² and among the Chuvashes in East-Central Russia. ¹⁰³ In ancient Rome each family was completely independent as to the ritual for domestic religion; the father was the priest of the family. ¹⁰⁴

In a few cases we learn that not the head, but some other member of the family, officiated as the family priest. It has been reported that among the Barais in North-West India the "deities are worshipped only by that member of the family who is under the influence of the special divinity—a fact shown by his getting into a state of ecstasy and uttering oracles" ¹⁰⁵ Among some lower Dravidian tribes, the family worship is conducted either by the head of the family or by the son-in-law. ¹⁰⁶ In certain of the Kingsmill Islands every family which has a tutelary divinity, has also a priest whose office may be filled by any young man of free birth able to recite prayers. ¹⁰⁷

There is every reason to associate the instances of fathers of families officiating as priests with those of rulers invested with similar duties. It is not unusual, in literature, to parallel these two branches of the priestly office. Thus Martin P. Nilsson, when studying early Greek religion and society, writes that "the oldest order of society was the patriarchal monarchy. Under primitive conditions the king was also the chief priest, the supreme guardian of religion in his state, as the father was in his family" ¹⁰⁸

Regarding the union of a royal title and priestly offices we only need to refer to Sir James Frazer's far-famed and exhaustive investigation of that subject in *The Golden Bough*. There is no need to add

more instances of the mere combination of priestly and ruling powers. Collections of data regarding the occurrence of king-priests have also been published by Spencer,¹⁰⁹ Lippert,¹¹⁰ Jevons¹¹¹ and others. Instances of kings who also are priests represent a great part of the world; such are met with throughout Polynesia and Melanesia, in many parts of Africa, in North and South America, India and other parts of Asia, in ancient Greece and Italy, and elsewhere.

Sir James Frazer's famous theory implies that "the killing of divine persons assumes the idea that the soul of the slain divinity is transmitted to his successor".¹¹² Westermarck's version of this theory is that it is not the soul of the holy king which is supposed to pass over to his successor but his holiness regarded as a mystic power which temporarily resides in the reigning king, but which can be abstracted from him and transferred to another person.¹¹³ It is well known that this ingenious theory is substantiated by a minimum of direct evidence. The general applicability of the theory is weakened by the fact that the supernaturalistic officiators, whose fate it is to be killed as soon as they show symptoms that their powers are beginning to fail, form a very heterogeneous group. The highest potentiality of the holy character of rulers is indicated by the king who is also worshipped as a god. To a lower category belongs the more ordinary king-priest of merely human character. The lowest type holding the combined spiritual and ruling offices is the chief who also acts as a magician, rain-maker, medicine-man, or the like. But there remains the group of common priests or magicians who are not invested with any ruling authority at all. They, too, run the risk of being killed in similar circumstances to those in which members of other groups are killed, and particularly when failing to fulfil tasks which they have undertaken to perform and which are expected of them.

In Chapter XI we shall examine cases of priests and magicians being killed when they have forfeited the confidence of their followers. We shall notice that incompetent priests and magicians are not always killed, however, but sometimes are merely expelled from their office or punished in some other manner. This is occasionally the treatment of the king-priest, too, when his power fails. As regards the killing of holy persons and magicians, we have, further, to take into account the rage of the people before an impostor detected or the outbreak of its violent disappointment. The assassination may also be a precautionary measure, as an unsuccessful priest or sorcerer, even if he is of no positive use, may command dangerous, malignant powers and therefore should be put to death for the sake of safety. Thus the type and also the fate of holy rulers as well as priests and magicians is subject to many variations, and it is thus impossible to assume the *general* validity of the theory of transferring their soul to a successor.

Sir James Frazer only makes passing mention of the origin of

king-priests, in discussing the questions which the idea of a man-god gives him occasion to raise. "The same supernatural powers," he says, "which tend to elevate a magician into a god, tend also to raise him to the rank of a chief or a king."¹¹⁴

The union of the highest sacerdotal and civil dignities may have taken place in connection with the general development of leaders. In an early state of society there exists little or no contrariety between the spiritual and social or political powers; thus, as a rule, a certain civil authority is always attached to the priesthood. The same superiority which has raised a man to the position of a chief may make him a spiritual headman as well. In this connection, too, we have to consider the great resemblance between a ruler officiating as priest and the head of a family exercising the same function. Similarly, as patriarchs of families conduct the worship on behalf of the family, so patriarchs of villages, provinces, and countries are the persons likely to perform the sacerdotal offices on behalf of their respective clans and tribes. And, moreover, in the same manner as the heads of families, in their capacity of priests, are first of all concerned with the worship of the family ancestors, there is reason to believe as we have argued before, that originally the priestly office of rulers was also, in many cases, connected with the worship of tribal and national ancestors. In such instances the sacerdotal office has naturally been assumed by the chief or king, he being, as a rule, the nearest living relative of the ancestral gods.¹¹⁵

This assumption is corroborated by facts derived from certain peoples among whom the religious and civil powers are united in the same persons. Among certain tribes in Eastern Central Africa, for instance, the chief of a village is expressly said to have a title to the priesthood because his relatives are the village gods. "One wishing to pray to the god (or gods) of any village, naturally desires to have his prayers presented through the village chief, because the latter is nearly related to the village god, and may be expected to be better listened to than a stranger."¹¹⁶ In Uganda the former kings are recognized as a kind of semi-gods. The conservation of their graves is considered a religious duty which is in charge of one of the highest chiefs.¹¹⁷ The Maori esteemed the families of their chiefs to be more sacred than others, because they were under the special care of the most powerful Atua, or spirits of former chiefs.¹¹⁸ According to the belief of the inhabitants of Nias, the elders are in continual communication with the highest god, which is the reason that the people apply to the head of the tribe for obtaining benefits and averting evils.¹¹⁹

The combination of priesthood with chieftaincy may, moreover, be a question of power. Priests of great reputation may, on account of their influence over the people, be made the secular rulers as well.¹²⁰ The statement of Fitzroy, regarding the Fuegians, that "there is

no superiority of one over another . . . but the 'doctor-wizard' of each party has much influence over his companions",¹²¹ supplies an illustration of how, among a primitive tribe the priesthood tends to make its influence felt in general tribal matters, too. Other peoples provide examples of priests assuming the dignity of rulers. Among the Sea Dyaks it is by no means an unusual thing for a medicine-man to be the chief of the village in which he resides. "There is nothing whatever to prevent him from becoming so, provided he be popular."¹²² In Melanesia, according to Codrington, a man who has access to some object of worship, which is common to the members of a community, is in a way their priest and sacrifices for them all; and, the author adds, "it is very much by virtue of that function that a man is a chief, and not at all because he is a chief that he performs the sacrifice."¹²³ In a description of the Kafirs we read of a powerful prophet or priest who made himself a ruler, by gradually gaining a complete control over the principal chiefs. "He was consulted on every matter of consequence, received numerous gifts, collected a large body of retainers, and was acknowledged as a warrior-chief as well as a prophet."¹²⁴ Lippert, speaking of the priesthood of West Africa, remarks that it is no wonder that the mighty priesthood in those parts has assimilated the sovereign power, as is generally the case; much more wonderful is it that beside the overwhelming influence of the priesthood there has been room for any other authority at all.¹²⁵ Spencer argues that the influence possessed by the medicine-men constitutes one origin of political headship.¹²⁶

Certain other observations of an allied nature throw light upon the fact that priests are in some cases made chiefs on account of the influence which they enjoy in the community. Not only do we gather that the chiefs among certain peoples are concerned with the worship of the gods, but we hear also that among certain peoples they are renowned as rain-makers, physicians, etc. So, among the Bechuana, "in the old days the chief was the great rain-maker of the tribe. He was not only the temporal, but the spiritual head of the tribe, and it was his duty to see that the fertilizing showers descended upon the land. There is little doubt that the chieftainship evolved from the priesthood."¹²⁷ Among the Washambala in East Africa, the great chiefs immediately upon their accession to the throne must promise to make rain.¹²⁸ In Latooka, one of the principal, and at the same time most dangerous, duties of the great chiefs is the procuring of rain for the country.¹²⁹ On the whole, rain-making seems generally to be expected by African peoples of their chiefs.¹³⁰ It is stated that the chief of the Papuyas in Brazil has in some respect encroached upon the practice of the conjurer, pretending to heal diseases and give charms to maidens who had no suitor.¹³¹ The chiefs of the Chiquito were often physicians as well,¹³² and the same is said of the chiefs of the Mantave Islanders.¹³³ Among the Murring in South-East

Australia, "the wizards were the principal men"; the wizards and headmen are stated to have been combined.¹³⁴ With the Narrinyeri "the most real authority exercised by the chief and his supporters is enforced by means of witchcraft".¹³⁵

The union of priestly and ruling attributes may be a question of power also in the sense that a chief assumes the office of priest with a view to strengthening his personal might. We find that in the New Hebrides the priesthood "is usually held by the chiefs, who thereby increase their influence".¹³⁶ In Madagascar, Impoina, one of the former kings, used repeatedly to consecrate new idols for the people. He "is said to have acted thus solely from political motives, . . . in the conviction that some kind of religious or superstitious influence was useful in the government of a nation. It is still acknowledged as a principle that the idols are under the sovereign's special support."¹³⁷ With reference to the Batak chief it is said, "His influence depends greatly on his capacity to govern; but as he generally secures to himself the office of priest, he has it in his power to render everything and every person subservient to his own designs."¹³⁸

Spencer thinks that the union of king and priest in one person constitutes the usual origin of a priesthood.¹³⁹ In the beginning the kings were generally priests also, but in the course of time they were, for various reasons, unable to retain the priestly dignity, which therefore gradually passed over to a special class of men. "With the increase of a chief's territory," Spencer writes, "there comes an accumulation of business which necessitates the employment of assistants; whence follows the habit of frequently, and at length permanently, deputing one or other of his functions, such as general, judge, etc. Among the functions thus deputed, more or less frequently, is that of priest."¹⁴⁰ Schurtz remarks that certain inborn qualifications were generally required of the priests and sorcerers, above all the faculty of falling into convulsions, and as it was very improbable that in every case the king would possess these qualifications, he had to see "the magic wand pass over to other hands".¹⁴¹

It seems in fact probable that the identity of ruler and priest in certain cases implies an origin of a higher developed professional priesthood. This idea appears to be borne out by material obtained from certain peoples. Nesfield, in his book on the Indian caste system, alleges that among the earliest Hindus sacrifices were performed and invocations composed and uttered by the military chiefs. In the following terms he describes how, in his opinion, the origin of the class of Brahmins is connected with the institution of king-priests. "As time went on, it became more and more difficult, and at last impossible for the king or his ministers to master the elaborate procedure which the Devas ('bright beings') had now begun to demand; and as the slightest error in the performance was believed to be fatal to its efficacy, a class of men came into existence

who made a special duty of the prescribed rituals and transmitted such knowledge to their posterity." ¹⁴² Risley more decidedly refers the origin of Brahmins to the families or guilds of priestly singers who in early times officiated under the kings. As the mass of ritual grew to such an extent that the king could no longer cope with it unaided, the employment of family priests, formerly optional, became a necessity, and thus arose a race of sacerdotal specialists.¹⁴³ Referring to Livy, Fustel de Coulanges observes that in Rome Numa "fulfilled . . . the greater part of the priestly functions, but he foresaw that his successors, often having wars to maintain, would not always be able to take care of the sacrifice, and instituted the flamens to replace the kings when the latter were absent from Rome. Thus the Roman priesthood was only an emanation from the primitive royalty." ¹⁴⁴

Although kingship or chieftainship undoubtedly has in many cases influenced the development of the sacerdotal order, priesthood cannot, as a general rule, have emanated from the institution of king-priests, which Spencer and certain other writers seem to assume. Thus, varying types of practitioners in magic and religion are met with among all peoples, as we have seen before, although within a great number of savage tribes of the rudest type there hardly exists any established government at all, still less chiefs or rulers. There can be no doubt as to which of these two types of public functionaries is earlier in social evolution.

As regards the first appearance of priests we are able to distinguish certain types of individuals who, owing to their unmistakable priestly affinities, appear to us as forerunners of a regular priesthood. One group of men who occasionally exercise priestly functions without being priests, are persons who, when in a state of ecstasy, are believed to be inspired by the gods. During their convulsive fits such persons are sometimes interrogated by the people respecting the will of the gods and future events, etc. As is generally the case in similar circumstances, the gods are believed to speak through these ecstatic individuals, who are thus really thought able to act as mediators in communication with the supreme powers.¹⁴⁵ We meet with reports of such observances in India and Polynesia. During the public worship of the Yenadies in South India "one of the number present is said to become possessed. Questions are put to him, and he gives the necessary answers; occasionally natives from other villages, also, seek information. They believe that a spirit is actually in the man and speaks through him." ¹⁴⁶ The Râji, a tribe in North India, are said not to be skilled in any special form of magic or witchcraft, "but certain persons occasionally fall under the influence of a demon, and in a state of ecstasy pour out incoherent expressions, which are regarded as oracles." ¹⁴⁷ The priests of the Tonga islanders do not seem to form any class of their own;

" what constitutes the priesthood is not the position of the forefathers, but the inspiration or faculty of being possessed by the Deity. So long as this state lasts, the men are distinguished before others, but when the ecstasy is over, their priesthood and the veneration paid them accordingly disappears." ¹⁴⁸ Tongans who are not priests, particularly females, are often visited by the gods, which visitation occurs during fits of inspiration.¹⁴⁹ In the Marquesas islands certain persons are regarded as occasionally possessed and inspired by the gods.¹⁵⁰ From the idea of occasional inspiration it is an easy step to the conviction that certain persons are able to put themselves in communication with gods whenever they like.

On the whole, facts show that in the early ages of priesthood men often retained the same office only for a certain time or with intermissions. Among some rude tribes, as we are told, the priests take up their office and leave it as they like. Among the Todas the engagement of a priest is not for life, but for a limited term, at the end of which he may resign his office.¹⁵¹ The priest of the Khota, another tribe inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, is said to be exempt from all manual labour so long as he continues to hold office.¹⁵² With the Bodo and Dhimâl people, whoever thinks fit to learn the forms of offering and invocation, can be a priest, " and if he get tired of the profession, he can throw it up when he will." ¹⁵³ Similar statements are made respecting the Dophlâs ¹⁵⁴ and Munda Kohl.¹⁵⁵ The priest or sorcerer of the Lolo is an ordinary agriculturist who only exercises his spiritual functions intermittently.¹⁵⁶ Among the Mordvines, there were no priests permanently entrusted with the duty of sacrificing for the people. At their general festivals certain venerated old men were each time particularly chosen to conduct the worship.¹⁵⁷

As stated before, among the Kiwai Papuans there are no priests and no professional sorcerers, properly speaking, but the people believe in innumerable mythical beings as well as in equally multitudinous magical practices. In individual cases, however, we meet with persons who, specifically endowed, are able to perform services which in more developed stages belong to a priesthood. One such instance is given in the narratives of the people regarding a certain man named Miruu who had obtained the command of the spirit of a dead person by sleeping at a place where the spirit used to appear. He could send the spirit to bring news of people or to fetch any object from far away. If a man lost anything, the spirit told Miruu where to find it. The people used to pay Miruu for his services. He found out all kinds of sorcery which was threatening his clients, and even sent out the spirit to kill people on his behalf. He protected the people by sending the spirit to chase away any enemies or sorcerers from other tribes, who wanted to come and do harm.¹⁵⁸

Another beginning of priesthood may lie in the observance of "sacred places" or other kinds of sanctuaries which, for some reason or other, are held in veneration by the neighbouring people. As a rule, they are thought to be the abodes of supernatural beings, and the men whose duty it is to guard the sacred room naturally tend to become mediators between the people and these gods. A similar idea regarding the origin of priesthood is entertained by certain writers. Grant Allen says that in addition to the union of king and priest the origin of priesthood "is to be found in the institution of 'temple slaves'—the attendants told off... to do duty at the grave of the chief or dead warrior. The temple attendants, endowed for the purpose of performing sacred rites for the ghost or god, have grown into priests, who knew the habits of the unseen denizen of the shrine".¹⁵⁹ Lippert thinks that in certain Polynesian islands the rise of priesthood is to a great extent to be ascribed to observances of a similar kind.¹⁶⁰

In ancient Greece, according to Schoemann, the only duty of the priests was the administering of the cult of the gods to whom they were attached and who were worshipped in temples or sacred groves. The origin of the priesthood in that sense, the author says, cannot be proved historically, but coincides, no doubt, with the origin of the temples or other sanctuaries.¹⁶¹ Among the Arabs the office of priest consists in guarding the sanctuary, that is to say, if there are any sacred objects to be guarded. Wherever this is not the case, no priests are met with either. At sacrifices performed on a simple stone, the priests can be dispensed with.¹⁶² The Gond have scarcely any priesthood, but "there are some men who from supposed superior powers, or in consequence of their hereditary connection with a sacred spot are held to be entitled to take the lead in worship".¹⁶³ In Madagascar there are villages in which idols are kept in some ordinary house without any priesthood. But "the man in whose house the idol is kept, issues its pretended orders, and answers all applications made to it".¹⁶⁴ In Yap the spirits of the departed are thought to enter into bodies of big lizards, which are therefore tended in a sacred grove by specially appointed guardians. From all parts of the island the people send coconuts and other fruit to those men, who by their constant intercourse with the sacred animals are believed to have been endowed with the power of producing lightning and earthquake as well as rain and drought.¹⁶⁵ Formerly, in Tahiti the bodies of departed chiefs were deposited on platforms until they had decayed or become parched, after which the remains were buried. While lying on the platforms the bodies were taken care of by certain custodians who freely communicated with the dead and lived at the shrine until the body was interred. These men exercised priestly functions in relation to the dead, "and we would unconditionally have to

characterize them as priests, were it not for the fact that their service ceased after the transfer of the remains of the body to the grave".¹⁶⁶

As a kind of precursors to a regular priesthood may further be regarded "holy men" who, without being real priests, exercise a certain religious authority among some peoples. This class consists of men who make themselves renowned by occasional miracles, or acquire the religious veneration of the people by their eccentric habits. In connection with the adoration of saints in Islam, the *Wâli* appear endowed with the power to work wonders and officiate as mediators between God and man. These saints originate in pious and God-devoted men with whom the faculty of involuntary ecstasy constitutes the beginning as well as the visible indication of their sacred character.¹⁶⁷ Holy persons are mentioned among the Mohammedan peoples of North-Eastern Africa. Wherever Mohammedans live, it is said, there are among them saints who are thought by the people to be the favourites of the god and to possess the faculty of working wonders. Whether they lead a pious life, or whether occasionally a prophecy of theirs has proved correct, or a curse has injured somebody, every tribe is happy to have such a man among their number, as he is thought to bring luck. He becomes the priest of the people and is consulted on all matters.¹⁶⁸ The first marabouts among the Arabs of Algeria were in general men rigorously observing the Koran who were thought to have given proofs of their supernatural nature by performing miracles.¹⁶⁹ Among the Gond, as has already been mentioned, there is scarcely any proper priesthood, but besides men who are hereditarily connected with a sacred place, those distinguished by supposed superior powers are held to be entitled to take the lead in worship. Some of these men profess to prevent wild beasts from devouring men and cattle, and they are supposed to have the power of detecting sorcery, etc.¹⁷⁰

In early stages of cult the rites are naturally very simple, and in consequence almost anybody is thought able to undertake the performance of the priestly functions. In general a simple cult and a superficially instructed, mutable priesthood seem to go together.¹⁷¹ And evidently, where everybody is qualified to assume the priestly office, priesthood is not likely to be held in particularly great veneration.¹⁷² Of many peoples we are told that the priests do not form any distinct class and that almost any man may become a priest. The Maori are alleged not to have any "regular priesthood, though there are many who assume the title of Priest; and almost any person may perform their various superstitious ceremonies, or repeat their prayers, or consult their oracles, or charm the sick."¹⁷³ Among the Golapûrab, in the Agra district of India, the office of

Syâna or "cunning man" is not confined to any special caste: anyone may undertake the duty, if he learns the appropriate spells.¹⁷⁴ In Tanala, a province of Madagascar, anyone may exercise the craft of a doctor or diviner, if he can show himself acquainted with their customs.¹⁷⁵ The Galla think that anyone can become a priest who learns the manipulation of the religious observances.¹⁷⁶ Among the Eastern Tinneh, "there does not appear to be any regular order of priesthood. Anyone who feels inclined to do so turns medicine-man."¹⁷⁷ The Tehuelche in Patagonia have no hereditary priesthood, and their religious ceremonies are sometimes administered by ordinary members of their tribe.¹⁷⁸

Through the growth of the ritual observances and magical practices, too complicated for the average man to master, a professional priesthood gradually became necessary. When the people were uncertain about the proper ceremonies, they applied to the more experienced practitioners, asking them to perform the ceremonies on their behalf. Such a case is instanced by the Cheremisses, who believe that the gods are very particular about the correct form of worship and among whom the solemn offering, even in family circles, is not made by the sacrificer himself, but by some aged mediator who knows exactly how to recite the prayers.¹⁷⁹

Kindred customs seem to be one reason why, among several tribes, the old men officiate as priests and sorcerers. Among the Kiangang in Luzon, old persons are highly esteemed, probably because they officiate as priests and possess particular knowledge of their religious usages and conceptions.¹⁸⁰ Of the Bodo in India we find that "the elders of the people may perform all sacred offices without troubling the priests".¹⁸¹ "There is scarcely an institution among the Gond that may properly be called priesthood; marriage and such like ceremonies being for the most part performed by some aged relative."¹⁸² The Washambala in East Africa have no special priestly class; the oldest people officiate at their feasts of sacrifice.¹⁸³ Of the Yahgan, a tribe of the Fuegians, almost every elderly man is said to be a wizard.¹⁸⁴ In Central Australia the power of sorcery appears always to belong, in a degree, to the aged, although it is often also assumed by middle-aged men.¹⁸⁵

The more religious and magical ceremonies became regulated by minute prescriptions, the more a professional priesthood became indispensable. The people had to be careful to invoke the gods in the proper form and strictly to follow the rules which attended the various practices, and in these matters only initiated persons knew the proper measures to be taken. Regular studies were required of those dedicated to the sacred office, and thus a special officiating class was created. Similarly a number of writers connect the origin of priesthood with the increase of the number of ceremonies and liturgies.¹⁸⁶

Certain facts show how, especially on important occasions, the task of performing religious or magical ceremonies seems to have been put in the hands of priests or of those possessing most experience in the tribe, although, at the same time, everybody was supposed to know how to sacrifice for ordinary private purposes. The customs among certain peoples seem to confirm the idea that originally priests were, in the first place, employed to administer the cult in weighty matters and especially in those of public concern, at which every care had to be taken to accomplish the ceremonies in due conformity with rule. Among the heathen Ostyak, in cases of domestic troubles, everyone sacrifices to his household god, but when serious emergencies arise, the shaman, by means of his magic drum, finds out the cause of the anger of the gods and by what sacrifices they desire to be appeased.¹⁸⁷ So, too, among the Lapps, on ordinary occasions, or for everyday use, the father of the family himself consulted the magic drum, but if the matter was of extraordinary importance, or concerned the public welfare, a shaman was summoned.¹⁸⁸ Among the ancient Finns, each individual, or each head of a family, sacrificed to the gods, but on their great festivals the diviner performed the rites.¹⁸⁹ With the Teutons the oracles were consulted by the priest of the canton (*civitas*) if the occasion were public; if private, by the master of the family.¹⁹⁰ It is stated that among the Kafirs sacrifices "must be offered by the priest, except in a few cases of ordinary domestic sacrifices, which may be performed by the head of the family".¹⁹¹

The authority of the first semi-priests and semi-sorcerers evidently varied to a great extent. While some only exercised a local influence, the more fortunate and cunning among them gradually extended their fame over wide districts. In this way a class of priests and sorcerers common to whole tribes originated. This development is illustrated by facts referring to numerous savage tribes. Concerning the rain-makers of the Kafirs an investigator writes, "A prophet who has distinguished himself as a rain-maker is soon known far and wide, and does not restrict his practice to his own district. Potentates from all parts of the country send for him when the drought continues and their own prophets fail to procure rain."¹⁹² In the district of Chicova on the Zambezi, the headman was supposed to possess the charm for rain, and other tribes sent to him to beg for it.¹⁹³ Only a few of the Siberian shamans are thought able to free the tents from the spirits which haunt them after death, and therefore celebrated shamans are often summoned from afar by rich people to perform the exorcism.¹⁹⁴ Of the Tlinkit it is stated that shamans who have power over numerous guardian spirits generally become very rich, while bad shamans are poor.¹⁹⁵ Some among the shamans of the Hudson Bay Eskimo "have not only a local reputation, but are known as far as the

people have any means of communication".¹⁹⁶ Among the Indians of the Red River and Lake Winnipeg, "a conjurer celebrated for the potency of his charms will often exercise a very injurious influence over an entire band, consisting of ten or twelve families."¹⁹⁷ A Karok shaman "who becomes famous is often summoned to go 20 miles, and receives a proportionately large reward".¹⁹⁸ The Piai, or medicine-man among the Indians of British Guiana, is said often to effect successful cures, on account of which his fame spreads far and wide, people send for him from great distances, and his authority, which often exceeds that of the king, extends over the whole tribe.¹⁹⁹ Respecting the northern Central Australian medicine-men Spencer and Gillen write that "there are certain eminent members of the profession who are supposed to be much more able than the rank and file, and whose services are much sought after".²⁰⁰

It is a remarkable fact that among many peoples the sorcerers of neighbouring races are held in greater awe than those of their own tribe. Similarly, whole tribes are in certain regions known as powerful wizards, whose services are frequently sought after by their neighbours. The Arunta in Australia believe that the medicine-men of the Mungaberra have special powers. They can assume the form of eagle-hawks and in this disguise travel long distances at night-time, visiting camps of other tribes, amongst whom they cause much suffering and even death by their habit of digging their sharp claws into people. Only recently, in the presence of one author, a medicine-man extracted parts of eagle-hawk claws from a native of the Arunta who had been attacked in this way at night-time by a Mungaberra medicine-man.²⁰¹ When rain is wanted at Boulia in Queensland, "word is sent down to the Miorli men at Springvale or the Diamantina Gates to come up and make some."²⁰² In New Guinea, the Motu hold the Koitapu, a neighbouring tribe, to possess power over the spirits of disease. "The first thing a Motu man does when anyone belonging to him is dangerously ill, is to go to a man, or oftener a woman, of Koitapu, with large presents, that they may lose the power of the evil spirit over the sick man."²⁰³ Of the Maori it is recorded that "though the more sensible part of the community do not believe . . . in the power of the priest to effect anything beyond what could be effected by any other man, they send for these conjurers from other tribes".²⁰⁴ The relatives of a sick man among the Kayan in Borneo usually prefer to call in a *Dayong*, or professional "soul-catcher", from some other village.²⁰⁵ In times of enduring drought the Bechuana send for doctors from rainy districts, especially from the tribe of the Malakwana, but in wet years they trust to their own rain-doctors.²⁰⁶ In certain districts of Peru, the old women were particularly known for their witchcraft.²⁰⁷ The Comanche are said to have held the Kitchies in

peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of sorcery.²⁰⁸

In accordance with the idea that magic "belongs in its main principle to the lowest known stages of civilization", Tylor's explanation is that somewhat educated nations, who, however, believe in the reality of the magic art, "at the same time cannot shut their eyes to the fact that it more essentially belongs to, and is more thoroughly at home among, races less civilized than themselves."²⁰⁹ The custom among a number of peoples seems to render support to this theory, that it is principally peoples in a lower stage of culture who are feared as wizards by their more advanced neighbours. All Australian tribes are stated to ascribe the greater amount of power over the spirits to those residing north of themselves, and hold them in great dread, although it is questionable whether the Menang, or Southmen, are not fiercer and more expert in the few arts practised by these savages, than the Yaberov, or Northmen.²¹⁰ In Urewera a district of the northern island of New Zealand, the scattered inhabitants are avoided by the coast tribes, but they are at the same time much feared, and have the renown of being the greatest wizards in the country.²¹¹ "In Singbhúm, the wild Kharriás are looked upon as the most expert sorcerers, and the people, though they not infrequently seek their aid, hold them in great awe."²¹² Among the Somali, the Yiber or Jibbir form a caste of itinerant and despised pariahs; nevertheless they are much feared as sorcerers and adherents of the evil spirits.²¹³ Of the British Guiana Indians "the Waraus, in many points the most degraded of the tribes, are the most renowned as sorcerers".²¹⁴ Formerly, in Sweden, the name of "Lapp" seems to have been almost synonymous with that of sorcerer, and the same was the case with "Finn".²¹⁵ The inhabitants of the southern provinces of Sweden believed their countrymen in the north to have great experience in magic,²¹⁶ and similarly in Finland the people in the southern and middle districts respectively ascribed the greatest skill in witchcraft to those living north of themselves.²¹⁷

Tylor's theory evidently implies an interesting observation applying to many instances of peoples who are thought by their neighbours to be particularly gifted with magical powers. It does not, however, explain every case of such beliefs. We learn, for instance, that certain tribes attribute to each other, reciprocally, a superior power of magic. Of the Kurumba, a tribe inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, it is said that "while they keep all the other tribes on these hills in awe, they themselves fear the Todas, believing that they possess supernatural powers over them".²¹⁸ On the other hand, it is stated that the Todas fear the power they suppose the Kurumba to possess in the exercise of witchcraft.²¹⁹ The people of the lower Congo in times of continued drought generally accuse

a whole village of "keeping off" the rain. Thus, for instance, the inhabitants of Banga Manteka will declare that a village at Pallaballa nearer the coast prevents the rain from falling, whereas the people of Pallaballa will accuse some village in the interior.²²⁰ Respecting certain natives on the upper Purus in Brazil, it is said that as a rule the Ipurina charge the sorcerers of the Yamamadi with practising witchcraft, and vice versa.²²¹ The natives of Eddystone Island in the Solomon group have a reputation as sorcerers among their neighbours, but they themselves look upon Vella Lavella and Ysabel as rich in witchcraft.²²² We read that all Finnish sorcerers believed that the Lapps far excelled them,²²³ but at the same time it is stated that, long ago, while in the Ume Lapp district in Sweden they imputed magical practices to the inhabitants of the Lule Lapp district farther north, these latter threw the accusation upon the Finns, etc.²²⁴ The first Christians, it is said, were considered by the heathens as sorcerers, and they threw this indictment back on their accusers.²²⁵

It appears natural that peoples in a low stage of culture, who, as a rule, are given more than other races to the practice of witchcraft, should be feared for their magical propensities by their more educated neighbours. But the fact that the population in many parts of the world hold other tribes to be more accomplished magically than themselves, seems to be connected with the universal rule, according to which the secret powers of strangers are more believed in than those of well-known people. The mysterious awe which is a necessary element of magical practice naturally becomes more impressive, when the performer is not too familiar to the bystanders, and, similarly, strange people leave a freer play to the superstitious imagination. Ideas of this sort are observed among many peoples. According to Lindblom, the Akamba in Uli look upon the people in the Kitui district as more powerful in magic than themselves, and those in Kitui who want to become really prominent in black magic go up to the Athaka and the Ambele in the north. "It is a characteristic feature of primitive people to mistrust strangers and to ascribe magic power to them." The Akamba also go westwards, to the Akikuyu, and when opportunity occurs they consult the magicians on the coast as well.²²⁶ With the South African natives, "rain-makers have always most honour among a strange people, and therefore they are generally foreigners."²²⁷ Among the Kafirs, as elsewhere, "the prophet is more honoured in another land than in his own."²²⁸ All the tribes in the Kiwai district of New Guinea hold their neighbours to be particularly versed in various kinds of sorcery. The Mawata villagers fear the "bushmen" and also the Kiwai islanders, and in Kiwai they entertain the same belief regarding the Mawata group of tribes in the west and the Waboda islanders in the east. Everywhere there is a tendency to employ some stranger

for performing the most formidable and delicate acts of witchcraft, when faith in one's own power wavers.²²⁹ In Australia "sorcerers, like prophets, had a reputation in proportion to their distance from home"²³⁰ Among the Kurnai "every individual, although doubtful of his own magical powers, has no doubt about the possible powers of any other person".²³¹ It is said to have been a belief in Scotland, "which many of them entertain—that a popish priest can cast out devils and cure madness, and that the presbyterian clergy have no such power." Bourne says of the Church of England clergy, that the vulgar think them no conjurers, and say none can lay spirits but popish priests.²³² In different parts of Protestant Germany supernatural power is still imputed to the Catholic priests; not only are witches and the devil impotent before them, but they are thought able in their own persons to use magic, lay spirits, and the like.²³³ With reference to certain South American Indians it has been remarked that natives often believe the medicine-men of their own tribe to render beneficial services, while those of other tribes are evildoers, although it happens that one of the latter may be called in to attend to illness.²³⁴

CHAPTER X

QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED OF ASPIRANTS TO PRIESTHOOD—INITIATION OF PRIESTS

Priesthood among undeveloped races is pre-eminently characterized through the qualifications which must be fulfilled by candidates to the vocation of a priest or sorcerer. Where religious life has attained a certain degree of development, not everybody is considered fit to hold the priestly office. It is particularly the psychological endowments required by aspirants to the dignity of a priest which can elucidate certain intrinsic features of primitive priesthood.

The psychological and other personal requirements concerning would-be priests are, naturally, more or less obscured in instances where priesthood forms a hereditary institution, and this is the case among a great number of uncivilized peoples. This means that priests are generally succeeded in their office by some descendant. Yet the rule of inheritance can seldom be strictly followed, and we often learn that among peoples who are stated to have a hereditary priesthood, the priests admit disciples from outside their kin, and that persons, specially adapted to the profession, dedicate themselves to the sacerdotal office without regard to birth. There are only a very few instances when certain families are said to be exclusively privileged to belong to the priesthood.

Among the Maori "the knowledge of the priests is handed down from father to son".¹ The Maori priests kept their prayers very secret from the laity, and "in the dead of night, and in solitary places, they instilled into their children's minds the now unintelligible chants in which they addressed the gods".² In Tahiti the priesthood is said to have been hereditary,³ so also in Hawaii where the profession formed a numerous and powerful body.⁴ The priests of Fiji are represented as forming a kind of hereditary caste, "into which, however, others may enter, if they understand how to consult the gods."⁵ In the Pelew islands the use of the various spells is the secret of a few people, who, only when about to die, confide it to their son or nearest relative.⁶ The New Caledonian order of priests was hereditary.⁷ In Melanesia the knowledge of charms as well as the methods of sacrifice and prayer is handed down from father to son or from uncle to sister's son; but it can also be bought, if the possessor chooses to impart it to any other than the heirs of whatever he has besides.⁸ The office of priest was hereditary among the natives of Nieue or Savage island.⁹ Among the Eddystone

islanders of the Solomon group a witch's powers are inherited; the children take after the parent, even if he dies when they are children.¹⁰ In the Tongaranka tribe of South-Eastern Australia the office of medicine-man passed from a man to his son. The eldest son was the successor to his father, but only practised the office at the death of the latter.¹¹ By some tribes in New South Wales a sorcerer is believed to acquire his powers "either by being trained from boyhood by his father, or by being instructed by the spirits of the dead".¹² In the Anula tribe of north Central Australia the profession of a doctor is stated to be strictly hereditary.¹³

In Australasia and Asia hereditary priesthood is likewise met with. The Dyak consider the office of the Manag, or medicine-man, as an hereditary institution; it does not, however, necessarily descend from father to son, although it is usually confined to the family.¹⁴ In the Sangir islands the office of the priests is probably inherited; the forefathers of a certain family are said to have been permitted by the gods to work miracles.¹⁵ Each Vedda shaman trains his successor, usually taking as his pupil his own son or his sister's son.¹⁶ Among the Cohatar in India the distinction exists of some families only being competent to assume the priestly office.¹⁷ By the Kond the office of priest is held to be hereditary, descending usually, but not necessarily, to the eldest son. No absolutely exclusive privilege is, however, transmitted by descent; the priestly office may be assumed by anyone who chooses to assert a call to the service of a god.¹⁸ Among the Munda and other tribes, persons denounced for witchcraft were with all their families put to death "in the belief that witches breed witches and sorcerers".¹⁹ The Kafirs in Kafiristan²⁰ and the Samoyeds have hereditary shamans.²¹ The inhabitants of the Altai district in north Central Asia consider that the vocation of a shaman is involuntarily transmitted by inheritance from the parents to their children like a kind of incubation.²² Among the Buryat, although anybody can make himself a shaman, as a rule only those belonging to a shaman family assume that office.²³ Common to all the Siberian peoples is said to be the view that only a member of a family or clan that has earlier contained shamans can become a shaman. The calling thus goes by inheritance. But individuals with shamanic talents do not appear in every generation.²⁴ The shamanistic office in Siberia is hereditary, wherever a descendant of a shaman shows a disposition for the calling. Among the Ostyak, the father himself chooses his successor, not necessarily according to age, but according to capacity; and to the chosen one he gives his own knowledge. If he has no children, he may pass on the office to an adopted child.²⁵ Among the Bedouins there are persons, both male and female, who know and see hidden things and are able to heal the sick. "They maintain that they inherit their supernatural qualities, their *islâm*, from their forefathers and

that, therefore, the ability to heal the sick, discover what is hidden, foretell the future, etc., is confined to certain families." ²⁶

African and American races offer similar instances. It is a Galla belief that magicians obtain their powers by inheritance or by being endowed by a god.²⁷ In Eastern Africa the calling of the Mganga, or rain-doctor, is hereditary, the eldest or cleverest son succeeding to his father's functions.²⁸ Similar statements are given of the wizards or medicine-men of the Karamoja in Uganda²⁹ and the Msui in Nyanza.³⁰ In the polytheistic religious system of the Yoruba we meet with "hereditary departmental hierarchies".³¹ In a description of the Bechuana is mentioned a family "which for many generations has practised the combined arts of healing and priesthood".³² An Eskimo shaman often transmits his vocation to his son, but anybody who feels himself to be inspired by the spirits may become a shaman.³³ Among the Waraus in British Guiana the office of the Piai, or medicine-man, runs in the family and is assumed by the eldest son; but if the Piai has no son, he chooses a friend for successor, who has to undergo a long preparation.³⁴ Families of medicine-men occur among the Pima Indians, and the profession was generally handed down from father to son.³⁵ The origin of a hereditary priesthood among the ancient Hebrews has been described by Maybaum.³⁶

Among certain peoples, who have a hereditary priesthood, the sacerdotal dignity is not assumed by the son of a priest, one generation being passed over and the grandchildren being selected. It is said to be "a principle understood throughout every tribe of a Kafir-land, that none of the children of a prophet can succeed their parent in that profession. The requisite discernment and power are believed to be denied to them, but may frequently reappear in their descendants of the second generation."³⁷ Among the Tshi-speaking peoples in West Africa the children of a priest or priestess are not ordinarily educated for the priestly profession, the choice being with the grandchildren.³⁸ It is said to be customary for a fetishman of the Gold Coast natives to bring up his grandchild to his own calling. "He passes over his own children, rightly judging that one of a family at a time is sufficient for all the purposes of a fraudulent livelihood; and he concludes that his grandchild will be ready to carry on the game of deceit by the time that his own age will preclude him from taking a very active part in the Fetish ceremonies."³⁹

Of certain other peoples we learn that the priesthood is hereditary, but that the aspirants must, in addition, be qualified by certain necessary endowments. Among the Tlinkit the profession of a shaman is almost always hereditary, being transmitted with all its apparatus to the son or grandson of the shaman. But not everybody who feels so inclined may assume that vocation, even though

he be the descendant of a shaman, as only those are qualified who can converse with the spirits. It may happen that the children of a shaman, in spite of all their efforts, cannot get to see a single spirit, while others even against their will are bound to become shamans, as the spirits never leave them in peace.⁴⁰ If it happened that a Sioux saw the god of Thunder, or some other mysterious object, he was after some further trial made a member of the order of Thunder shamans and was entitled to wear their peculiar robe. "He could give his son the right to wear such a robe, but unless that son had a similar vision he could not transmit the right to one of the next generation."⁴¹

The faculty of "seeing" the spirits and conversing with them is in other cases, too, a condition for assuming priesthood. This superhuman virtue is generally required of priests whether this order be hereditary or not. As the main duty of priests is to mediate between mankind and the higher powers, the specific qualification for entering the priestly vocation is the faculty of communication with the supernatural beings. This faculty, however, may be proved in different ways.

When certain wonderful things befall a Kafir, he is thought to be under the influence of the spirits of the dead. His case is investigated by the priests, and if they find that he is really in the state presumed, and not guilty of imposture, they perform the rites connected with the initiation of a neophyte into the priesthood.⁴² The Ama-xosa Kafirs believe that anybody, while in a state of ecstasy, is under the direct influence of the spirits, and, consequently, is competent to become a priest.⁴³ Among the Congo tribes, a man who distinguishes himself "by reason of his superior mental capacity, or by virtue of his individual courage and prowess, . . . is forthwith regarded as one favoured by the spirits. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by such a distinction, he constitutes himself a professional N'ganga N'Kissi (charm-doctor), and professes to be endowed with the power of communication with the spirits."⁴⁴ The Samoyed believe that the power of a shaman consists in putting himself in communication with the spirits.⁴⁵ It sometimes happens among the Wotyak that a man gives himself out to be a sorcerer, pretending to intercourse with the gods.⁴⁶ The Yakut regard their shamans as especially endowed persons, through whose mediation they are able to hold communion with the gods.⁴⁷

Regarding the origin of priesthood in general, Schmoller holds the opinion that, among savage peoples, persons seemingly possessed by spirits, such as epileptics, individuals suffering from St. Vitus' dance, or for similar reasons unable to work for their living like other tribesmen, were probably the first supernaturalists who offered their services to their fellows, alleging to be familiar with the spirits.⁴⁸

Among certain peoples the supposed connection between the priests and the spirit-world more particularly appears in the belief that the priests have one or more tutelary deities of their own, who always give them assistance when such is required. In certain cases it is even stated to be a necessary qualification for priests to have such gods at their disposal. We are told that an Eskimo, before he became an acknowledged Angakok, had to show his power by calling forth his *Tornak*, or helping spirit, and that, if he failed ten times in succession to call forth the spirit, he had to give up his claims to become an Angakok.⁴⁹ To become a "mystery-man" among the Algonquian Indians, it is necessary to receive instruction from someone of well-known skill, but the power of the neophyte is furthermore dependent upon the reputed power of his personal *Ma'nido*, or tutelary demon.⁵⁰ Supernatural powers were among the Fuegians "attained by certain individuals thought to have command over a natural spirit and the ghosts of departed witch-doctors. Thus dowered they could either kill or cure the individual and could affect the well-being of the community by controlling the weather or the food supply."⁵¹

Very generally we meet with the mere statement that tutelary or helping deities are attached to the priests. The medicine-men of the eastern Tinneh are reported to hold communication with tutelary spirits.⁵² Each shaman of the Tlinkit has some familiar spirits of his own, whom he can summon.⁵³ The Ojibway Pow-pow, or conjurer, has likewise his personal gods.⁵⁴ Some medicine-men of the Lummi Indians have as many as ten different spirit powers which supplement each other and guard them from malevolent influence.⁵⁵ Among the Patagonians a wizard "is supposed to have two demons in constant attendance, who enable him to foretell future events; to discover what is passing at the time present, at a great distance; and to cure the sick, by fighting, driving away, or appeasing, the other demons who torment them."⁵⁶ The shamans of the Buryat are believed to be endowed with the faculty of foreseeing the future with the assistance of their tutelary deities.⁵⁷ The Lapps thought that their shamans always had at their disposal a fish or a bird from the world of the dead.⁵⁸ Another investigator tells us that the Lapp shamans could command numerous spirits, which probably were manes of the dead. In addition, the shaman would seem to have possessed a special tutelary genius which he could make use of and send to perform commissions. "This spirit, which procured all manner of news for the shaman, was obviously the shaman's own mobile 'soul'."⁵⁹ The *Syâna*, or "cunning man", of the Golapûrabs in India, "generally has a private devil or two of his own, which he lets loose to pursue the evil spirit that is afflicting his patient."⁶⁰ Tutelary spirits of a similar description are said to attend the sorcerer of the Malays in Malacca.⁶¹ The

same is stated with regard to the regular Manang, or medicine-man, of the Sea Dyak.⁶² In the Eddystone island of the Solomon group witches are assisted by "witch spirits", who are merely the spirits of deceased witches.⁶³ The Cheme, or benevolent sorceress of the Lolo, has a *génie particulier*.⁶⁴ The Dahomean priest adopts for life the fetish that has "come to him".⁶⁵

As the faculty of conversing with the gods is so generally confined to the priests, other people being excluded from communion with the spirit-world, it is an easy step to the conclusion that the gods have themselves selected their representatives among mankind. In conformity with notions of this sort, many peoples believe that the gods confer divine powers upon certain men, and that the only way in which a person can become a priest is through being chosen by the gods.

The shamans of the Aleut said that it was not they who called up the spirits, but that, on the contrary, the spirits themselves chose their attendants.⁶⁶ Among the Tlinkit an aspirant to shamanhood has to remain in solitude till one of the spirits sends to him a river-otter, from the tongue of which he obtains the secrets required.⁶⁷ The Eskimo Angakok were supposed to be endowed by the gods with supernatural power when dwelling alone in solitary places. After having been invoked for some time, *Tornarsuk*, or the highest god, appeared and provided the novice with a *Tornak*, i.e., a helping or guardian spirit.⁶⁸ The gift of a seer or prophet is among the Ojibway Indians believed to be given by the Thunder-god, and then only at long intervals and to a chosen few.⁶⁹ Among the Waraus in Guiana the incipient Piai-man, or medicine-man, is reduced to a state of unconsciousness by swallowing a dose of tobacco-juice: "his spirit is supposed to leave the body, and to visit and receive power from the *yauhahu*, or *hebo*, as the Waraus call the dreaded beings under whose influence he is believed to remain ever after."⁷⁰ When a boy of the Owimbundu in Angola is sick, the medicine-man says that he has a spirit who wants him to be *ocimbanda* (medicine-man).⁷¹ The Kafir priests claim to derive their wonderful powers from the spirits.⁷²

Many shamans of the Siberian peoples are, they say, chosen by the spirits for their vocation⁷³; as a rule, nobody can make himself a shaman of his own accord, but the devil must call him.⁷⁴ With reference to the Yakut, it is said that shamanism seizes involuntarily upon the chosen individual, he begins to dream and tries to hurt himself, after which he declares that the spirits have commanded him to become a shaman.⁷⁵ We learn further regarding the Yakut shaman that his guardian spirit is believed, at the death of the shaman, to seek a new residence in one of his blood relatives. This guardian spirit is essential to every shaman. It does not depend

on the will of the shaman, whether he will obtain a guardian or protecting spirit ; it either comes to pass accidentally, or is predestined from above. The mightiest sorcerers are those whose guardian spirits are sent by Ulutoyon, the great deity himself.⁷⁶ According to the belief of the Chukches, " a dead shaman appears in a dream and summons the dreamer to become his successor. One who is to become a shaman appears shy, distraught, and is in a highly nervous condition." ⁷⁷ To the thinking of the Lapps, the spirits living under the ground appear to the shamans, in particular on the occasion of their being first called to the office of shaman. When these spirits offered their help to a young shaman, they laid stress on the fact of having served also his father and his forefathers. Should he evince disinclination to accept their services, they would use threats and even force. Where the Lapp listened to their call the spirits were extremely devoted to him, helping him and teaching him the arts of shamanism.⁷⁸ The supernatural power of the Lapp shamans is thought to be conferred upon them by the gods.⁷⁹

In India the Bhills have a class of oracles called Barwás, " who are supposed, through the influence of the hill-gods . . . to be endowed with the hereditary gift of inspiration." ⁸⁰ The Bilians (priests) of the Barito river natives in Borneo " are chosen by certain Sangsang (gods) desiring to partake of earthly enjoyments, or wishing in general to be in contact with men for various reasons and to pass into their bodies when occasion offers " .⁸¹ If an Andaman islander, straying in the jungle by himself, be affronted by the spirits, and if he show no fear (for if he is afraid, they will kill him), they may keep him for a time and then let him go. Such a man, on his return, is regarded as being a medicine-man, and possessing all the powers of a medicine-man. He has been initiated by the spirits.⁸² Among the Australian tribes we find ideas of a similar kind. In Victoria the office of doctor or priest is alleged to be obtained by the individual visiting, while in a trance of two or three days' duration, the world of spirits, and there receiving the necessary initiation.⁸³ " The Wotjobaluk believed that a man became a *bangal* (wizard) by meeting with a supernatural being called by them *Ngatje*, who opens the man's side and inserts therein such things as quartz crystals, by which he obtains his powers." The Woiworong and Murring, also, considered that the spirits gave the wizards their powers.⁸⁴ Some of the Warramunga doctors, as well as those of the Binbinga and Mara tribes, are in the same way appointed by the spirits.⁸⁵

So, too, the power of curing illness, frequently attributed to priests, is in many cases thought to be derived from the gods. The Tahitian priests pretended to have received from the gods the knowledge of the healing art.⁸⁶ In Hawaii, according to a tradition, the knowledge of medicine was originally imparted by the gods.⁸⁷

The Dyak doctors receive from the gods the stones which they make use of in their cures.⁸⁸ Among the Australian Dieyeri the doctors are supposed to have received power from the devil to heal the sick.⁸⁹ According to the Pomo, a Californian tribe, it is by being moved by the spirits "that the elect are assured of their divine mission to undertake the healing of men".⁹⁰

Very generally the gods communicate the necessary secrets to the priests in dreams. The magic power of certain Australian seers is said to have fallen upon them in dreams from spirit agency.⁹¹ The same is stated of the Dieyeri doctors; they are supposed to receive in a dream the potency from the "devil"⁹²; and of the Kurnai wizards whom, when asleep, "either the ancestral ghosts visited and communicated protective chants, or they took them in spirit with them and completed their education elsewhere."⁹³ According to the Bagobo in the Philippines, who mostly have female priests, a woman may live the greater part of her life without an idea of becoming a member of this order, and then suddenly be warned in dreams, by visions, or by other priests that she has been chosen by the spirits.⁹⁴ To the thinking of the Andaman islanders the powers of a medicine-man may in a certain degree be obtained through dreams. Certain men have the faculty of communicating with the spirits in dreams, and such persons are medicine-men. If a man or boy experiences dreams that are in any way extraordinary, particularly if in his dreams he sees spirits, either the spirits of dead persons known to him when alive, or spirits of the forest or the sea, he may acquire in time the reputation of a medicine-man.⁹⁵ Among the Kayans of Borneo the *Dayong*, or professional soul-catcher, is generally a woman who has served a considerable period of apprenticeship with some older member of the profession, after having been admonished to take up this calling by some being met with in dreams, often a dream experienced during sickness.⁹⁶ The Manang, or medicine-men of the Sea Dyak, "are those who have been called to that vocation in dreams, and to whom the spirits have revealed themselves."⁹⁷ The priestly office of the Kond "may be assumed by anyone who chooses to assert a call to the service of a god—the mandate being communicated in a dream or vision".⁹⁸ The Golds, a tribe in North-Eastern Asia, consider it a condition for those aspiring to shamanhood to have seen the god in a dream. The sleeper is told by the god that he must make himself a shaman, and that the spirit will protect him.⁹⁹ The would-be shaman among the Tungus declares that a departed shaman has appeared to him in a dream commanding him to take his office.¹⁰⁰ This people further believe that a deceased shaman appears to the member of his own family whom he has chosen as his successor. This visit may take place in a dream, or during a severe illness. Anyone refusing to follow this call is tormented by the spirit to the

verge of death. The candidate chosen begins to withdraw from the company of his fellows, and has fits of hysteria and epilepsy.¹⁰¹ According to the Pima Indians one method of becoming a medicine-man was by dreams and trances under which certain beings endowed a person with magic power.¹⁰² The shaman of the Fuegians assumed his function as the result of a "call" coming to either man or woman. This inner vocation took the form of a dream in which friendly relations were established with "nature spirits" and with the ghosts of dead shamans. After several such dreams a personal guardian spirit would be obtained.¹⁰³

Besides dreams, there are various other means by which the gods are believed to choose their favourites for the priestly avocation. Sometimes they intimate their wishes in a more or less bizarre way. By the Moxo in Brazil and certain tribes in Paraguay it was deemed necessary that the aspirants for the priestly office should have been attacked and wounded by a jaguar, which animal was the visible object of their worship: "they considered him, therefore, as setting his mark upon those whom he chose to be his priests."¹⁰⁴ An opposite view was held by the Itonama Indians, who also worshipped the jaguar. "When a man, during a long journey, had not been attacked by any animal of this family, he was appointed a 'comocois', or priest, because he was considered to be favoured by God."¹⁰⁵ Among the Pima Indians, one way of becoming a medicine-man was through a "process of natural selection" appearing in certain remarkable signs: anyone, for instance, who recovered from the bite of a rattle-snake on the hand or near the heart might become a medicine-man or woman.¹⁰⁶ A medicine-woman of the Apache is mentioned whose claims to pre-eminence among her people seemed to have had no better foundation than her escape from a stroke of lightning and from the bite of a mountain lion.¹⁰⁷

It is, in fact, no rare belief that persons who have been struck by lightning are looked upon as chosen by the gods and may therefore be reckoned to the priestly order. If, among the Buryat, anybody is killed by lightning, it is held to betoken the will of the gods, who have thereby conferred a certain distinction upon the family of the dead man; he is considered as a shaman, and his nearest relative enjoys the right to shamanhood.¹⁰⁸ In ancient Peru existed a class of wizards, called Camascas, who declared that their grace and virtue were derived from the thunder, saying that when a thunderbolt fell, and one of them was struck with terror, after he came to himself he proclaimed how the thunder had revealed to him the art of healing by means of herbs, and how to give answers to those who consulted him.¹⁰⁹

The Munda Kolhs in India find out the proper Pahan, or priest to perform their sacrifices, for instance, by watching a frightened

bull which stops before a certain house.¹¹⁰ This is a widespread method of general auguring and occurs in Europe too. When an additional priest is wanted in a village among the Gold Coast natives, a general meeting of the inhabitants takes place, and a certain number of young men and women are made to stand in a circle. The fetish-priest, after certain weird and gruesome ceremonies, places on the head of each candidate a bundle of herbs and leaves. In most cases one or more of the youths and girls "fall straightway into a sort of fit and appear to be possessed by some strange influence. This is taken as a sign that the Fetish has spoken, and that the deity has fixed on the person or persons so affected for his service."¹¹¹

Among the various endowments which are requisite for aspirants to priesthood, we have in the first place to mention the faculty of wonder-working. Of many peoples we are in fact told that would-be priests are expected to perform miracles, and that the candidate has to manifest his powers in that respect before he is admitted to the sacerdotal order. In the Isle of Pines, for instance, persons ambitious to become priests will pretend to have been told by some spirit of future events which are to happen: should any of their predictions relating to warlike expeditions, or other events which greatly interest the people, happen to come to pass, nothing more would be required to constitute the foreteller of such events a duly inspired priest and entitle him to the power and respect claimed by that class of persons.¹¹² The Fijians, by way of trying a novice, "desire him to consult the gods about some business in which they are engaged. If he goes through the ceremony to their satisfaction, and the oracle proves correct, he is forthwith installed in the vacant *mbure*, or temple."¹¹³ The priestly novice, among the same people, "takes care that his maiden effort at divination is not too glaring a blunder."¹¹⁴ Certain Andaman boys are looked upon by the people as coming medicine-men, and their position is generally "in the first instance attained by relating an extraordinary dream, the details of which are declared to have been borne out subsequently by some unforeseen event, as, for instance, a sudden death by accident."¹¹⁵ With the Málers of Rájmahál in India, before a priest is admitted to full orders, "his ability to foretell events correctly must be verified, and he must prove by the performance of some stupendous work beyond the strength of one man, that he is supernaturally aided by the supreme being."¹¹⁶ Among certain Siberian peoples, one of the powers required of those who wish to become shamans is that of foreseeing future events.¹¹⁷ Before a Greenlander was acknowledged as an Angakok he had to show his power by calling forth his familiar spirit, and during this interval "his state would sometimes be revealed by the fact of his feet sinking in the rocky ground just as in snow."¹¹⁸ Any young Apache can become a medicine-man; for that purpose it

is, among other things, necessary to show that he is able to interpret omens in a satisfactory manner, and to do other extraordinary things.¹¹⁹

Sometimes people believe it possible to judge from outward signs whether certain persons possess mysterious powers and are able to act as sorcerers or priests. Speaking of primitive priesthood in general Sumner and Keller remark that evidences of possession may be physical, mental, or others, and they may be natural or induced. The shaman must be abnormal and as such inexplicable except by reference to spirit-influence. Bodily deformation, albinism or peculiar skin-markings, dwarfism or gigantism, and other physical peculiarities have at various times and places led savages to single out those who exhibit them as possessed of a spirit.¹²⁰ Among the divergencies from the normal which various peoples have regarded as indications of divinity, is albinism.¹²¹ In the Ojibway Indian tribe, "many receive the name of witches without making any pretensions to the art, merely because they are deformed or ill-looking." All esteemed witches or wizards among these Indians are, as a rule, "remarkably wicked, of a ragged appearance and forbidding countenance."¹²² Among the Congo natives "dwarfs and albinos are elevated to a priesthood."¹²³

Outward peculiarities in children are in certain cases believed to denote that these are bound to become mystery-men of some sort or other when grown-up. Some tribes in Central Australia think that children who are born with their eyes open will have the power of seeing and communicating with the spirits when they arrive at maturity.¹²⁴ The Tungus in Siberia consider children who bleed at the nose or mouth to be destined by the gods to the profession of shamanism.¹²⁵

Among some peoples, before a man is acknowledged as a priest, he has to prove that the god is "in him", and the most general evidence is falling into a state of ecstasy. In Ashanti the hereditary order of fetishmen is augmented by those who declare that the fetish has suddenly seized, or come upon them; a series of convulsive and unnatural bodily distortions establishes their claims.¹²⁶ The same is stated with reference to the fetishmen of the Gold Coast natives.¹²⁷ Among the Manipuri in India, "a woman who chooses to declare herself inspired, and can give evidence of the afflatus by going into fits, may enter upon her noviciate as a priestess."¹²⁸

The mental disposition which is supposed to qualify a person for the priestly office reveals certain very inherent features of early priesthood. All that we learn in this matter points to the fact that the priests, among a great number of peoples, must display a considerable excitability of mind and that, consequently, certain qualifications of a psycho-pathological nature very generally characterize

the priests and sorcerers of uncivilized races. "It is a remarkable fact," says Lowie, "that the shaman or priest—in other words the pre-eminently religious person—so frequently represents a clear deviation from the psychic norm. That is to say, whatever else may be implied, the protagonist of religion is often a pathological case, a 'neurotic' in the modern psychiatric vernacular."¹²⁹ Sumner and Keller express the same observation: the shaman must exhibit certain qualities indicative of possession by a spirit. Various abnormalities of the nervous system are met with, insanity at one end of the scale and genius at the other—and there are all grades of distinctive peculiarities between these two. Epilepsy, catalepsy, hysteria, ecstasy, apoplexy, paroxysms, somnambulism, fainting-fits—all these phenomena are taken to be significant of possession.¹³⁰

The disposition for certain sexual anomalies, not unfrequently met with among the priesthood of native races, will be treated in Chapter XII.

From several parts of the world we are informed that individuals of a certain eccentric frame of mind are considered to be specially apt for the sacerdotal vocation. The peoples of Northern Asia supply numerous illustrations of the mental qualifications required of priests. The Mongolian shamans were recruited from a class of men distinguished by their habits of contemplation and insight into mysteries as well as by their ardent imagination. Qualifications for shamanhood were thought to appear in frequent fits of giddiness and fainting besides other signs.¹³¹ The aborigines of the Altai district in Siberia believe that the influence of the evil spirit, which compels a person to become a shaman, makes itself known by continual yawning, shrieking, and leaping around, etc.¹³² The incipient shaman of the Yakut begins to see visions, endeavours to throw himself into the water or fire, and seizes knives to hurt himself with, after which he declares that the spirits have ordered him to become a shaman.¹³³ The most nervous and excitable persons among the same people make themselves shamans.¹³⁴ In order to become a shaman a Chukche must be an inspired person, which means that he is nervous and excitable, often on the verge of insanity. He has fits of wild paroxysms alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion, and is often afflicted with hysteria.¹³⁵ Generally he has several spirits, or at least one, as protectors or servants. The novice of the Buryat signalizes himself by his mental eccentricity; he is often absorbed in thought, he likes to be alone, and occasionally has epileptic fits, or becomes unconscious. To the thinking of the Buryat his soul during that time dwells with the spirits, by which it is instructed for the office.¹³⁶ The Tungus shaman displays similar traits.¹³⁷ The Lapps believed that nervous persons who in their childhood were often ill and had visions were especially adapted for the office of a shaman.¹³⁸ This calling is not open to everybody to take up, certain psychic

qualities being necessary in its service. The gifts essential for a shaman often run in the same family, appearing either early in childhood or else after some severe illness. To these belong certain peculiarities of a nervous character.¹³⁹

When a Fijian is ambitious to succeed a priest who dies without male heirs, "he will cunningly assume a mysterious air, speaking incoherently, and pretending that coming events have been foretold him by the *kalou* (spirits), whom he claims to have seen and talked with."¹⁴⁰ The term *fahe-gehe*, which is used of the priests in Tonga, means "split off, separate, or distinct from, and is applied to signify a priest, or man who has a peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differing from that of the generality of mankind, which disposes some god occasionally to inspire him".¹⁴¹

An Apache who wishes some time to become a medicine-man must, among other qualifications, "show that he is a dreamer of dreams, given to long feasts and vigils," and demonstrate the possession of an intense spirituality.¹⁴² South American Indian medicine-men are recruited among persons with a disposition for epilepsy and other psycho-physiological irregularities, for instance, that blood on particular occasions is oozing from the skin of their breast.¹⁴³ Among the Indians of British Guiana epileptic subjects are by preference chosen as Peaimen, and are trained to throw themselves at will into convulsions.¹⁴⁴ The Karaya Indians on Rio Aragua believe that nervous individuals and epileptics are peculiarly qualified for the vocation of a sorcerer.¹⁴⁵ Among the Tehuelche boys and girls of eccentric disposition are believed to be destined to become sorcerers or sorceresses.¹⁴⁶

Regarding the Kafir priests of Natal it has been stated that "symptoms supposed to indicate an individual's coming inspiration are mental depression, a disposition to retire from his accustomed society, severe fits of an epileptic nature, extraordinary and numerous dreams. . . . The neophyte talks about his marvellous visions, and commences running, shrieking, plunging into water, and performing wonderful feats, until his friends say that he is mad, and he speaks and acts like one under the influence of a supernatural being."¹⁴⁷ To become a witch-doctor among the Bechuana a peculiar type of character was required, a pronouncedly neurotic temperament, one eminently susceptible to psychic influences. The novice must show signs of this before he is taken on trial.¹⁴⁸ From the Owimbundu¹⁴⁹ and Akamba¹⁵⁰ we learn that boys of a peculiar neurotic temperament are chosen for the calling of medicine-men.

Among certain peoples the mere faculty of falling into convulsions or into a state of unconsciousness seems to be almost all that is requisite for becoming a priest. It is stated respecting the Fijian priests that "the power of receiving inspiration, and of announcing the will of the deity, during a violent fit of muscular or nervous

shaking, supposed to betoken the possession of his body by the spirit, is a necessary qualification for the priestly office".¹⁵¹ Before a Fijian is acknowledged as a priest, he has to undergo a trial, and is required to show publicly that the *kalou* (spirit) is entering into him. The proof of this is considered to lie in certain shiverings which appear to be involuntary, and in the performance of which none but an expert juggler could succeed.¹⁵² An explorer in Australia mentions an old native doctor who was affected with fits of spasmodic contraction of one side of his breast and who availed himself of the singular effect produced upon him by this malady, to impose upon his countrymen by giving the idea of "satanic" inspiration.¹⁵³ Among the natives of the Gold Coast one of the chief qualifications of the novices is great endurance in dancing, by which they excite themselves into a perfect frenzy until the fetish takes possession of them.¹⁵⁴ The real characteristic of a sorcerer among the Galla is said to be the faculty of now and again falling into convulsions, nay, of playing the part of an epileptic.¹⁵⁵ Those among the Patagonian Indians who are seized with fits of falling sickness are immediately selected for the wizard profession, as chosen by the demons themselves, whom they suppose to possess them, and to cause all the convulsions and distortions common in epileptic paroxysms.¹⁵⁶ Concerning the priestly novices among the Bhil in India we are told that if music does not stimulate them to a state of ecstatic frenzy they are rejected, as not being favoured by the god with a requisite portion of spiritual grace.¹⁵⁷ Among the Lapps every regular shaman was required to be able by various bodily and mental exertions to work himself into a state of trance or mesmeric sleep.¹⁵⁸ The symptoms of enervation and mental depression characterizing the novice among the Siberian native tribes gradually increased into violent convulsions, and it was thought that in this way the power of their ancestors entered into them.¹⁵⁹ Among the Yakuts those become shamans who involuntarily begin to shriek and lose their senses, while, at the same time, they discover a prophetic gift.¹⁶⁰ The Kadagi, or diviner, of the Khevsur in the Caucasus is said to be a man who, on account of his neurotic temperament, is given to ecstasy, or through simulated delirium shows his qualification for the sacerdotal calling.¹⁶¹

The great importance which is attached to ecstasy, as a symptom of divine visitation, appears in the numerous cases when priests before or at their initiation reduce themselves by special means, as fasting or narcotics, into a state of frenzy or trance, which is supposed to indicate their sacred calling. Lord Avebury and Tylor have collected instances of ecstasy being produced by the use of drugs or by fasting, bodily exercises, chanting, screaming, etc.¹⁶² We shall have occasion to quote facts referring to such practices when describing the preparation which priestly novices have to undergo.

As a matter of fact, nothing seems more natural to the savage mind that ascribing ecstasy to spiritual agency. The convulsive gestures and incoherent utterances of the inspired seem to show that his own will is absent, and that some strange being has taken possession of his body. A spirit or god is therefore supposed to speak through his mouth and to command his actions.

This faculty of falling into an ecstatic condition is all the more necessary for would-be priests as, among savage peoples, manifestations of a prophetic or divine dementation do almost universally accompany religious ceremonies. A great number of instances from all parts of the world inhabited by savages may be quoted as illustrations of this rule. Eye-witnesses give graphic descriptions of the ways in which priests work themselves up to fury or swoon during their various religious or magical observances. This generally happens in connection with weird performances of dancing, drumming, singing, etc., and not unfrequently under the direct influence of intoxicating or narcotic drugs. Such scenes of mental alienation are general, for instance, when the gods are to be consulted; then all the utterances of the priests, while in their inspired condition, are received as direct responses from the supreme rulers.¹⁶³ Similar practices take place when the priests foretell future events,¹⁶⁴ when they declare the causes of diseases,¹⁶⁵ detect evil-doers,¹⁶⁶ or cast out evil spirits.¹⁶⁷

The observation that an ecstatic disposition is universally associated with priesthood draws our attention to the fact that really insane persons are also, in many cases, looked upon with superstitious awe. The notions of savages regarding lunacy show their inclination to attribute to spiritual possession such phenomena as they cannot otherwise account for. The only distinction which some of them make between insanity and ecstasy seems to be that the former state of mind is ascribed to a permanent, the latter to a more casual, possession by a spirit. Some people believe the insane to be under the influence of demons, while others assume that they are inspired by good spirits.¹⁶⁸

In conformity with the latter idea great veneration is paid to the insane, who are also sometimes thought to possess the spirit of prophecy. By uneducated Egyptians an idiot or a fool is usually looked upon "as a being whose mind is in heaven, while his grosser part mingles among ordinary mortals; consequently, he is considered an especial favourite of heaven. Whatever enormities a reputed saint may commit . . . such acts do not affect his fame for sanctity".¹⁶⁹ Among the Arabs insanity, "if not of a very violent and dangerous nature, is commonly regarded as a quality that entitles the subject of it to be esteemed as a saint; being supposed to be the abstraction of the mind from worldly affairs, and its total devotion to God."¹⁷⁰ The inhabitants of Mocha in East India venerate mad people of

either sex, believing them to be inspired, or actuated by a prophetic spirit.¹⁷¹ In certain parts of South Arabia the mentally afflicted are held as saints, anything being allowable to them.¹⁷² Lunatics and idiots are by the people of Minahassa in Celebes held in high honour as being specially favoured by the gods; and those who suffer from the many forms of hysteria and epilepsy, are believed to possess the gift of prophecy.¹⁷³ In Hawaii lunatics were often objects of contempt and even cruelty, but occasionally they were "treated with attention and respect, being supposed to be inspired by some god".¹⁷⁴ Among the Maori insanity is stated to be almost unknown, but "any person thus afflicted is said to have the *Atua* (supernatural power) within him, or to have received the spirit of prophecy".¹⁷⁵ Codrington, mentioning the inhabitants of the Leper's Island, says that when a lunatic spoke, "it was not with his own voice, but with that of the dead man who possessed him; and such a man would know where things were hidden; thus the possession which causes madness cannot be quite distinguished from that which prophesies, and a man may pretend to be mad that he may get the reputation of being a prophet."¹⁷⁶ The Indians of Guiana regarded lunatics with great awe on account of the universal conviction that they stand in intimate communication with the gods, for which reason their doings and utterances are held to imply manifestations of the gods.¹⁷⁷ To the Buryat insanity indicates a close connection with the highest beings.¹⁷⁸

From the dispositions which are thought to qualify a person for priesthood we shall turn to the initiation of neophytes into the sacerdotal office. As a rule, candidates for the profession of a priest or wizard have to undergo a preparatory course of information which is imparted by some expert practitioner. Thus, a Namaqua negro who wishes to make himself a witch-doctor of any importance is required to be previously instructed by one who is well versed in the mysteries of the black art.¹⁷⁹ To become a member of the priesthood among the Tshi-speaking peoples in West Africa a long noviciate is necessary, during which the novices are instructed by the priests in the secrets of the craft.¹⁸⁰ Among the Yoruba-speaking peoples, seminaries for youths and girls who devote themselves to the priestly office are a regular institution.¹⁸¹ The priestly aspirant among the Kafirs of Natal, after having manifested his divine inspiration, "goes to a prophet; and presenting him with a goat, seeks to be instructed in the mysteries of the profession."¹⁸² A Buryat who wishes to prepare himself for the profession of a shaman attaches himself as a pupil to one already thoroughly versed in the same.¹⁸³ Similar statements are made about the Yakut¹⁸⁴ and Lapps¹⁸⁵ as also concerning the Sea Dyak.¹⁸⁶ Among the Maori "the knowledge of the priest is handed down from father to son; and the youths undergo a regular

course of instruction.”¹⁸⁷ The Australian wizards are said to “supplement spiritual endowments with arts acquired from aged magicians”.¹⁸⁸

A Waraus, in Guiana, becomes a sorcerer or doctor by being instructed by some professor of that art.¹⁸⁹ Boys of the Panama Indians destined to be sorcerers are instructed in the office.¹⁹⁰ Among the Huichol, a young man sometimes asks an older shaman for information, although there is no regular system of teaching.¹⁹¹ In Anahuac, in ancient Mexico, there were colleges or seminaries for priestly novices.¹⁹² In order to acquire the power of prophecy and to become able to produce supernatural manifestations, it was necessary among the Algonquian tribes to receive instruction from some one of reputed skill.¹⁹³ The Eskimo novices are trained by their older and more experienced colleagues.¹⁹⁴ When a young man or woman of the Iglulik Eskimo wishes to become a shaman, the first thing to do is to make a present to the shaman under whom one wishes to study. Sometimes two such instructors may be employed at the same time. The present given in the first place must be something valuable. After that the shaman invokes and interrogates his helping spirits in order to “remove all obstacles”, that is, to eliminate from the pupil’s body and mind all that might hinder him from becoming a good shaman. A certain purification on the pupil’s side is required in addition.¹⁹⁵

Not always, however, is a preparatory instruction necessary for becoming a priest. Although the statements on this point are somewhat ambiguous, it would seem that those who had been inspired by the gods are less in want of instruction than those who are self-chosen. Among the natives of the Gold Coast anyone may assume the office of a fetish-man after suitable training, but the priestly order is said, in addition, to be augmented by persons who can prove that the fetish has suddenly seized upon them.¹⁹⁶ The Golapûrabs in the Agra district of India acknowledge that any one may undertake the duties of a “cunning man” if he learns the appropriate spells from some teacher, or by intensity of devotion compels an evil spirit into his power.¹⁹⁷ Among the Buryat there are shamans who have obtained the requisite powers from the gods without being previously instructed in the profession.¹⁹⁸ A good preliminary instruction by some experienced shaman seems to be the rule for apprentices in the spiritual calling among the Eskimo, but some became shamans without having studied under others, by going out at once into the great solitude where they submitted to a severe self-training.¹⁹⁹ The way in which the sorcerers of the Ojibway Indians are made “is either by direct communication with the familiar spirit during the days of their fasting, or by being instructed by those skilled in the art”.²⁰⁰ The Murring of Australia considered that it was the spirits who gave their powers to the Gommeras, or seers, but, at the same time,

thought that a boy could be trained up " in the way he should go " ²⁰¹ By certain tribes in New South Wales " a doctor is believed to acquire his powers in one of two ways, either by being trained from boyhood by his father, or by being instructed by the spirits of the dead " ²⁰² The Arunta and Ilpirra tribes are said to have three distinct schools of medicine-men, the members of two of which are chosen by the spirits, whereas those belonging to the third are initiated by other medicine-men ; but the two first are more highly thought of than the third. ²⁰³

As we have seen, the disposition for the priestly office is often thought to be conspicuous even in childhood ; so, also the preparation of novices, in many cases, begins at an early age. Among the Eskimo ²⁰⁴ and the Kadiak ²⁰⁵ on the south coast of Alaska the " studies " necessary before becoming an *angakok* or shaman were in most cases begun in infancy. The Ojibway Indians encourage their youths from the age of ten to manhood to fast, in which way they obtain the favour of the gods. ²⁰⁶ Boys destined among the Panama Indians to become *piaces*, are taken at the age of ten to twelve years to be instructed in the office. ²⁰⁷ The *Ipurina* sorcerers generally begin their preparation while boys. ²⁰⁸ Among the Tshi-speaking peoples in West Africa even children may become members of the priesthood by being devoted to the profession by their relatives. ²⁰⁹ The *Bilians*, or priests, of certain native tribes of Borneo, " are trained for their task from their earliest youth. " ²¹⁰ It seems to be the rule that, where the priests are subject to a regular course of instruction, the preparatory period commences early in life, whereas the more impulsive assumption of priesthood, with little or no previous training, is liable to take place at any age.

As to the length of the time of preparation we meet with vague and ambiguous reports. In some cases the whole initiatory period seems to be taken into account, in other cases only a certain part of it. No doubt the length of the preparatory time varies considerably in different cases. The priestly novice among the *Bagobo* in Angola becomes a pupil of a qualified practitioner for several months. ²¹¹ A *Kru* novice cannot be received into the conclave without spending two years or more of discipleship with some eminent member of the fraternity. ²¹² Among the *Yoruba*-speaking peoples the applicants for the priestly office undergo a noviciate of two to three years, ²¹³ and equally long is the initiatory period among the Tshi-speaking peoples. ²¹⁴ In certain West African secret societies it lasts three years, ²¹⁵ the same length of time as in *Ashanti*, where the neophyte leaves his own house and settles down with his new master. ²¹⁶ The period of instruction among the *Iglulik* Eskimo is short, especially in the case of men ; some can make do with five days. It is understood, however, that the young shaman, after having been initiated by his experienced tutor, must continue his training

on his own account, far from the dwellings of men, in the solitary parts where he can be alone with nature.²¹⁷ According to Nansen, the preparation of the Eskimo Angakok often lasts ten years.²¹⁸ Boys destined to be sorcerers are among the Panama Indians held under strict discipline for two years.²¹⁹ Would-be medicine-men among certain Brazilian tribes have for months to observe severe rules of ascetism.²²⁰ The length of the preparatory period is said to vary among certain other South American tribes ; in such cases when it lasts many years the novice seems to join the medicine-man as a child and to attend on him at his medical functions.²²¹ The period of initiation among the Buryat lasts from a very early age till the novice is about twenty.²²² Chukchee shamans have to undergo a painful preparation of one to two years' duration or longer.²²³ Among the Todas the preparation for the sacred office occupies one month.²²⁴ Of the ancient Gauls we are told that some of the Druids had to follow the course of training for twenty years.²²⁵

The length of the course of preparation naturally depends, to a great extent, on the amount of instruction required, and other observances to be attended to. As a rule we can, among most peoples, draw a distinction between two different phases of the priestly education. During one period the novice is generally under the care of some experienced priest who imparts to him the necessary religious instruction and initiates him into the practices of the profession. Another phase of the preparation comprehends a course of self-training during which the aspirant has to place himself in the proper correspondence with the gods.

Regarding the knowledge imparted to the candidates, mere theoretical teaching, as a matter of course, is little thought of. Most importance is attached to practical knowledge which may be of use in the magical and religious performances. Occasionally we learn of instruction in tribal traditions and lore being included. Among certain Eskimo the teaching of shaman-pupils implies the recitation of magic prayers and the murmuring of magic songs, which can heal the sick or bring good weather, or good hunting. The most powerful magic words are those which come to one in an inexplicable manner when one is alone out among the mountains.²²⁶ In Greenland the teacher seeks, in the first place, to make the pupil entirely fearless and to direct his mind towards the spirit-world, to the horrors of which he must be rendered insensible.²²⁷ In the Mosquito tribe of Central America, the sorceresses, during their preparation for the office, learn certain tricks from their predecessors, such as allowing poisonous snakes to bite them, and handling fire.²²⁸ The priestly novice among the Indians of British Guiana is taught the traditions of the tribe, the medical qualities of plants, and to find out where game is to be had.²²⁹ During his noviciate the medicine-man of the Bororo in Brazil has to learn certain ritual songs and the languages

of birds, beasts, and trees.²³⁰ Beginners among South American medicine-men are taught their monotonous songs, ventriloquism, the imitation of the cries of animals ; they also learn to suck out the cause of illness and get accustomed to take strong doses of narcotic or poisonous beverages ; additional information includes the knowledge of medical herbs, poisons, stars, etc.²³¹ Among the Fuegians " much practice was given in the necessary sleight-of-hand tricks, and the proper chants were memorized ".²³²

The priests of the Kookies in India keep the mysteries of their education very secret, but first of all they seem to have been taught the secret language which they have among themselves, while the rest of their knowledge is probably picked up during their practice.²³³ The occult wisdom which the Zulu priests have to acquire before their consecration is said to comprehend a good deal of empirical knowledge, such as the medical use of roots and plants.²³⁴ Young witch-doctors of the Bechuana obtain instruction in the properties of certain herbs which are to be used as medicines, and in the handling of poisonous snakes with impunity. They also learn to imitate the calls of sacred animals and birds, to find lost articles and lost animals and to interpret the " guessing bones " regarding the future.²³⁵ Among the Bantu nomads the teaching included the qualities of herbs used in the doctor's arts, the acquisition of dexterity in throwing the divining bones, on the position of which the revelations to be made depended.²³⁶ During his initiation the Slave Coast priest has acquired a language unintelligible to the ordinary people, a sacred idiom which he is obliged to speak ; he has adopted a countenance calculated to impose upon his ignorant environment ; he has studied various medicines, poisons, and antidotes of which the knowledge confers a certain superiority over his uninstructed tribesmen ; he has learnt all manner of invocations, of prophecies, and magical necromancies.²³⁷ With reference to the Tshi-speaking peoples it is only said that the novices are gradually instructed in the secrets of the craft, the most unimportant rites and secrets being revealed first, and then, as the novice proves himself worthy of confidence, the more important.²³⁸ Each Vedda pupil learns to repeat the invocations used at the various ceremonies.²³⁹

As we have seen, priests are in certain cases paid for their services in training pupils for the sacerdotal order. Occasionally other forms, too, of economic transactions are connected with the tuition of young priests or sorcerers. Thus, it is said that among the Alaska Eskimo some old shaman frequently would be prevailed upon to sell some particular magic to a younger one.²⁴⁰ An Ostyak shaman sometimes sells his familiar spirit to another shaman. After receiving payment he fixes the time when the spirit is to pass to its new master. The spirit, having changed owners, makes his new possessor suffer ; if the new shaman does not

feel these effects, it is a sign that he is not becoming proficient in his office.²⁴¹

According to Elsdon Best the *mana* as well as the knowledge of an old shaman was among the Maori transferred to his pupil and successor at the death of the former by way of the latter inhaling his last breath. "When," so the description runs, "a priest has taught some young man his own stores of knowledge, he would, when near his end, tell his pupil to bite or *whakaha* (place the mouth to the place and accompany the act with an inspiration of breath) some part of his body just as the breath of life was passing from him. It was believed that this act had the effect of transmitting the *mana* (powers, prestige, psychic power, etc.) and knowledge of the dying man to the pupil. It was not the same part of the body that the pupil was advised to treat in all cases. In one case that an ex-pupil told me of, he had been instructed by his teacher to *whakaha* the crown of his head. This meant that the pupil had to place the mouth to his teacher's head, open it slightly, and inhale his breath. The so-called biting meant that the person who performed it just closed his teeth on the part indicated. In some cases, when the performer had been a pupil of the dying person, the rite was performed in order to acquire his *mana*." ²⁴² There does not exist, to my knowledge, any confirmatory report regarding such a transmission of priestly virtue and insight among Maori priesthood.

The self-training of a candidate for the priestly vocation has for its object to prepare his mind for intercourse with the supernatural beings. During this period he generally lives for a longer or shorter time in retirement, whilst in certain cases a rigorous ascetism is prescribed, such as fasting or subsisting on a scanty diet. In certain tribes the novices are required strictly to refrain from connection with the opposite sex.

Among North American peoples the self-preparation of would-be priests is carried on with great severity. With the Eskimo this phase of the priestly education consisted in strict fasting and invocation of the deity while dwelling alone in solitary places. "In this way the soul became partly independent of the body and of the external world; finally, *tornarsuk* appeared and provided the novice with a *tornak*, viz. a helping or guardian spirit." ²⁴³ Among the Tlinkit the aspirant of shamanhood dwells for some time in the forest, or upon a mountain, in solitude—situations calculated to call forth a sort of mental fervour, and to excite the imagination to the highest pitch.²⁴⁴ The method adopted by the Ojibway Indians to become medicine-men is said to consist in fasting and watching. During their time of preparation they take almost no food and drink, and "in this way they go on for several successive days, the longer the better, and the more *munedoos* (spirits) they will be likely to propitiate".²⁴⁵

In order to place himself in communication with the other earth, the Latoka neophyte submitted to purification ceremonies and to fast and vigil in solitude, for only in so doing could he experience the vision or dream during which the dumb creatures could converse with him.²⁴⁶ Throughout the period of his initiation a novice among the Pima Indians was not permitted to go near the lodge of a menstruous woman, nor might he allow anyone to know that he was learning. This meant that he could not practise until the end of the novitiate, usually two years, sometimes four.²⁴⁷ The Huichols in Mexico believe that a man who wishes to become a shaman must be faithful to his wife for five years. If he violates this rule, he is sure to be taken ill, and will lose the power of healing.²⁴⁸

Among the Panama Indians those who are chosen to be sorcerers are confined in a solitary place in company with their instructors and are held under a rigid discipline.²⁴⁹ To become a Peaiman, or medicine-man, an Indian of Guiana "has to undergo long fasts, to wander alone in the forest, houseless and unarmed, and with only such food as he can gather; and he has gradually to accustom himself to drink fearfully large draughts of tobacco-juice mixed with water. . . . Maddened by these draughts of nicotine, by the terrors of his long solitary wanderings, and fearfully excited by his own ravings, he is able to work himself at will into the most frantic passions of excitement, during which he is supposed to hold converse with the *kenaimas* (evil beings) and to control them."²⁵⁰ The Waraus consider it necessary for a new sorcerer to abstain for ten months from the flesh of birds and beasts, whilst only the smallest kinds of fish are allowed him. Even cassava bread is to be eaten sparingly, and intoxicating drinks avoided during that period. Meats and food not indigenous to the country are especially tabooed. By touching such food he would neutralize the power of his enchantments, or, as his countrymen say, "spoil his mouth for incantations."²⁵¹ The Payes, or jugglers, of the Guaranies, "underwent a severe initiation, living in dark and remote places, alone, naked, unwashed, uncombed, and feeding only upon pepper and roasted maize, till having almost lost their senses, they came into that state in which the Jesuits believed that they invoked the Devil, and that the Devil came at their call."²⁵² Concerning the medicine-men of certain Brazilian tribes we hear of similar observances.²⁵³ Of the Abipones Father Dobrizhoffer stated, "Those who aspire to the office of juggler are said to sit upon an aged willow, overhanging some lake, and to abstain from food for several days, till they begin to see into futurity. It always appeared probable to me that these rogues, from long fasting, contract a weakness of brain, a giddiness, and a kind of delirium, which makes them imagine that they are gifted with superior wisdom, and give themselves out for magicians."²⁵⁴

In Africa the Tshi-speaking peoples believe that novices, during

their initiatory period, "must keep their bodies pure, and refrain from all commerce with the other sex."²⁵⁵ By the Ashanti inspired people are sometimes acknowledged as priests after inflicting great severities on themselves, in the manner of convulsionists.²⁵⁶ A would-be Ashanti practitioner "retires alone, for a considerable period, into the solitude of the forest where he lives and studies nature. He eventually emerges from his retreat and is hailed as one returned from the dead. He tells his relations that he was not dead, but merely serving the usual apprenticeship for a 'doctor's degree' with fairies or forest monsters as his mentors. This gives him 'a good local press'."²⁵⁷ In order to become a 'doctor' of the secret societies in West Africa the aspirant remains for a time alone in the bush subject to all kinds of trials, vigils, and ordeals prepared by those into whose ranks he desires to enter. He encounters all kinds of monsters and spectres.²⁵⁸ The Loango novices are required to pass several days in a dark hut, to fast and keep silence.²⁵⁹ A priestly candidate among the Namaqua must begin his preparation by swallowing animal poison inoculated into his body.²⁶⁰ To attain the highest grade of sorcerer among the Kafir it is necessary to fast in solitary and gloomy places, to listen to the voices of the wood and of the ghosts, to be able to converse with the birds, and to practise dancing and other violent exercises in order to be seized by the spirits of the dead.²⁶¹

The schooling of a Lapp shaman generally took place either on the ground in some lonely place, or the pupil was led to the underworld to imbibe there the wisdom of former shamans.²⁶² A young man among the Chukchi in Siberia who has made up his mind to become a shaman undergoes a long self-training. "His imagination is worked upon by solitude, the contemplation of the gloomy aspect of surrounding nature, long vigils and fasts, with the use of narcotics and stimulants, until he becomes persuaded that he, too, has seen the apparitions which he has heard of from his boyhood."²⁶³ Before a shaman of the Buryat enters upon the office, he retires for some time into a forest where he invokes the gods and is said frequently to fall into a state of insensibility.²⁶⁴ So also the Demano, or priests of the Máler in India, after their call spend a certain number of days in the wilderness in intimate communion (as they make their flock believe) with the god.²⁶⁵ The novices among the Bhill are required to perform daily ablutions in warm water for nine days.²⁶⁶ Among the Toda the candidate for priesthood throws off his garment and resorts to an unfrequented part of some forest. He smears himself with the juice of a certain tree and afterwards bathes in a stream. This he does several times during the week that he remains in the forest. All this time he is in a state of perfect nudity, and a scanty supply of parched grain forms his only sustenance.²⁶⁷ In proof of ability to communicate with the gods, the medicine-men of the Sea Dyak will, before the ceremony of initiation, abstain from food and fall into

trances from which they will awake with all the tokens of one possessed by a devil, foaming at the mouth and talking incoherently.²⁶⁸ During the initiation ceremonies the initiate is required to abstain from sleep, and this would seem to be because sleep is regarded as generally dangerous and therefore to be avoided on such occasions as this when every precaution needs to be taken.²⁶⁹ The personal training of a Marind-anim *mesâr* (wizard) begins with fasting during five to seven days, when only certain kinds of fried bananas are allowed to be taken. Meanwhile the old *mesâr* prepares a magic medicine consisting principally of juice from a corpse ("Leichensaft") without which no one can become a *mesâr*. From this medicine the candidate attains the same powers as the spirits of the dead possess. It is taken repeatedly and in considerable quantities. Some of the novices are reduced to unconsciousness from this potion, others become raving. "Leichensaft" is also dripped into the eyes, endowing the novice with the power of seeing things which are hidden from ordinary mortals and performing feats beyond the potency of others.²⁷⁰ Regarding the disciplinary schooling of the young Australian magician, we learn that his natural predisposition is heightened through his fasting and his vigils until he encounters some spirit or ghost in a dream or in a fit of ecstasy, occasionally brought about, in addition, by some magical medicine. Some of them make wonderful journeys or have supernatural adventures during which they converse with mythical beings. There is evidently a good deal of suggestion and auto-suggestion in their demeanour, yea, we believe, unconscious hypnotism. However that may be, once this state is attained, the magician speaks on behalf of a spirit or a ghost of some dead person, and can enter into communication with these.²⁷¹ Among the rules of conduct to which certain Australian medicine-men have to submit during their self-training are severe restrictions as regards their food.²⁷² In the Boulia district of Queensland the individual who feels inclined to become a medicine-man will leave the camp for three or four days and subsist only on roots, etc., that is, practically starve himself: he gets more or less "cranky" and when in that condition sees *Mulka-ri*, who is pleased to make him a doctor.²⁷³ In the northern tribes of Central Australia the candidates are not allowed to have any rest, but are obliged to stand or walk about until they are thoroughly exhausted and scarcely know what is happening to them. They are not allowed to drink a drop of water or taste food of any kind. They become, in fact, dazed and stupefied, and when in this state, they are made medicine-men.²⁷⁴

Among certain peoples, before a young priest or magician is regarded as qualified to exercise his profession, he has to give some proof of his power in supernatural matters. Thus, in order to be publicly acknowledged, the Kafir *Isanusî*, or seer, must demonstrate

before the people his competency to recover lost articles. For this test certain objects are secretly hidden near or farther away. If he cannot find them at once, he is generally helped by the other seers. After a successful test he is passed as a real seer.²⁷⁵ An Andaman medicine-man must convince the people of his powers by demonstrating them. Once he has attained reputation, he will not only enjoy the respect of the others but also make a considerable personal profit.²⁷⁶ Gradation from the "shaman school", among the Fuegians, did not ensure a successful professional career, for only by repeated proofs of power could the individual's reputation be established.²⁷⁷

Finally we learn that among certain peoples candidates are admitted to the sacerdotal order through a special initiatory ceremony. The purpose of this rite may be regarded as the public acceptance of the new priest or magician and his induction into the profession. The priests among the Yoruba-speaking peoples are consecrated to their office, on which occasion they take a new name.²⁷⁸ Among the Ama-Xosa Kafir the priests are received into the brotherhood with mysterious ceremonies.²⁷⁹ When a priest of the Waraus feels that he has become too weak to fight the spirits, he transfers the office to his son who is consecrated with many solemn rites.²⁸⁰ The Yakut and other Siberian peoples perform various ceremonies when a new priest is consecrated.²⁸¹ Among the Lapps the solemn initiation of a priest is said to be performed on Christmas night.²⁸² The priestly novices of the Sea Dyak change their name at initiation.²⁸³

It also happens that the consecration of a priest takes place several times in succession according as he rises from lower to higher degrees of the order. The initiatory rites of a Buryat shaman, for instance, are repeated three times: at each time he assumes a higher function, and it is only after having passed through all these ceremonies that a shaman enjoys the full privileges of the priesthood.²⁸⁴ It has been stated that the number of times a priest among the Buryat is consecrated varies from one to nine.²⁸⁵ The jugglers of the Moxo tribe in Brazil were admitted to the lowest step of priesthood after an arduous course of discipline lasting one year. To obtain a higher degree they had, after long practice as suckers, to undergo another year of still severer abstinence. At the end of that time the juice of certain pungent herbs was infused into their eyes, to purge their mortal sight, and from this circumstance they were called "those who have clear eyes".²⁸⁶

As regards the significance of changing personal names, which custom in certain cases takes place at the initiation of priests, we refer to our previous treatment of the subject (pp. 34 sq.).

The meaning of certain ritual dances will be dealt with in the next chapter (pp. 183 *sq.*).

Lévy-Bruhl has drawn a parallel between certain features of the initiation of young men into manhood and those of the novitiate of priests and magicians. "The resemblance between the initiation of witch-doctors or shamans, and those of the novices of the tribe in general," he says, "is a striking one." In particular he calls attention to "the apparent death and new birth" which is supposed to take place with neophytes of both classes in connection with the state of unconsciousness into which they are frequently reduced during the ordeals they have to undergo. "The initiatory rites for witch-doctors, shamans, medicine-men, fetish-men, etc., or members of some secret society, in their general procedure as, frequently, in their most insignificant details, reproduce the public ceremonies of initiation imposed upon youths of the tribe when they reach puberty. Now there can be no manner of doubt as to the end sought by the former: they are designed to enable the candidates to participate in mystic realities, to put them in communication, or rather, in communion, with certain spirits. . . . There is therefore no doubt, either, as to the end aimed at by the practices which constitute the usual initiatory rites for the youths of the community. They are magic operations designed to place them in a condition of ecstasy, unconsciousness, 'death,' indispensable if they are to participate in the essentially mystic reality of their tribe, their totem and their ancestors. Once this participation has been effected, the novices are 'full' members of the tribe, for to them its secrets have been revealed."²⁸⁷ To the primitive, Lévy-Bruhl says, "death is not an irreparable breach separating the individual from the world of the living for ever. . . . It merely signifies an abrupt and profound change in the individual, which does not prevent him from continuing to exist in spite of the decay of his body. It is such a 'death' as this that the young men die in the course of their initiation tests, to be born again immediately afterwards: it is a mystic change of individuality." So, too, at a certain stage in the initiation of some of the Australian medicine-men, the candidates are put to death, and their bodies denuded of their organs. Then they are recalled to life and provided with new organs: another mystic change which has made them a kind of supermen.²⁸⁸

There are many instances of beliefs and practices among native races which seem to bear out Lévy-Bruhl's theory. In the case of certain Australian tribes referred to by him, a young man who wants to become a wizard, goes and lies down to sleep at the mouth of a certain cave. An *iruntarinia* (spirit) then comes and kills him with a spear, at the same time piercing his tongue, which with a genuine medicine-man ever after shows a hole enough to admit the little finger. The *iruntarinia* removes all his internal organs and

provides the man with new ones. The man comes to life again, but in a condition of insanity which, however, gradually disappears and the people recognize that a new medicine-man has graduated. Together with the new internal organs the *iruntarinia* has provided him with magic power.²⁸⁹ According to one of the traditions of the Kiwai Papuans, a man named Sávi was made a sorcerer in the following way. One night he was killed by an *óboro* (spirit of a dead person) who removed all the bones from Sávi's body and put in those of an *óboro* instead. Then he restored him to life, and he was now akin to a spirit. The *óboro* had given him a bone, by means of which he could summon the spirits at will. They executed all sorts of commissions for him. He beheld visions and could foretell impending deaths.²⁹⁰ Among the Andaman islanders, one way of attaining contact with the spirits is by death. If a man should "as the natives put it, die (become unconscious), and then come back to life again, he is, by that adventure, endowed with the power that makes a medicine-man". When a man dies he becomes a spirit and therefore acquires the peculiar powers and qualities of such a being which he retains if he returns to life.²⁹¹ The mode of obtaining the power of a Paye, or medicine-woman, among the Tupinamba Indians in Brazil, was thus: The old Paye fumigated the aspirant with a certain magical medicine, "then bade her cry out as loud as she could, and jump, and after a while whirl round still shouting till she dropped down senselessly. When she recovered he affirmed that she had been dead and he had brought her back to life, and from that time she was a 'cunning woman'."²⁹²

CHAPTER XI

HOW PRIESTS GAIN REPUTATION—ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD AS A DISTINCT ORDER

It has been mentioned previously that the authority exercised by the priests naturally varies among different peoples ; as a general rule, however, the priesthood occupies an influential position in uncivilized communities. In the course of evolution the services of the priesthood have become more and more important in the popular estimation. Accordingly, they have attained much personal aggrandizement, and at the same time their social interests have benefited. Among certain peoples the priests have acquired an almost unlimited power.

This is to be connected with the whole character of the priestly office. A person wielding a power so enormous in its possibilities as does the priest and wizard, must of necessity occupy a place of great prominence. The priest is a social functionary of supreme importance. His advice is of great value. He must be treated with reverence, his wishes must be consulted, or disaster may befall any citizen or the whole community. No wonder that the social position of the priest is very often reported to be a most momentous one in the tribe. Thus we learn, with reference to the South American Indians, that the medicine-man, along with the chief, frequently is the most important person in the community.¹ Certain medicine-men among the Pima Indians, "were the true rulers of the tribe, as their influence was much greater than that of the chiefs."² Among the Karamoja tribe of Uganda, "no chief has the power of the Ajoka" (wizard or medicine-man).³ The influence of the Isanusi, or Kafir seers, for good and for bad, as well as their power over the mind of the natives, is almost boundless.⁴ Thanks to his supernatural endowments the Poyang, or shaman, of certain tribes of the Malay peninsula, is the mightiest man of his tribe, uniting often the chieftainship in his person, particularly among the northern tribes.⁵ In Savage island (Nieuve), the priest "had much political influence, and the Toa (ruling class) found it to their advantage to be on good terms with them".⁶

The various factors which have contributed to the advancement of the priests have also been conducive towards the rise of a priesthood as a separate order.

One circumstance which has manifestly tended to distinguish the priesthood from the community at large has been the fact, reported from many peoples, that the priests and magicians are, as

a rule, recruited from the most intelligent elements of their peoples. The modest learning of savage races is almost exclusively confined to the priesthood. The priests are generally the preservers of tribal traditions, they possess the knowledge of certain useful arts, and the whole character of their functions tends to develop their intellectual powers—all circumstances which contribute to give them a certain superiority over their tribesmen. These advantages, on which the authority of the priesthood greatly depends, have been laid stress upon in many descriptions of aboriginal priesthood. "The medicine-man or wizard," Lévy-Bruhl remarks, "is usually the most intelligent in the group and the most conversant with its traditions."⁷ Respecting the priests of the Maori it has been said, "As they spent much of their time in intellectual exercise, they were consequently the most intelligent body of men in the country, and, like monks in the dark ages, they engrossed all the learning the people possessed."⁸ The Ambati, or priest, of the Fijians "are generally the most shrewd and intelligent members of the community."⁹ In New Caledonia the priests are said to be of a superior intelligence, "which they make use of in exploiting the credulity of the people."¹⁰ The same statement is made concerning the priests of the Gold Coast natives.¹¹ Among the Badaga, of the Neilgherry Hills, the priests "are the only class who have preserved the art of reading and writing, the fathers communicating to their sons the little knowledge they themselves inherited from their parents."¹² The Fuegian doctor-wizard is said to be "one of the most cunning, as well as the most deceitful of his tribe."¹³ The same applies to the Angakok of the Greenlanders.¹⁴

It is frequently reported that the priests distinguish themselves from the rest of the people by their more or less considerable knowledge of certain natural phenomena, by means of which they secure the popular confidence in their powers. The fetish-men of the Ashanti apply themselves "to the study of medicine; and the knowledge which they acquire of the properties of herbs and plants powerfully contributes to strengthen their influence with the people."¹⁵ The success of the Ashanti medicine-man greatly depends upon his skill in, and his knowledge of, roots and herbs, no less than his acquaintance with the psychology of his patients. "Wonderful folk they are; botanists, knowing every tree and plant and fern by name, and the spiritual properties of each; zoologists, intimately acquainted with the haunts and habits of animals, birds, and insects. The forests, with their sights and sounds, are books which they can read with unerring skill." They claim to hear and understand the voices of nature. They have found out from experience that some leaf or plant is a specific medicine for some particular disease.¹⁶ The Olricha, or priest, of the Slave Coast natives has studied the effects of medicines, poisons, and counter-poisons,

which every conclave keeps secret, and the knowledge of which confers a certain superiority over the ignorant populace.¹⁷ In a similar passage we read that the priests of the Tshi-speaking peoples, among other things, "study sleight-of-hand, and, it is said, ventriloquism; while they have acquired a knowledge of the medicinal properties of various herbs which materially assists them in the maintenance of their imposture."¹⁸ The witch-doctors of the Bafioté in Congo are said to have a rather extensive knowledge of the medical use of plants found in the country.¹⁹ Several of the Bantu doctors show a knowledge in the healing and other properties of herbs which is by no means to be despised.²⁰ On account of their great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their native land the rain-makers of the Hottentots pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind or loose them.²¹ The rain-makers of the Kafir not improbably "possess some weather-wisdom, the result of their ancestors' observation, by means of which they are able to choose a promising season for the exercise of their vocation."²²

The system of the Manang, or medicine-man, of the Dyak "is based upon superstition and imposture, supplemented with a smattering of herbalism."²³ In Tahiti the priests "are superior to the rest of the people in the knowledge of navigation and astronomy, and indeed the name of Tahowa (priest) signifies nothing more than a man of knowledge."²⁴ Many of the Maori priests had a remarkably intimate knowledge of the stars, useful on sea voyages. It is believed that stars not only give forth signs of coming events and weather conditions, but also have an important influence on food supplies.²⁵ We are told that the doctors of the Araucanians possess a knowledge of anatomy extraordinary in a barbarous people, and that the liver of a deceased person, dissected and examined by them, is supposed to indicate whether the death has resulted from natural causes or has been occasioned by some evildoer.²⁶ Some of the Eskimo shamans are superior hunters, and as their experience teaches them the habits of the deer, they are able to estimate the movements of the various herds. The reputations of such men extends over a wide area.²⁷

In order to maintain the faith of the people in their prophetic powers the priests frequently collect all kinds of information, and whatever they learn in this way they ostentatiously foretell as future events. In many cases they are also said to act in collusion with each other, in keeping the people under their influence. In such wise the Ashanti fetish-men are known by various means to acquire such an amount of information as serves to astonish their dupes and to strengthen the belief in their powers.²⁸ The priests of the Tshi-speaking peoples are said to gather all the information concerning the past history of every family, so as to be able to amaze those who come to consult them.²⁹ As the priests are all in league to deceive and

impose upon the people, they usually take care to keep each other well informed upon such matters, so that it is a rare occurrence for the utterances of one to disagree with those of another.³⁰ Much of the authority and power wielded by the fetish priests among the natives of the Gold Coast is attributed to "the gigantic system of espionage or detective service, so to speak, which they have established everywhere".³¹ The proceedings by which the Gold Coast priests endeavour to propagate popular belief in themselves and in the power of the fetish have been described in the following manner: "They have messengers continually passing from one to another, giving information of what is going on; what parties are likely to come to consult them, on what subject, and generally on every matter which is at all likely to be of use to a brother priest in managing the affair. One Fetishman will acknowledge that his Fetish will not give information upon the special subject; but commands the person applying to him to go to another Fetishman, whom he names, and to whom he has, in the meantime, communicated all the particulars of the affair. When application is made to this priest, the applicant is astonished perhaps to find the Fetishman perfectly conversant with the cause of his visit, even before he has opened his mouth upon the subject; and notwithstanding such gross cases of collusion, the stupid idolater can see nothing in it but a confirmation of the extraordinary power of the Fetish."³² Much of the good fortune of the Bechuana witch-doctors depends on his skill in procuring information regarding individual and tribal secrets which he makes use of.³³ The conjurers of the Abipones are "furnished with a thousand arts of deceiving. Suppose they have heard from some savage visitant that an enemy is coming to attack the horde; this knowledge they will boast of to their hordesmen as if it had been revealed to them by their grandfather the devil, thus acquiring the reputation of prophets."³⁴ "Most of their tricks," it is said with reference to the sorcerers of the Nootka, "are transparent, being deceptions worked by the aid of confederates to keep up the power."³⁵

When the priests exercise the precarious art of prophecy, great significance is attributed to their utterances. Hence, we often hear that on such occasions they take care that their predictions shall prove true, by making them sufficiently ambiguous or uncertain to admit of a variety of interpretations. Such a method is ascribed, for instance, to the priests of the Tshi-speaking peoples.³⁶ The priests of the Gold Coast natives, too, give their counsels "with such a cautious reserve, that if it turns out contrary to expectation, they never want an excuse to bring themselves off. . . . Let the event prove how it will, the priest is infallibly innocent, and his character always maintains its own reputation".³⁷ The doctors of the Araucanians tell the nature of a malady, by answering the questions

of the relations of the sick person in such a manner as they believe best calculated to promote the deception, either by naming some enemy as the cause of the malady, or by expressing themselves doubtfully as to the success of their incantations.³⁸ On consulting the spirits, the witches of the Abipones give their replies in so vague a form "that whatever happens they may seem to have predicted the truth".³⁹ A Waraus sorcerer who is interrogated concerning the nature and causes of a malady, delivers a very ambiguous answer in the beginning of the illness.⁴⁰ Among the Khevsurs in the Caucasus the Kadagi, or diviner, answers every question in a cunningly calculated manner which admits of several explanations.⁴¹

When, in spite of all precautions, the priests fail in producing the effects promised by them, they generally have recourse to various kinds of excuses to explain away the ill-success. The medicine-men of the Slave Indians "are considered almost infallible, and if their predictions fail, the non-success is attributed to some defect in the medicine, either that it was not strong enough, or that some form was omitted in its preparation".⁴² In the following manner the Abipone conjurers are said to shelter themselves in case their predictions are not fulfilled. Sometimes, in the dead of night, the priests may suddenly announce the enemy's approach and cause great excitement in the camp without any foe making his appearance; "but that the faith in their prophecies, and the authority of the prophets, may suffer no diminution, they declare, with a smile, that the hostile assault has been averted by their grandfather the devil."⁴³ The fetishman among the natives of the Gold Coast is alleged to have little difficulty in persuading the idolaters that the fault in cases of failure in their practice "is neither with the fetish nor with themselves, but that the applicant, for some offence which he has committed, is labouring under the displeasure of the gods, who refuse to be appeased unless renewed and richer offerings are made".⁴⁴ So, also, failures in producing rain give the wizards of Latooka occasion to demand more presents from their clients, as the non-success is ascribed to the insufficiency of their reward.⁴⁵ If the prediction of a Kafir seer comes true, the imagination of the natives is hugely impressed, and he gains fame as well as an increased number of clients. Has he pronounced a false prophecy, he only needs to explain that the spirits have deceived him to-day, or that they are in a bad humour, so that nothing can be got out of them. If his medicines are ineffectual, he laments that another doctor ought to have been consulted, as the particular illness does not belong to his own speciality. Although the people occasionally become aware of the barefaced deception of a seer—on a following occasion they generally apply to the same man again for advice.⁴⁶ Excuses of a similar nature are brought forward by Hawaiian priests when unable to carry out their undertakings.⁴⁷

A very general excuse in case of failure is to throw the blame on the counteracting influence of some demon or sorcerer. The Sea Dyak believe that the evil spirit who causes illness is sometimes more powerful than the helping spirit of the medicine-man ; and when this is the case, the sick person cannot recover, and death ensues.⁴⁸ The natives of Victoria, who have the conviction that nearly all diseases are caused by enchantments emanating from hostile tribes, are said to maintain that sometimes the strange wizard-doctor, being instructed by his familiar spirit, is too strong for their own doctor, and in that case the man dies.⁴⁹ If it is simply a case of senile decay on the part of the patient, the medicine-man is too acute to take much trouble, when he knows pretty well that there is no chance of effecting a cure. But in other cases, if death ensues, it is simply because the magic evil has been inserted by the spirit in some vital part, or because the aid of the medicine-man had not been called in early enough, or because his efforts had been maliciously thwarted by some spirit.⁵⁰ When the incantations of the Bechuana witch-doctor fail, and no rain comes, as often happens, he has recourse to all sorts of excuse, mainly that the spirits are offended, or that someone is using more powerful medicine.⁵¹ Similar beliefs are propagated by the doctors of the Hottentot⁵² and the Waraus Indians.⁵³ If the weather-makers of New Caledonia cannot shift the wind according to their appeal, they explain, without any discountenance, that some more potent sorcerer has worked upon the wind in an opposite sense.⁵⁴ In the Kingsmill islands some of the chiefs are believed to hold communication with spirits and to be able at times to foretell future events. When these predictions do not come to pass, "they always impute the failure to the intervention of some other spirit."⁵⁵

No less frequently priests and sorcerers who fail in performing miracles save their reputation by accusing other persons of having, by secret necromancies, frustrated their endeavours. Among the aborigines of New South Wales, "although the operations of the rain-maker so often result in failure, he is not in the least discouraged, and, like the doctors, invariably attributes his want of success to the counteracting influence of an enemy."⁵⁶ From Rajputana in India instances are given of the sufferings to which innocent people are often subject when sorcerers choose to accuse them of having counteracted their cures.⁵⁷ If a Mohave Indian is declared to have died from ignorance or neglect on the part of the doctor who had charge of his case, the culprit doctor must either flee for his life or throw the onus of the crime upon some witch.⁵⁸

The numerous excuses which priests make use of when their undertakings fail, undoubtedly suggest to the people all kinds of superstitious ideas. Spencer touches upon a circumstance of considerable validity when saying, "Though priests habitually

enforce conduct which in one way or other furthers preservation of the society ; yet preservation of the society is so often furthered by conduct entirely unlike that which we now call moral, that priestly influence serves in many cases rather to degrade than to elevate."⁵⁹ As a matter of course, it often lies in the interest of priests to foster credulity. It can hardly be doubted that the priests are the sources of many superstitions prevailing among savages, by means of which they further their own designs. Thus it is said that the witch-doctors of the Ama-zosa Kafirs never fail to encourage the belief that diseases are caused by sorcery.⁶⁰ The Zulu doctors are said constantly to tell their dupes that " any ill with which they are or imagine themselves to be afflicted, is caused by the restlessness of their father, their mother, or their uncle, who requires an ox to be slaughtered ere his or her spirit can lie quiet in the grave. All this, of course, involves a Doctor's fee."⁶¹ In New Zealand the priest-doctors often, in cases of illness, declare that the spirit who has entered the body of the patient is sure to remain there until they exorcize him.⁶²

The respect which the priests and magicians enjoy is increased by the mystery in which they generally envelop their proceedings. Howitt says of the " black-fellow doctors " among certain tribes in South-East Australia that " their magical practices are not favoured by too open examination, and the more that is left to active imagination of their tribe, the better their assertions are received ".⁶³ So, too, the rainmakers of some tribes in New South Wales are very careful not to let any one see any part of their performances.⁶⁴ In Tahiti a considerable degree of mystery was attached to the ceremonies of healing sick persons, " and the physicians appeared unwilling that others should know of what their preparations consisted."⁶⁵ " The more effectually to shield him from the possible revelations of a too prying curiosity," we read concerning the Dyak medicine-man, " he envelops himself and his belongings in a cloud of mystery."⁶⁶ Among certain Congo tribes the charm-doctor's dominion over others " is principally derived from the sentiment of respect and uncertainty with which his mystic power is regarded ".⁶⁷

The secrecy of magicians and priests cannot, however, always be attributed to mere selfish calculation as, in conformity with a very general belief, their methods are supposed to lose their efficiency by publicity. But whatever may be the reason, the fact that mystery is generally employed serves powerfully to impress the imagination of the people.

Priests do their best to inspire the people with fear if they think such a course in their interest. The Tlinkit say that the shamans, in performing their ceremonies, are able to send the spirits into those who disbelieve them, and the unfortunate victims then

suffer from catalepsy and giddiness for a long time.⁶⁸ "As it would be ruinous to him were his box of charms and devilries exposed to public view," we read of the Dyak medicine-man, "he announces the punishment of blindness to any human being venturesome enough to peep into it."⁶⁹ The Georgian and Society islanders imagined that the spirits "were ready to avenge the slightest neglect, or the least disobedience to their injunctions, as proclaimed by their priests".⁷⁰ In Fiji, "punishment was sure to overtake the sceptic, let his station in life be what it might"; and traditions of the punishments of unbelievers increased the feeling of awe.⁷¹ In Western Australia the sorcerer was thought to be able to project a magic bone into a sceptical Thomas of the tribe.⁷² A tradition of the Ashanti tells us of a man, who was not a very devoted believer in the fetish, that as he "sat by the fire, a chain came down from the thicket, and dragged him up to the skies, where he is now employed in drawing up water from the sea, which the fetishes send back to earth, in answer to the applications made to them for rain".⁷³

The bizarre external appearance which characterizes most priests among savage races, serves to impress the popular imagination. The object of the masks, feather, and grass guises and other ceremonial attire seems to be to enable the priests to associate with the supernatural beings, in other cases to frighten the evil ones away. Many of these accoutrements certainly make a gruesome spectacle. So, too, by painting their bodies in ghastly colours and otherwise adorning themselves in a fantastical manner, they inspire their tribesmen with feelings of mystery and awe. Sometimes this effect is expressly stated to be purposed. Among the Indians of Virginia, for instance, the priest endeavours to preserve the respect of the people, by being as hideously ugly as he can possibly make himself, especially when he appears in public. His cloak looks horridly shaggy, and he likewise bedaubs himself in so frightful a manner with paint, that he terrifies the people into veneration for him.⁷⁴ The purpose of the Siberian shamans with regard to their uncanny equipment is to please the gods and inspire the people with awe.⁷⁵ The lower races are known to decorate their bodies with forbidding colours, etc., in order to make their appearance more terrifying to enemies. A certain resemblance appears in analogous means to frighten evil beings or to excite the superstitious fear of the people for religious ends.

It is, furthermore, obvious that a strong impression of fear is produced upon the people by the ecstatic orgies which generally form an essential part of the ceremonies of savage priesthood. The dances, contortions, and other morbid manifestations of the priests, vivid descriptions of which are given by numerous eye-witnesses, necessarily strike the bystanders with awe and terror.⁷⁶

We have to understand the delirious performances of a religious

character, and particularly the demoniacal dances, as a means of making oneself akin to the supernatural beings and even of attaining control over them. According to the belief of the Kiwai Papuans spirits of the dead and other supernatural beings often appear shrouded in a covering of grass and leaves, like those worn at certain dances, and when they move about it is by dancing.

It is in this connection worthy of note that the religious and magical rites of savages very generally take place in the dark. In some cases darkness is even stated to be a necessary condition for success. In a monograph on shamanism in Siberia the Russian ethnologist Shashkov states that the shamans perform their ceremonies in some gloomy place and generally at night, in order to appear more mysterious and terrible in the darkness.⁷⁷ Among the Chukchi⁷⁸ and Tungus⁷⁹ the ceremonies of the shamans take place in a tent in almost complete darkness, or with only the glow from a low fire; among certain Tartars they are generally performed at night.⁸⁰ The Eskimo Angakok invoked the supernatural beings in a house which had been made completely dark. Not until the conjuring had finished was the house allowed to be lighted; evil spirits would only in exceptional cases be summoned by daylight.⁸¹ Waraus sorcerers in Guiana are powerless by day, and only at night can they call forth the demons.⁸² Cases of illness are generally treated by the Lengua Indian witch-doctors at night.⁸³ By Congo medicine-men incantations in cases of illness are always performed in the night time.⁸⁴ The Fanti consulted their famed oracle of Abrah at night.⁸⁵ In the Kingsmill islands the chiefs, who were believed to be able to foretell future events, usually exercised their pretended power at night.⁸⁶

Among certain peoples the priests heighten their authority by attaching themselves to the kings and noble classes in the community, while, at the same time, they are said in return to support the ruling system. In Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa "the priests and kings designedly work into each other's hands to support each other's position and power. The supremacy of the chief is the supremacy of the priest; and the supremacy of the priest is the supremacy of the chief."⁸⁷ Much the same we hear from Hawaii, where the priests exercised a powerful influence over the warrior-chiefs, making "their religious fears and blind devotion subservient to their own selfish purposes."⁸⁸ In Savage island "there was a perfect understanding between the priests and the petty chiefs, to their mutual advantage, for the chiefs could not afford to ignore the political influence of the priests, and the priests, knowing that the chiefs could invoke the god without their aid, realized that they were not indispensable."⁸⁹ Of the Khond it is reported that "the civil and the religious heads of tribes, although some districts are vexed by their rivalry, generally act in concert; for while the former

desire to strengthen their hands as temporal rulers by the aid of superstition, the latter aim at influence through alliance with the secular authority." ⁹⁰ Among the Kafirs "the political and religious governments . . . are so intimately connected, that the one cannot be overturned without the other—they must stand or fall together. The priests support the chiefs, and the chiefs support the priests." ⁹¹

Respecting the priests of the Zapotec we read that, besides their supposed influence with the gods, the care which they took to keep their number constantly recruited with scions of the most illustrious families, attained for them great authority over the people. ⁹² Among several other nations, also, the priests, and especially the upper ranks of the priestly order, are by preference recruited from the most noble families, and naturally the advantage of noble birth increases the authority of the priesthood. We find that in ancient Peru, those members of the priesthood "who officiate in the House of the Sun, in Cuzco, were taken exclusively from the sacred race of the Incas. The ministers of the provincial temples were drawn from the families of the Curacas (former chiefs); but the office of high-priest in each district was reserved for one of the blood royal." ⁹³ The Apache medicine-men are in general closely related to the prominent chiefs. ⁹⁴ In Tahiti "the king was generally chief priest of the national temple; and the high-priesthood of the principal idols was usually held by some member, or near relative, of the reigning family." ⁹⁵ Tonga priests generally belong to the lower order of chiefs or to the class next to the chiefs. ⁹⁶ The Dahomean priests and priestesses are the highest in the land; a Dahomean proverb says, "The poor are never priests." ⁹⁷ Among the Kalmucks of the Caucasus the priesthood is composed of persons belonging to the nobility. ⁹⁸ The priests of the famous Delphian oracle belonged to the highest families in Delphi. ⁹⁹

One of the most important methods by which the priests increase their influence is convincing the people by wonderworking of their supernatural endowments. It is, indeed, miraculous exploits that priests and sorcerers of undeveloped races profess to be able, and are credited to be able, to execute. Australian medicine-men, for instance, "have the faculty of seeing men in their incorporeal state, either temporarily as a wraith, or permanently separated from their body as a ghost, which is invisible to other eyes. He can ascend to the ghost-land beyond the sky, or can transport himself, or be transported by the ghosts, from one spot of earth to another at will. . . . The powers thus conferred on him he can use to injure or to destroy men, or to preserve them from the secret attacks of other medicine-men. He can also assume animal forms and control the elements." ¹⁰⁰ The Lakota Indians had some wonderful medicine-men who not only cured the sick, but looked into the future and prophesied events. They also located lost or hidden articles, assisted

the hunters by coaxing the buffalo near, made themselves invisible when near the enemy, and performed wonderful and magic things.¹⁰¹ Certain Eskimo *angakok* have the disposal of a mysterious light which they feel in the body and which enables them to see in the dark, both literally and metaphorically speaking. Nothing is hidden from him; not only sees he things far away, but he can also discover stolen souls, which are either kept concealed in far, strange lands or have been taken to the land of the dead.¹⁰² The wizards of certain tribes in the Malay peninsula are skilled in healing and preventing illness, they know all secret powers and hidden treasures of nature, they can kill people and otherwise influence them from a distance, they can predict the future and interpret omens, they can transform themselves into what shape they like, particularly that of a tiger, they can keep spirits away, and even after death protect their tribesmen.¹⁰³

There are reports from many peoples that confidence in the priests and sorcerers depends upon their supposed faculty of performing miracles. Concerning the shamans in Mongolia the Russian explorer Prjevalski states that hundreds of times the Mongol may be aware of deceit on the part of the diviners and sorcerers, without his childish faith wavering—one successful instance lets all previous failures be forgotten in a wonderful way.¹⁰⁴ The shamans of the Ostyak “strengthen their renown by delusive demonstrations of their invulnerability, stabbing themselves . . . with knives in different parts of the body”.¹⁰⁵ For the same purpose the shamans of certain Tartar tribes throw themselves into the fire and seize live coals with their hands.¹⁰⁶ The Andamanese *oko-paiad* (medicine-man), in order to maintain his status, must give fresh evidences of his power from time to time.¹⁰⁷ Mosquito sorceresses sustained “their reputation by the exhibition of certain tricks, such as allowing poisonous snakes to bite them and handling fire”.¹⁰⁸ The sorcerers of the Aht “are obliged, for their own sake, to do extraordinary things, or they would soon be looked upon as ordinary persons”.¹⁰⁹ All medicine-men of the Apache “claim the power of swallowing spear-heads or arrows and fire, and there are at times many really wonderful things done by them which have the effect of strengthening their hold upon the people”.¹¹⁰ The same has been stated with reference to the Eskimo; to keep up the faith of the public the shaman must have recourse to all sorts of artifices. He holds loud conversations with his guardian spirit in the presence of the villagers, all lights having been extinguished in the tent where the incantation takes place, he frees himself from the strong bands with which his hands and feet have been tied together, and he pretends to flights to the moon.¹¹¹

How essentially the influence of the priesthood depends on their presumed power of wonderworking is shown by the fact that,

among several tribes, priests who lose the confidence of their people, at the same time forfeit their office and sometimes are even subject to punishment. In the *Indica* of Megasthenes, who about the year 300 B.C. visited India on an embassy from Seleucos Nicator, it is said that a Brahmin who errs in his predictions incurs obloquy, and observes silence for the rest of his life.¹¹² The Pahan, or priest, of the Munda Kolh throws up his office, not only when he does not wish to retain it, but also when his sacrifice has no longer any effect.¹¹³ If among the Andaman islanders some serious misfortune occur to one of their seers, such as the death of a child, "it is looked upon as a sign that his power is waning, or that he has at least lost a portion of it; they, however, continue to stand in awe of him unless, as time passes, he fails to afford further proof of his supposed superiority."¹¹⁴ Of the Latooka in Central Africa we are told that their king-priest was once ignominiously driven away in consequence of the failure of his efforts to cause rain to fall upon the endangered crops. But as if to strengthen superstition, a few days afterwards a great quantity of rain fell, and the wandering exile was recalled to power.¹¹⁵ If the king of the Banjar fails in producing favourable weather, the people overwhelm him with injurious epithets and beat him.¹¹⁶

It even happens that priests who fail to execute the duties incumbent on them, are liable to be killed by the enraged people. This may be also caused by the opinion that such priests are of no use, and therefore cannot hold the sacerdotal office; but being, nevertheless, suspected of possessing dangerous powers, they are made away with.¹¹⁷ Among the Kafirs rain-making is thought to be the very highest function which a priest can perform. Yet, "there are comparatively few who will venture to attempt it, because in case of failure, the wrath of the disappointed people is sometimes known to exhibit itself in killing the unsuccessful prophet."¹¹⁸ A similar fate awaits unsuccessful rain-doctors in Wakamba¹¹⁹ and Latooka.¹²⁰ If, unluckily, a Bushman magician "happens to have predicted falsely several times in succession, he is thrust out of the kraal, and very likely burned, or put to death in some other way."¹²¹ Sometimes the Bechuana rain-maker pays the forfeit for his failure with his life, or he may lose his property and be driven out of the tribe.¹²² The greatest danger to the wizards or rain-doctors of Eastern Africa is said to be excess of fame. "A celebrated magician rarely, if ever, dies a natural death: too much is expected from him, and a severer disappointment leads to consequences more violent than usual."¹²³ Among the Payaguas "there exists a law that if any one of them dies of a disease, the physician who undertook his cure shall be put to death by the arrows of the assembled people; and being desperately addicted to revenge, they are steadfast in the execution of this cruel law."¹²⁴ A wizard of

the Yokut, in California, even if very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment.¹²⁵ Among the Pima medicine-men those who treat diseases by magic are the most powerful class in the community, though its members pay for their privileges at imminent risk. There are examples of medicine-men having been killed because they were suspected of bringing disease upon the tribe.¹²⁶ The doctors of the Central Californian Indians "are supposed to have power over life and death, hence if they fail to effect a cure, they are frequently killed".¹²⁷ In the Indian tribes of British Columbia a medicine-man who fails in the cure of any person is liable to be put to death, on the assumption that he did not wish to cure his patient.¹²⁸ Among the Creek,¹²⁹ as also in Hispaniola,¹³⁰ unsuccessful physicians were sometimes treated in a similar way. So, too, weather prophets and diviners may have to fear the most serious consequences, if they do not succeed in making favourable weather or giving good counsel. Of the Patagonians,¹³¹ Natches,¹³² and Eskimo¹³³ we hear that rain-makers and prophets, whose words are falsified by subsequent events, in many cases expiate their failure with death. We read in the history of Herodotus that "lying diviners" were burnt to death among the Scythians.¹³⁴

Lévy-Bruhl has pointed out that in cases of dreaded witch-doctors it is not always considered enough to kill them. Will not the dead magician be yet more powerful? Would there not be some means, if not of annihilating, at least of paralysing the magician when dead? People frequently think so, and it is by destroying his body, for the dead man and his body make but one individual. The ill-fated magician is cut to pieces, and his remains are strewed around; or he is taken out to sea and sunk with stones; or they burn him, whether alive or not.¹³⁵

Among certain peoples the priest or magician is not regarded as qualified to maintain his vocation indefinitely, but has to give it up after attaining a certain age. The Lapp shaman, for instance, could not keep up his practice for the whole of his life. Generally he became unfit for office in his fiftieth year and was never employed afterwards in any important task. "But he might lose his position even earlier, as a body free from any disfigurement was demanded of a shaman as sacrificer; even the losing of a tooth disqualifying him for office."¹³⁶

On the other hand, we also meet with reports that priests retain their office until death, independent of great age. Among the Karamoja tribe in Uganda, for instance, there is only one Ajoka, or hereditary medicine-man, at a time, and "he is not superseded, however old he may be, but remains in power till he dies of old age, disease, or accident".¹³⁷

The methods by which the priests and sorcerers of savage races acquire confidence and reputation among their countrymen naturally raise the question whether, on the whole, we are to look upon them as a class of impostors or not. The opinion expressed in theoretical literature on this point is, on the whole, that we cannot suppose the priests and sorcerers of the uncivilized races, generally speaking, to be impostors.¹³⁸ Lord Avebury has expressed this view. Réville wrote that nothing could be more superficial than the opinion that the magician of the uncivilized races is merely a charlatan and juggler. In reality, not only the people around him believe in his superior powers, but he does himself; for his hallucinations, his fits of ecstasy and mental excitement, which are not stimulated, explain themselves to him, as to anybody else, exclusively in the light of visitations of invisible beings.¹³⁹ De la Grasserie concurs in this opinion: the sorcerers are not primarily charlatans, they are themselves convinced.¹⁴⁰ Lippert remarks that the medicine-men of barbarous natives have not themselves created the superstitious imaginations in which they are enwrapped. Hence there cannot, generally speaking, be any question of dissimulation or deceit on their part; but it may be that accessory fictions become more or less associated with the fundamental beliefs.¹⁴¹

The opinions of more casual chroniclers regarding this question are much divided, but many of them have considered it from divergent points of view. There is no reason to condemn the priests and sorcerers as deceivers, because their proceedings seem meaningless to European observers, or because some travellers have ascertained, by experiments, that the savage mystery-men are not endowed with those miraculous powers which they claim to possess. The principal point is whether the priests and sorcerers believe in their own potency or not, at least as a possibility, and this they very generally seem to do.

Especially when the ancient religion begins to decay, owing to contact with civilization, deceitful machinations tend to replace the original genuine rites. However, impostors are undoubtedly met with among the priesthood at all stages of early beliefs. Thus, for example, Howitt writes that the doctors and wizards in certain South-East Australian tribes are, with a few exceptions, conscious pretenders and impostors. He mentions two old Murring men who had a great reputation for being very powerful wizards; to him these men, however, did not profess to be able to do supernatural actions. He adds that "there remain some who really have a belief in their own powers as well as in those of other men".¹⁴² In Savage island the best known of the native doctors "exact heavy fees in kind for their services, but their faith in their own nostrums must be rather slender, for they themselves, when taken ill, resort to the Mission dispensary".¹⁴³ Although, according to Codrington, the

Melanesian magicians generally believe in the power of their arts, there is, in some cases, conscious deceit, such as has been many times confessed by those who have become Christians.¹⁴⁴ The doctors of certain Dyak are held to be "sly rogues",¹⁴⁵ and, similarly, the priests of the Land Dyak "must in many respects be regarded as impostors, though, of course, even with their deceitful practices is mixed much superstitious credulity".¹⁴⁶ E. H. Man thinks it quite possible that the Andaman medicine-men imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, but he also says that the sleep during which they exercise their powers is in all probability feigned.¹⁴⁷ Concerning the diviners of the Khevsur in the Caucasus, who pronounce their predictions in a state of inspiration, it is maintained that cases of real ecstasy may occur among them and perhaps even constitute the rule in the beginning of the priestly career, when the sincere belief in supernatural powers provokes an abnormal exaltation; but afterwards, when their minds are no longer susceptible of such excitement, the whole performance is, in most cases, simply a question of well-calculated dissimulation.¹⁴⁸ We read that deceitful shamans who dupe the people for egotistical purposes have become more and more frequent among the Buryat.¹⁴⁹ A flagrant instance of deception is manifested in the "speaking" bag or calabash of the Msui magicians in Nyanza. Such a specimen was shown to M. Thiel, who found a small flute affixed to the opening in such a manner that by gently pressing the receptacle the man caused the air to escape through the flute.¹⁵⁰ When engaged in detecting an evildoer the diviner of the Ba-Ronga works himself into a state of ecstasy by dancing. Suddenly he runs away in a certain direction, and rushing into a hut plants his assagai triumphantly into a corner. There will be found a number of magical objects belonging to the sorcerer searched for and which the diviner as likely as not has hidden there himself beforehand.¹⁵¹ Examples tell of the deceptive methods which the priests and sorcerers of the Kafirs sometimes use.¹⁵² The medicine-men of the Chacta Indians are styled "true charlatans who impose upon the ignorant vulgar in order to live comfortably at their expense".¹⁵³

The mode of curing illnesses among numerous savage tribes, by sucking or in various manners squeezing the affected part of the body, in order to extract the cause of the complaint, has sometimes been alleged to imply a proof of obvious deceit on the part of the priest-doctor. In certain cases, namely, before effecting such a cure, he conceals about him some piece of wood or bone, or some other extraneous substance, which he afterwards produces and represents as the source of the disorder.¹⁵⁴

As an example we will describe how the "sucking cure" is practised among the Kiwai Papuans. Sometimes the "doctor" announces beforehand that he can see the malign substance which

is at the root of the malady, and that he is going to extract it. He provides himself with a bunch of *tea* (a stiff grass) and ties it into a loose knot in a sort of ring. Then he chews certain leaves and spits them at the afflicted part of the patient's body, rubbing in the juice. When the bone "smells" this medicine, it will come out more easily. Pressing the ring against the sore, the doctor after a while squeezes the cause of the illness into the grass, and "kills" it by crushing it between his hands to prevent it from attacking anybody else. He then unfolds the grass and shows people the thing which has occasioned the malady. After that the patient will soon recover, and the doctor receives from him valuable presents by way of reward. At times, however, the sick person does not get better, the doctor declaring that there is yet another bone shot into his body. He has taken out the one which he is qualified to deal with, but, for some reason, cannot cope with the other. Therefore he calls in some colleague of his, who, on examining the "bone" (or whatever it may be), at once explains that the extraction of it belongs to his special department. He uses some other medicine for first preparing the afflicted part, but otherwise proceeds in the same way as the first doctor.

Sometimes the extrication of the cause of a malady takes place by actual sucking, after the spot has first been rubbed with a certain medicine. Occasionally, but not always, the skin is first cut through with a piece of shell, and then the doctor sucks out a great quantity of blood, which he empties on the ground, rinsing his mouth afterwards. In cases when the skin is left uncut the belief is that the doctor opens a hole to get out the cause of the illness, but is able to make the skin intact immediately afterwards.

One Kiwai "puripuri-man" operated upon the throat of a sick person in the following way. He first rubbed the throat with medicine, then pushed the site of the complaint underneath the skin to a suitable place with his hands and began to "drink", keeping on for about half an hour. Then he finished by a last strong sucking, snatched his lips away, and "shut" the opening in the skin by passing his hands over it. The complaint had been sucked right into himself, and he forced it up again by pressing his hand upwards along his chest and throat, at the same time blowing vigorously through his nose. A small tooth of a pig was produced through the nose, and was shown off by the doctor as the origin of the disease. Similar cases were reported to me from many villages in the district. There is no doubt that the doctors, when practising the sucking cure, hide about their persons the objects which they pretend to remove from the patient's body and afterwards produce as the source of the disorder.¹⁵⁵

But even in cases of such seemingly manifest deceptions as those appearing in the "sucking cure" we must not too precipitately

condemn the priests as impostors. There is good reason to agree with Hirn when he says that although the sucking cure may be a mere trick, "it is also possible . . . that, at least originally, it may have been performed as a *bona fide* magic, based upon the notion of efficacy of vehicles and symbolic action."¹⁵⁶

As a matter of fact, self-deception, and the power of imagination often seem to be almost boundless among savages. Truth and imposture are often mixed up with each other, and habitual dissimulation may even make deceitful practitioners finally believe in their own pretended powers. As already mentioned, the priests and magicians of barbarous peoples are very generally of an excitable and peculiar mental disposition; from an early age they are filled with all kinds of superstitious ideas, and they have passed through a frightful and mysterious probation during which, in many cases, they have learnt to work themselves up to exaltation and deliriousness. No wonder, therefore, that a man who has undergone this experience, is prepared to believe that he acts under the influence of the gods and is endowed with divine powers.

Many chroniclers, moreover, affirm that the priests of savage races, apart from certain deceitful individuals, cannot be characterized as mere impostors, or at least that they are themselves victims to the popular superstitions, at the same time that they impose upon their fellow-tribesmen. In a description of the Kafir race we read that "there is no doubt but that these priests are to a considerable extent deceived themselves, as well as the deceivers of others."¹⁵⁷ Mentioning that on the death of a chief in Central Eastern Africa some sorcerer is generally accused of having bewitched and subsequently killed him, a writer states as a curious thing that the victims of these silly executions in the end frequently confess to the crimes, of which they are absolutely innocent. To such an extent the Mganga (sorcerer) exercises influence upon his impressionable nature.¹⁵⁸ A similar observation has been made by others, too, regarding the witch-doctors of Central Africa. "As has happened in Europe and elsewhere, in the presence of torture and the instant advance of death, the sorcerer and sorceress will not only confess, but even boast of and believe in, their own criminality. 'Verily I slew such a one!—I brought about the disease of such another!'—these are their demented vaunts, the offspring of mental imbecility, stimulated by traditional hallucination."¹⁵⁹ Regarding the doctors of certain tribes in equatorial Africa, Du Chaillu, after close observation and many trials, concluded that, in most cases, they were themselves deceived.¹⁶⁰ Miss Mary Kingsley states that West African witch-doctors believe in themselves or, at least, "in the theory they work by."¹⁶¹ With reference to the Kur or Muasi in India we are assured that no deception whatever is practised at their religious services, on which occasions one or more of the

performers manifest possession by falling into ecstasy.¹⁶² Jellinghaus mentions a sorcerer of the Munda Kolh who, after having been converted to Christianity, confessed that he had often acted falsely, but nevertheless persisted in the belief that the evil spirit takes possession of the sorcerers.¹⁶³ In the practice of the Siberian shamans, truth and fiction are stated to go hand in hand, as is the case with the priesthood of other religions as well. Personally the shaman is no doubt convinced of the genuineness of his exercises, and he assuredly falls into ecstasies. However, it is not only in a condition of exaltation that he performs his services; his prophecies are often pronounced with calm deliberation.¹⁶⁴ There are similar accounts referring more especially to the proceedings of shaman among the Tungus,¹⁶⁵ Chukchi,¹⁶⁶ and Yakut.¹⁶⁷

Although Australian wizards are by some writers represented as conscious pretenders, we also meet with statements to the opposite effect. Bonwick asserts of seers of certain Australian tribes that they are "devout believers in their own powers".¹⁶⁸ With reference to the rain-makers of certain tribes in New South Wales, Cameron writes that "in justice to the aboriginal sorcerer I must say that they are as firm believers in magic as their friends".¹⁶⁹ The priest of the Maori "were not rogues; they had a superstitious belief in their own powers, combined with a good deal of cunning."¹⁷⁰ Regarding the ecstatic manifestations of the Walian, or native priest of North Celebes, a scientist states that "it is quite possible that during a considerable part of the ceremony the Walian is really in a state of unconsciousness, and that he is afterwards quite ignorant of what he has been saying or doing as the medium of the god".¹⁷¹

A similar opinion is pronounced about the priesthood of the Aht in British Columbia: "it is undoubtedly a fact that many of these sorcerers themselves thoroughly believe in their supernatural powers, and are able, in their preparations and practices, to endure excessive fatigue, want of food, and intense prolonged mental excitement."¹⁷² The Angakok of the Greenlanders are said to believe firmly in their own powers. "I have known several of them personally," a writer affirms, "and can speak with confidence on this point. I could not detect them in any resort to jugglery or natural magic: their deceptions are simply vocal, a change of voice, and perhaps a limited profession of ventriloquism, made more impressive through the darkness."¹⁷³ The same opinion is expressed by several other writers.¹⁷⁴ Crantz pronounces the Angakok of the Greenlanders to be impostors, but he seems to found his opinion merely upon the argument that they give themselves out to be able to perform all sorts of miracles.¹⁷⁵

In this connection we have reason to recall the historical fact that in European trials of witches it not unfrequently happened that

these unfortunate wretches voluntarily confessed to their crimes and even boasted of their presumed power with the devil.¹⁷⁶

Finally, I will quote a passage in Mariner's account of the Tonga islanders on the ecstatic exercises of their priesthood, which seems, in a general degree, to hold good of similar proceedings among other uncivilized peoples also: "There can be little doubt but that the priest, on such occasions, often summons into action the deepest feelings of devotion of which he is susceptible, and by a voluntary act disposes his mind as much as possible, to be powerfully affected; till at length, what began by volition proceeds by involuntary effort, and the whole mind and body become subjected to the overruling emotion."¹⁷⁷

We shall now turn to the question how priesthood has developed into a distinct order of its own, as is the case among many peoples somewhat advanced in culture.

In the first place, we must take into consideration a fact which has already been touched upon in a previous chapter, namely that priesthood is very frequently an hereditary institution. The more its perpetuation, in the course of time, has become dependent on hereditary succession, the more has its exclusiveness increased. Certain families tend to become alone privileged to belong to the sacerdotal order, and where this is the case, the priesthood as a rule constitutes a separate and powerful body.

The rigid probation to which priests are in general subject, constitutes another factor in determining the status of their vocation. When professional expertness has become requisite for the mysterious functions, making a previous course of instruction needful, and when the priests, as is the case among many peoples, are, in addition, admitted to their office by a special ceremony of consecration, a great distinction must necessarily ensue between the initiated and the uninitiated members of the community. The assumption of a new name at initiation is likewise calculated to confer upon the priests a certain exclusiveness.

Numerous observances are among many peoples obligatory upon members of the priesthood and tend to separate them from the rest of the community, as these practices cannot, in general, be combined with the routine of ordinary life. Priests in ancient Greece, for instance, were, according to Nilsson, subjected to strict regulations. A priest was forbidden, among other things, to enter a house where there was a woman in childbed, or a house of mourning, to visit a grave or to take part in a funeral banquet.¹⁷⁸ From ancient Rome H. J. Rose mentions a body of prohibitions observed by a priest, the Flamen Dialis, or special priest of Iuppiter. The Flamen, for instance, might not ride a horse. The probability is, says the author, that this simply indicates hostility to foreign or new-fangled

ways. Wild horses were found early in Europe, but saddle-horses and the art of riding them are comparatively late. The Flamen might not see a *classis procincta*, that is to say an army drawn up, or, what amounted to the same thing, the citizens assembled in their centuries in order to vote. He might take no oath. The reason is, according to the author, that he is highly sacred, and the mere mention of ill-luck should be avoided. He must wear no ring, unless it is cut through, and have no knot in any part of his clothing. The cutting of his hair and nails was, as one might expect, attended by very particular rules. There were a number of things unlucky for one reason or another which he might not touch or even name. His holiness was marked by the fact that he might neither do nor see any part of secular work (seeing, like naming, implies a kind of touching). He was *cotidie feriatuus*, daily under the ceremonial restraints which for most people attached to holy days only. Consequently, his person was elaborately shielded both from receiving harm from without and from inflicting it by very excess of sanctity. He must never lay aside his head-gear. Not till comparatively late was he allowed to bare his head even indoors. If he wanted to change his underclothing, that again must be done under a roof. The sky and he were too holy and too magical to be exposed to one another. It need hardly be said that he might not go near a dead body or any place of burial; it was allowable for him to walk in a funeral procession, however. He would keep his distance, we may suppose, from the corpse and its mourners, and in the open air the danger of spiritual infection would be lessened.¹⁷⁹

One group of priestly tabus embody the various forms of religious asceticism. As regards their object ascetic observances have been explained as means of self-mortification supposed to appease the angry god or with a view to raising the spiritual nature of man by suppressing sensual appetites.¹⁸⁰ Among the ascetic regulations imposed upon priests there are restrictions as to sexual life. The fact that persons devoted to religion are obliged to live a single life has been ascribed to the notion that there is something impure and sinful in marriage, as in sexual relations generally.¹⁸¹ The gods demand purity in those who approach them, says Nilsson with reference to religious life in ancient Greece.¹⁸² Sexual abstinence is enjoined on the adepts of nearly all religions, remarks Havelock Ellis. It is only among a few sects and at the climax of religious excitement, that the sexual emotion has been regarded as sanctified. Its repression has usually been necessary to assist in elaborating the process of religious auto-intoxication. The almost constant connection between ecstasy and sexual excitement has become fairly well recognized. The phenomena of religious life generally are to a large extent based on the sexual life.¹⁸³ Among the Araucanians in Chile the members of the priesthood of both

sexes always kept themselves pure and chaste, propagation being unknown in their system of the spiritual world.¹⁸⁴ The male wizards of the Patagonians "are not permitted to marry, though the female ones or witches may".¹⁸⁵ In some tribes of the Guarani "the female Payes were bound to chastity, or they no longer obtained credit".¹⁸⁶ Among the Blackfoot Indians the priestess who officiated at their great annual religious festivals must not only be virtuous in deed, but also serious and pure in mind.¹⁸⁷ It is a Tlinkit idea that the shaman must observe a continuous chastity, or his own guardian spirits will kill him.¹⁸⁸ The Kamchadale have a class of witches who never have any connection with men.¹⁸⁹ Among the Calmuck of the Caucasus no member of the priesthood is allowed to marry.¹⁹⁰ A Toda priest cannot marry so long as he holds that office.¹⁹¹ Similarly, in Ceylon the priests "are forbidden to marry, or to have concubines".¹⁹² In Siam a priest is bound to celibacy as long as he wears the sacerdotal garment, and priestesses especially are liable to severe punishments if they break the vow of chastity.¹⁹³ The priest among most of the northern tribes of Nigeria lives apart from his wives during religious festivals. Among the Vere tribe his wives may not approach him then, and the food they cook for him is brought by some male attendant. On such occasions also he abstains from washing and shaving (Vere), or he may wash and shave specially for the occasion (Bata).¹⁹⁴ Originally, in ancient Greece, only a virgin could become the Pythia of the Delphian oracle, and she had to keep her body pure from all communication with men.¹⁹⁵

A singular class of priestly virgins, bearing some resemblance to the Roman Vestals, are reported from several semi-civilized peoples. In ancient Peru, the "Virgins of the Sun" were young maidens dedicated from a tender age to the deity and entrusted with the duty of watching over the sacred fire. The greatest attention was paid to their morals, and although the most beautiful among them were, at a marriageable age, selected to be concubines of the Inca, the unhappy maiden who was detected in an intrigue with any other man was buried alive.¹⁹⁶ In Mexico there were virgins of twelve or thirteen years of age ("las Mozas de la Penitencia") consecrated to the service of their god. They lived chastely and regularly, and if any were found to have offended, although but slightly, they were presently put to death.¹⁹⁷ According to Justinus and Plutarch, the Persians had "Priestesses of the Sun", who were obliged to live chastely.¹⁹⁸ Celibacy obligatory to priestesses is, according to Westermarck, in many cases connected with the belief that they are married to the gods whom they are serving, and are therefore forbidden to marry anybody else.¹⁹⁹ Among the Bachama, for instance, in northern Nigeria, the priestess of Fare is said to be the human wife of the great god Ndseandsu. She keeps herself free from the society of man, and is always a woman past the age of

child-bearing, as the Bachama, like the Jukun, have a horror of a menstruating woman entering a sacred place.²⁰⁰

Celibacy, or chastity, is, however, by no means universally required of the priests; on the contrary, they seem in some cases to be distinguished from the people as a whole by extraordinary liberties in sexual respects. The *ius primae noctis*, accorded to the priesthood among a number of peoples, exemplifies the sexual privileges which are sometimes enjoyed by the sacerdotal order.²⁰¹

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples the priestesses are not married for the reason that, belonging to the god, they cannot become the property of a man. But this prohibition "extends to marriage only, and a priestess is not debarred from sexual commerce. . . . Priestesses are ordinarily most licentious, and custom allows them to gratify their passions with any man who may chance to take their fancy. . . . The priests are said to be very licentious also, but social considerations oblige them to be so less openly than the priestesses." Should a priest, for instance, openly intrigue with a woman, he would be infringing the right either of her father or her husband.²⁰² In Ashanti celibacy is not enjoined on the priesthood.²⁰³ The abominable profanity of the fetish-women among the Gold Coast natives, is said to be "not only tolerated, but adopted as an essential part of their worship".²⁰⁴ Among the Toda there are priests who are bound to celibacy, but it is said that "the priests in particular lead a very loose life".²⁰⁵ It is only during the period of probation that a priest of the Huichol in Mexico may not have love affairs.²⁰⁶ In ancient Greece chastity was nowise imposed upon the priests, and celibacy was only in certain cases made a condition of the priesthood.²⁰⁷ Herodotus says that in Egypt chastity did not in any way belong to the virtues prescribed by religious custom.²⁰⁸ In *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, Sir James Frazer examines instances of sacred prostitutes who are at the same time wives of the god.²⁰⁹

The monstrous custom known as religious or temple prostitution has, as is well known, by some scholars been regarded as a survival of early communism in women. According to Westermarck the chief explanation of this custom lies in the belief that sexual intercourse with a holy person is beneficial to the worshipper, and that such intercourse on this account became a regular feature of the cult.²¹⁰

Other ascetic regulations referring to priests concern fasting and prohibited articles of food. Fasting generally seems to be observed when a person wishes to put himself in correspondence with the spirits, before performing some religious rite, and is one of the means of inducing a state of exaltation. "The importance of fasting in the evolution of visions is certainly great," writes Havelock Ellis.²¹¹ Among the Santal, for instance, the person or persons who offer sacrifices at their feasts have to prepare themselves for the duty by fasting and prayer.²¹² A similar observance

is among the same people followed by the initiated on consulting a spirit.²¹³ A Tungus shaman, being summoned to treat a sick person, will for several days abstain from food and maintain silence till he becomes inspired.²¹⁴ The shaman of the Lapps prepared himself for the sacrifice by fasting and ablutions.²¹⁵ In the Nissan islands of New Guinea the sorcerers make fine weather for the festivals by fasting for days together and following certain other rules.²¹⁶ Among the upper Missouri Indians the man who invokes the Great Spirit for his tribesmen durst not eat, nor speak to anyone during the time that he was making his "medicine", for fear of breaking the spell and thereby displeasing the Great Spirit.²¹⁷ The Mandan Indians fast before taking part in a sacrifice, before organizing a war party, etc.²¹⁸ Similarly the Sioux practise fasting on several occasions, but always in order to obtain superhuman assistance or to acquire a transference to themselves of superhuman power.²¹⁹ The ancient caciques of Hispaniola, who also exercised priestly functions, fasted when they wished to foresee the future. Herrera mentions that they shut themselves up for six or seven days without eating anything, and when they were thus weakened with fasting they said they had seen something of what they desired.²²⁰

In connection with the abstinence from food which the priests observe in order to produce superhuman communion, we have to take under observation the use of drugs for religious ends. The strong narcotic potions, which the priests among many peoples take when performing their various ceremonies, may in a sense be reckoned among the severities of the rules of conduct to which they are subjected. The Nuéans, or Savage islanders, do not drink *kava* (draught of *Piper methysticum*) as a beverage, reserving it for the inspiration of their priests.²²¹ The exaltation of the Tonga priests is partly simulated, partly produced by means of narcotic plants.²²² Among the Kiwai and other Papuans *gamoda*, which evidently is a variety of *kava*, plays a very prominent part in many religious and magical rites. In the Nicobar archipelago²²³ as well as in the Nossi-Be and Mayotte islands near Madagascar,²²⁴ the mystery-men, before beginning a rite, swallow a great quantity of certain intoxicating drinks. The Koryak shamans take a dose of flybane (*Amanita muscaria*).²²⁵ Lapp shamans use at times some artificial stimulant to assist the coming of a trance. It is prepared of soda boiled from birchwood ash, or of seal-fat, or from other ingredients.²²⁶ The priests of ancient Mexico saw visions through using an ointment or drink made from all sorts of small beasts such as spiders, scorpions, palmerworms, salamanders, and vipers, to which they added the seeds of "*ololuchqui*".²²⁷ To work divination the Peruvian priests shut themselves into a house and made themselves so drunk that they lost their senses. "Some affirm," Father Acosta tells us, "that they use certain unctions."²²⁸

Fasting and the use of narcotics on the part of the priests, before they perform a religious rite, must naturally be connected with the similar observances of incipient priests which we have mentioned in a previous chapter (pp. 169 *sqq.*). It seems obvious that the origin of the custom of fasting, etc., as practised by priests before the performance of a ceremony, is the same as with would-be priests who prepare themselves for intercourse with the spirits. In either case the purpose of the subjects is to reduce themselves to a state of mind which is supposed to involve their close communion with the supernatural world.

Regulations enforced on priests regarding forbidden descriptions of food naturally vary among different peoples to a very great extent. A sorcerer of the Waraus must abstain from the flesh of big animals, and is moreover restricted to food indigeneous to the country, all species of animals imported by the Europeans being banished from his fare.²²⁹ The priests of the Singhalese "cannot touch meat; vegetables and eggs being their sole diet".²³⁰ It is necessary for a Vedda shaman to avoid eating fowl and pig; certain other kinds of food, too, are denied him.²³¹ In the Arunta and Kaitish tribes of Central Australia "the only food restrictions of any importance referring to the medicine-man are the prohibition of fat and hot drinks, but in the Warramunga they are very comprehensive, at least so far as the young doctors are concerned".²³² If an Euahlai medicine-man has many spirits he must not drink hot or heating drinks; these would drive them away. Nor would spirits enter a person defiled by the white man's "grog".²³³ The Zambezi rain-maker, in order to keep the spirits with him, never touches alcohol. As is the case with Buddhist priesthood in general, the priests of Siam are subject to a most rigorous course of instruction, which also comprehends several restrictive rules as to their food and drink.²³⁴ Schoemann gives a list of food prohibitions applying to certain priests of ancient Greece.²³⁵ A system of restrictive rules regulated the conduct of the Hebrew priesthood, and served to separate the sacerdotal order from the laity, conferring upon the former a higher degree of holiness.²³⁶

Among many peoples the exterior appearance of the priests betokens their exclusiveness and spiritual character. Unquestionably priests find an adventitious aid in their functional attire which is calculated to act in a suggestive way upon the minds of their flocks. The weird ornamental outfit, painting, etc., of the priest or wizard is in addition designed to guard him during his hazardous dealings with the spirits and to frighten the latter, and the same purpose no doubt has the audible part of the rituals, the use of sound-producing instruments, as well as his singing, chanting, shrieking, etc.: to drive the evil beings away, or to terrify them into submissiveness.²³⁷ Thus it has been said that the attire of the

magicians of the Sakai tribe, in the Malay peninsula, contained certain patterns which were called "demon patterns", because they afforded protection against the demons, who, as soon as they saw them, were obliged to flee. The magician who presided at the ceremony wore his own pattern, the object of which was to ward off danger threatening from the demons and to influence these favourably towards the aim of the ceremony.²³⁸ The costume of the Siberian shamans has been shown to represent a bird (occasionally some other animal), and the idea seems to be that by donning this attire the shaman receives the faculty of flying anywhere in the world. Certain natives call the shaman's costume and the objects hanging on it, the "power" of the shaman. Similarly, when the shaman puts on the long boots representing the feet of the bear, he believes himself to have acquired the "power" of the bear.²³⁹

The question of male priests dressed as, and impersonating, women will be dealt with in next chapter (pp. 224 sq.).

Elaborate descriptions have been given of the particular priestly costumes which are met with among numerous peoples.²⁴⁰ The priestly attire is, moreover, among certain peoples distinguished by a particular colour. This is the case among the Singhalese, where the priests are clothed in yellow.²⁴¹ In the Malay peninsula the priestly magician shares with the king the right to make use of cloth dyed in the royal colour, yellow.²⁴² In Siam, also, the priests are conspicuous by their yellow garments.²⁴³ Priests and priestesses among the Tshi-speaking negroes, when about to communicate with the god, wear a white linen cap. On holy days they wear white cloth, and on certain occasions their bodies are painted with white clay. The Ewe priests wear white caps and white clothes.²⁴⁴ Special robes are worn by Nigerian priests for sacrifice. Thus the Lala priest wears a white gown.²⁴⁵ The priestesses of the Manipuris in India dress in white.²⁴⁶ Among the ancient Peruvians the priests wore white when invoking the gods.²⁴⁷ The ordinary dress of the Zapotec priest was a full white robe, that of the Toltec priest a long black robe, and the common Totonac priests wore long black robes of cotton.²⁴⁸ In Mexico, the "Maids of Penance", mentioned before, ordinarily wore a habit all white.²⁴⁹ The ceremonial apparel of the Sakai magicians in the Malay peninsula shows patterns in black.²⁵⁰

It is a very general custom for priests to distinguish themselves by the length of their hair. Among the northern Yakut, for instance, the shamans "all without exception wear their hair long enough to fall on their shoulders. Generally they braid it behind the head into a queue, or tie it into a tuft."²⁵¹ The shamans of the Tuski in Alaska wear their hair long.²⁵² Among the Tlinkit the hair of the shaman must never be cut.²⁵³ Novices of the priesthood among the Bhil in India are required to allow their hair to grow to as great a length as possible.²⁵⁴ From the time that a Maler of Rajmahal

devotes himself to the profession of priest and augur, his hair is allowed to grow like that of a Nazarite, his power of divination entirely disappearing if he cuts it.²⁵⁵ The prophets of the Ahirs let their hair grow.²⁵⁶ A Vedda shaman must not cut his hair unless he takes special precautions. He must cover his head with a cloth when it is cut, and ever afterwards he must cover it when dancing, or else the *yaku* (spirits of the dead) would kill him.²⁵⁷ In China the priests of the sect of Taou have long hair.²⁵⁸ Priests and priestesses among the Tsi-speaking peoples "are readily distinguishable from the rest of the community. They wear their hair long and unkempt, while other people, except the women in the towns on the sea-board, have it cut close to the head".²⁵⁹ Priests of the northern tribes of Nigeria generally allow their hair to grow long; some Yoruba priests shave the crown of the head.²⁶⁰

Sir James Frazer explains the custom of sacred persons leaving their hair long by referring to two dangers which, in the primitive view, beset the cutting of it. First, the head is sometimes considered so sacred that it may not be even touched without grave offence. Secondly, there is the difficulty of disposing of the shorn locks, that they may not be exposed to accidental injury or fall into the hands of malicious persons who might work magic on them to the detriment or death of the owner. "Such dangers are common to all, but sacred persons have more to fear from them than ordinary people, so the precautions taken by them are proportionately stringent. The simplest way of evading peril is not to cut the hair at all."²⁶¹ We have also to take into account interconnection with the belief that the hair is one of the seats of the soul, yea, that in a degree it can be identified with the soul itself. By taking a person's scalp, as has been mentioned, the captor may come into possession of his spirit. It is an easy step to the notion that by leaving his hair uncut a person may preserve his soul unmolested, a thought of particular significance in the case of priests.

In connection with the habit occurring among many peoples that priests put on women's attire, they frequently wear their hair long and comb or braid it as women do. These questions will be taken up in next chapter (pp. 224 sq.).

As regards precautions taken when cutting the hair of a priest J. H. Rose gives an example from ancient Rome. The cutting of the hair of the Flamen Dialis was an elaborate business, he explains. The operator must be a free man; neither foreigner's magic nor the contact of so ill-omened a thing as slavery could be tolerated; and the instrument must be of bronze. The foreign or new-fashioned material of steel or iron is probably avoided, the author believes; there are reasons for thinking that the picturesque figure of the Flamen represents the Bronze Age. Once cut, his hair-parings and nail-trimmings must be buried under a

lucky, that is, fruitful tree. There, they would not only be safe from hostile magic, but exposed to good magic, a most desirable precaution.²⁶²

The various instruments, such as drums, rattles, masks, etc., which the priests make use of at their ritual functions, in a sense serve as visible tokens of the sacerdotal order. The drums of the shamans of Siberian and other arctic peoples, with their symbolic figures and other ornaments, have become particularly famed. They may be regarded as a kind of insignia of shamanhood. The shamans of the Siberian Tungus and Buryat are only allowed to make use of the magic drum after having received a formal call from the "devil".²⁶³ Originally, among the Lapps, the drum was used as a medium of excitation, later also for the purpose of divination.²⁶⁴ Among the Tlinkit the shamans inherit the office inclusive of all necessary paraphernalia, masks, drums, straps, etc., from their father or grandfather.²⁶⁵ Previous to becoming a candidate for the priesthood, a Singhalese must provide himself with certain articles, eight in number, which are said to be indispensably necessary for admission.²⁶⁶

It is a noteworthy fact that the priests almost universally distinguish themselves from the community at large by means of a separate language which they use in the divine service or in intercourse with each other. The Angakok of Greenland have a peculiar language, altogether different from the ordinary tongue of the country, and words of the general language they use in an opposite or metaphorical sense. This peculiar idiom they employ only at their practices of witchcraft, when they are consulted by the people, and in communication with each other.²⁶⁷ The priests of the Indians of Virginia conduct adorations and conjurations in a different language to that spoken by the people, just as the Catholics of all nations say their mass in Latin.²⁶⁸ So also, the Dacota conjurers use "a language which is unintelligible to the common people for the purpose of impressing upon them the idea of their superiority". This sacred language consists in using words which seem to have been introduced from other Indian languages, in employing descriptive expressions instead of the ordinary names of things, and in using common words far outside their usual signification.²⁶⁹ In similar terms the sacred language of the Dacota is described.²⁷⁰ The chants of the Grand Medicine Society among the Menomini Indians are in general in the native language, though that portion of the ritual pertaining to Indian cosmogony and the genesis of mankind is to a great extent mixed with Ojibway words, and is therefore unintelligible to every one save those familiar with this language.²⁷¹ A great portion of the phraseology of the Ojibway ritual "is in an archaic form of language, and is thus unintelligible to the ordinary Indian. . . . This archaic phraseology naturally appears

impressive and important to the general populace, and the shamans delight to dwell on such phrases during ceremonials, not only to impress their hearers but to elevate themselves as well." ²⁷² The Ojibway "abbreviate their sentences and employ many elliptical forms of expression, so much so that half-breeds, quite familiar with the colloquial language, fail to comprehend a medicine-man when in the full flow of excited oratory." ²⁷³ The language in which the ancient Peruvian priests invoked the gods is said to have been "not vulgar and not understood by the people". ²⁷⁴

From other parts of the world, too, come reports of the priests using a peculiar idiom of their own. We find that in Dahomey the priests have a "holy fetish jargon, which is unintelligible to the uninitiated". ²⁷⁵ From Cassangue in Congo an oracle is mentioned who pronounced his utterances in an idiom of the past, no longer understood by the people. ²⁷⁶ The priests of the Kookies, in India, "have among themselves a language, most probably an entirely artificial one, quite different from that spoken by the people and perfectly unintelligible to them." ²⁷⁷ One of the languages used in ancient Persia was styled the *Farsi*, which was the tongue of the province of Fars as well as that of the savants and priests. ²⁷⁸ Among the Malays in Malacca the priestly magician shares with the king "the right to enforce the use of certain ceremonial words and phrases, in which respect, indeed, his list is longer, if anything, than that of royalty". ²⁷⁹ The language used by the Dyak medicine-men in their incantations is unintelligible even to the Dyak themselves. ²⁸⁰ Amongst the Minahassar "the language used by the Walians (priests) was frequently not completely understood by the people, owing to the use of many words which are now no longer spoken". ²⁸¹ In New Zealand the native priests seem to have had a sacred symbolic language. ²⁸² In the Hervey islands the diviner delivers his responses in a language intelligible only to the initiated. ²⁸³ From Tahiti is reported a "dialect of the church" which differed from the common idiom, "and thus religion was veiled in mysteries." This dialect is characterized by being called "a cadenced metrical performance". The common people rarely understood a word of the prayers and singing of the priests. ²⁸⁴ The shamans of the Lapps, on performing a rite in concert, communicated with each other in a peculiar language, or used ordinary words with a strange meaning. ²⁸⁵

Finally we have to consider the separateness of the priesthood as appearing in notions regarding their souls after death and, in connection with these, the specific modes of burial which are not infrequently bestowed on priests and magicians. It is a popular belief in South Nigeria that malevolent witches and wizards through superior cunning may escape suspicion during their lifetime, but that after death such ghosts seem no longer able to conceal their evil

nature, but come back to their old haunts to play all sorts of mischievous tricks upon those left behind.²⁸⁶ Commenting upon this same belief Lévy-Bruhl indicates that sorcerers who have remained undetected while alive, are sometimes believed to continue their nefarious deeds after death. "Finally they become suspected. They are disinterred and burnt, and it is, strangely enough, discovered that their bodies are still intact. The corpses of sorcerers do not decay. This belief is found in regions that are very widely separated."²⁸⁷ Regarding the fear that dreaded witch-doctors may be yet more dangerous after death and that for this reason their bodies are destroyed, cf. *supra*, p. 188. Among the Kiwai Papuans sorcerers are much dreaded after death. A malignant sorcerer, when detected, is generally killed by the enraged people, and his body is thrown into the water or buried somewhere in the bush where he has been put to death. Thenceforth that locality is shunned by the people.²⁸⁸ The medicine-man or wizard among the Karamoja in Uganda is not buried, for it is thought that if he were interred there would be no rain, and famine would come upon the land. His body is hidden in the bush, and when the flesh has disappeared the skull is recovered and brought back to the house. There it is put into a pot, and in this receptacle it is removed to a cave in the hill-side, where the skulls of his predecessors have been placed. On no account must the sun shine on the skull, or devastating drought will come upon the land. The entrance to the cave is blocked up.²⁸⁹ The Akamba perform various special rites at the burial of their medicine-men.²⁹⁰

CHAPTER XII

CLASSIFICATION OF PRIESTHOOD AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRIESTLY FUNCTIONS

The priesthood of uncivilized races, looked upon as a whole, embodies a great number of different types of supernaturalistic practitioners which can only in a limited degree be distinguished from one another. Among all these groups of primitive officiators connected with the superhuman world two main orders, however, bear the appearance of a certain distinctiveness, at least in a theoretical sense, and their existence can also be regarded as universally recognized in ethnological literature. These two principal types are the priest, on the one side, and the magician, wizard, or sorcerer, on the other.

Almost equally evident, however, is it to the ethnologist that these types are very closely related to each other. In the foregoing chapters we have, on the whole, treated subjects which appear to be common to the priesthood in its entirety. We will now try to trace the line of demarcation between the two predominant categories of the priesthood named above.

In theoretical works we meet with very varying definitions of what priests and sorcerers are. The distinction between these types is in many cases arbitrarily drawn and sometimes even, as it seems, altogether confused. Certain writers associate the difference between priests and sorcerers with that between the higher and lower aspects of the evolution of spiritual life. Agreeably to a widespread theory, among the lower races, whatever may be the nature of their preternaturalistic practices, there are only to be found sorcerers, the term of priest being reserved for the representatives of a higher system of cult. "The lower races of men have no priests properly so called," Lord Avebury wrote: if we examine more closely the true functions of the so-called priests, reported from such peoples, "we shall easily satisfy ourselves that the term is a misnomer, and that wizards only are intended. Without temples and sacrifices there cannot be priests."¹ Réville, too, repudiated the idea that priests, in the restricted sense of the term, exist among rude peoples; he believes that only sorcerers are to be found in the lower stages. In non-civilized countries, he writes, the sorcerer or "man who maintains personal intercourse with the spirits", "in a way embodies the elements from which subsequently have differentiated the priest, the prophet, the physician," etc. Priesthood constitutes "une régularisation et une transformation de la sorcellerie primitive",

and the characteristics of a priest, in distinction from a sorcerer, seems merely to consist in his forming a part of an established organism. By restricting the existence of priests to peoples with an organized sacerdotal body, the author, however, makes the types of priest and sorcerer almost entirely intermingle. His narrow conception of a priest induces him to impute to the early sorcerer traits that necessarily denote the priestly group, however we may determine the relation between priests and sorcerers. Thus, enumerating the attributes of the sorcerer, he designates him as "an exceptional individual who maintains a personal and intimate intercourse with the spirits, who is possessed by them, who is their voluntary or involuntary medium, now ruled over by them, now ruling them himself". In another passage we read, "The whole power of the sorcerer is nothing else than the power of the spirit who is in him and who acts through him."²

Difficult to understand is also the meaning which de la Grasserie attaches to the terms of sorcerer and priest. "The primitive and essential character of the sorcerer lies in being individually inspired by the deity in consequence of a selection made by the latter. The priest, on the other hand, distinguishes himself from the sorcerer by not being inspired at all; he is not chosen in any way but "se recrute d'après une mode régulière. Est sorcier qui veut, n'est pas prêtre qui le veut." As regards the occurrence of priests and sorcerers among different peoples the author assumes that the sorcerer prevails among the African negroes and the Tartars, in the shamanhood; "la sorcellerie y est même la seule religion connue." The sorcerer is Angakok among the Eskimo, medicine-man among the Red Indians, and piace in South America. In Polynesia there are priests as well as sorcerers, and it is the priest who dominates in the religious societies of Mexico and Peru.³ Goblet d'Alviella assumes, without further explanation, that the priest has "the monopoly of the relations with the higher deities", whilst exorcism is represented as the chief function of his rival, the sorcerer.⁴

Jevons believes that inspiration by the god makes a man a priest, and that the difference between the two classes consists in the one "bringing about disease and death in the community, the other counteracting the machinations of the first class, and also bringing positive blessings to the community in the shape of good crops, etc." Further examination is said to show "that the one class derive their powers from the god who protects and is worshipped by the community, the other from spirits who are bound by no ties of fellowship or goodwill to the community".⁵ Much the same opinion as to the character of priests and sorcerers is held by Lenormant in stating, "The supernatural power by which man succeeds in conquering the spirits may be in its nature either divine or diabolical, celestial or infernal. In the first case it is confounded

with the power that the priest derives from the superior gods ; it is exercised in a beneficent manner to avert misfortunes, to conjure diseases, and to combat demoniacal influences. In the second case it becomes perverse and impious, constituting sorcery or witchcraft with all their criminal aberrations." ⁶

The logical way of regarding the distinction between priests and sorcerers seems to base it upon dissimilarities connected with their functions. Accordingly, it seems natural that the priests should be designated as those who conduct the religious rites, and the sorcerers identified with those who are practising magic. And to define both types more closely : the priests, associating themselves with the gods, exercise the duties incumbent on them by invoking the aid of their supernatural patrons. Their power consists in influencing the will of the supreme beings. The magicians, on the other hand, act entirely by themselves. They are independent of the spirits, with whom they have no intercommunication in the same sense as the priests have. By their secret machinations they are able to bring about the desired results, and the same means of coercion may be applied by them to the gods as well. " In magic," Sir James Frazer says, " man depends on his own strength to meet the difficulties and dangers that beset him on every side. He believes in a certain established order of nature on which he can surely count, and which he can manipulate for his own ends." Religion, on the contrary, means " a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life ". Religion consists of two elements, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate and please them.⁷ Westermarck, in an analogous manner, points out that religion may be defined " as a belief in and a regardful attitude towards a supernatural being on whom man feels himself dependent and to whose will he makes an appeal in his worship. Supernatural mechanical power, on the other hand, is applied in magic. He who performs a purely magical act, utilizes such power without making any appeal at all to the will of a supernatural being." ⁸ Martin P. Nilsson opposes the idea that the difference between magic and religion corresponds " to a distinction between an anti-social and a social purpose ". The essential difference seems to be " whether an action takes place as an *opus operatum* of itself or whether it addresses itself to a higher will, through which it strives to see its intention fulfilled. It is true that the most transparently magical practices are preserved in antisocial sorcery and witchcraft." ⁹ We believe that the concordant opinion represented by these scholars, regarding early religion and magic, can be looked upon as predominant in modern ethnological literature.

In a similar way as that set forth by us above, Sir John Lyall regards a wizard as one " who professes to work marvels, not through

the aid and counsel of the supernatural beings in whom he believes as much as the rest, but by certain occult faculties and devices which he conceives himself to possess". The priest is held in reverence as the ambassador of a power on which it is hopeless to make war.¹⁰ Referring to the difficulty of distinguishing between religious and magical practices, Sumner and Keller assume that if all the various functions were arranged in a series, "priests" would probably stand at one end, as being most evidently associated with religion, and "sorcerers" at the other. Against religion might stand sorcery or witchcraft; or, to employ the other terminology, "white art" might be contrasted with "black art". "The priest was the intermediary between men and gods who attended to the ritual of the cult."¹¹

Related with the definition of priests and magicians is the question whether in actual life a clear line of demarcation can ever be drawn between these two classes of the priesthood, independent of their theoretical determination. For our part, we believe that "priests" and "sorcerers", such as they are found among uncivilized races, rarely display any clear unadulterated types. If we maintain that those are priests who derive their powers from spiritual beings, while sorcerers resort to magical means, all that can be gathered from the supernaturalistic practices of uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples points to the conclusion that the types of priest and sorcerer almost extricably blend into one another.

Yet, in a few cases, the distribution of the functions of the priesthood makes the types of priest and sorcerer distinct from each other. Thus, weather-doctors, fortune-tellers, exorcists, and physicians, who among certain peoples form special professions of their own, also display, in certain cases, instances of the typical magician. Examples of such practitioners acting solely by magical means are, however, few, and this can also be said as to the occurrence of the unadulterated priestly type. It is very common to find that different classes of the priesthood almost indiscriminately make use of religious and magical means in their practice.

As a matter of fact, though the distinction between priests and sorcerers is apparent in theory, yet on a closer examination of their functions among various races, we become aware that the line of demarcation almost disappears. We have argued that the distinction between priests and sorcerers is of a functionary character; strictly speaking, it refers only to the means which they make use of in executing their duties. The services themselves required of both classes are, to a great extent, identical. In many cases the same results are thought to be obtainable by applying to either the priest or the sorcerer, by using either religious or magical means.

We learn that connection with supernatural beings is in no way confined to "priests", nor that "magicians" monopolize the

practice of magic. Very frequently it happens that practitioners, in whom the priestly type predominates, have recourse to magic also, and that representatives of the type of sorcerer maintain a religious communication with spirits. The universal occurrence of such instances proves that in reality the types of priest and sorcerer very imperfectly answer the scientific meaning of these terms.

Of priests who also practise magic some instances may be given. We read that among the Maori the priest "could rule the winds, render them favourable for fishing, restrain the malignance of evil spirits, destroy the power of witchcraft, and hold converse with the gods; he could likewise enchant, bewitch, and destroy his enemy by his spells, and control the powers of nature."¹² In Fiji some of the professed practitioners of witchcraft are said to be also priests.¹³ Among the Bechuana and Kafirs, the depositories of religion "offer sacrifices, circumcise the young men, administer drugs to the sick, pretend to make rain, conjure the storms, and predict by means of guessing-bones, which they always carry with them, and which they use as charms, so that they are at once priests, sorcerers and quacks".¹⁴ The priests of the Cherokee are pronounced to "make the people believe, by their cunning and craft, that they have a supernatural communication with invisible spirits of good and evil, and that they have the power of invoking the elements and dispensing their attributes, good or bad. They make the people believe that by conjuration they can bring rain, fine weather, heat, cooling breezes, thunder and lightning, bring on or expel and cure sickness, etc."¹⁵ Goblet d'Alviella points out that "even in the bosom of the most highly developed religions the priest never completely renounces the practices of sorcery".¹⁶ Similarly, Sir James Frazer observes that in an earlier stage the functions of priest and sorcerer were often combined, and that the same confusion of magic and religion has survived among peoples that have risen to higher levels of culture.¹⁷ It is well known too that in the great religious systems of the world the element of magic largely enters into worship.

There are, likewise, numerous examples of the fact that magicians display traits of a priestly character. The Australians are in general represented as only practising magic, but, nevertheless, we read that magicians among them are frequently concerned with spirits in the same way that priests are. Not only are Australian magicians stated to have been initiated by spirits,¹⁸ they also keep up communication with superhuman beings. Bonwick mentions that in certain parts of the continent, the wizards profess to converse with the spirits of the dead and to utilize preternatural beings.¹⁹ In Howitt's description of the Kurnai we learn how the Birraaks held conversations with mythical beings in the dark.²⁰ In Central Australia,²¹ as well as among the Eagle-hawk and Crow,²² the Murring²³ and the Bangerang,²⁴ the wizards are similarly said to have

communion with spirits. We are informed that the Melanesians think themselves able by means of magic to control the forces of nature, to make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, to cause sickness or remove it, etc. "No man, however," Codrington observes, "has the power of his own; all that he does is done by the aid of personal beings, ghosts of spirits."²⁵ The Tahitians considered witchcraft and sorcery the peculiar province of an inferior order of superhuman beings. These were the kinds of beings invoked by the wizards or sorcerers.²⁶ In like manner the Kafirs are reported to believe that witchcraft is exercised through the instrumentality of evil spirits besides other mystic beings.²⁷ By the Panama Indians witches were supposed to hold converse with spirits.²⁸ As to the Abipones, it is difficult to decide whether their mystery-men should be styled priests or sorcerers, so much are religious and magical elements amalgamated in their practices. Dobrizhoffer says there is no one of their countrymen who does not believe that it is in their power to "inflict disease and death, to cure all disorders, to make known distant and future events; to cause rain, hail, and tempests; to call up the shades of the dead, and consult them concerning hidden matters."²⁹

Apart from attempts to classify priesthood in a theoretical sense readers of ethnology are aware of the fact that among many savage peoples are found two opposite orders within the priesthood, the one representing a higher and the other a lower stage, or the one exercising a beneficial, the other a pernicious influence. We find that, in a degree, the former of these classes displays the type of priests, the latter the type of magician. Thus the Pawnee Indians are said to make a clear distinction between real priests and shamans. The latter "received their power from the animal lodges, priests from the gods of heavens; shamans have to do with healing, priests with war and the procuring of food; shamans specialize in sleight of hand, priests are occupied in following the nearly unbroken ritual throughout the year. In theory, no shaman enters the rites of the priestly cycle, and vice versa. The vision, however, is an essential for both orders."³⁰ It has been stated that within the three great centres of archaic Indian culture, Inca, Chibcha, and Maya-Nahua, a distinction seems to have been made between the priests and the shamans, inasmuch as the former were organized in a manner comparable to and complementary to the political scheme, but the shaman class appeared as unorganized and in some cases was described as itinerant.³¹

On the whole, there is a tendency to identify priests with protectors of the people, whereas magicians or sorcerers often stand forth as evildoers who endeavour to inflict distress upon others. There are, for instance, among the Greenlanders, besides the Angakok, another sort of conjurers or sorcerers, especially old women, whom they call Illiseersut, or witches, who can by their spells and witchcraft

injure people in their life and goods. These are not on the same footing with the Angakok, for as soon as any one incurs even the suspicion of such practices, he or she is hated and detested by everybody, and at last made away with.³² As regards Tlinkit practitioners the Russian investigator Veniaminov discriminates between sorcerers and shamans. The function of the former consists in working harm upon men—most diseases are thought to originate in that way—and whoever has been injured by a sorcerer hastens to the shaman and asks him to find out the evil-doer.³³ Among the Ojibway the power of the sorcerer consists in invoking and causing evil, while that of the medicine-man, or priest, is used to avert it. The former sometimes attempts to injure the latter, who, however, by the aid of his guardian spirits, becomes aware of, and averts, such premeditated harm.³⁴ To the thinking of the Indians of British Guiana the Kenaima, or malevolent sorcerers, and the Peaimen, or priestly doctors, stand to each other in the relation of evil and its cure. "Very nearly all bodily evil that befalls an Indian is, he thinks, the work of a Kenaima, known or unknown; and his only hope of guarding against such evil, or of curing such as has come upon him, is by the help of the Peaiman."³⁵ The Brazilian Paressi have a special name for sorcerers as well as for the benevolent medicine-men, or the antagonists of the latter.³⁶

Among the Kafirs the witch-doctor is regarded as a necessary appendage in every district to ward off the effects of witchcraft and to discover wizards and witches.³⁷ The Bechuana witch-doctor is the protector of the public, and his first duty is to detect people who try to injure others through magic.³⁸ According to the Owimbundu in Angola, magical practices are of two kinds, social and anti-social. The man who carries out divination, rain-making, healing the sick, and many other functions, is *ocimbanda*, while the secret worker of evil, the witch or wizard, is *onganga*. In one village there may be several men and women, each of whom receives the name *ocimbanda*. The Buryat have two classes of shamans,³⁹ called the white and the black. The former only confer benefits upon mankind and resort to the good deities, but from the latter only evil comes, and they serve the evil deities.⁴⁰ A bitter enmity prevails between these classes. About many peoples we learn in addition that sorcerers are regarded with fear and hatred and are sometimes even put to death when detected.⁴¹ Among the Eddystone islanders in the Solomons are found witches who are assisted by a "witch spirit", which is merely the spirit of a deceased witch. The witches have their opponents, men who know how to discover the witch and cure the malady. These witch-finders, too, have spirits called *tomate kuri*. The *kuri* spirits reveal the guilty witch by methods of divination.⁴²

Facts go to prove in other cases, too, that the distinction between

good and evil disposed classes of the priesthood is often arbitrarily drawn.

It is, perhaps, characteristic of primitive ideas regarding magic, and at the same time illustrative of the relativity of "good" and "evil" practitioners of magic, that in certain cases the "good" magicians are identified with those of one's own tribe, the "evil" ones with those of another tribe. Thus, regarding the Mailu in New Guinea, Saville states that "my experience is that to the *vara* man's (medicine-man's) clan or community he is a *vara* man, but to another clan or community he is a *barau egi* (sorcerer), and vice versa. The *vara* man's duty is to make ineffective the anti-social evil influence of the *barau egi*."⁴³ With reference to certain South American Indians, it is said that a medicine-man is as capable of helping as of damaging others; therefore the beneficial medicine-man of one's own tribe frequently is the malevolent one of another tribe. There are cases, however, when a magician of a different tribe will be employed.⁴⁴

The difference between the two classes is sometimes based upon the idea that "priests" communicate with benevolent deities, while "sorcerers" have recourse to evil spirits and other ill-disposed beings. Occasionally priests forfeit their sacerdotal dignity and are transferred to the class of sorcerers, merely because they have lost the popular confidence in their goodwill, which also shows that in such cases the only distinction between so-called priests and sorcerers concerns their good or evil disposition. Lumholtz clearly describes how such a transformation takes place among the Tarahumare in Mexico. Much as in cases of heresy among Christian ministers, the other shamans hold a consultation regarding a suspected colleague, and may decide that the light of his heart has failed him and that he is no longer one of them. From that time forth, good people avoid him, they no longer give him food, and will not tolerate him about their homes, they are afraid of him, and the better he was before as a shaman, the more terrible he is now supposed to have become as a sorcerer. Soon every accident that happens in the locality is laid at the accused man's door.⁴⁵ If among the Creek Indians a patient dies under the treatment of a doctor, the chances are two to one "that the doctor is considered as a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten, and sometimes killed by the surviving relations".⁴⁶ It is stated, with reference to certain South American Indians, that the misgivings of the people easily change the "good" medicine-man of their own tribe into an "evil" one.⁴⁷ Among the Eskimo about Bering Strait, "if a shaman is suspected of using his powers to work evil upon his fellow-villagers, he is in danger of being killed by common consent of the community."⁴⁸ There are instances of such men being killed for failing to fulfil their predictions and for suspected witchcraft. In Latooka, in Central

Africa, rain-doctors who fail to make good their promises are killed as being suspected of witchcraft.⁴⁹

In other cases also, we are aware that the classification of benevolent and evil-natured supernaturalistic practitioners does not come up to the theoretical distinction between priest and sorcerer. The attribute of good is not exclusively imputed to the representatives of the gods, nor that of evil to the practitioners of magic. The awe with which the priests are universally regarded derives its origin from the notion that they are able, whenever they choose, to deal out all sorts of calamities, and not only to confer benefactions. Especially unbelievers and those disobedient to the injunctions of the priests are never safe from their anger.⁵⁰

Magic, on the other hand, is by no means always condemned as something evil. To the thinking of the Arabs, for instance, spiritual magic is of two kinds, high and low, or divine and satanic. "Divine magic is regarded as a sublime science, and is studied only by good men and practised only for good purposes. Perfection in this branch of magic consists in the knowledge of 'the most great name of God' . . . ; but this knowledge is imparted to none but the peculiar favourites of Heaven." By virtue of this name men can subject to their dominion the Jinn or spirits, the birds and winds, and they may even raise the dead, etc. "Satanic magic, as its name implies, is a science depending on the agency of the devil and the inferior evil Jinn, whose services are obtained by means similar to those which propitiate, or render subservient, the good Jinn. It is condemned by the Prophet and all good Muslims, and only practised for bad purposes."⁵¹ The opinion held by the people of Ugogo in East Africa is that "white magic", such as divination and healing by conjuration, is not mischievous, as is the case with the art of "black magic".⁵² The Kafir discriminate between well-disposed and evil-disposed sorcery and believe that only by the aid of the former can the latter be combated.⁵³ The magic practised by the ancient Finns was either benevolent or malevolent. To the former group were reckoned divination, interpretation of presentiments and signs, foretelling of lucky and unlucky days, the use of protecting charms, etc. ; to the latter, confusing the senses of enemies and inflicting other evils upon them by conjurations and curses.⁵⁴

The numerous functions which appertain to the priestly order, induce us to examine to what extent they are performed by separate classes of priests. Owing to the ambiguity of the information which we obtain on this point from descriptions of uncivilized peoples, we are, however, only in comparatively few cases able to decide, with full certainty, when such arts as, for instance, divination, medical treatment, and weather-making are practised by the same men who conduct public worship, and when they form vocations of their

own. After all, the functionary organization of priesthood varies to a great extent among different peoples, the same duties being sometimes performed by the regular priests, sometimes by a special class of officiators. Although it is very difficult to lay down any general rules for either the one or the other of these forms of procedure, there seems to be little doubt that one of the prime factors in determining the distribution of priestly functions is the way in which they take place. Invocation of the ordinary gods of a tribe, when their assistance is required to foretell the issue of important events, to heal the sick, or to make favourable weather, constitutes one of the duties of the regular priests. But in cases of divination, etc., being performed through the assistance of other descriptions of spirits, or through magical means, the practitioners may be distinct from the ordinary priests. Very often it happens that, among the same people, foretelling the future, healing the sick, and weather-making are exercised by the ordinary priests as well as by special officiators.

We hardly need here to give any instances of the rule that priests practise divination, which is of universal occurrence among the lower races—a number of such data being given in a previous chapter, where we have instanced divination as taking place during ecstatic performances (pp. 183 *sq.*).

But it is also obvious that among many peoples the diviners form a distinct profession within the priesthood, and we gather as a characteristic fact, that in a great number of such cases, the performance is stated to take place through other means than consulting the gods. In the Kafir tribes the Amatola, who practise augury by burning certain roots, are distinct from other classes of the priesthood.⁵⁵ In Uganda, the Bahumu who foretell the future from the entrails of fowls, constitute a separate class of diviners.⁵⁶ Among the Malagasy there is a class of men called Panandro, "astrologers," who calculate and declare unlucky days and hours and foretell the destiny of children.⁵⁷ The so-called Demanos among the Maler in India were previously only diviners, and their office was separate from that of the priests.⁵⁸ The natives about the Altai mountains in north Central Asia, besides shamans and weather-makers have four separate classes of augurers distinguished from each other by different names and different methods of procedure. Some of them reveal the future by burning the shoulder-blades of animals, while others are palmists.⁵⁹ The Kirghiz have several classes of soothsayers: the Falscha, or astrologers, who foretell from the constellations of the sky and calculate lucky and unlucky days, etc.; the Diagsa who not only foresee but also have power to command the weather; the Baksa, or shamans, who with their various other functions combine that of divination; and the Armätschi or Jaruntschi who augur from the cracks of a sheep's shoulder-blades or tail-bones which they put in the fire. Some of the latter also foretell from the vibrations of

bowstrings.⁶⁰ With reference to the priesthood of the Zapotec we read that " each form of divination was made a special study. Some professed to foretell the future by the aid of stars, earth, wind, fire, or water ; others by the flight of birds, the entrails of sacrificial victims, or by magic signs and circles." ⁶¹ From ancient Peru several kinds of diviners are mentioned, the Calparieu were those who killed birds, lambs, and sheep and, inflating the lungs, discerned what was about to happen. Others were called Virapiricuc, who burnt the breasts of sheep and " coca " in the fire, and foretold what would occur from certain signs at the time the things were burning. The Achicoc told fortunes by maize and the dung of sheep, according to odd and even numbers.⁶²

As regards the connection between priesthood and the medical art, there are examples showing with tolerable clearness that the priests and the physicians are in many cases the same men. The Aleut, for instance, are said to seek the assistance of their shamans in cases of dangerous illness.⁶³ Among the Tlinkit the shamans cure the sick by expelling the evil spirits that are in them.⁶⁴ The wizard-priest of the Carriers or Taculli is also the doctor. So, too, the Apache priests or medicine-men possess almost exclusively the secrets of the art of healing.⁶⁵ Among the Eggarah on the lower Niger, the Mallam, or priests, to whom the whole of the religious power is confided, also monopolize the medical branch.⁶⁶ The natives of the Grain coast have a set of professional men who combine the medical and priestly offices in the same person.⁶⁷ In Liberia the fetish-priest also exercises a doctor's functions.⁶⁸ Among the Bahima in eastern equatorial Africa there are many fetish-men or priests " who besides carrying on the worship of the spirits and indulging in witchcraft on their account, also act as doctors or ' medicine-men ' " .⁶⁹ The East African Magma in his own person combines the functions of a physician, a mystagogue, a detector of sorcery, an augur, etc.⁷⁰ A similar union of offices is ascribed to the priest of the Kimbunda.⁷¹ Among the functions of the Ajoka, or medicine-men, of the Karamoja in Uganda, are propitiating the spirits, augury, and healing the sick.⁷² The diviner of the Kafirs is generally also familiar with the art of healing.⁷³ In addition to counteracting magic the witch-doctors of the Bechuana also exercised other important functions, generally, but not always, combined in the same person, such as curing disease, making rain, and divining.⁷⁴ The priests of the Butia in North-Eastern India, besides their religious duties, also administer the medical treatment of the people.⁷⁵ Among the Mongolian peoples of Siberia the shamans officiate as doctors.⁷⁶ From the Lapps we hear that the function of a physician appertained to the calling of the Noita or shaman.⁷⁷ When a Maori was taken ill, " the priest, who held the office also of a physician, was sent for to cure the disease or divine its cause." ⁷⁸ The priests of the inhabitants of Rurutu were also their physicians.⁷⁹

Cases of physicians forming a profession of their own in association with the priesthood are, however, by no means rare among uncivilized races. The Hawaiian doctors "were a distinct class of priests or sorcerers, who generally confided the knowledge of their art to their own families, and thus made the employment, which was lucrative, hereditary".⁸⁰ Among the Melanesians, who have no proper worship, the distribution of the supernaturalistic practices varies. "Every considerable village or settlement is sure to have someone who can control the weather and the waves, someone who knows how to treat sickness, someone who can work mischief with various charms. There may be one whose skill extends to all these branches; but generally one man knows how to do one thing and one another."⁸¹ The Katchari in India consider diseases to arise from preternatural causes, hence, they have besides priests a special class of conjurers whose duty it is to name the god who has sent the disease.⁸² The Kafirs are represented as having three classes of doctors: the Smelling-doctors, who pretend to detect the operations of witchcraft in calamity, disease, etc., the Handling-doctors, who administer medicine, but combine with it dancing, drumming, interrogations, and responses, and the doctors of medicine, who trust to pharmacy alone for the cure of disease. These are said to be distinct from the other classes of the priesthood.⁸³ With regard to the Bafote in Congo a distinction has been drawn between the fetish-priests who consult the fetish, and the wizard-doctors who administer the medicine.⁸⁴

Among the Karok in California there are two distinct classes of shamans engaged in the medical profession. It is the province of the one class to diagnose the case, while the other doctors seek to medicate the part where the former has discovered the ailment to reside.⁸⁵ We are told that the priest-doctors of the Tarahumare form several classes which have their specialities. Some of them sing at certain religious feasts and are doctors as well, while a few do not sing at all, but are merely healers.⁸⁶ The priest of Indian tribes in Arizona and New Mexico is authorized to preside over the celebration of traditional ceremonies. The shaman, on the other hand, is a wonder-worker and healer directly inspired by a "medicine power", which is essential in all relations between men and the world-powers. In addition there is the medicine-man or doctor who is not really different from the shaman, except in his employment of different methods of healing. Among the Pueblo, the priest is the representative of the people, to lead the ceremonials and to be the keeper of the sacred objects and rituals. The priest is held far above the medicine-man who may be simply a doctor, or medical practitioner, or who may even be a witch or wizard.⁸⁷ There are two classes of physicians among the Pima Indians. Those who treat disease by pretended magic are known as Siatcokam (exorcists,

physicians, etc.). They are the most powerful class in the community, though its members pay for their privileges at imminent risk in case of failure. Another class of practitioners might be termed medicine-men. They are not highly esteemed, however skilled they may become in the use of roots and simple remedies, yet they are the true physicians of the Pima.⁸⁸ From the Moxo tribe two sorts of ministers are mentioned who conduct the various observances. There are among them enchanters whose only function is to restore health to people in illness. Others are like the priests destined to appease the gods.⁸⁹ Among the Manacica the physicians constituted the third rank in society and were said to be a different order from the priests who held the second rank.⁹⁰ The ancient Araucanians in Chile had three different kinds of physicians who were distinguished by the different methods of cure that they employed.⁹¹

Weather-making is among the lower races universally associated with priesthood, although it is sometimes difficult to ascertain when this function refers to the regular priests, and when to a special class of individuals. Statements such as "the priests practise rain-making", or, "the priests are the weather-doctors", abound in descriptions of savage peoples, but they do not necessarily imply that the priests who are concerned with influencing the weather, are the same as those who conduct public worship. Certain peoples, however, furnish clear instances of the weather-doctors being identical with the priests.

Among the duties of the Greenland Angakok was the producing of favourable weather.⁹² This same duty is also exercised by the shamans of the Tlinkit.⁹³ The high priest of the Medicine Lodge ceremony among the Blackfoot Indians is also supposed to have power over rain.⁹⁴ Cherokee priests or doctors who conduct their religious rites make the people believe that by conjuration they can bring rain, fine weather, heat, cooling breezes, thunder and lightning.⁹⁵ In Loango they ask rain and fair weather of their ministers of religion as they do of the king.⁹⁶ Among the Karamoja in Uganda, one of the various functions of the Ajoka or medicine-men, who propitiate spirits, is to act as a rain-maker.⁹⁷ The witch-doctors, or diviners, of the Bechuana, who averted the malign operations of the spirits, often, but not always, acted as rain-makers as well.⁹⁸ By the Kafirs rain-making is regarded as an endowment peculiar to the priest. But at the same time they believe that it does not belong by any means to all the priests alike; on the contrary, it is enjoyed by a very few even of them, seldom by more than one in a tribe.⁹⁹ It is recorded that among the various functions of a Siberian shaman is that of a weather-prophet.¹⁰⁰

In other cases the profession of a weather-maker is kept distinct from ordinary priesthood. Among the natives of the Altai district there is a special class of shamans who profess to manage the weather

by means of a magic stone.¹⁰¹ The Kirghiz have a class who not only foretell the weather but also have the power to procure or keep off rain, wind, and lightning.¹⁰² Among the Yaga in Congo, the Scingilli, or rain-makers, form an inferior class under the Ganga or fetish-men.¹⁰³ The Okanda negroes have certain priests to whom the people apply for producing rain when a bad year is impending, and these have a special name.¹⁰⁴ Within the priesthood of the natives of northern Nigeria, particular families are known for their special powers. Thus among the Waja tribe one family may be noted for its ability to control the weather, another to control locusts, another rats, and so on. The family particularly honoured by the community is that with which are lodged the secrets of a good harvest, and none may proceed to reap his crop until the head of that family gives the word.¹⁰⁵ The rain-doctors of the Ganguella in southern Central Africa are pronounced to be distinct from other classes of the priesthood.¹⁰⁶ Among the Apache and certain other Indian tribes "there are some doctors who enjoy great fame as the bringers of rain, some who claim special power over snakes, and some who profess to consult the spirits only, and do not treat the sick except when no other practitioners are available. . . . This differentiation is not, however, carried so far that a doctor, no matter of what class, would decline a large fee."¹⁰⁷

Some peoples make a distinction between different branches of weather-making as practised by different groups of the priesthood. Among the Kiwai Papuans the power of influencing the weather is to some extent specialized, so that the whole of this province of sorcery is not mastered by one and the same man. One man, for instance, may be able to raise the wind, but cannot lay it, another to call forth rain, but is unable to stop it. One of my informants complained that although he could raise and also stop the north-west wind and the west wind, he had no power over the other winds, nor could he make rain. There were other specialists for those departments of weather-making. In their various needs the people apply to those who are thought qualified to help them. If a man of Mabuiaig in Torres Straits wanted rain he went to the Aripulaig, or rain-man, and asked him to make it rain, whilst a man who wished for wind, in order that he might sail his canoe, went to the Gubaupulaig to proffer his request.¹⁰⁸ Among the Natches Indians, "they are not the same who undertake to procure rain and fine weather: the genius of one person cannot, as they say, give both."¹⁰⁹ The Maori thought that any uninitiated person might officiate for the purpose of bringing wind, but when rain was wished for, to cause a flood, or to irrigate the cultivated fields, priests were always sent for.¹¹⁰ The Kafir have special expert magicians for rain, hail-storm, lightning, locusts, etc.¹¹¹

To the offices associated with the priesthood further belongs

the judicial authority with which its members are often invested. As a rule the rights of the priests in this respect are closely connected with their religious duties, their supernaturalistic endowments being called into requisition to serve the administration of justice in the community. As a matter of course, the priests are the most suitable persons to preside over the ordeals at which, among many peoples, persons suspected of crimes are subjected to severe tests. From Congo,¹¹² Laongo,¹¹³ and other African countries,¹¹⁴ as well as from Hawaii,¹¹⁵ we hear that on such occasions the priests are the chief officiators. Similarly, when a person is accused of practising witchcraft, the priests are the most competent to conduct the case. So we learn that in Greenland it was the office of the Angakok to denounce certain individuals as guilty either in regard to witchcraft or any other violation of rules or customs.¹¹⁶ The East African Mganga is also a detector of sorcery,¹¹⁷ and, likewise, in lower Congo, the priest is after a death required to indicate the sorcerer who has bewitched the deceased man.¹¹⁸ The chief function of Bechuana witch-doctors was the detection of wicked persons who were in communication with the ghosts themselves.¹¹⁹ One of the duties of the Kafir diviner or priest was to "scent out" sorcerers.¹²⁰ Thieves and other evildoers, also, are often detected by the assistance of well-informed priests. One of the principal tasks imposed upon the medicine-men of the Apache is to recover stolen or lost property, especially ponies.¹²¹ Among the Tlinkit the aid of the shamans is required to point out thieves.¹²² The Mganga of the East African tribes brings to light thieves and murderers,¹²³ and a similar duty is incumbent upon the priests of other peoples besides.¹²⁴ The Kafir diviner or priest scents out criminals and recovers lost objects.¹²⁵

In a few cases the priests are entrusted with a regular judicatory dignity, as, for instance, in Hawaii where some appearance of judicial form was preserved in cases of litigation. We learn that the parties were generally heard before judgment was pronounced, and it is said that "ordinarily cases were left to the priests, whose examinations appealed rather to the superstitious fears of the real or supposed criminal, than to any direct evidences of guilt".¹²⁶ In northern Nigeria the priest is also often the supreme judicial authority, and, in company with the elders, assesses damages, receives fees, and imposes fines.¹²⁷ Among the Badagry, in Guinea, "the fetish-priests are the judges of the people, and the statues of their country are recorded in their own breasts only. And although they are mostly swayed in their decisions by interest, or influenced by prejudice and passion, in no instance are they murmured against by either plaintiff or defendant."¹²⁸ Among the ancient Gauls the judicial power was chiefly exercised by the Druids.¹²⁹

The question of woman's participation in the religious life of early culture comprises certain incongruous phases. Primarily, it seems an acknowledged rule that the women, generally speaking, are excluded from all the more important functions of a religious character, and that they are not allowed to share the tribal secrets regarding supernatural and sacred matters. Among the Kiwai Papuans, for instance, the women are systematically kept in ignorance of nearly all the great ceremonial mysteries. There are instances of women having been killed when they got to know about the secret tribal rituals, and the same has happened to the traitor among the men who gave them away. By means of an elaborate system of deception the men keep the women in the dark regarding these matters. It seems that this attitude of the Kiwai people may be regarded as an instance of the general belief that women, on account of their impurity, exercise a defiling influence on everything holy and unearthly with which they come in contact.

But this exclusion does not comprise all the women among the Kiwais. On the contrary, with every man's house, for instance—otherwise forbidden territory for women, except at certain minor ceremonies—are associated a few very old women who play an important rôle of their own in nearly all the great ceremonies.

It seems to be a rule among many peoples that the female sex as such is banned from the sphere of religious secrets and activities, but that, frequently, a small number of old women are exempted. In view of the functions exercised by them, these women unmistakably represent a certain female type of priestly practitioner. Theorizing on the religious disabilities of women, Lowie "is inclined to impute them predominantly to the savage man's horror of menstruation", and as regards the universal prevalence of such a horror we can agree with him. It is interesting to note, the author continues, that where the discrimination is intense, it is relaxed in old age: old women enjoy privileges that are denied their younger sisters. "The reason is not difficult to divine, and is sometimes expressly stated to be that they have passed their climacteric."¹³⁰ An illustrative instance is offered by the priestess of Fare among the Bachama in northern Nigeria. She is said to be regarded as the human wife of one of the great gods, and is always a woman past the age of child-bearing. This rule is ascribed to the horror which the native tribes have of a menstruating woman entering a sacred place.¹³¹

Within ordinary, less sacred, branches of the priesthood woman's participation, however, is very common. In addition, certain special descriptions of religious duties are among various peoples assigned to women independent of age and degree of sanctity. On the whole, we receive reports from almost all parts of the world, where uncivilized peoples live, that women, also, officiate as priests

and sorcerers. In many cases no very great distinction seems to be made between the sexes as regards their qualifications for the priesthood. Often men, however, take a certain precedence in the sacerdotal profession, and in certain cases we meet with statements that women are not admitted to the priesthood at all.

As to the Greenlanders, Rink and Astrup state that women as well as men might become Angakok,¹³² while Nansen, admitting that the Angakok were of both sexes, observes that women seem to have been more rarely met with in this profession.¹³³ There are medicine-women as well as medicine-men among the Alaska Eskimo¹³⁴ as also the Pima¹³⁵ and the Apache Indians.¹³⁶ Many women of the Klamath tribes in California are honoured as shamans and prophetesses.¹³⁷ Within the native priesthood of South America the medicine-men are the more conspicuous, but medicine-women, too, occur.¹³⁸ Among the Karaya tribes about the Aragua river in Brazil, even women may attain the dignity of wizard-priests.¹³⁹ The conjurers of the Abipones are of both sexes,¹⁴⁰ and the same is reported concerning the Patagonians,¹⁴¹ whilst the office of medicine-man among the Araucanians "though generally usurped by males, does not appertain to them exclusively".¹⁴² Among the Yahgan Fuegians "both medicine-men and medicine-women existed and played an important part in the community".¹⁴³

We are informed that among the Gold Coast natives priestcraft is not confined to the male portion of the community: "an established order of priestesses, or fetish-women, still farther swell the ranks of these harpies."¹⁴⁴ In Ashanti they have also fetish-women,¹⁴⁵ and in Dahomey about a quarter of the female population may be classed under this order.¹⁴⁶ The medicine-men of the Lubuku may be women,¹⁴⁷ and among the Fan, too, women sometimes enjoy a certain authority as wizards.¹⁴⁸ In the Kafir tribes the seer's office may be filled by a female.¹⁴⁹ Bushmen magicians are of either sex.¹⁵⁰

Although women in general are by the shamanic peoples of north and north-western Siberia held as much inferior to men, there are, nevertheless, female shamans among them.¹⁵¹ In certain Tartar tribes men, women, and even young maidens are permitted to practise as shamans.¹⁵² The Yakut have both male and female shamans; the latter are even said to be more numerous, although less highly estimated than the former.¹⁵³ The Golds, also, on the Amur river, have female shamans.¹⁵⁴

, Among most of the Dyak tribes "there are five or six priests, and in some districts half the female population are included under the domination of priestesses".¹⁵⁵ In the Pacific Islands female priests are of no exceptional occurrence.¹⁵⁶ The Fijians have priestesses, although few of sufficient importance to have a temple as the priests have.¹⁵⁷ Eyre declares that in Central Australia women

are never sorcerers,¹⁵⁸ but from Spencer and Gillen we learn that women doctors, though of rare occurrence, are occasionally met with.¹⁵⁹

It is not rare to meet with statements from native races of women who occupy a very prominent priestly position in their tribe. Regarding the Bagobo in the Philippines it is said that they have an unorganized priesthood the members of which are called Mabalian, and that "men are not barred from this profession, but the greater number of its members are old or middle-aged women".¹⁶⁰ The witch-doctors of the Bechuana could be both men and women, but were more usually men; yet, one of the most noted that Dornan heard of in Mashonaland was a woman.¹⁶¹ Lindblom, similarly, states that among the Akamba, where female medicine-men were more rare than their male colleagues, he met one of the former sex enjoying a greater reputation than most of the men in the district.¹⁶² The shamanesses among the Yakut have greater might than the men, says Sumner. In general the female element has a very prominent rôle in sorcery amongst the Yakut.¹⁶³ It has been stated that in modern days the position of the female shaman among the native tribes in Siberia is sometimes even more important than that occupied by the male.¹⁶⁴

The priestly offices to which women seem principally to devote themselves are foretelling the future and healing diseases. In regard to the former art, as practised by the female sex, we read, for instance, that among the Nootka Indians, "old women are not without their traditional mysterious powers in matters of prophecy and witchcraft."¹⁶⁵ As regards the Aht, prophecy is represented as the particular department of their aged women.¹⁶⁶ In ancient Peru the old women commonly exercised the office of divination, especially those of certain provinces.¹⁶⁷ By the Kamchadale "every old woman is looked upon as a witch and interpreter of dreams".¹⁶⁸ In Aua island of North-Western Melanesia, there were formerly female magicians or witches who, among other functions, foretold the future. Their magic was apparently invariably of a beneficent nature.¹⁶⁹

Respecting the occurrence of female doctors, we are told that among the East African wizards, although they are of both sexes, the women generally confine themselves to the medical part of the profession.¹⁷⁰ The healing of wounds, as also in general all medical treatment, is among the Kafirs performed by women.¹⁷¹ Among the Ogowe river tribes women administer medicine and pharmacy.¹⁷² In Fezzan the medical practice is more particularly in the hands of old and experienced women.¹⁷³ The services of the medicine-women are among the Owimbundu in Angola preferred to those of the medicine-men in cases of difficult childbirth.¹⁷⁴ Female doctors seem to be more numerous than men among the Northern Californians.¹⁷⁵

The Karok doctors who had to diagnose cases of illness were mostly women.¹⁷⁶ In their complaints and disorders the Creek sometimes employ male, but more frequently female practitioners to attend them.¹⁷⁷ From Nicaragua we hear that the old women cured the sick.¹⁷⁸ This was also the case in the province of Chicora, where they had no other physicians, it is stated.¹⁷⁹ In the Koitapu tribe in New Guinea, who among their neighbours enjoy a great reputation for skill in the healing art, women are oftener called upon than men.¹⁸⁰ Among the Aua islanders there were formerly female magicians or witches who were consulted about illness and who foretold the future.¹⁸¹ In the Kiwai district women treat small wounds, men large ones. A woman who is used to frequent sexual intercourse with her husband cannot be asked to treat a sick person, for her mere presence might endanger his life.

On the whole, women are almost universally considered to be endowed with mysterious powers in a much higher degree than is the case with men. The wickedness of women is a subject "upon which the stronger sex among the Arabs, with an affected feeling of superior virtue, often dwell in common conversation. That women are deficient in judgment and good sense is held as a fact not to be disputed even by themselves, as it rests on an assertion of the Prophet; but that they possess a superior degree of cunning is pronounced equally certain and notorious. Their general depravity is declared to be much greater than that of men."¹⁸² In a description of Arabian life we read of a Moslem who had put away his wife, and subsequently declared with great lamentation that she had bewitched him in revenge. Such cases are said to be common in that region—the work of the *hareem*, or women, with their sly philters and maleficent drinks.¹⁸³ The Santal fear the malevolent propensities of their women, as is shown by the fact that the men "are particularly careful to keep their sacred knowledge from their wives for fear that they should acquire undue influence with the *bongas* (gods), become witches, and eat up the family with impunity when the protection of its gods has been withdrawn."¹⁸⁴ A similar observation occurs among certain Australians. From Central and South-Eastern Australia we hear that the sacred implements, by means of which the sorcerers work various spells, are specially kept concealed from the sight of women.¹⁸⁵ In Dahomey, where supposed spiritual power in women is very general, "the husband may not chastise or interfere with his wife whilst the fetish is upon her, and even at other times the use of the rod might be dangerous."¹⁸⁶

Such notions of the spiritual propensities of women account for the inclination, which is displayed by many peoples, to attribute witchcraft particularly to the female sex. In Greenland decrepit old women, especially, are thought to serve as Illiseersut, or malevolent sorcerers.¹⁸⁷ The Yurok and Karok in California "believe old

squaws can by witchcraft prevent the salmon from ascending the river, and in former times they not unfrequently slew by butchery murder the unfortunate hag so suspected".¹⁸⁸ In ancient Peru they had both sorcerers and witches, "but this profession was more commonly practised by women than men."¹⁸⁹ Women are the principal experts in sorcery in some parts of the territory of Papua, particularly in the eastern portion; but elsewhere the chief part is played by men.¹⁹⁰ With reference to Hottentot superstitions it has been stated that under the imputation of witchcraft "their old women, like ours, suffer more than any others".¹⁹¹ In the government of Tomsk in Southern Siberia native sorceresses who harm the people by witchcraft are much more numerous than male sorcerers.¹⁹² Among the Arabs, also, witches exceed the wizards in number.¹⁹³ In Europe, in olden times, women were more frequently accused of practising witchcraft than men.¹⁹⁴

If an Eskimo becomes ill, "the wife is often accused of working some harm on her husband in order that she may enjoy the favours of another."¹⁹⁵ Likewise in east Central Africa, among the Wawira, the wives of a deceased man are most often regarded as those guilty of his death, and therefore in case of death occurring to their husband the wives generally run away.¹⁹⁶ When a Gaul of rank died under suspicious circumstances, his relations had the wives examined in the manner adopted with slaves, and if proof was obtained, put them to severe torture and killed them.¹⁹⁷

In a few instances, some peoples who have both male and female priests, confine certain classes of priestly functions to one or other of the two sexes. Thus the ceremony of the Great Medicine Lodge among the Blackfoot Indians is invariably conducted by a woman.¹⁹⁸ In ancient Greece the oracles hallowed by Apollo were always delivered by a woman.¹⁹⁹ The Roman Vestals,²⁰⁰ the Peruvian Virgins of the Sun, the Mexican Maidens of Penance, and the Persian Sun Priestesses, of whom we have spoken in a previous chapter (pp. 196 *sq.*), illustrate a sacerdotal class whose office is held by females. From Africa, too, come occasional reports of priestesses displaying the type of Vestals.²⁰¹ From the Pelew Islands numerous classes of diviners are mentioned, one of which foretell future events from the fracture of cracked nuts; these are always of the male sex. There are also two classes who predict the future by invoking certain spirits, and these invariably consist of female diviners.²⁰² Among certain Indians of California, although in these tribes many women are honoured as shamans and prophetesses, none of the female sex are admitted to the medical profession, the privilege of quackery being reserved exclusively to the men.²⁰³

A singular priestly type met with among several native races is the one who attracts attention by assuming women's attire and

sometimes impersonating women by their manners and mode of conduct. There seems to be good foundation for the opinion that clothes are regarded in primitive societies as part of the wearer's person. Wearing the clothes that have been used by another transfers to the subsequent wearer the qualities of the former. The distinctive dress of each sex implies that the person wearing it is engaged in the occupations which are peculiar to it. It has been suggested that female disguise may be assumed by priests so as in some way to deceive evil spirits, the idea being the same as when bride and bridegroom exchange costumes after the wedding ceremony. Briffault explains the habit of priests dressing as women by alleging that magical power was originally associated with women and was regarded as essentially a woman's function.²⁰⁴

Concerning these anomalies Lewis states that in some primitive communities, what we should regard as pathological phenomena in the sexual sphere, are intimately related to religious activity. The "berdache" (French-Canadian "bardache") or "hermaphrodite" of popular speech, was a familiar figure in not a few American Indian tribes. According to all accounts anatomically a genuine male, he nevertheless affected the garb of a woman, mastered feminine accomplishments, in which he often excelled, and indulged in homosexual intercourse. The Crow at one time had relatively many of these psychiatric cases, and insisted that it was their nature to dress and act as they did. The Omaha believed that "berdaches" became such as a result of their first puberty quest of a vision. The moon would appear, holding in one hand the bow and arrows, symbolic of the warrior's life, and in the other the pack-strap used by women. By quickly crossing his hands, the visitant might deceive the visionary into grasping the badge of womanhood. In such a case he could not help acting the woman, speaking, dressing, and working just as Indian women used to do.²⁰⁵

The Dyak priesthood is said to include males and females and also "manang bali", or unsexed males. The "manang bali" is a most extraordinary character, and one difficult to describe: he is a male in female costume, which he will tell you he has adopted in obedience to a supernatural command, conveyed three separate times in dreams. Had he disregarded the summons he would have paid for it with his life. Before he can be permitted to assume female attire he is sexually disabled. Thenceforth he is treated in every respect like a woman and occupies himself with feminine pursuits. His chief aim in life is to copy female manners and habits so accurately as to be undistinguishable from women, and the more highly he succeeds in this, the more highly he is thought of. If he can induce any foolish young fellow to visit him at night and sleep with him, his joy is extreme. He sends him away at daybreak with a handsome present and then openly before women boasts of his

conquest, as he is pleased to call it. Episodes of this kind tend to show how successfully he has imitated the character of a woman, and he is highly gratified and rises, accordingly, in the estimation of the tribe as a perfect specimen. He may even take to himself a husband in order to render his assumed character more complete. This he can do only if he is rich, as nothing but the prospect of inheriting his wealth would ever induce a man to become his "husband". It is said that the "wife" proves a very jealous one and punishes every little infidelity.²⁰⁶ In the Kolmyck district the shamans of the Yakut put on woman's dress. They wear the hair long and comb and braid it as women do. According to the popular belief, any shaman of more than ordinary power can bear children like women.²⁰⁷

C. THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY

CHAPTER XIII

THEORY—INTRATRIBAL SLAVERY

In a previous chapter we have indicated that, according to our opinion, the various ranks and subdivisions into which many peoples in different stages of culture are divided, can be classified into three main orders, the nobility (or upper free class), the free commonalty, and the slaves. In some communities there are only two main ranks, in which case one of them consists of the common freemen and the other either of the nobility or the slave class.

The common free class can be looked upon as the perpetuation of the primordial social state where no class inequality has yet arisen. This central class in a way represents the level of social equilibrium, inasmuch as during the course of evolution its position in society has not on the whole changed either upwards or downwards. In comparison with the middle class slavery has originated through a process of differentiation downwards.

It is evident that even among nature peoples with a plurality of ranks the lowest class does not necessarily consist of slaves, but that the applicability of this term depends upon the social conditions characterizing the lowest class. In many cases it is very difficult to decide whether the nethermost layer of a community should be set down as slaves or not. As regards the use of the terms of "slave" and "slavery" one cannot by any means always be guided by the meaning in which travellers and other chroniclers of native peoples often employ them.

What can be regarded as an illustrative feature of slavery is that wherever it is found it constitutes the lowest class in the community. There does not exist a lower social grade in any scale of ranks than slavery, nor any term which would imply a lower stage as compared with the other social classes. On the other hand, slavery does not always and everywhere denote an identical level or type, but includes a considerable range of different degrees of existence. The conditions of the lowest class particularly varies among peoples of different economic culture. No uniform type characterizes the slave class any more than it does the middle class or the nobility. The position of the subjugated social layers, moreover, is frequently *de iure* different from what it is in real life, which adds to the difficulty of determining their nature.

In theoretical literature the opinions regarding the essential

attributes of slavery on the whole show a marked concordance. Most writers lay stress upon the *ownership* of the master with regard to his slave, other features being to a certain extent differently emphasized in the various definitions.

In his *Politics* Aristotle wrote that "a slave is a living possession", and that "he who is by nature not his own but another's and yet a man, is by nature a slave, and he may be said to belong to another".¹ Ancient Roman law, according to Sohm, declared a slave to be "a human being who is, legally, not a person but a thing. He is exposed to the arbitrary power of his master. His master owns him, has dominion over him, in other words, has power over the body of the slave. But a slave is none the less a bearer of a personality and was to some extent acknowledged as such by Roman law."² In like manner Jhering states that the power with which Roman law invested a person with respect to his slave made the latter the master's property.³ Puchta defines the conception of slavery in Roman jurisprudence as the unreserved subjugation of a person and his whole physical being under another, and his treatment exclusively as a medium for the master's aims into which his personality is entirely absorbed.⁴ With reference to ancient Hebrew rule Benzinger states that slaves were the property of their masters.⁵ Ingram is of opinion that "the essential character of slavery may be regarded as lying in the fact that the master was owner of the person of the slave, though the rights arising from such ownership might be variously limited".⁶ Nieboer regards slavery as the fact that one man is the property or possession of another.⁷ To Lippert the essence of slavery is the fact that a human being is the possession of another, however circumstances otherwise may vary.⁸ Letournesu, in like manner, regards the master's right as that of an owner towards any object owned by him,⁹ and of the same nature is the view of Tourmagne.¹⁰ Spencer, who traces the origin of slavery to captivity in war, points out that people taken by the enemy belong absolutely to their captors, who might have killed them and who retain the right afterwards to kill them if they please. They become property of which any use whatever may be made.¹¹ By Milner the term "slave" is used in the sense of "human being who is the property of another, like a chattel or a domestic animal".¹²

Westermarck, on the other hand, explains slavery as essentially an industrial institution, which implies compulsory labour beyond the limits of family relations. The master has a right to avail himself of the working power of his slave, without previous agreement on the part of the latter. Connected with such a right there are others which hardly admit of strict definition, or which belong to the master in some cases though not in all. He is entitled to claim obedience and to enforce this claim with more or less severity, but his authority is not necessarily absolute, and the restrictions imposed on it are not

everywhere the same.¹³ For our part we agree with Westermarck's observation that the common definition of slaves, as the property of their masters, is hardly accurate. It is true that even in the case of inanimate property the notion of ownership does not involve that the owner of a thing is always entitled to do with it whatever he likes ; a person may own a thing and yet be prohibited by law from destroying it. But it seems that the owner's right over his property, even when not absolute, is at all events exclusive, that is, that nobody but the owner has a right to the disposal of it. Now the master's right of disposing of his slave is not necessarily exclusive ; the latter himself is often by custom or law granted a certain amount of liberty, and in such a case his condition differs considerably from that of a piece of property.¹⁴

The idea of possession does not either seem to express the central conception of slavery, which lies in the compulsory nature of the slave's relation to his master. We regard slaves as an unfree class which, occupying the lowest rank in human communities, are more or less entirely subject to the power of their masters. In particular the master has the command of his slave as a worker. In social respects the slaves are almost entirely confined to their master's sphere of interest, an aim of existence of their own being at a minimum.

Nieboer has shown how the slave class must be kept distinct from certain other subjected elements of a people. One group which is occasionally confused with slaves are the women whose position among the lower races, as we have seen, frequently, although not always, implies a marked subjugation to the men. Several factors, however, make it manifest that a wife is never her husband's slave in the proper sense of the word, and that real slavery does not exist where there are none but female " slaves ". Nor do the children constitute any slave class under the heads of families or the elder people in general. The children are only temporarily subjected ; when coming of age they emancipate from their disabilities, and in the course of time they will become masters themselves. We cannot either regard an entire tribe or people as the slaves of the ruler. However great his power may be, the whole body of his subjects cannot be set down as his slaves. A ruler is never as such a master of slaves. Slaves cannot form the only class in a community embodying the whole population. The conception of slavery cannot be determined as such, but only in relation to a class of freemen, and slavery presupposes the existence of a free class.¹⁵

Another related instance is offered by degraded tribes or remnants of such which, living by themselves, occupy a position of vassalage under some neighbouring people. Such cases, representing very varying conditions, are numerous in different parts of the world,¹⁶ but they do not imply slavery in the real meaning.

Generally the members of such pariah tribes are bound to perform some kind of labour for other tribes or for the members of the latter or they are tributary to their masters.

Nieboer has moreover investigated the geographical distribution of slavery and has shown how common this institution is or has been. As regards the occurrence of slavery within different economic cultures, it is met with to a limited extent only among peoples who live on hunting and fishing. Out of eighty-three hunting and fishing tribes examined by Nieboer, of which he has been able to form a definite opinion, slavery occurs among eighteen, whereas sixty-five are without slaves. The keeping of slaves must be very difficult to hunters. Hunting presupposes a nomadic life ; and the hunter who roams over vast tracts of land in pursuit of his game has not much opportunity to watch the movements of his slave who may be apt to run away at any moment. And if the slave himself is set to hunt, the difficulty amounts almost to impossibility. The hunting slave will be so much more inclined to run away, as there is little difficulty for him to support himself. Hunting requires the utmost application of strength and skill ; therefore a compulsory hunting system cannot exist. Nor is there among hunting tribes any demand of slaves for performing household work. Fishing tribes find it easier to hold slaves. These tribes are not necessarily so nomadic as hunters, more domestic work is to be done, the slaves cannot so easily escape, and they may be used to row the boat.

Nieboer's investigations include twenty-two pastoral tribes, out of which eleven keep slaves and eleven not. His inference is that pastoral tribes have no strong motives for making slaves. The demand for labour is small ; therefore, even if free labour were not available, only a few slaves would be wanted. On the other hand, there are no causes preventing them from keeping slaves. These tribes are, so to speak, in a state of equilibrium ; a small additional cause on either side turns the balance.¹⁷

In a relative sense slavery is most developed among agricultural tribes. Nieboer has examined 219 such tribes, and of these 133 keep slaves, eighty-six not. The author concludes that slavery is by no means incompatible with agriculture, but that the existence of plantation work among savage tribes does not necessarily lead to the keeping of slaves. It appears that the more agriculture is developed the more frequent slavery becomes.¹⁸

Many other writers have dwelt upon the question of the rise of slavery as influenced by economic developments. Peschel argues that hunting tribes, who must constantly exert all their skill in order to subsist, have no use for slaves. Among fishing tribes the conditions are somewhat different, and there, occasionally, slaves are met with.¹⁹ According to Oppenheimer the nomad is the inventor of slavery, and thereby has created the seedling of the state, the first

exploitation of man by man. The huntsman, he argues, carries on war and takes captives ; but does not make them slaves, as they would be of no use to him. The idea of using a human being as a labour motor could only come about on an economic plane on which a body of wealth has developed, call it capital, which can be increased only with the assistance of dependent labour forces. This stage is first reached by the herdsman. The forces of one family, lacking outside assistance, suffice to hold together a herd of very limited size, and to protect it from attacks of beasts of prey or human enemies. In view of the demand of labour the developed nomad spares his captured enemy ; he can use him as a slave on his pasture. The economic basis of the state is the exploitation of human labour. Henceforth economic differentiation and the formation of social classes progress rapidly.²⁰ Thurnwald, too, believes that slavery has arisen among pastoral peoples out of captivity in war.²¹

Most ethnologists, however, associate the origin of and development of slavery with that of agriculture and fixed habitations. In such wise Groves points out that slavery, of course, could not appear before culture had reached the point in its development that made enforced labour profitable. Tribes that obtained their food by hunting could make little use of slavery. The slave was not much better adapted to the conditions of life maintained by pastoral peoples. It was the agricultural form of production that made slavery profitable. The slave could be driven to carry on the unattractive and toilsome tasks of clearing ground and planting seed, reaping and gathering the harvest. Among agricultural people slavery proves an effective way of getting work done.²² Bogardus argues that under nomadism and earlier forms of human existence the food supply was so small and uncertain, and life so migratory that it was usually necessary to kill captives taken in war. With the rise of agriculture it was better to enslave captives than to kill them. "It was wiser to put captives to work than to death."²³ Mentioning that there is little place for slavery in the hunting economy, nor among pastoral tribes, Sumner and Keller maintain that with the fuller utilization of land through tillage the whole situation as respects slave-labour and slavery is altered from what went before. It is laborious, monotonous, and uninteresting ; where it is typical woman's work, it is thought to be demeaning to man. The motives leading to enslavement were all firmly rooted in self-interest. Hard labours were particularly thought suitable to impose upon a defeated adversary.²⁴ Babcock's opinion is that "slavery developed under agricultural auspices and soon came to include war prisoners, weaker individuals, criminals, etc. Thus hoe culture became really agriculture, while slavery became more common."²⁵ Certain other writers, too, parallel the origin of slavery with the development of agriculture and sedentary habits.²⁶

There also appears a tendency to combine the earliest slavery with the first development of industrial work. In the absence of industrial activity, Spencer states, slaves are almost useless, and, indeed, where game is scarce, are not worth their food. But where, as among fishing tribes, captives can be of use, or where the pastoral and agricultural stages have been reached, there arises a motive for sparing the lives of conquered men.²⁷ Together with the development of field labour Babcock mentions weaving as a description of manual work which has conduced to the growth of slavery.²⁸ Hayes' theory is that the enslaving of men from an economic motive could not take place on a considerable scale until industry was somewhat advanced. The author states that conquered men were occasionally kept alive in that early stage of development when industry was still almost exclusively the affair of women, and a part of the degradation of the slave was that he was set at women's work. This tended to lighten the labours and improve the status of woman among the conquerors. Industrial toil from having been the lot of women became the lot of the conquered, and slavery became a basis of social castes.²⁹

When examining the origin of slavery among different peoples we become aware of several concomitant circumstances which may cause a person to lose his freedom. These various sources of slavery may be divided into two main groups, in conformity with our previous classification of the different factors which have conduced to the first beginnings of social inequality. On the one hand, slavery is the result of an intratribal process of disintegration which has led to the subjugation of certain less fitted elements of the people. On the other hand, servitude has arisen in consequence of the amalgamation of different tribes, generally through conquest. We will first examine the sources of enslavement as taking place within the various tribes, i.e. those cases when the slaves belong to the same ethnical stock as their masters.

As regards the varying forms of intratribal slavery we can distinguish between two principal groups of causes through which a person can be reduced to bondage. A man who is unable to pay his debt to another may in certain cases be made a slave by his creditor. And, analogically, a man who has committed a crime may in certain circumstances forfeit his freedom.

We learn from many peoples in different parts of the world that a debtor who is incapable of fulfilling his liabilities to another can be appropriated by his creditor as his bondsman or sold by him.³⁰

The causes of insolvency naturally vary much among one and the same and still more among different peoples. Famine and need are generally stated to be the commonest factors which drive the destitute into dependence on the rich. Among many barbarous

peoples money-lending has assumed remarkably regulated forms, and the exorbitant interest which in many cases is usual make payment of a debt wellnigh impossible. In such circumstances a person can be compelled to jeopardize his freedom for the sake of his mere subsistence. In Siam, for instance, the debt-bondage arises from the heavy rate of interest that is given for loans ; as much as six per cent. a month is sometimes charged for the first three months, after which time the rate is reduced to three per cent.³¹ The old Dyak law concerning debts was that a man who borrowed rice from another must pay double that amount at the next harvest. If therefore a debtor had a succession of bad harvests, his debt would become so great that he could never hope to pay it off. He and his family would have to become slaves in payment of it.³² With regard to the Angkola Batak of Sumatra, it is said to have been no uncommon thing for a man and all his family to be sold to discharge a debt, the principal of which, only two years before, was but a single dollar.³³ Among the natives of Mindanao usury was very flourishing, and more than half the members of the slaves consisted of insolvent debtors.³⁴ From Luzon, too, a prospering system of usury is reported. A debtor's relations are held answerable for his liabilities in a certain established order, beginning from his nearest kinsman. In the most pitiable state are the orphans of a poor native who has died in a protracted illness ; hundreds of such wretches are sold annually.³⁵

The indebtedness of the people of Siam, which is the principal cause of more than one-third of the population being in bondage, arise from different causes of which one is said to be heavy taxation.³⁶

One important contributive cause of poverty among nature peoples is the indolent improvidence which appears as one of their chief characteristics. Savages are generally said to live from hand to mouth, without a thought of the morrow. Closely connected with this general carelessness appears the gambling habit, which seems to be a widespread passion among many peoples in the nature state and which is often referred to as a cause of indebtedment and slavery. So strong is the propensity for gambling, it is said, with reference to all the Indian tribes in the vicinity of Puget Sound and Okonagan, that after parting with all their movable property, they will go so far as to stake their wives and children, and lastly even themselves for years of slavery.³⁷ It was not a rare occurrence for a freedman among the Chinook to subject himself voluntarily to servitude in payment of a gambling-debt.³⁸ According to Hindu law one of the many categories of slaves consisted of persons who had staked themselves on the issue of a game of chance.³⁹ In China the ranks of slaves is also recruited from the families of gamblers, whose losses not infrequently compel them to sell their children.⁴⁰ In Siam, too, gambling is mentioned as one of the causes of slavery.⁴¹ Of the ancient Teutons Tacitus writes, " What is extraordinary, is that they play

at dice, when sober, as a serious business : and that with such a desperate venture of gain or loss, that, when everything else is gone, they set their liberties and persons on the last throw. The loser goes into voluntary servitude and although the youngest and strongest, patiently suffers himself to be bound and sold.”⁴²

Tribal custom in frequent cases contributes to cause poverty and slavery by imposing burdensome duties on different individuals and families. A very obligatory duty of this kind is, for instance, the necessity of celebrating the departure of a member of the family by a large burial feast as prescribed by religion and tribal rule, and there are reports of people who have been brought to slavery through having to defray the expense of such a festival. Regarding the Gold Coast natives, for example, it is said that “ even death, which might be supposed calculated to terminate the family responsibility, becomes an active enslaver, on account of the expensive obsequies which it is considered the chief point of honour to perform ”.⁴³ Among the slaves in certain islands of the East Indian archipelago were persons who had contracted debts in order to pay the burial of their parents.⁴⁴ According to a rule of the Yoruba people in West Africa, a man who causes the ordinary funeral rites to be performed over another, thereby becomes responsible for all the debts of the deceased, unless he first obtains permission from the creditors. The creditors nearly always consent to the relations becoming collectively responsible for the discharge of the debt ; but if they refuse permission, and no one is willing to accept the responsibility, the corpse is placed on a raised platform outside the town and remains there till the debt is paid. This seldom occurs, except in the case of a stranger, as the omission to bury reflects the greatest disgrace upon the family concerned.⁴⁵

The position of an insolvent debtor, who has been handed over to his creditor, naturally varies much under different circumstances. In some cases he becomes a slave whose standing more or less equals that of other slaves among the same people. In other cases his new master contents himself with making him work for the former until the debt is paid or the obligation has otherwise been discharged. In such a case the debtor occupies the position of a pawn, and his unfree state is only temporary. As soon as he has fulfilled his liabilities he must be released. The status of an ordinary slave, on the other hand, does not as a rule presuppose any redemption. In most cases, too, the treatment of these two classes of bondsmen is different, that of the pawn generally being much more lenient. It is, however, very difficult to maintain a strict distinction between pawns and such real slaves who have lost their freedom in consequence of debt.

In certain cases the pawn has to be delivered over to the creditor

at the contraction of the debt for which he forms the security. In other cases such a security is claimed by the creditor when the debtor has for a certain term neglected to fulfil his part of the contract, or, again, the creditor may demand a hostage if the debt, including interest or other charges, has grown to the customary value of a slave.⁴⁶

It is by no means always that an insolvent debtor pawns himself and his working power to his creditor. If he has some other person at his command, it is very usual for him to satisfy his creditor by making over to him some dependant of his for a pawn. We read, for instance, in a description of the social and economic conditions among African tribes that "it is sometimes a peculiar African way of paying debts by the labour of slaves who become thus pawned".⁴⁷ Among certain African peoples, as the Suaheli, a slave can be handed over to his master's creditor as a pawn only by his own consent.⁴⁸

Besides slaves, we find in different parts of the world frequent instances of fathers pawning their children and husbands their wives. In certain cases other relations, as well, and even wards, who are under the control or guardianship of some person, may be used by him as hostages for his debts.⁴⁹ Among certain peoples, however, a man's right to pawn his wife or his children is subject to certain restrictions. It is of frequent occurrence, too, for men to pawn themselves. Cases of either of these forms of pawning are reported from a great many slave-holding peoples.⁵⁰

In the same way as, among uncivilized races, insolvency in general is occasionally said to be caused by the necessity of celebrating the death of a near relative by a great feast, so we learn that the same duty in certain cases compels persons to pawn themselves in order to obtain the requisite means for such a festival. In Ashanti, for instance, many poor persons, on the death of the head of their family, have been obliged to become pawn to others, in order to obtain sufficient money to meet the unavoidable expense.⁵¹

In ancient Mexico, when poverty forced parents to surrender a child into bondage, it was common for the parents, with the master's consent, to substitute others of their children successively, as they grew up; thus distributing the burden as equally as possible among the different members of the family.⁵²

In Nuas a creditor had to obtain the assent of the village council, if he wanted to make an insolvent debtor his pawn, after the amount of the debt had grown to the value of a slave.⁵³ A similar sanction by the tribal council was needed in the island of Ternate.⁵⁴

Not always, however, does the pawn come into the possession of the creditor; among certain peoples it happens that he is taken over by another person, who liquidates the debt and keeps the debtor as a hostage until his claim has been discharged. From Bali we hear

that a pawned debtor was occasionally handed over to the highest bidder who remunerated the original creditor ; after that the pawn could gain his liberty, if he refunded the money which had been paid for him.⁵⁵ So, also, among the aboriginal tribes of Central Celebes, it occasionally happens that a pawn is redeemed by some person for whom he thenceforth has to work.⁵⁶ Among the Barito river natives of Borneo we find insolvent debtors who are the servants of the chief or some wealthy member of the upper classes ; these have paid the original debt and retain the debtor as a pawn.⁵⁷ If a debtor among the Washambala cannot meet his liabilities, the creditor may pawn his property and even his wife and children. The parties betake themselves before the chief, who pays the debt, after which the effects are returned, but the debtor is considered the chief's slave until he has worked off the indebtedness.⁵⁸ In respect of slavery for debt there was no privileged class among the Singhalese ; it was a punishment to which all insolvent debtors were liable. It was not usual, however, for members of the highest ranks to become the slaves of people of low caste. When in danger of this degradation, some chief generally paid the debt and made the debtor his slave.⁵⁹

It is said, with reference to the Banaha in Bapuku as well as the natives of S. Leone, that if a debtor belonged to another tribe, the creditor could seize some other member of that tribe and keep him until redemption followed.⁶⁰

A particular category of pawns consists of men who have been unable to pay the price of a bride coveted by them, and who in order to obtain possession of the girl, pledge themselves to work for her father. What is said of the patriarch Jacob may, says Benzinger, have occurred among the ancient Hebrews in frequent other cases, too. A suitor who was unable to pay the purchase-money demanded for the bride, would voluntarily hire himself as a slave for a fixed time to the father of the girl.⁶¹ Among the Limbu in India the poverty of the bridegroom often renders it necessary for him to remain with his wife's father for some time, to whom he becomes a slave until by his work he has redeemed his bride.⁶² Even if a bridegroom among the Koryak in Kamtchatka be very rich in reindeer, he is obliged to serve three or four years for his bride.⁶³ In the former kingdom of Quiché, in Guatemala, " whenever a young man wishes to marry, he was bound to serve the parents of his intended wife for a certain time, and make them stipulated presents ; but if they afterwards rejected his proposals, they were compelled to return the things received, and serve him an equal number of days."⁶⁴ If among the Lebcha tribe in Nepal a man is too poor to pay the bride-price, " he is often allowed to marry, as it were, on credit ; but the bride does not leave her father's house, and the husband goes to live with her and work for his father-in-law until the full amount has been made up."⁶⁵ When a young Yurok or Potawat

Indian "cannot wait to collect the amount of shell-money demanded for his intended bride by her father, he is sometimes allowed to pay half the sum and become what is termed 'half-married'. Instead of bringing her to his cabin and making her his slave, he goes to live in *her* cabin and becomes *her* slave. This only occurs in the case of soft, uxorious fellows." ⁶⁶ It is customary in the former Bismarck archipelago that if a young man does not possess sufficient shell-money to buy a bride, his relatives or the chief advance the bride-price. After that the young pair work for the creditor, until the amount is paid. ⁶⁷ Among the Kiwai Papuans, too, a boy who is unable to pay his father-in-law the bride-price in any of the usual ways, is sometimes allowed to make it up by working for him, particularly if the latter is an old man. ⁶⁸

It is said not unfrequently to happen in Africa that a person may become the bond-slave of a master who possesses many females, in order to get a wife from him. ⁶⁹

The status and treatment of pawns is naturally subject to great variations among different peoples. As a rule, however, the master's power over his pawn is much restricted in comparison with that over an ordinary slave. From different peoples we gather that the lot of temporary debtor-slaves is not considered a particularly hard one. Thus, in lower Congo, when persons have been delivered for debt, their condition is "not worse than before, and they are indifferent as to their ownership. The only claim on them is on part of their earnings, which in any case they would have to make over to somebody or other." ⁷⁰ Among the Gold Coast natives the master to whom a negro has obliged himself, "keeps him in all necessities, setting him a sort of task which is not in the least slavish, being chiefly to defend his master on occasion, and in sowing-time to work as much as he himself pleases." ⁷¹ The human pawn in an Ashanti family occupied a place somewhere midway between that held by a free man and a slave. ⁷² The situation of a pawn in the province of Bihé in South-West Africa greatly differs from that of a purchased slave. The master is not permitted to mark him with the branding-iron, as he does with an ordinary slave, nor to sell him, and he must set him at liberty as soon as redeemed. In rare cases only are pawns subject to the humiliation of bodily chastisement. ⁷³ Among the hill tribes of Chittagong in India the condition of pawns "was very little different indeed from that of free people". ⁷⁴ Debtor-slaves among certain tribes in Borneo are "very well treated, and regarded as members of the family", states a chronicler; "indeed, had I not been informed of the relation in which they stood, I should never have guessed it from the behaviour of the masters." ⁷⁵ Minors hired for servitude may, according to Mohammedan law, annul the contract on attaining majority. ⁷⁶

In other cases the conditions of pawns are stated as being much

worse. Occasionally it is asserted that the master of such a slave may treat him in whatever way he likes,⁷⁷ or that he may handle him in the same manner as he would any ordinary slave.⁷⁸

If a woman has been pawned, her new master, in certain cases, has the right to make her his concubine.⁷⁹ Still oftener, particularly among African tribes, we meet with the rule that a child born whilst its mother is pawned—in some cases the master's own child—becomes a pawn to him as well and needs to be redeemed if it is to become free.⁸⁰ Among the Barito river natives in Borneo the debt of a pawn may be increased by the birth of a child. A month after the birth 10 guilders is charged. As soon as the child is full-grown and until it is fit for labour, the debt is increased by the addition of the estimated amount for the expenses of his education. Then the bodily strength, the personal appearance, ability, etc., are taken into account, and the debt grows in proportion to these qualities of the child; for the more satisfactory these are, the more probable it is that the debtor slave will be sold for a considerable price. The unmarried owner is entitled to an unmarried female pawn as his concubine, giving her, however, a small present.⁸¹

The position of a human pawn is always very precarious, and many circumstances may contribute to reduce the chances of his redemption. It is, for instance, usual among many peoples, who keep pawn-slaves, that the value of the work performed by pawns is not taken into account towards the amortization of their debt, but is only reckoned to make up for the interest due, or that, in addition to the principal, interest has to be paid, and in such cases generally at a high rate of usury. Among the natives of the Gold Coast and neighbouring districts, for instance, the terms of the pawning contract are said to be "that the pawn shall serve his new master until such time as the person pawning him shall make good the sum lent, with 50 per cent. interest; the services of the pawn, even if they should extend over a great number of years, counting for nothing in the liquidation of the debt."⁸² In Ashanti the services of the pawn "were deemed to be in lieu of interest, as long as the pawn remained with the creditor. Interest was also due as soon as a pawn left his master without authority and returned home, but on the death of a pawn it did not begin to run until a year had expired."⁸³ Among the Singhalese,⁸⁴ the hill tribes of Chittagong⁸⁵ and some Tibetan tribes⁸⁶ the labour of pawns is said to be counted merely as a set-off for the interest of the sum due. In certain islands of the East Indian archipelago the produce of the labour of pawns is regarded only as a compensation for their subsistence and clothing, in other cases as interest on their debt.⁸⁷

From certain tribes in Borneo we learn that the amount of a pawn's debt increases in consequence of the fines by which the master punishes neglect or disobedience on this part. The original debt is

further augmented by laying to his charge the value of the tools broken in his hands.⁸⁸

The pawning system does not only conduce to the bondage of a debtor or his substitute but tends to extend this fate over an ever increasing group of persons as well, the relatives of the former. Among certain negro tribes in Guiana a pawn is sold in case of non-payment of a debt within the prescribed time, and if the amount realized does not cover the debt, the creditor retains a right to the debtor's family for the remainder.⁸⁹ If among the Washambala a debtor cannot liquidate an obligation, his property and also his wife and children are pawned, and in the case of a large debt his brothers and other close relatives as well may be reduced to the same plight.⁹⁰ Among certain tribes in Dekkan the son of a debtor-pawn has to take his father's place at the death of the latter.⁹¹ The same constitutes a Hindu rule. The debtor's wife does not become the creditor's pawn, but in the event of no male of his family remaining, the females must discharge the debt by money or service. In some parts of the Kanura and Mysore country, it is customary to enslave even the posterity of a debtor, if belonging to a very low caste.⁹² In the native tribes of the Barito district in Borneo the unpaid debts of a pawn pass to his descendants at his death, these being placed in the same condition as their father until their debts are paid off.⁹³ When, in Nias, the debt of a pawn, after several respites, exceeds the value of a slave, his children, as well, are seized. It has happened that a father and his children have become slaves for an original debt of no higher value than that of a fathom-length of brass wire.⁹⁴

Certain tribes know of appropriate methods for coercing the relatives of a pawn to discharge his obligations or to take these upon themselves. One instance is given in the regulation among certain Gold Coast tribes, that at the death of a person whilst in pawn, his or her relatives cannot take away the body for the purpose of burial till they have paid redemption money. To this a compromise is sometimes made by allowing whoever buries the body to be security for the debt.⁹⁵ According to a parallel statement from Guinea, a dead pawn is not permitted to be buried; as these negroes attach the utmost importance to an honourable burial, the dead person thus exposed will be redeemed immediately, if it is at all possible for the family to do so.⁹⁶

Various circumstances of the above description give the explanation of the very general rule that pawned debtors find it impossible ever to be redeemed. On the whole, there is the distinct peril, constantly hovering over pawns and people in a similar plight, of becoming enslaved for ever, thus passing over to the unfree class of individuals who unconditionally have been made slaves on account of debt. This is particularly the case, for instance, when

pawns are being sold, for the purchaser generally does not feel himself under any obligation as respects the circumstances in which his slave has primarily forfeited his freedom. According to a rule said to be general in Africa, if a person cannot promptly redeem the relatives which he has pawned, he may find them sold.⁹⁷ A Gold Coast native, who has pawned his child or some other relative, may find himself unable to meet his engagement within the time prescribed ; then the pawn may become a virtual slave. The same may happen with himself personally, if he has pawned himself and cannot discharge his obligation. He becomes a slave, though he expects to be called by the less humiliating term of pawn.⁹⁸ Cruickshank, who had spent eighteen years in that same region of Africa, wrote regarding the conditions there, " We have always regarded this system of pawning as much worse than actual slavery, and we have seen but too many of its victims irrecoverably reduced to perpetual bondage." ⁹⁹ " As it frequently happens," it is said regarding the pawning system of lower Kongo, " that payment is delayed, or even impossible, these dependents remain all their life under the authority of the new master." ¹⁰⁰ According to Singhalese custom a debtor could not be sold, but if he died, leaving his children in bondage, they and their children might be sold.¹⁰¹ In certain native tribes of Malacca it often happens that pawns " not only never clear the original debt, but by degrees add to it ; and thus become virtually slaves themselves, and their offspring for ever." ¹⁰²

Insolvent debtors may in certain circumstances be immediately reduced to real slavery, without any such proviso in the matter of redemption as characterizes pawning. Owing to the ambiguity of the reports it is, however, often very difficult to determine which among cases stated in literature imply pawning and which irrevocable slavery. Particularly when a debtor or his substitute is sold at once, if unable to discharge his obligation, we can, however, generally regard them as reduced to unconditional slavery.

The selling of persons into definite slavery generally takes place under the same conditions as does pawning. It is as a rule the same group of people who are reduced to bondage in either case. According to the procedure said to be general in Africa, a destitute man who wants to obtain economic easement by selling dependents, first pays over his slaves, next his inferior wives, after that his sisters and his daughters, then his brothers, and then his father and mother.¹⁰³ On the verge of starvation men may try to purchase some relief in their misery by giving up their own liberty, too. Instances of selling people in slavery, in the varying forms in which this custom enacts itself, are frequent in slave-holding countries generally.¹⁰⁴ The selling, like the pawning, of wives, children,

and other near relatives, is restricted by law or custom among certain peoples.

Chroniclers emphasize that the selling of a close blood-relation does not by any means always ensue from lack of affection ; it is often the outcome of a choice between death by starvation and bondage, an option which cannot cause much hesitation, particularly where the unfree state is a lenient one.¹⁰⁵ "Parents have been known to exchange their children for goods and food—especially food," is the characteristic remark of an investigator among the Sakalava in Madagascar.¹⁰⁶ An opposite instance is contained in a report from the Tangale in northern Nigeria of "children selling their parents for a sack of corn".¹⁰⁷ It is true that in other cases the motives of selling near relatives are of quite a different kind. Among the Kirghiz, for instance, there are found youthful slaves who have "been sold by their parents for a pound of tobacco or a glass of spirits".¹⁰⁸

The other main category of intratribal slavery, as we have mentioned previously, comprises those who have been enslaved by way of punishment for crimes.

Among primitive peoples the community as a whole does not intervene in all criminal cases, but in the first place only in those of a directly antisocial character. Controversies of a more personal nature are mostly left to be fought out by the persons concerned, oftentimes assisted by their followers. Much noise is invariably caused by these quarrels, not seldom bloodshed. Sometimes, as in cases of adultery or other grave offences, the lives of the persons involved may be at stake in the outbursts of passion and brutality.

The excitable and vindictive nature of savages makes the killing of a culprit a common form of punishment in such cases, also, when the verdict is pronounced on behalf of the community. The principle of retaliation expressed in the rule "blood for blood", particularly demands the life of the criminal in cases of murder, but capital punishment is a very usual reaction against other grave crimes as well. There is a natural inclination to ascribe to the injured party, in the first hand, the right to the culprit's life. Unquestionably, the assassination of a hated wrong-doer is adapted to satisfy the desire of revenge felt by his ill-treated opponent, but the insight must have arisen early in the latter's mind that, by taking the life of his antagonist, he deprives himself of a tenure of value, as in any case the person of the latter is at his disposal. No material compensation whatever ensues from the killing of the delinquent, and it must soon occur to the wronged man that much greater advantage is to be gained by utilizing the value represented by the culprit himself. It is evidently such calculations which have

led to the enslavement of criminals. That the latter form of punishment is to be regarded as an alternative to their execution appears from the fact that, in many cases, *either death or slavery* is stated to be the fate of convicted criminals.

In other cases indemnification of a crime is attained, not by enslaving the perpetrator but by claiming compensation, in the first place, from himself. It seems probable that sparing the life of criminals and exacting retribution in the more sober form of recompense, not by barely damaging the enemy, has originated in the case of crimes, particularly murders, *within* the same community. The desire to make the criminal suffer cruelty is less if he is a member of one's own tribe, and one does not wish, by taking his life, to add to the loss which the community has already suffered.

The fine imposed upon a delinquent in the first place purports indemnification of the harm done. But it appears probable that in certain cases the idea of redeeming the person of the culprit is contemplated. Such a view seems to be borne out by the instances when an offender can free himself from responsibility by substituting one or more dependants of his to suffer the penalty of enslavement instead of himself. Examples of such practices are given in another connection a little further on.

From a great many peoples we learn that criminals are punished by slavery. This may happen as the issue of a public trial, by selling the culprit, or in other ways; in some cases he is delivered over to the plaintiff, in other cases he becomes the slave of the chief; occasionally slavery is the penalty of repeatedly committed offences.¹⁰⁹ The usual crimes causing a person to forfeit his or her liberty are generally stated to be murder, robbery, theft, adultery, sorcery, offence against the chief, etc.

If the life of a culprit is spared, the commutation of a death penalty takes the form of either enslaving him or exacting a fine from him. These two latter forms of punishment can generally be regarded as co-ordinated, and we find that in very similar circumstances one or other of them is put in practice. It seems to be a universal rule that the particular form of punishment or compensation in a criminal case is determined according to the utility accruing to the party interested. An illustrative instance of such motives deciding the fate of a culprit is given by the Marave tribe in East Africa. If among these natives a thief, who has been caught in the act, pays redemption money, he is set free, otherwise he is sold as a slave. But should he be too old to be of any value, the punishment takes the form of his execution.¹¹⁰

The same guiding principle, that of the best possible advantage, gives probably in most cases the explanation why the punishment of the same crime is frequently subject to great variations among

the same people. Thus, in certain tribes on the Niger, "adultery is punishable almost at the will of the injured husband, who can demand compensation from the paramour, sell him into slavery, or even kill him."¹¹¹ Among the Bakalai tribe in equatorial Africa, a faithful wife is said to be an unheard-of thing; "the crime of adultery with a head-wife, however, is considered a very serious misdemeanour, for which the offender may be heavily fined if he is rich, sold into slavery if he is poor, or perhaps killed."¹¹² The Sakalave in Madagascar generally deliver a murderer over to his victim's family, who may kill him, reduce him to slavery, or compel him to pay a heavy fine.¹¹³ It is a rule among certain nature tribes in Sumatra, that he who is able to pay the indemnity for murder, must satisfy the relations of the deceased; he who is unable, must suffer death. "But the avarice of the relatives generally prefer selling the body of the delinquent for what his slavery will fetch them, to the satisfaction of seeing the murder revenged by the public execution of the culprit."¹¹⁴

When a delinquent is offered the chance to buy his freedom, the redemption money represents the alternative to the right of either the community or the injured party to dispose of his person, i.e. make him a slave. If the price is not forthcoming, this right of the community or of the plaintiff comes into operation. There are instances from different parts of the world showing that inability to pay the fine imposed by the laws of a country causes a criminal to be enslaved.¹¹⁵ Referring to the conditions among the Gold Coast natives Cruickshank states that crimes, offences, and misdemeanours of every description are punishable entirely by fine, except in cases of actual murder, which explains the extraordinary amount of slavery in these parts, ensuing from the covetous spirit of their laws.¹¹⁶ Magyar writes regarding the Kimbunda in South Africa that they have no written laws and that traditional practice is often arbitrarily interpreted by the influential people, in most cases to the disadvantage of the subjected elements, while punishment always consists of heavy fines; "hence we do not need to wonder that nearly half of the nation is sold as slaves to the other half."¹¹⁷

A similar situation arises in the case of an offender being unable to pay the compensation demanded by the injured party; the guilty person in this case also becomes a slave.¹¹⁸ Thus, in Loango, a person who is caught in the act of stealing is condemned to become the slave of the person he has robbed, unless he can make it up with him, by furnishing him with a slave in kind or value. A seducer becomes the slave of him whom he has outraged, at least unless he is rich enough to ransom himself.¹¹⁹ It is said that on the Gold Coast even the smallest theft is punished by slavery, if the wronged man refuses to accept a gift by way of recompense.¹²⁰ Among the

Marea in East Africa a thief who has been caught can redeem himself by heavy payment, otherwise he is made a serf.¹²¹ In the Shan state of Zimmé, if a theft is proved, three times the value of the article is decreed to the owner ; and if not paid, the offender, after suffering imprisonment in irons, is made over with his family, to be dealt with as in cases of debt.¹²² According to old Dyak law people who were careless enough to set a house on fire rendered themselves liable to become the slaves of those who were burnt out. The damage done by their carelessness would be too great for them to compensate, so they would become slaves for debt.¹²³ In ancient Rome, if a theft " appeared incapable of expiation, or if the thief was not in a position to pay the value demanded by the injured party and approved by the judge, he was by the judge assigned as a bondsman to the person from whom he had stolen ".¹²⁴ Instances like those above show the great similarity between enslaving an offender who cannot pay indemnity to the person wronged by him, and enslaving a debtor unable to discharge his obligations.

In Loango there exists a regulation according to which a man becomes another person's slave simply by inflicting some slight injury on him, and this rule is said sometimes intentionally to be made use of by a would-be slave himself. Thus, a person who is unable to wreak his vengeance upon some more powerful enemy, will go to the chief and proclaim himself his slave, at the same time striking him a blow or tearing his cap. He becomes a slave to the chief and can thenceforth reckon with enough support to satisfy his vindictiveness.¹²⁵

In Ashanti the term *akyere* means a slave who instead of suffering immediate capital punishment for some offence of which he has been found guilty, was held over till his unhappy services were required. Meanwhile such a condemned person continued his usual occupations and was sometimes kept waiting for death for many years. He became perhaps married and obtained children, and his children " inherited the liability of their ancestor to suffer capital punishment at any moment, and helped to swell a reserve of potential funeral victims ".¹²⁶

It happens not infrequently that offenders who are unable to pay the fine imposed upon them by the community or the indemnification claimed by the person injured by them, are not enslaved at once, but are granted a certain respite, and until the amount is paid they serve the injured party as a pawn. In this practice we meet with a remarkable instance of discharging fines or compensation dues by means of pawn-slavery. Pawns working off charges imposed upon them on account of offences which they have committed are in a position very similar to that of pawned debtors. Instances of pawning in connection with atonement for crimes occur among a considerable number of peoples. With

reference to African methods of punishment, Post states that should a culprit be unwilling or unable to pay a fine imposed upon him, he is in certain cases placed in servitude until such a time as the debt is considered liquidated. In other cases he may be definitely enslaved at once.¹²⁷ With regard to murder, the Ojibway Indians maintained the rule "blood for blood", but occasionally a murderer and his relatives were several years making payment, consisting of clothing, kettles, skins, fire-water, and a horse. "This is, in fact, a sort of servitude; for the murderer is not his own, having to exert himself until the injured parties are satisfied."¹²⁸ In Nicaragua "a thief had his hair cut off, and became a slave to the person that had been robbed till he was satisfied; he might be sold or played away, but not released without the consent of the cazique."¹²⁹ Among the Malaba Indians theft was at times punished by taking from the thief double what he had stolen, which was given to the person injured. If the thief could not satisfy the fine, he was delivered to the plaintiff as a slave until his services might satisfy the claim.¹³⁰ It is stated that among the Sea Dyak of Borneo many unfortunate people have become enslaved in consequence of the debts or the crimes of their parents or grand-parents, "although it is scarcely right to give the name of slaves to these people, as on the payment of the original debt or fine they become free."¹³¹ A similar pawning of destitute criminals is reported from other Malay tribes and also from the Bagdo of the Philippines.¹³² In the island of Nias it is customary for the chief to advance the amount of a fine, if the culprit is unable to pay it himself, after which the latter remains the pawn of the chief until discharging his debt. Such a pawn cannot be sold.¹³³

Regarding the Banaka and Bapuku in Africa it is stated that if an offender does not pay compensatory damages to the party he has wronged, his family is responsible; if payment is not made in either way, the offended family awaits a suitable opportunity for seizing any member of the offender's family and keep him or her as a hostage until the ransom is fully liquidated.¹³⁴

The joint liability which unites members of the same family or clan and which appears in case of debt is frequently made use of, too, in connection with the punishment of culprits. In certain cases the members of the culprit's family are regarded as accessories to his crime and for this reason have to share his fate. In ancient Mexico, for example, "a traitor to the king or the state was torn to pieces, and his relations who were privy to the treason, and did not discover it, were deprived of their liberty."¹³⁵

Occasionally a convicted offender can escape slavery by substituting another person who takes his place. In Loango, for instance, "he who is taken in the act of stealing, even things of the smallest value, is condemned to become the slave of the person

he has robbed, unless he can make it up with him, by furnishing him with a slave in kind or value. The same penalty lies against anyone who shall insult a prince, or minister, even by words."¹³⁶ The Safwa in East Africa are said to have mostly female slaves, and some of these have been reduced to their present state by being used in payment of murders committed by other persons.¹³⁷ By the natives on the Cuanza river in West Africa "the penalty of slavery is awarded to those convicted of theft or adultery, when they possess no wife or property wherewith to make restitution to the injured parties."¹³⁸ According to the laws of certain ancient Teuton tribes a culprit who could not release himself by payment had ultimately to deliver his children, his wife, and himself into bondage.¹³⁹

Cases when members of a culprit's family are included in his fate and have to accompany him into slavery are reported from many peoples. It is an outrageous sight, says Munzinger concerning the conditions in North-East Africa, how easily a free man is made a serf, a punishment which not only becomes the lot of the guilty person but very often that of his whole family. With hateful unscrupulousness all sorts of real and imaginery offences or insults are made the pretext for enslaving free persons.¹⁴⁰ Among the Washambala grave culprits are executed; the chief confiscates their property and their wives and children become his slaves. In the case of the execution of a murderer, however, the wife remains free and the children only are enslaved. Blood-revenge includes the murderer's wife; his children are carried off as slaves, and his possessions are seized.¹⁴¹ If a Suaheli dies suddenly, and some man is believed guilty of having bewitched him, the accused sorcerer has to buy himself free by paying over twelve to fifteen slaves. In case he does not possess any slaves, his relatives are seized, fifteen in number.¹⁴² Among the Wahehe the children of a man sentenced to death were enslaved.¹⁴³ When in case of adultery a Kimbunda cannot expiate his crime by paying damages, not only himself but his whole family as well will be sold as slaves. The enslaving of the family, however, only takes place if the offended man is of very high standing.¹⁴⁴ In Madagascar "slavery is the heaviest penalty of the law next to capital punishment: it is always attended with confiscation of the property and involves the wives and children of the party on whom it is inflicted."¹⁴⁵ Among the Kuki in India the ordinary murderer and all his family became slaves of the Raja, and his property is confiscated. In cases of theft the criminal alone loses his freedom. The same is stated regarding the Jyntia and Kasia.¹⁴⁶ Similar punishments are reported from the Bangli in Bali,¹⁴⁷ and from Sangir island.¹⁴⁸ If in the former kingdom in Guatemala the councillors of the king conspired against him, they were condemned to death, and all the

members of their families were sold as slaves. Whoever else was guilty of a similar crime or of homicide, was punished by death, the sequestration of property, and slavery of his relations.¹⁴⁹ The natives of Guatemala enslaved the wives, children, and relations of executed convicts as well as of men who had joined the enemy or otherwise deserted the country.¹⁵⁰

CHAPTER XIV

EXTRATRIBAL SLAVERY—ENSLAVEMENT THROUGH CAPTIVITY IN WAR

The commonest form of slavery no doubt implies enslavement of persons outside their own tribe, which generally happens through conquest in war. Many circumstances make strangers more adapted for slavery than members of the tribe itself. Savages are not as a rule bound by any considerations in regard to foreign tribes who in most cases stand outside the sphere of social obligations. Therefore there are no scruples whatever checking the unlimited exploitation of a stranger for one's own ends. A person who falls into an enemy's hands through war can be put to any use the latter wishes: he can be killed at once or later on, he can be sacrificed to the conqueror's gods or tortured for his revenge or vanity, and his flesh will perhaps be devoured; but for a victorious tribe which has reached a certain level of economic and industrial development, the unfortunate victims generally prove most profitable when enslaved.

Thus, a person captured by a foe is thrown upon his conqueror's mercy. If his life is spared, he will generally be made a slave. In war, particularly, this is often the fate of captive members of a defeated tribe. Warfare is one of the most productive sources of slavery, and the custom of enslaving prisoners of war is practised by nearly all peoples among whom slavery is known.¹ Not only do we meet with a multitude of reports to that effect, but there are also instances showing that, in reality, the slave class among many peoples is composed of a different ethnical element from the ruling classes, such a state of things being the outcome of subjugation in war. Thus the lowest class among the Namaqua in South-West Africa—the correct denomination of which, according to Fritsch, is disputable, on account of the non-existence of a distinct line of demarcation between slaves and freemen—are principally derived from the despised tribes of the Bergdamara and the Bushmen.² Among the Barito river natives in Borneo, who are divided into several different ranks, the class called Oran Patan were originally the owners and masters of the land and are now serfs. They cultivate the fields and are obliged to obey the orders of the chiefs without demur, working for the benefit of the whole community or for his own profit.³

Among certain peoples, as the Maori, the right to prisoners of war was so unreservedly acknowledged that if enslaved captives

escaped to their own tribe, they were either sent back or fetched back without resistance. It is said to have been a Maori belief that "the interest taken by spirits of the dead in mundane affairs seldom extends beyond the limits of the tribe to which they belong. Hence, persons taken in war and carried away as slaves by another tribe, cease from that moment to be under the care of any Atua (supernatural power). The Atua of their own tribe do not trouble themselves to follow them among a hostile tribe and hostile spirits, while the Atua of the tribe whose slaves they are never give them a thought." ⁴ Maori captured in war forfeited all the rights of their former position; even their own tribe turned escaped slaves back.⁵

According to the custom of certain peoples as, for instance, the Washambala in Africa, prisoners of war become the slaves of the chiefs and can be redeemed by their own people with his consent only.⁶ Among the Wahehe half the number of the prisoners became slaves of their captors and the other half of the Sultan, who might give one or more of them to any of his officials.⁷

It happens among some peoples that captives in war are mutilated or marked in some conspicuous way when being kept as slaves. Thus among the Moskito Indians, "when prisoners were taken they were usually held as slaves, after having the nose cut off."⁸

The capture of prisoners and their enslavement constitutes such an essential part of warfare among many uncivilized peoples that wars are frequently said to be undertaken for this particular purpose. We read that the principal aim of the intestine wars in Madagascar was, not so much the slaughter and extirpation of the opposite party as the seizure of the living, that is, securing in the contests as many prisoners as possible.⁹ With reference to old Dahomey an investigator wrote, "war is annual, or rather annual enslavement is undertaken, to furnish funds for the royal exchequer."¹⁰ The Warori negroes "never sell their own people, but attack the Wabena, the Wakimbu, the Wakehe, the Wakonongo, and the races about Unyangwira, and drive their captives to the sea, or dispose of them to the slavers in Usagara."¹¹ The principal occupation of the Adiabo, in East Africa, says Munzinger, is war against the Bazen (or Kunama) and Barea, in which the main object generally is slaves. Similarly, the Riseigat and Oudejat undertake regular raids in order to capture Nuba slaves.¹² In Madagascar captives taken in war and retained in slavery were regarded as the most valuable part of the spoils of victory.¹³ The different tribes in Kamtchatka often had wars and quarrels with one another, the end of which was to take prisoners in order to employ them, if males, in their hardest labour, or, if females, either for concubines or wives.¹⁴ "The great object of war with the Aztecs," says Prescott, "was quite as much to gather victims for

their sacrifices as to extend their empire. Hence it was that an enemy was never slain in battle, if there were any chance of taking him alive." ¹⁵ By the Indians of Nicaragua prisoners were much desired for sacrifices, and consequently the warriors sought rather to capture than to slay their enemies. ¹⁶

In theoretical literature slavery is very generally surmised to have originated from captivity in war. Thus Westermarck writes, "We have reason to believe that the earliest source of slavery was war or conquest, and that slavery in many cases was a substitution for putting prisoners of war to death. Savages, who have little mercy on their enemies, naturally make no scruple in reducing them to slavery whenever they find their advantage in doing so. Among existing savages, in fact, prisoners of war are very frequently enslaved." ¹⁷ Weatherly argues that in the earliest contacts between hostile tribes "extinction of the defeated party was no doubt a common outcome until the practice of enslaving survivors began. Even before this, however, the women may have been spared, and there would begin the process of amalgamation which has since continued. Enslavement may thus represent the earliest step in active social assimilation." ¹⁸ "The oldest occasion for slavery," says Ratzel, "was the compulsory entry into the society of foreigners, who in most cases would be prisoners of war." ¹⁹ In conformity with an analogous point of view many other scholars are of opinion that the first source of slavery was captivity in war. ²⁰

Spencer has connected the beginnings of slavery with cannibalism. "Speaking generally," he says, "we may regard slavery as a sequence of war; for of its several causes, war is the most common and the most extensive in its results." "Evidence suggests," he continues, "that the practice of enslavement diverged by small steps from the practice of cannibalism. . . . We may infer that the keeping of captives too numerous to be immediately eaten, with the view of eating them subsequently, leading, as it would, to the employment of them in the meantime, caused the discovery that their services might be of more value than their flesh, and so initiated the habit of preserving them as slaves." ²¹ A related opinion is held by Dow, who explains that, originally, wandering bands who encountered one another appeared mutually as enemies and tried to exterminate antagonistic tribes. After the fight the victor might even eat the bodies of the slain enemies, and in this way originated cannibalism. "But soon they would find that it was more advantageous to enslave their captives than eat them. At first the women were enslaved and made to serve as wives or concubines; then later the men were put into bondage." ²²

There are no definite facts which would show how the custom

of enslaving prisoners of war has arisen. Wars and hostilities have naturally preceded the origin of slavery as well as of any differentiation of ranks generally. As long as the holding of slaves was of no use, there did not exist any inducement for people to capture and keep enemies alive.

One circumstance which in this connection must be taken into account is the fact that, among certain savage peoples at all events, we meet with very different kinds of warfare and fighting. The Kiwai Papuans, for instance, draw a distinction between two kinds of hostilities, that between different clans in the same village or between related village communities, and that between tribes which regard each other as hereditary enemies or habitually raid each other. In fights of the former order comparatively little blood is shed, although there is a great deal of noise and much interchange of missiles. However serious the fray may look to a European spectator, a certain amount of self-restraint is exercised. It seldom happens that a man is killed in these conflicts, and no one fights in order to possess himself of a head. The purpose of the real wars, on the other hand, is to kill as many of the enemy as possible, destroy their property, and capture the heads of the slain.²³ The wars of the old Arabs were of two kinds, plundering excursions and wars of revenge. In a plundering excursion not much blood was shed, the object being rather to take prisoners. In a war of revenge every male was slain who could be reached.²⁴ The Peuth in Futa-Diallon distinguished between official campaigns preceded by a formal declaration of war, and raids which the provincial chiefs made in order to procure slaves and booty.²⁵

In real, serious wars between peoples on the lowest level of culture the general aim seems to be to slay as many of the adversary as can be reached. If an enemy falls alive into the hands of his opponents he is generally put to a more or less immediate death. It appears to be a rare occurrence in primitive warfare to spare a captured foe.

A number of savage and barbarous tribes who do not keep slaves are known in their wars to kill all of the hostile party they get hold of, seldom showing any clemency. The Kiwai Papuans generally endeavour to attack the enemy by surprise just before dawn, and after the hostile houses have been surrounded the warriors rush into them, stone club in hand, and massacre men, women, and children indiscriminately. When the fight is over, the victors destroy the enemy's property, except what they carry away with them, shoot his domestic animals, and cut down his coco-nut trees. When, in warfare, the Ojibway Indians surprise a village, a wigwam, or a party, there is seldom any mercy shown either to age or sex in the first heat of battle: all are doomed to feel the weight of the tomahawk and the deep incision of the bloody scalping-knife.²⁶

In battle the Tupi Indians did not spare either sex or age.²⁷ The tribes of the Angahmi and Kutchin Naga, the terror and scourge of the inhabitants of north Cachar, are in the habit of making constant forays into the country, burning the villages of the peaceful Meekir and Naga, and sparing neither sex nor age.²⁸ The Shortland islanders in the Solomons slay anything which comes into their hands on their warlike expeditions; seldom are prisoners brought home.²⁹ Regarding the methods of warfare of certain Australian tribes it is stated that, on discovering a party of enemies, they will hide themselves, and then creep up to their camp during the night, when the inmates are asleep, butcher the men and children as they lie, and the women after further atrocities.³⁰ When a war of the ancient Hebrews was regarded as a "war of Yahwe", the entire booty was often devoted to him, every living thing was put to death, and every lifeless thing destroyed.³¹

Certain American Indian tribes, in particular, have been known to show their captured enemies the utmost cruelty, the torture-pole being a notorious Indian institution. Regarding the capture of enemies among the northern Maidu, for instance, a chronicler wrote that should the prisoner be a person of note, he was bound to the pole and only men were allowed to take part in the ceremony. In the case of an ordinary person, women also took part.³² The Konyag either killed their male prisoners of war immediately or reserved them to torture for the edification and improvement of their children. Prisoners of war are among the Shoshone killed with great torture, especially female captives, who are given over to the women of the victorious tribe and by them done to death most cruelly. The wild tribes of Mexico treated their prisoners with the utmost barbarity, ending invariably in the death of the unfortunates. The northern Mexicans seldom spare sex or age, and when prisoners are taken they are handed over to the women for torture; they are treated in the most atrocious manner before being killed.³³ In Fiji prisoners are sometimes taken and are treated with incredible brutality, evidently being killed by torture, according to incidents related.³⁴

Primitive warfare is frequently accompanied by cannibalism. We learn from different parts of the world that it is in particular enemies taken in war who are made the victims of anthropagic customs.³⁵ Westermarck and others have shown that many different motives have influenced the practice of eating enemies who have fallen in battle or been killed as prisoners.³⁶ Speaking of the eastern Polynesians, Ellis even states that one principal design of their wars was to obtain men to eat. Hence, when dwelling in their encampment, and clearing the brushwood, etc., from the place in which they expected to engage the enemy, they animated each other to the work in the following terms, "Clear away well,

that we may kill and eat, and have a good feast to-day ! ” To “ kill and eat ” was the haughty warrior’s threat ; and to be “ killed and eaten ”, the dread of the vanquished and the exiled.³⁷

Among many cannibal peoples revenge is said to be the main cause of anthropophagy. No doubt this motive is to be associated with the belief that by eating a person his whole existence is annihilated.³⁸ With reference to the Fijians Mariner writes that in these uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and spirit of revenge runs very high, “ it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time.”³⁹ “ Fijians always regarded eating a man as the very acme of revenge, and to this day the greatest insult one can offer is to say to a person, ‘ I will eat you ! ’ ”⁴⁰ The former Samoans, too, are said to have considered eating a part of an enemy’s body the climax of hatred and revenge, and this habit was not occasioned by the mere relish for human flesh. In more remote heathen times, however, they may have indulged this savage appetite.⁴¹ Referring to several of the Melanesian tribes Parkinson thinks that cannibalism arises also from the desire utterly to humiliate and degrade an enemy.⁴²

Any student of cannibalism soon becomes aware that supernaturalistic ideas are very commonly mingled with these practices. We learn from Fiji, for instance, that the bodies of enemies killed in battle are presented to the spirits before being eaten.⁴³

The desire particularly to capture a chief of the enemy for cannibal purposes and the habit of eating such a captive in a certain ritual way,⁴⁴ has occasionally been attributed to the same spirit of revenge which naturally aims at a foe in a high station,⁴⁵ or it may imply a precautionary measure purporting to exterminate an enemy for good who might become a very dangerous spirit after death. But in this habit we may also see an expression of the belief in the transference of properties. Thus, the Kimbunda in South-West Africa used to choose their bravest captives for their principal human sacrifices, and the victim’s flesh was eaten by the chief and his captains who in this way appropriated his valour.⁴⁶ The natives in the hinterland of Cameroon lick the blood from their spear-blades, and if the vanquished foe was a man of noted birth or bravery they cut off a piece of flesh from his right fist and from the left side of his breast and devour it on the spot, “ the reason being a superstitious idea that in this way the strength and courage of the conquered man will pass into his conqueror.”⁴⁷ The cannibalism of the aborigines of southern Nigeria is said not to be “ of the lower order, that is to say, the flesh is not eaten because it is enjoyed or to stay the pangs of hunger, but rather because the people are under the impression that the gods who have fought

on their side demand that a proportion of the captives of war shall be eaten, in order that their fighting qualities may pass into the system of the conquerors".⁴⁸ Young warriors of the Shoosai or Kuki in India customarily eat a piece of the liver of the first man they kill; this, it is said, strengthens their heart and gives them courage.⁴⁹ Haddon mentions several instances from the Torres Straits islanders, according to which young warriors after a battle are made to swallow a portion of the flesh or blood of a slain enemy in order to "make them more brave", "give them a strong heart", or "make them strong like stone".⁵⁰ The Maori "ate the bodies of their enemies, that they might imbibe their courage".⁵¹ Andree has remarked that when cannibalism is confined to eating certain parts only of the victim, it is generally the eyes, the heart, or the brain that are preferred, as they constitute the seats of his virtues, his bravery and strength, which the eater desires to possess himself of. This notion, also, explains why anthropagy frequently is a privilege of the chiefs or of certain chosen warriors; they alone enjoy the favour of having their moral endowments enhanced in this manner.⁵²

Certain undeveloped tribes treat their vanquished foemen in a much more humane manner than by slaughtering them wholesale and perhaps eating them. There are peoples who after a fight spare their defeated adversaries without enslaving them. The different tribes of the Arab stock have the reputation of showing their enemies remarkable clemency after a victorious fight. Regarding the Bedouins of the Euphrates it is said to be the property of the enemy and not his person which is the object of the fighting. The person of the enemy is sacred when disarmed or dismounted; and prisoners are neither enslaved nor held to other ransom than their mares. This purpose is attained by merely dismounting or wounding the enemy. The latter's arms and mare become the property of the victor, and he himself is then let go. "But, if the mare escape or be rescued, then the prisoner must accompany the captor to the tent of the latter, where he is hospitably entertained, but held to ransom until such time as the mare can be delivered."⁵³ Nor would the Southern Arabs in their wars make a butchery of their kinsmen. As they were not accustomed to take human lives to ransom, they let their enemies go, in their shirts, upon their bare feet. It is contrary to the Arab conscience to extinguish a *habila* (tribe). The danger past, they can think of the defeated foemen with kindness; having compassion on an Arab lineage of common ancestry with themselves. When men fall down wounded in a foray the enemies which had the upper hand will often bear them to their camping ground; "and there they nourish their languishing foemen, until they be whole again; when they give to each a water-skin and say to him 'depart', without taking

promises, putting only their trust in Allah to obtain the like at need for themselves.”⁵⁴ Whoever, among the Rwala Bedouins, “has swept an enemy from the saddle and sees him writhing on the ground, is obliged as a man of honour, to help him. Should he kill an enemy in that condition, he would commit a dishonourable deed . . . in the same manner as he who kills a man he has pardoned, or one sleeping, or a woman, or child.” The women and children suffer no harm ; they are even given a she-camel so that they can reach their nearest relations.⁵⁵ An Arab never kills an unresisting foe, unless he has to avenge the blood of some relation. He feels horror at mutilating the wounded. After the battle the latter may betake themselves off as best they can ; the victor does not trouble about them any longer.⁵⁶ Prisoners are not taken either. It is said that the Kafirs after a battle endeavour to capture as many as possible of the cattle as well as of the women and children of their opponents. At peace-making the prisoners and part of the herds are sent back, the victor, however, retaining most of the animals. The winner must not kill any disarmed foe seized by him with his hands and made a prisoner ; at the conclusion of peace the captive is set free without a ransom.⁵⁷ Prisoners were not slain by the Omaha and Ponka Indians. When peace was declared the captives were sent home, if they wished to go. If not, they could remain where they were and were well treated as if they were members of the tribe ; but they were not adopted by any particular individual.⁵⁸

Among many peoples the treatment of prisoners of war is subject to great variations. Respecting certain North American Indian tribes, for instance, it is stated that, in general, the greatest number of the prisoners are condemned to death, or to very hard slavery, in which their lives are never secure. Some are adopted, and from that time their condition differs in nothing from that of the children of the nation. They enter into all the rights of those whose places they supply ; and they often so far acquire the spirit of the nation of which they have become members, that they make no difficulty of going to war against their own countrymen. The Iroquois would hardly have supported themselves hitherto, but by this policy.⁵⁹ In warfare between certain Indian tribes “all that are captured by both parties, are either put to death, adopted, or made slaves of”. The condition of such as are adopted differs not in any one instance from the children of the nation to which they now belong. They assume all the rights of those whose places they supply, and frequently make no difficulty of going in the war-parties against their own countrymen. Should, however, any of these by chance make their escape, and be afterwards retaken, they are esteemed as unnatural children and ungrateful persons, who have deserted and made war upon their parents and benefactors,

and are treated with uncommon severity.⁶⁰ The central North American Indians did not know of any slavery ensuing from captivity in war. Either they adopted the captives, thereby replacing their own losses of fallen tribesmen, or they killed them.⁶¹ The Sea Dyak too often spare neither man nor woman nor child, but sometimes, when more humanely inclined, or when the opportunity offers, they carry the women and children away with them into captivity. But it is a remarkable fact that there are so few slaves, or persons of servile descent, among the Dyak. Other tribes keep their slaves in a condition of perpetual servitude, but the Sea Dyak allow their friends to ransom them, and if they still remain on their hands, they adopt them into the tribe and enfranchise them.⁶²

From the habit of not taking or not keeping captives the enslavement of prisoners of war has evolved, under various influences, and certain circumstances seem to indicate how this development has probably taken place. Thus we find that if a captive, as sometimes happens, is not killed at once, but the assassination of him is postponed, certain developments may in the meantime cause the capturer to change his mind and make him inclined to spare the prisoner's life for good. Generally speaking, captivity in war among nature peoples may be looked upon as an adjournment of the capturer's right to kill his prisoner, a right which may be put into execution on any later occasion. Every delay in the assassination of a captive means a certain possibility of his being kept alive for good, a very small chance, indeed, at the beginning, but growing in proportion to the length of time which is allowed to elapse since the prisoner's capture. The lot of a captive spared is in most cases to be reduced into bondage, and in this way respite granted a doomed prisoner of war may constitute the first step towards the conversion of his fate from death to slavery.

A delay to put a captive to death occurs, for instance, when he is intended to be executed ceremonially after the battle, which in many cases happens in connection with the celebration of the victory. Thus, the habit of tormenting prisoners to death in a ritual manner, mentioned by us before as a feature particularly characterizing the warfare of certain American Indians, always implies a certain respite as regards the slaying of the captives. The northern Maidu, for instance, used to torture their prisoners, but "if the enemy was still in the vicinity, and other attacks were likely, the victims were held till the affair might occur without interruption".⁶³ Certain instances make it manifest that the postponement of the execution of a prisoner for the purpose of torturing him may actually conduce to saving his life. The Konyag in Alaska, for instance, used to kill male captives at once, or to carry them with them home in order to torment them to death in the sight of the

children. The few who survived the cruelties were allowed to remain alive.⁶⁴

Closely related to the custom of keeping prisoners some time for the purpose of putting them to death eventually at the pole or in some similar manner, is to reserve them to be sacrificed at a religious ceremony. The Aztec, whose human sacrifices were notorious, retained their prisoners for that end and carried on warfare largely for the purpose of procuring prisoners later on to be sacrificed.⁶⁵ In their wars the Hawaiians generally killed their prisoners at once, but occasionally spared them, "though perhaps to be slaves, or to be sacrificed when the priests should require human victims."⁶⁶ If the Hawaiians had taken any of their enemies captive, the victims of their human sacrifices were selected from among their number.⁶⁷ In some islands of Melanesia, "when a successful attack and massacre enriches the victors with many heads, they spare and carry off children, whom they bring up among their own people. Such a *seka* will certainly be killed for a head or for sacrifice, before any native member of the community, but he lives as an adopted member, shares the work, pleasures, and dangers of those with whom he dwells, and often becomes a leading personage among them."⁶⁸ There are instances showing that a prisoner of war, meant to be sacrificed on some later occasion, may escape his intended fate entirely, by being spared for a certain time. The Marquesas islanders, for instance, sacrifice their enemies killed in battle to the gods, and the same destiny awaits the prisoners who, however, occasionally may be spared and even adopted into the tribe.⁶⁹

Another instance of postponing the execution of captive enemies occurs in connection with cannibalistic practices. When a successful battle has provided a cannibal tribe with more human flesh than can be consumed at once, the remaining quantity is sometimes preserved for future feasts (this happens generally by roasting the flesh at repeated intervals). Still oftener, however, captives are kept alive to be eaten when required. An instance is offered by the Monbuttu, whose cannibalism is said to have been the most pronounced of all known tribes in Africa. "The carcasses of all who fall in battle," we read in Schweinfurth's description, "are distributed upon the battle-field, and are prepared by drying for transport to the houses of the conquerors. They drive their prisoners before them without remorse, as butchers would drive sheep to the shambles, and these are only preserved to fall victims on a later day to their horrible and sickening greediness."⁷⁰ When male prisoners of war are taken by the natives on the Bonny river in West Africa, they are brought home for sacrifice and food. The priest decapitates the men—for ordinary executions each chief has his own headsman—and no one doubts that the bodies are eaten.⁷¹

The Marquesas islanders used to carry with them prisoners of war to be eaten in connection with religious festivals.⁷²

In certain cases captives of war are kept by their cannibal conquerors for some considerable time before being eaten, and this happens for the purpose of fattening them or for some other aim. Mariner mentions a Fiji chief who was not in the habit of sacrificing his prisoners immediately, but of actually ordering them to be operated on, and put in such a state as to get both fat and tender, afterwards to be killed as he might want them.⁷³ The Guarani Indians killed and ate their prisoners with some particular ceremonial. The devoted victim was treated well; the time appointed for his death was kept secret from him, and women were given him, whose exclusive business was to attend to his accommodation and comfort. When he was judged to be in the best condition he was killed and eaten on a festive occasion.⁷⁴ Certain Tupi tribes kill and eat all adults captured in war. Children are brought home and are allowed to grow up with their own youngsters. They are well treated but must work in the plantations. When these unfortunates have reached the age of twelve or fourteen years, the village celebrates a great feast at which the young captives are killed and eaten.⁷⁵ Prisoners of war brought home by the Tupinamba are on their arrival to the village maltreated by the women and children. Afterwards they are, securely tied up, placed under the custody of a woman who lives with them and feeds them well. After a certain time a ceremonial feast is prepared at which the prisoners are killed and eaten.⁷⁶ In Fiji, captives are sometimes reserved for special occasions when they will be eaten.⁷⁷

Instances offered by certain peoples illustrate how considerations of utility determine the eating of certain captives only, and reserving those remaining for slavery or other purposes. Thus the head-hunting Hill Angas of Nigeria, who were also cannibals, "never ate the flesh of young lads captured in battle, nor elderly men. The lads could be sold into slavery, and the flesh of elderly men was too dried up to be palatable." The reason why they refrained from eating lads was presumably because the price they would fetch was valued higher than their flesh.⁷⁸

Developing the same idea which we have referred to above, Spencer regards cannibalism as a custom which has directly influenced the origin of slavery. "Evidence," he argues, "suggests that the practice of enslavement diverged by small steps from the practice of cannibalism. We may infer that the keeping of captives too numerous to be immediately eaten, with the view of eating them subsequently, leading, as it would, to the employment of them in the meantime, caused the discovery that their services might be of more value than their flesh, and so initiated the habit of preserving them as slaves." ⁷⁹

One further motive for keeping prisoners captured in war alive, for a time at all events, is mentioned from Samoa, where it is said that captive enemies are sometimes spared, usually to be held as subjects of retaliation in case of any of the adverse party being killed.⁸⁰

A common purpose for postponing the assassination of captives is keeping them for some time in order to exact ransom from their kinsmen. Such a custom occurs among the Gold Coast natives in their wars. "Common prisoners who cannot raise their ransom, are kept or sold for slaves at pleasure. If they take any considerable person, he is very well guarded and a very high ransom put upon him. . . . Some amongst them are so barbarous, that finding their hopes of a high ransom frustrated, they pay themselves by cruelly murdering the wretched prisoner."⁸¹ The Caraja Indians in Brazil, too, retain their prisoners of war as slaves until they are redeemed by their own people.⁸² The Nootka Indians enslave their captives, and escape from this fate is possible only by paying a heavy ransom which must be offered soon after the prisoner is taken and before his whereabouts becomes unknown to his friends.⁸³ The incursions of the Angahmi Naga are chiefly confined to attacks on small defenceless villages, the inhabitants of which they plunder and carry off into captivity, until their friends effect their ransom.⁸⁴ In the Admiralty Islands prisoners taken in war may buy themselves free; if they have not the requisite means, they are made slaves.⁸⁵ The Doreh and Adie tribes in north New Guinea try to capture prisoners in their wars in order to obtain a heavy ransom for them.⁸⁶

It appears obvious that the custom of keeping prisoners in order to obtain redemption money represents one of the origins of the slave trade. The ransom must not necessarily be paid by the prisoner himself or his kinsfolk, but is acceptable also from an outsider, who in this way acquires a right to the prisoner and may sell or keep him as a slave. Such a line of conduct accords with the procedure mentioned by us before, when the debt for which a person has been pawned is paid by someone else under whose power the pawn thenceforth will be (cf. pp. 235 sq.). An instance is offered by the Adiabo in East Africa who used to carry on war with the Kunama and Barea tribes for the purpose of taking prisoners and exacting redemption for them. The Kunama generally bought their kinsfolk back, whereas the Barea did not trouble about theirs. In this way the Adiabo became regular slave traders, as they could not keep the prisoners in their own country on account of the easiness with which an escape could be effected.⁸⁷ There are other instances of warlike tribes who do not hold slaves themselves, but who are in the habit of selling their prisoners of war to other peoples. The Wakuafi, for instance, a pastoral tribe in East Africa, sell their captives of the

Masai stock to the coast.⁸⁸ In Dutch New Guinea the natives of the district of Onin and of Kars Island used to raid the Namatolle country in the south-west, killing the men and carrying off the women and children whom they secretly sold in Ceram.⁸⁹ The inhabitants of certain villages in the eastern part of Bougainville used to make regular man-hunting raids to the interior of the island, and the captured booty, both living and dead, was disposed of by them in distant places.⁹⁰ In their wars with the Apache and the allies of the latter, the Pima Indians did not kill captive children, but soon forwarded them to certain places farther away where they were sold to the Spaniards or Mexicans.⁹¹

In such cases when for one reason or another prisoners of war are kept alive for a certain time, we recognize the applicability of Spencer's theory, referring in the first place to cannibalism: it appears natural that while keeping a captive for a certain time, the capturer will put him to some profitable use and thus come to realize the advantage of allowing him to remain in bondage permanently. An instance of utilizing the working power of temporary captives is offered by the Apiaca in Brazil who carry off children in war and allow them to grow up with their own boys and girls. These young captives are treated well except that they have to work in the plantations tied together in pairs by a string round their necks. When attaining the age of twelve to fourteen years they are generally killed and eaten at a great village festival.⁹²

The experience acquired regarding the usefulness of putting prisoners to compulsory labour—in the first hand, possibly, for their own sustenance—may, no doubt, be regarded as one of the principal inducements to enslaving them once for all. Utility has made its influence felt in this instance also, and we notice how the fate of captives of war frequently varies according to the particular interest they may offer to the capturer in each case. If captives are spared it is from the consideration that their future labour and services will be more advantageous to the conqueror. With reference to certain tribes in Ethiopia an investigator writes, "One nation having taken from another a greater number of captives than could be exchanged on equal terms, it is easy to comprehend how the victors, finding the maintenance of their prisoners expensive and inconvenient, first compelled them to work for their daily bread."⁹³ The Namaqua in their former wars with the Damara "coolly shot down every soul, women and children not excepted. However, having lately discovered that the Damaras make useful drudges, they have, from interested motives, become less bloody-minded."⁹⁴ Natives of Jolof expressed to Mollien their astonishment at the Europeans who massacred people, when it was much more profitable and humane to sell them.⁹⁵ The inhabitants of Kordofan in their civil wars primarily killed all free citizens taken prisoners and sold

the slaves ; greed, however, frequently induced them to offer the free-born, too, for sale.⁹⁶ None but the most savage of the tribes in the Indian archipelago "destroy their prisoners ; and the more improved nations, like other men in a corresponding state of civilization, make slaves of them."⁹⁷ In the wars devoted to Yahwe the former Hebrew originally put every living thing to death and destroyed every lifeless thing ; only the women and children of conquered towns were spared. "Desire of gain doubtless often interposed as a practical corrective of this cruel precept, and it is probable that, as a rule, the custom was to turn to account as slaves the men as well as the women."⁹⁸ Sumner and Keller express the opinion that in primitive warfare those vanquished might be eaten, sacrificed, tortured, or set to fight one another ; "but in the course of time their disposition came to be enslavement, or the appropriation of human forces or energies." "The motives leading to enslavement were all rooted firmly in self-interest." Hard labours were thought particularly suitable to impose upon a defeated adversary.⁹⁹ The demand of labour has been the principal motive in sparing captured enemies and using them as slaves. We may note this transition from killing to enslaving in a customary rite of the Scythians : they offered up at their places of sacrifice one out of every hundred captured enemies. Lippert sees in this custom "the beginning of a limitation, and the reason thereof is evidently to be found in the value which a captured enemy has acquired by becoming the servant of a tribal herdsman".¹⁰⁰

Wherever considerations of one kind or another induce people to spare the lives of certain prisoners, we are able to recognize that certain groups of prisoners in particular are permitted to remain alive, while the others are put to death. It is a common rule that women and children are not killed in war, but are seized alive by their captors, while men are ruthlessly slain.¹⁰¹ From the north Californian Indians it is reported that if during a combat "a woman or a child comes within the range of their arrows, they call to them to get out of the way. They fight with men, they say, and not with the weak and helpless."¹⁰² The Wakuafi and Masai do not make slaves of their prisoners, but kill men and women alike in cold blood, sparing only very young girls, and consequently do not traffic in slaves.¹⁰³ In their wars the Kurnai in Australia only speared the men and perhaps some children. Whoever caught a woman kept her himself.¹⁰⁴

In a country where blood feuds are for ever being waged, it is said regarding the Berbers of Morocco, "a life is worth a life, and a life spared means death as a rule to the sparer or one of his family. Thus it is that all males are put to the sword, or as a matter of fact stabbed to death with the curved dagger of the country. The women are allowed to go free, though women with child are as a

rule sacrificed, for fear that another male may be given to the enemy ; otherwise no women are touched." ¹⁰⁵

The reason why in their warfare undeveloped tribes generally kill their adult male captives and only enslave women, is evidently that men would be too intractable to be kept as slaves, possibly also that their labour is not in a very great demand, because nearly all labour is performed by women.¹⁰⁶ For natural reasons women and children, on the other hand, adapt themselves much more easily to the new surroundings and conditions.

When in warfare captive women and children are spared, their fate is very frequently to be made slaves by their conquerors.¹⁰⁷ The Safwa in East Africa have mostly female slaves, partly captured in war. There are only a very few male slaves, and they have been captured as small children in raids.¹⁰⁸ Certain peoples seem only to capture and enslave children in warfare. The Bachapin, for instance, in South Africa, "rather endeavoured to kill their enemies than to take them prisoners, but confessed that when children fell into their hands, they were carried away and brought up as servants."¹⁰⁹ When on the war-path the Sea Dyak spare neither men, women, or children, but it occasionally happens that when they are able to do so they carry little children back with them as captives. There are but few slaves, and they are treated well.¹¹⁰ The Guaycuru and several other tribes in South America rarely show adult male prisoners mercy, but carry the children with them home and leave them to their women to be brought up. The class of slaves arising in this way is well treated.¹¹¹ In their wars the Barito river natives in Borneo killed the men, the old women, and the little children, cut off and carried away their heads as trophies, the younger women, girls, and boys being made slaves.¹¹²

Schurtz has expressed the opinion that slavery has originated from sparing captive women in war and employing them as workers ; in this way people learnt to utilize the captured men's working power as well instead of destroying them in blind rage.¹¹³ Hayes, too, believes that "in all probability slavery began with the keeping alive of women of the conquered as spoils of war".¹¹⁴ Referring to the tribes on the upper courses of the Nile Sir Samuel Baker ascribes the origin of the custom of respecting women, even in war, to their scarcity. "Where polygamy is in force, women should be too dear to kill ; the price of a girl being from five to ten cows, her death is equal to the actual loss of that number."¹¹⁵

The fate of women and children captured in war and kept alive is not invariably to be made slaves, but among certain peoples they are adopted into the conquering tribe, while the men are killed. In their old wars the Blackfoot Indians, so we are told, rarely took men captive. The warrior never expected quarter, nor gave it,

and usually men fought to the death, and died mute, defending themselves to the last—to the last, striving to inflict some injury on the enemy. Women and children of hostile tribes were often captured, and adopted into the Blackfoot tribes with all the rights and privileges of indigenous members.¹¹⁶ The Guana Indians used to kill all male captives above twelve years of age, but they spared and adopted the children and women, as also did the Charrua.¹¹⁷ Among the Andaman Islanders “ a child which might be captured uninjured would meet with kindly treatment, in the hope of his or her being induced ultimately to become a member of the captor’s tribe ”.¹¹⁸ The Australian Kurnai in their wars occasionally saved and adopted children of a hostile clan. If a boy, he would take the place of a son in the family of the man adopting him. On growing up he might be called by the name of his original clan, but he would not harbour any revenge, as he would have the “ Kurnai tongue ”. A girl, under such circumstances, would be the same as any other girl of the clan.¹¹⁹

It happens very often that women captured in war and spared by their conquerors are made the wives or concubines of the latter, an alternative fate to their enslavement.¹²⁰

One group of people whose treatment as captives of war is subject to great variations in the hands of the enemy are chiefs and renowned warriors. It is natural that the combatants should make every effort to get at their most famed and dreaded foemen who are often, in the case of success, triumphantly put to death. We read regarding the former Indians of Yucatan that, “ in wars they made great offerings of the booty, and when they captured a chief they immediately sacrificed him, that he might not injure them any longer. The other prisoners were left in the power of their captors.”¹²¹ Among the Guatemala Indians “ all prisoners of war became slaves ; . . . chief lords were sacrificed to the idols ”.¹²² The Omagua Indians “ kill the bravest of their prisoners ; not to devour them, but to rid themselves of a dangerous enemy ”.¹²³

In other cases we find that chiefs and warriors, famed for their bravery, are shown exceptional clemency and even honours by their captors. Certain American Indians, in particular, are reputed for their chivalry towards captives of note. Among the Iroquois, for instance, who never exchanged prisoners with other Indian nations, nor ever sought to reclaim their own people from captivity among them, adoption or torture were the alternative chances of their captives. A distinguished war-chief, however, would sometimes be released by them from admiration of his military achievements, and be restored to his people, with presents and other marks of favour. No pledges were exacted in these occasional instances of magnanimity, but the person thus discharged esteemed himself bound in honour never again to take the war-path against this

generous enemy.¹²⁴ Although the Comanche as a rule showed no mercy in their warfare, they occasionally set a captured enemy free. In these particular instances the feeling which induced them to spare the men whose lives were in their hands appears to have been respect for their bravery. "They wished to give the strongest possible proof of their admiration for this quality."¹²⁵ In Hawaii the persons of the captives were the property of the victors, and their lives entirely at their disposal. A chief taken in the field was sometimes spared, and allowed to return to his home.¹²⁶

The custom of adopting enemies captured in war, which has been incidentally mentioned by us before, is particularly instanced by certain American Indian tribes. With reference to the Iroquois it is stated that when the Indian went forth to war, he emphatically took his life in his hand, knowing that if he should be taken, it was forfeited by the laws of war; and if saved by adoption, his country, at least, was lost for ever. The Iroquois carried this custom farther than other Indian nations.¹²⁷ The Ojibway Indians as a rule did not show their enemies any mercy, but sometimes it could happen that a few were taken captives and conveyed home where they were adopted by some family who had lost a relative in the war. The prisoner then either became like a member of the family, enjoying perfect freedom, or was doomed to serve as a slave. If the captive was not thus adopted, he was compelled to undergo the most painful death.¹²⁸ A very similar account is given of adoption among the Wyandot Indians.¹²⁹

Some further instances show how utility determines the fate of prisoners captured in war. The Abipones killed such prisoners which they considered worthless or otherwise unsuitable to be kept, as, for instance, those full of fight whom they stood in fear of. The other captives whom they thought likely to be useful to them at home, they bound and carried away.¹³⁰ Among the Mandingo the old and infirm who were unable to follow them, as well as the captured chiefs, were generally killed.¹³¹ After a victory the Kimbunda in South-West Africa massacred the captured old men and children, but all able-bodied prisoners were tied together and carried off as slaves.¹³² If there were wounded enemies among the prisoners taken by the Ba-Yaka in war, they were healed first before being sold as slaves.¹³³

CHAPTER XV

FURTHER SOURCES OF SLAVERY—CLASSIFICATION OF THE SLAVE ORDER

Besides intratribal and extratribal slavery, which we have treated in the two preceding chapters, there are certain other forms of slavery which do not exclusively belong to either of the two main divisions.

It is of common occurrence among slave-holding and slave-trading peoples that individuals without friends or protection run the risk of being seized and enslaved by anyone who feels so inclined and is sufficiently strong to do so. Kidnapping defenceless persons and selling them as slaves has been commonly practised within wide areas of the uncivilized world and has by many chroniclers been represented as an important source of slavery.¹

In most cases, obviously, it is persons of foreign extraction who are the subjects of the kidnapping traffic.² Most of the pagan tribes of Northern Nigeria, for instance, are said to have enslaved any stranger on whom they could lay their hands.³ In certain parts of Africa a freeman may be seized for a slave by an enemy or by one that has a quarrel either with himself or with the village that he belongs to.⁴ The Wagogo negroes used to make a prey of captives who, on account of illness or for other reasons, were left behind from slave-caravans passing by.⁵ In like manner the Safwa used to search the trails of foreign raiding expeditions, in the hope of finding escaped prisoners, too exhausted to get far away.⁶ The slaves of the Maori were partly recruited from remnants of shattered tribes, "who find a precarious existence by dwelling in the forests near the deserted scenes of their happier days, and seek repose in becoming servants to a powerful neighbour, whose protection they solicit, in return for which their services are devoted to a new master."⁷ According to some of the ancient Teuton laws strangers who stay over a year in a certain locality were reduced to bondage. Such were, for instance, poor itinerant persons who could not maintain themselves in their native place.⁸

But also within their own tribe outcasts and other unprotected individuals may soon become enslaved. Thus, among certain Malay tribes mischief-makers and those good for nothing will occasionally be thrust out by their family, in which case their only means of subsistence is to become serfs to some headman.⁹ Among the Gold Coast natives beggars could be seized for slaves by the

rich.¹⁰ There are many similar reports that poor, friendless creatures can be made slaves.¹¹

Among such destitutes are frequently widows, with their children, and orphans.¹² Among the Aht "it is not uncommon, on the death of a poor native, for a friend to take the widow for one of his own wives, and to adopt the children. These children are kept much in the position of slaves, and, in the course of time, the younger ones are regarded as slaves, but they cannot be sold out of the tribe."¹³ To the same group belong, among certain peoples, illegitimate children.¹⁴ Among the Californian Indians bastard children are life-slaves to some male relative of the mother; they are only allowed to marry one in their own station, and their sole hope of emancipation lies in a slow accumulation of shell money, with which they can buy their freedom.¹⁵ African peoples treat illegitimate children in varying manners; certain tribes put them to death without mercy, others regard them in the same way as legitimate children, and there are still other modes of proceeding with them.¹⁶

In a previous chapter we have instanced cases of destitute and defenceless persons giving up their own liberty voluntarily, either as pawns or as virtual slaves (see pp. 235, 240).

The precarious position of persons who have been left without friends or support, is connected with the very general rule of protection and subservience which characterizes the social relations in many native communities. "Every one is under the protection of some one," it is stated with reference to the people of western equatorial Africa. "If, by death, a negro is suddenly left alone, he runs great risk of being sold into slavery."¹⁷ In Africa, as everywhere, says Post, the stranger stays beyond the pale of security and law. Membership in a social coalition affords alone a certain guarantee as regards a person's life and property. If, therefore, a stranger is to feel safe in the tribe he is visiting, he must place himself under the protection of some member of that tribe.¹⁸ In the Tuareg country no emancipated slave would find it possible to support himself independently, by his own manual labour; his only chance of subsistence would be to accept bondage under a new master.¹⁹ "No Indian, or body of Indians," it is said concerning the Patagonians, "can live without the protection of some Cazique, according to their law of nations; and if any of them attempted to do it, they would undoubtedly be killed, or carried away as slaves, as soon as they were discovered."²⁰ When a young Gallinero loses his parents and older brothers he can with a certain amount of shell-money "purchase parents and brothers for himself" who are bound to guarantee him the same protection that they would if they were blood relations. "If he possesses the requisite amount of money to pay them for their service, he does not

become more beholden to them than before the contract ; but in default of it he becomes an apprentice or slave to his adopted parents. In like manner a refugee or exile from another tribe can find among the Gallinomero a kind of Alsatia, and entitle himself to citizenship and protection by buying parents and brothers." ²¹ In ancient Rome the term of " clientes " denoted " those individuals who, while they were not free burgesses of any commonwealth, yet lived within one in a condition of protected freedom. These included refugees who had found a reception with a foreign protector, and those slaves in respect of whom their masters had for the time being waived the exercise of his rights, and so conferred on them practical freedom." ²²

An institution which has exercised a very great influence on the development of slavery has been the slave trade, certain beginnings of which have been reviewed in the preceding chapter. Not only has the slave trade greatly extended the range of slavery by means of the market value it has bestowed upon the slaves in addition to the use which the owner can make of them, but it has also contributed to give a slave the character of a piece of property of which the owner has the disposal in the same way as of any other comparable possession which is sold and bought. The slave trade includes both intratribal and extratribal slavery, because, as a rule, although not invariably, both these divisions of the slave class are subjects of commerce.

Nearly everywhere where slavery exists, we also meet with traffic in slaves practised between different members of the same community as well as between different communities, with few exceptions, and numerous instances illustrate its distribution as well as its varying forms.²³ In certain cases, as we have seen before, traffic in human beings even occurs among tribes who do not keep slaves themselves, such, for instance, who sell their captives of war to foreign peoples among whom they are used (cf. pp. 259 *sq.*).

In certain parts of Africa, particularly, the slave trade used to form one of the most important branches of native commerce.²⁴ The trading, or marketable, slaves were mostly supplied by itinerant merchants and were originally procured in many different ways, such as taken in war, kidnapped, or condemned for crime, etc. "The first two of these classes, however," it has been stated, "evidently form the great mass of the exported slaves, and it would, seem that the kidnapped ones (or as the slave merchants who speak English call this method, 'catching in the bush') are by far the most numerous."²⁵ Slave-raiding expeditions were organized by Arabs, Syrians, Copts, Turks, Circassians, and occasionally by Europeans, and graphic descriptions have been given of their unprincipled and inhuman methods.²⁶

In different parts of the world the influence exercised by the Europeans has been calculated greatly to expand and brutalize the slave trade. In former times, wherever white men came in contact with coloured races they were great buyers of slaves. In Africa, particularly, but in other regions as well, the Europeans largely contributed to the development of the slave trade into the condemnable scourge for the native population it was known to be, until this traffic was stopped. The Arabs have in Africa rivalled the Europeans as slave-traders.

Regarding the general conditions of the slave market in tropical Africa a chronicler wrote, "This slave-raiding has gone on for countless ages ; it was in full force centuries before the establishment of the overseas slave-trade, though doubtless that traffic gave it a greater impetus. . . . Slavery existed, it is true, but the slaves were mostly captives of fair war and their descendants. . . . The demand for slaves when the overseas trade commenced, was greater than the slave-owning chiefs could supply, and so tempting were the inducements offered that they soon found means to fill the Barracoons. Quarrels were picked with their neighbours, and fierce struggles took place between the various tribes, until eventually legitimate warfare became almost a thing of the past, and the coast tribes were nothing more than slave-catchers and kidnappers." ²⁷ "Every man I have conversed with," another investigator states, "acknowledges that if the white men did not come for slaves, the practice of kidnapping would no longer exist, and the wars, which nine times out of ten result from the European slave-trade, would be proportionally less frequent." ²⁸ Further circumstances and details concerning the slave traffic in Africa are provided by a number of writers.²⁹ From Madagascar come similar reports.³⁰ In South America, too, the habit of selling prisoners of war to the Europeans in the course of time determined the character of native warfare.³¹

The market value of slaves, as a matter of course, varied to a very great extent, and there seems to be no possibility of working out a standard estimation of any use. Certain instances of the price of slaves may be mentioned, however, where the amount is given in kind and therefore can be gauged in a certain degree. Thus in the Marutse-Mabunda kingdom the price of a slave "is a boat, or a cow, or a couple of pieces of calico ; in the western part of the kingdom it is much lower, and in the north, in the upper Kashteja a slave may be purchased for a few strings of beads. There are no public slave-markets, but slaves may be bought in any of the villages." ³² In Bondu the slave-price amounts to a double-barrelled gun and two bottles of powder ; this is the value of five oxen.³³ Among the Kimbundu a grown-up slave boy or a young slave girl can be bought for 35-40 yards of different kinds of European cloth. The price of a

good ox is nearly as much.³⁴ On the lower Niger "a young female slave would fetch from sixty to one hundred and twenty thousand cowries. She must, however, to command the highest price, be beautiful, in which respect European and African taste is somewhat different. A fine charger may command about the same price. A strong well-grown young man is worth from thirty to fifty thousand cowries. A boy, pony, ox for burden, a donkey, or common working slave from ten to thirty thousand."³⁵ In Mandjuena the price of a pretty girl is ten goats.³⁶ Little children in Bagirmi, whose marching strength was slight, could be obtained almost as a present; never was a six to eight years old child valued higher than one ordinary Bagirmi or Bornu shirt.³⁷ For dogs, old horses, guanaco meat, and old mantles Indians of Patagonia give pieces of iron pyrites (used for striking fire), their captives, or their children.³⁸ The Indians of Cape Flattery seem to prefer to buy children for slaves, because they are cheaper, and are less likely to escape than adults. The price varies, according to age, from fifty to one hundred blankets.³⁹

It is said that throughout the western part of New Guinea a slave constitutes the standard of value, in the same manner as a musket does at Timor and in neighbouring islands.⁴⁰ In certain parts of western equatorial Africa "the slave is the money of the country—the unit—the standard of value. If a man is condemned to pay a fine, he has to pay so many slaves; if he has to pay for a dowry, he has to pay in slaves."⁴¹ Among the Tlinkit, wealth of individuals entirely depended upon the number of slaves owned by them.⁴² In Damel or Cayor in West Africa, gold, amber, and coral are given in exchange for slaves, and slaves in exchange for oxen.⁴³

In a few cases we meet the report from slave-holding tribes that no selling of slaves occurs. Thus, among the Columbian Indians, prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. "Hereditary slavery and the slave trade are unknown."⁴⁴ The Wagindo and Wagao in East Africa have been stated never to sell any slaves, not even at the highest prices, the reason given being that the labour of the slaves performed in the house or in the fields is considered too valuable to permit of selling them.⁴⁵

A very important source for the maintenance and augmentation of the slave class is the hereditariness of the slave station. This implies both intratribal and extratribal slavery. We find almost universally that children of slave parents are also slaves, and that, accordingly, the slave status is handed down from generation to generation.⁴⁶ Children whose father and mother are slaves, do not belong to their parents but to the master of their parents and form part of his estate at death. If, among certain tribes in Nigeria, the father and mother, both slaves, belong to different masters, then the

first child of the marriage is claimed by the wife's owner, the second by the male slave's owner, and so on.⁴⁷

In mixed marriages, when one of the parents is a free man or woman and the other a slave, the rules as regards the position of the children show great variation. In the same manner as, among a number of peoples, relationship is counted according to the female lineage, we find, particularly in marriages between a free man and a slave woman, that it is the status of the mother which determines that of the child. It is said that, on the Gold Coast, the common proverb that the children follow the mother, has passed into an unalterable rule. Therefore, a marriage between a king's daughter and a slave is not thought disproportionate, but is indeed somewhat better than for a king's son to marry a slave, which daily happens, because the issue of the former marriage are free, but those proceeding from the latter, slaves.⁴⁸ The slave population among the Ma-Huana negroes was composed of Ba-Yanzi and Ba-Mbala, and if, as occasionally happened, a Ma-Huana had children by a slave woman, these were forced to take the rank of their mother, while retaining, according to custom, the nationality of their father.⁴⁹ Among the Slave Coast natives, too, the condition of the mother settles that of the child: "C'est la loi du ventre, expression brutale de la brutale application de ce principe des légistes: 'Res fructificat domino.'" ⁵⁰ The children of Singhalese freemen by female slaves followed the standing of their mothers.⁵¹ From other peoples, too, we learn that slavery arises from birth, the mother being a slave.⁵²

Regulations among certain peoples emphasize the hereditary principle expressed in the previous instances. When, in certain parts of Africa, "a female slave bears a child to a freeman, the child belongs not to its father, but to its mother's master."⁵³ If the father and mother were both slaves but under different masters, the child, according to Ashanti law, belonged to the owner of the mother.⁵⁴

In a few cases the children of a mixed slave and free marriage seem to inherit the father's station. According to Msalala rule "the child of a slave by a free woman (a case seldom occurring) is a slave, but not that of a slave woman by a free man."⁵⁵ Among the Indians of Guatemala, "children of slaves remained slaves, they followed the standing of the father."⁵⁶

Among certain peoples, slavery is hereditary, not only on the side of the mother, but also of the father; and if a free woman weds a slave, her progeny becomes the property of the owner of her husband.⁵⁷ One of the ways of becoming a slave was among the Bogos by birth, "either the father or the mother being a slave."⁵⁸

The position of children born to a female slave by her master will be reviewed in the next chapter.

In certain African communities the proprietary rights of masters in the children of their slaves is said to be much circumscribed, and

particularly their right to sell them.⁵⁹ There are a few peoples among whom slavery is said to exist but without being hereditary. Thus, among certain Columbian Indians, prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. "Hereditary slavery and the slave trade are unknown."⁶⁰ In ancient Mexico the children of a slave were free. "No one could be born to slavery in Mexico."⁶¹ Slavery was not entailed upon the descendants of slaves. "All Mexicans were born free, although their mothers were slaves."⁶² Among the Creek Indians, the slaves, both male and female, are permitted to marry amongst themselves: their children are free, and considered in every respect equal themselves; but the parents continue in a state of slavery as long as they live.⁶³

The slave-trade and the hereditariness of slavery self-evidently are connected with the general position and treatment of the slave class, in which respect conditions vary in a high degree among different peoples. It is natural that, as a rule, all the hardest drudgeries of tribal labour and industry devolve on the slaves.⁶⁴ The slaves have in general to perform the duties which everyone else avoids, and they are naturally given any especially unpleasant task. "We buy a slave because of filthy work," runs an Ashanti saying.⁶⁵ Slaves are frequently compelled with blows and violence to work; they are subject to the deepest degradation and are often cruelly neglected in illness and infirmity. "Industrial toil, from having been the lot of women became the lot of the slaves," writes Hayes;⁶⁶ but women's subjugation has never equalled that of slaves.

As regards more particular occupations exercised by slaves we notice that certain peoples employ them in hunting and fishing. Thus among the Bechuana their Masarwa slaves are perpetually engaged as hunters, in which pursuit they are said to be far greater adepts than their owners.⁶⁷ By the Cowitchan Indians those slaves who are good hunters and fishermen are the most highly valued.⁶⁸

It is not unfrequently that we meet with the report that domestic or confidential slaves are employed, on their master's account, in trading, occasionally with places at a considerable distance from their homes.⁶⁹ The slave is in such cases entrusted with a small capital, and half the amount of the profit obtained is allowed to him.⁷⁰ Such business journeys may occasionally last several months.⁷¹

Still more noteworthy is the employment of slaves in warfare, occasionally as virtual soldiers. In Madagascar slaves used to accompany their masters in war, to carry their bedding and provisions and to cook for them during the journey or campaign.⁷² Washambala slaves go with their master in war and hold his weapons for him.

head of the people.⁹⁸ Certain native laws expressly forbid owners to kill a slave⁹⁷; if he does it, he has to pay a fine to the tribal head.⁹⁸

In an analogous manner a custom professed to be common in Africa demands that children of slaves must not be sold by the master of their parents without a palaver.⁹⁹ In certain parts of Africa domestic slaves are never sold, unless in cases of misbehaviour or crime, when they are refractory and intractable, or when economic difficulties compel the owner to part with them.¹⁰⁰ Non-domestic slaves among certain Nigerian tribes could be sold or pawned at their master's pleasure, but this would, as a rule, only occur if the slave had proved lazy or criminal, or if the master had got into financial difficulties. In the Nupe country a slave who was being sold against his will, could appeal for protection to the administrative authority. Occasionally, slaves had to pay an annual sum to their masters as insurance against being re-sold.¹⁰¹ In ancient Mexico slaves were not sold by their masters, unless these were driven to it by poverty; yet an unmanageable or vicious slave might be led into the market, with a collar round his neck, which intimated his bad character, and there be publicly sold, and on a second sale, reserved for sacrifice.¹⁰²

Among many peoples the status of a slave is indicated by means of some mark or sign in his outward appearance.

Regarding the origin of such tokens Spencer expresses the following opinion. When the practice of enslaving the captured arises, "the older practice of cutting from their bodies such parts as serve for trophies continues; and the marks left become marks of subjugation. Gradually, as the receipt of such marks comes to imply bondage, not only will those taken in war be marked, but also those born to them; until at length the bearing of the mark shows subordination in general."¹⁰³ An instance probably showing how a mark caused by trophy-taking or tormenting an enemy has become a mark of degradation, is supplied by the Mosquito Indians; their prisoners were usually held as slaves, after having the nose cut off.¹⁰⁴

In other cases the purport of marks applied on slaves evidently is to indicate ownership. Referring to the Slave Coast region an observer states that kings, princes, and lords used to mark their slaves in some certain manner so as to prevent them from running away or being stolen. Other slave-owners followed the example, generally adding a small tattoo mark to betoken subjection.¹⁰⁵ Such marks were, for instance, those applied with the branding-iron on purchased slaves among the natives of Bihé in South-West Africa.¹⁰⁶ The Isthmian Indians, who enslaved captured enemies, branded them on the face and knocked out one of their front teeth¹⁰⁷ Slaves taken in war by the Simalkameen Indians were well treated, "but always had one eye blemished to mark them".¹⁰⁸

Slaves are frequently made conspicuous by being denied some honorary or otherwise distinctive mark which characterizes the other classes. The Chinook, for instance, do not consider the children of slaves sufficiently important to undergo the process of flattening the skull, and their heads therefore retain their natural form.¹⁰⁹ Slave children among the Cowitchan Indians were not allowed to have their head compressed, except when adopted into the tribe, which occasionally took place.¹¹⁰

Very usually slaves are distinguished from freemen by their divergent hair-dress. Among the Lillooet Indians the hair of slaves was cut close all around the head, and kept thus. When the Indians first saw the whites, they wondered at seeing their hair cut like that of slaves. It was considered a sign of disgrace to cut the hair of the head. The husband of a woman who had committed adultery sometimes cut one side of her hair close to the scalp as a punishment.¹¹¹ In several other Indian tribes the slaves have to cut their hair short as a badge of their servile condition.¹¹² The slaves of the Aht wear their hair short. To cut off the hair of one of them is an effective punishment for minor offences, as he is thereby exposed to the derision of his own people.¹¹³ Slaves in ancient Athens were not permitted to wear long hair.¹¹⁴ When slaves of the Aeneze Bedouins were enfranchised they were allowed to shave their heads in token of emancipation.¹¹⁵

Difference as regards painting and tattooing of the body in certain cases denotes the slave state in distinction from the free population. Amongst the Maori chiefs it would formerly have been considered the greatest possible disgrace not to have been tattooed, or to have only displayed a few lines of tattooing upon the countenance. None but the slaves were without the spiral decoration of the face considered so indispensable to men of birth and courage.¹¹⁶ If the tattoo pattern of a free Maori had not been completed, and, while in this state, he was taken prisoner in war and became enslaved, his tattoo ornamentation remained unfinished for ever.¹¹⁷ Among the Mundrucu, Mauhé, and Ilkimen Indians slaves were painted and tattooed in a different manner from freemen.¹¹⁸

The more or less distinctive dress and movable ornaments which the slaves wear among certain peoples, sets them apart from the other classes.¹¹⁹ In Yap the slaves are not permitted to wear the head-dress of the freemen nor their armllets or necklets.¹²⁰ In Ashanti certain ornaments are denied them.¹²¹ Freemen among the ancient Lombards wore rings which were disallowed the slaves.¹²² Bracelets are worn by all the Ba-Kwese women and free men; slave men are not allowed to wear them, and if a man gives a bracelet to his slave, the latter becomes *ipso facto* free.¹²³

Usually the slaves seem to be exempted from the right and honour of carrying a weapon.¹²⁴ The slaves of the Azkar in Central

Africa are not allowed to wear a sword, which is the distinction of a free man.¹²⁵ Every free man of the ancient Teutons carried a weapon. The slave was "nicht waffenfähig, nicht schildbürtig"; sword and lance were not allowed him. He could be his master's armour-bearer, but not possess arms of his own. If he had appropriated a weapon, this should be knocked to bits against his own back.¹²⁶

The degradation of the slaves occasionally appears in the different mode of burial bestowed on them. In Ashanti, for instance, a slave might not ordinarily be interred in any burial ground reserved for free men. A funeral feast was not held for a slave.¹²⁷

Terms of address are, of course, different in the case of a slave from those of a free person, and distinguish them from one another.¹²⁸ Among the Nootka Indians the very name of a slave "is a bye-word and a reproach".¹²⁹

The disabilities of the slave class clearly appear in legal and economic matters. In certain native communities the evidence of a slave is not admissible, nor his acknowledgment in matters relative to property.¹³⁰ Offences are frequently punished according to the rank of the person outraged, and in such cases more leniently, if the latter is a slave. The legal expiation for killing a slave is universally easier than that for killing a free man. If on the Gold Coast, for instance, the murder of a free negro is to be remitted by a fine, the sum of 500 crowns is generally demanded, in the case of a considerable person, ten times that amount, but for a slave 36 crowns.¹³¹ At Kinami on the lower Niger the murder of a slave is expiated by a fine; but killing any other than a slave is punished by death.¹³² A similar distinction was formerly made in Zanzibar in the case of murder.¹³³ Among the Somali the blood-money for a man or a boy was 100 camels, and 40 dollars towards the expenses of the funeral, for a woman half that amount, but for a slave his purchase-money only.¹³⁴ Among several of the ancient Teutonic tribes no "wergeld" was prescribed for a slave; his family had nothing to claim, and his master expected indemnification as in the case of the destruction of a mere object.¹³⁵

On the other hand, punishment is often meted out according to the rank of the offender, and generally more severely if he is a slave. If, in Jahor, "a slave cut and wound a free man, he shall be forfeited as a slave for life to the king. If a free man cut and wound a slave, he shall be fined half the slave's value, or, if very poor, ten mas. If a slave give a free man a slap on the face, his hand shall be cut off. If a free man give a slave a slap on the face, without offence on the part of the latter, he shall be fined, if poor five mas, if rich ten mas. But if the slave should have been insolent, the free man shall not be considered in fault."¹³⁶ According to the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables, the penalty for breaking a bone or a tooth of a free man was twice as high as that exacted if a slave had been hurt.¹³⁷

In Yari-ba "slaves guilty of theft, or indeed of almost any crime, are uniformly decapitated, without the benefit of trial; whereas all free men are judged impartially by the elders of the people in the hearing of the king, in the palaver-house or hall of council." ¹³⁸ In early Rome torture to compel confession was only applied to slaves. ¹³⁹ The punishment of cutting off the nose and ears of a culprit was by the ancient Teutons almost exclusively practised on slaves. ¹⁴⁰

In consequence of the legal incapacity of a slave the owner is in many cases responsible for all the actions of his slave, just as if he had performed those actions himself. This includes his slave's crimes, misdemeanours, and debts, and he has to make compensation for them all. ¹⁴¹ Being ultimately responsible for all the acts of his slave, the master in certain cases had to answer for the debts and torts of his slave's wife as well. ¹⁴² Adultery is among the crimes for which a slave-owner is responsible when they are committed by his slave. ¹⁴³ The plight of the master in the case of his slave committing adultery is descriptively explained by Torday with reference to the Bashongo. As the purchase of a wife for the slave is an expensive business for the master, most bondsmen would remain bachelors were it not that every master is responsible for the misdeeds of his slave. Should the enforced celibacy of the slave drive him to commit rape or adultery, it would not only lead to his mutilation, i.e. the loss or depreciation of a valuable property to his master, but also to the pecuniary responsibility for the fine, a heavy one, that would be inflicted. ¹⁴⁴ According to Ashanti law a married slave could claim adultery damages from any person, free man, or slave (even his own master), who "took his wife". "A master would demand the damages for his slave from the person who had wronged him. A slave ultimately sued and was sued through his master." ¹⁴⁵

In respect of the proprietary rights the conditions of the slaves are subject to great variations among different peoples. According to Mohammedan law slaves are not competent to make a gift or sale, nor to inherit or bequeath property. They cannot be executors, sureties, or guardians, unless for the minor children of their masters by special appointment. ¹⁴⁶ The slaves of the Wapokomo negroes have no political rights and possess no wealth. They cannot inherit property, but are inherited by others; nor can they hold slaves themselves. ¹⁴⁷ A slave of the Marshall Islanders is incapable of possessing property, at least not landed property. He cultivates his master's ground, the produce of which he delivers to him, obtaining himself his sustenance only. ¹⁴⁸ Among the Tlinkit the slaves have no right that the master is bound to respect. A slave cannot acquire property. ¹⁴⁹

In other communities the slaves enjoy obvious rights of possession. This was the case, for instance, in Ashanti, where slaves

could, and often did, amass considerable wealth and attain to notable power. A master encouraged his slave and helped him in every way to do so, because ultimately everything the slave possessed went to the master. A master could not deprive a slave of his self-acquired property. A slave could swear on oath and be a competent witness ; and ultimately he might become heir to his master, if the latter died without near relatives.¹⁵⁰ Among certain northern Nigerian tribes the slaves were mostly engaged in agricultural work, but some of their time they could devote to farming on their own account. Theoretically their property belonged entirely to their owner, but in practice it was seldom confiscated. Slaves who had won the confidence of their masters might come to an arrangement by which, in return for periodical payments they could farm or carry on industrial work entirely on their own account, generally with a view to obtaining sufficient money for the purchase of their freedom. Slaves could—and did, in fact—frequently rise to occupy a high position in the community. Among the Fulani it was quite common for a slave not merely to be freed, but to inherit the guardianship of his master's children and property. Slaves might become so rich that they could afford to lend money to their masters.¹⁵¹ Fellata slaves are allowed to enclose a part of their master's ground for themselves and their family. The hours of labour for the master are from daylight to midday ; the remainder of the day is employed on their own.¹⁵² In the Wahehe tribe slaves could acquire property, which descended to their children.¹⁵³ Waganda slaves possessed and could inherit property and be inherited by others.¹⁵⁴ East African slaves are said in general to be well treated ; not unfrequently it happens that a slave is more wealthy and more powerful than his master.¹⁵⁵ It is uncertain whether the conditions of bondsmen can be assigned as slavery at all in cases where they enjoy considerable rights of property.¹⁵⁶

Regarding slavery in south Guinea an investigator writes that if a slave is discreet and departs himself with propriety, there is no reason why he may not rise to respectability and wealth. " There are several of this class at the Gabum and at Cape Lopez who are wealthier and more respected than their own masters ; and what will seem very strange to those who have contemplated the institution only through the medium of their own feelings, these slaves are themselves owners of slaves. . . . The writer knows several cases where slaves themselves have owned a larger number of bondmen than their own masters." ¹⁵⁷ In certain parts of West Africa a man who is himself a slave may be the owner of another man, of or several men, each of which might be the owner of men in turn.¹⁵⁸ On the Slave Coast, slaves have the right to acquire and inherit wealth, and even to own slaves themselves.¹⁵⁹ Clapperton mentions an old Fellata woman who possessed upwards of forty male and female

slaves, though herself a slave. If unfree slave owners have no children their slaves go at their death to their masters.¹⁶⁰ A boy who is my property, a chronicler writes of West African slavery, may be the owner of another boy or boys, each of whom may be owner of boys in his turn. Besides this, there is really no broad line of demarcation between the master and slave class. "For a freeman gives his daughter as wife to a favourite slave, and if the latter be a smart boy, he is left heir to his master's property when that person dies; thus, in fact, the slave becomes an owner of his own father and mother, should they happen to be amongst the property which he inherits from his late master."¹⁶¹ In Ashanti a slave might acquire sufficient wealth to enable him to purchase a slave of his own. In his capacity as master of this slave he would himself receive (or pay) the bride-price on his (or her) marriage and would inherit his property on his death. A master of a slave who himself owned a slave would not, if he wished his establishment to run smoothly, give direct orders to the latter, but would pass them through the slave's slave-master."¹⁶² There are instances stating that proprietary rights are enjoyed by the slaves of several additional tribes, that they possess considerable power, and that they are themselves owners of slaves.¹⁶³

Slavery is among many peoples characterized as constituting a final and unalterable state. This maxim has commonly been expressed in the formula, "Once a slave, always a slave." The idea implied has, for instance among certain Oregon and Washington tribes, extended so far that if a debtor should have given up some relative in his power, and subsequently redeems him, the latter becomes his slave in turn. If a man purchase his father or mother, they become his slaves and are treated as such. Even if a slave purchases his own freedom, he is yet looked upon as an inferior.¹⁶⁴ However much a Tuareg serf may distinguish himself through wealth, intelligence, education, courage, and power, he will never be able to free himself from his inferiority; he cannot redeem himself, nor otherwise get rid of his stigma.¹⁶⁵

A singular social character who has arisen under the influence of the unchangeable disability of the slave status, is the "slave without a master". This type is met with, for instance, in lower Kongo, where some of the wealthiest and most influential men are looked upon as slaves, although they have no master.¹⁶⁶ In a description of the Dyaks of Borneo is mentioned a Kennowit chieftain who was born a slave and formally remained such, although he had been elected to preside over a considerable clan and was followed to the field by a hundred free warriors.¹⁶⁷

Another order of slaves, with marked characteristics of their own, are the "King's slaves", who are found among certain African peoples as, for instance, the Kita in French Soudan. They are regarded as household slaves, and belong to the ruling family. At

the death of the chief they do not go to his heirs but to his successor. Such "King's slaves" may even have free persons in their service.¹⁶⁸

Manumission of slaves, although on the whole of unfrequent occurrence and among certain peoples said never to take place,¹⁶⁹ yet plays a certain part in the social life of some native tribes. The Aeneze Bedouins, it is said, always abstain from cohabitation with their female slaves, but, after a service of some years, give them their freedom, and marry them to their male slaves, or the descendant of slaves, established in the tribe. The male slaves are emancipated in presence of witnesses.¹⁷⁰ Emancipation of slaves is mentioned, for instance, from the Banaka, Bapuku, and Waganda negroes.¹⁷¹ An Ashanti-born slave might recover his status; his liberation could not, however, be directly achieved, but by degrees only, i.e. by first becoming a pawn.¹⁷² Manumission is encouraged in the Koran, and in Nigeria it was not uncommon for masters to manumit meritorious slaves at the Ramadan festival, or to execute deeds of manumission which took effect on the master's death. A slave who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca was generally freed by his master.¹⁷³ It is not unusual for slaves to be liberated at the death of their masters.¹⁷⁴ The custom of many peoples demands that slaves who have distinguished themselves in the wars of their masters should be recompensed by obtaining their freedom. This was the case, for instance, among the Wahehe negroes; if slaves captured several of the enemy, when fighting for the Wahehe, they might at one and the same time win their freedom and become slave-owners themselves.¹⁷⁵ If, among the Suaheli, a slave had saved his master's life in war, or had looked after him during a long illness, it was considered fitting to give him his freedom.¹⁷⁶ Mindanao slaves are said easily to attain their liberty, if they show prowess and bravery in war.¹⁷⁷ In ancient Athens, where slaves served as sailors and marines, it was usual to liberate them in recognition of services rendered.¹⁷⁸ In connection with slave-marriages we mention instances of the rule, prevailing among certain peoples, that female slaves become free on their marriage to their masters (cf. pp. 382 sq.); the same is the case when slave concubines bear a child to their master or become enceinte by him; they are emancipated either at once or at the death of their master (cf. p. 281).

A conspicuous feature as regards the position of female slaves is the concubinage for which the masters commonly choose favourites. Among the Kimbunda in South-West Africa, for instance, the female slaves are generally the concubines of their masters, and as such are said to belong to the members of the family.¹⁷⁹ On the Slave Coast the union of a free man and a slave woman was not looked upon as a real marriage, nor as an unmoral state; it was largely sanctioned

by custom.¹⁸⁰ Among certain Ethiopians favourite slaves and concubines are said to have been respected as much as wedded wives.¹⁸¹ In Wahehe female slaves might be lent to any stranger, although never without their consent.¹⁸²

As a general rule the position of a slave concubine greatly changes if she bears a child to her master. Enforced concubinage of young girls was one of the worst forms of slavery in Nigeria, it is stated, but a slave concubine who had borne a child to her master became virtually a free woman. She could not be sold except for a criminal offence, and she became legally free at her master's death. During the master's lifetime she could, if he ill-treated her, leave him without redeeming herself. Among many Fulani it was the custom to free a slave concubine who had conceived by her master, even if she did not subsequently give birth to a living child. An owner of a female slave could give her as a concubine to a member of his family. In such cases, however, the girl's consent was generally obtained, and if she subsequently bore a child, or even had a miscarriage, she became a free woman.¹⁸³ Among the Suaheli, under the same circumstances, a slave concubine becomes free, even if her child dies, no matter whether her master declares her free or not.¹⁸⁴ In Dahomey "the condition of a concubine is but little inferior to that of the third, fourth, and later wives. If she should bear a child, she cannot under any circumstances be sold; the title of 'wife' is, however, denied her."¹⁸⁵ Female slaves among the Kita are frequently concubines to their masters or to some other freeman. A child born by them will be free, and so also the mother on the same occasion.¹⁸⁶ According to Mohammedan law a female slave who has borne a child or children to her master, is emancipated unconditionally on the death of her master; she is not a fit subject of sale or gift.¹⁸⁷ If, among certain Dyaks, an ordinary slave woman becomes enceinte by her owner, she and her offspring are henceforth free, and she may remain as one of her late master's wives.¹⁸⁸ Similar reports come from certain tribes of Malacca and from the Island of Nias.¹⁸⁹ In certain Philippine tribes it is considered proper for a man to live with his slave without marrying her, but should she become pregnant she is usually given her freedom at once; if not then, she is certain to be freed upon the death of her master, while her offspring are free and legitimate heirs.¹⁹⁰ The great change implied in a slave woman conceiving is reflected in Sarah's words to Abram regarding Hagar, "My wrong be upon thee: I have given my maid into thy bosom, and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: the Lord judge between me and thee."¹⁹¹

Marriages of slaves seem to be discouraged by owners among certain peoples as, for instance, the Tlinkit Indians, whose slaves cannot marry, except by consent of their master, which is rarely given.¹⁹² Concerning certain Nigerian tribes a writer states that

masters could marry off their slaves as they pleased. Thus a master could give a female slave in marriage to the male slave of a friend, and would obtain both the marriage price and the rights over any children born of the marriage.¹⁹³ A very general rule regarding the marriages of slaves is that they can be contracted only with persons of their own station.¹⁹⁴ Among many peoples, marriages between free persons and slaves are expressly forbidden or looked down upon. A freeman in Bali who married a female slave forfeited his freedom and became the slave of his wife's owner. Similarly, a free girl who married a slave had to share his status under the ownership of his master, if the latter had paid the bride price for her.¹⁹⁵ A native of Wetar who married a slave woman, exposed himself to general contempt and could not live in the community.¹⁹⁶ Among the Garos in India a freeman must not marry a slave girl or even keep her as a concubine.¹⁹⁷ In spite of the mild treatment of slaves among the Guaucuru, marriage between a free Indian and a slave woman would be regarded as a disgrace.¹⁹⁸ In Madagascar distinction was made between descendants of people who had formerly been free, and slaves whose ancestors had always been in that condition ; these two groups did not inter-marry, nor could men belonging to either of them marry a free woman.¹⁹⁹ A free Baluba woman will not marry a slave ; therefore the latter has to be provided with a wife by his master who purchases one for him.²⁰⁰ Very severe laws against mixed marriages between free people and slaves existed among the ancient Teutons. According to certain of these laws a free person who wedded a slave was himself or herself reduced to slavery.²⁰¹ The Lombards killed a serf who ventured to marry a free woman, and sold her into slavery if her life was spared ; West-Goths and Burgundians scourged and burnt them both ; while the Saxons punished an unequal marriage of any sort with death of man and wife.²⁰²

Certain peoples allow a free man to marry a slave woman, but not a free woman to marry a slave.²⁰³ Among the Msalala a free woman never marries her own slave, but she may marry the slave of another owner.²⁰⁴

Some peoples look upon marriages between free and unfree individuals with little or no disapproval. Among the Wahehe slaves could marry, with permission, " and it was not considered derogatory for a free man or woman to marry a slave." ²⁰⁵ It was not of rare occurrence, Paulitschke says in speaking of the Galla, for favoured slaves to be married to free women or for a free man to make a slave woman his wedded wife.²⁰⁶

Not infrequently slave women will become free upon their marriage to their masters. Should the wife of a Toungtha man die he may marry one of his slaves ; " his so doing at once raises her to the position and privileges of a free woman." ²⁰⁷ A Soolima " cannot marry his slave without the consent of the king ; and, on the night

of marriage, she becomes free".²⁰⁸ If a slave woman of the Baluba marries a free man, she will become free herself, but the stigma of slavery remains on her and, though nobody would dare to call her a slave to her face or speak of her as such to her husband, yet she gets the cold shoulder from the free-born women, and should her husband marry a free second woman, the former slave has to abdicate from her position as chief wife in her favour.²⁰⁹ Among the Dialite and Sarrakile in French Soudan, when a free man marries a slave woman, she will be free if she bears him a child.²¹⁰

When examining the general conditions of slavery among different people we become aware of the existence of two distinct categories of slaves, differing from one another in marked degree as regards their position and treatment. The one comprises the domestic slaves to whom, according to varying ways of viewing the implied distinctions, are reckoned those who have been born in the household or in the country and who consequently belong to the same people as the owners; to the same class belong slaves who have been acquired by the household when very young. This class of slaves usually live in their master's immediate environment. The other class embodies the foreign or trading slavery in which are included prisoners of war and slaves procured from other tribes generally.²¹¹ The slaves of this category are ordinarily employed outside their master's personal circle; it is, moreover, primarily they who are resorted to when slaves are required for sale or for sacrifice. In certain cases, at all events, persons enslaved on account of crime or debt are referred to this latter class of slavery.²¹²

There are many unanimous statements emphasizing the considerate and even kind treatment of domestic or household slaves.²¹³ In particular it is usual to point out that this class of slaves are as a rule never sold, except in the case of their master's insolvency or if they have misconducted themselves.²¹⁴ The domestic slaves among certain Nigerian tribes—"i.e. the second generation of slaves—had very few disabilities. They could not be sold, they farmed partly on their own account, and they frequently lived in villages under the control of one of their master's freedmen, paying small dues each year. They were given free names, and could purchase their freedom at lower rates than slaves of the first generation."²¹⁵ The great majority of slaves of the Slave Coast are domestic servants, whose duties are very light, and who can employ their leisure hours in any way they please. Those who are employed in cultivation have rather a harder life.²¹⁶ In certain parts of Central Africa the domestic slave, born in captivity, is treated as one of the family, "because the Master's comfort depends upon the man being contented".²¹⁷ In certain equatorial negro communities domestic servants, while suffering some disabilities as slaves, have yet a large portion of

liberty, and a certain voice and influence in the village where they are owned. They are protected by their master, and have often property of their own.²¹⁸ Among the Suaheli, a member of the second slave generation born in the family is shown particular kindness by his master. He occupies a position above an ordinary slave, he has a different abode, and takes his meals together with his master, "for he has not come as a slave from the interior of the country",²¹⁹ A household slave of the Diakite negroes forms as it were a part of his master's family, he dresses in the same manner as the former and eats the same food. Certain days he is allowed to use for his own work; he holds authority over his own family; at times he may be consulted by his master in the latter's family affairs.²²⁰ Very similar accounts are given of the domestic slaves among certain other tribes.²²¹ Proverbs of slave-holding tribes give utterance to the experience that old household slaves may occasionally become too familiar, as, for instance, the Ashanti saying, "You give your slave a piece of land to cultivate, and the next thing you find him doing is clearing the thicket of the ghosts" (i.e., the clan burial-ground which must never be cleared for cultivation); and again, "If you play with your dog, you must expect it to lick your mouth." In Ashanti even a domestic slave was never supposed to mix too familiarly with free men. "When a slave gets very familiar, we take him to a funeral custom," grimly runs a proverb of that country.²²²

In comparison with the lot of the domestic slaves, that of the slaves taken in war or purchased from other tribes is much more hard and oppressed. The latter, until they become amalgamated by a long period of servitude, and by intermarriage, do not receive the same considerate treatment. They are looked upon as inferior people, with whom it is thought derogatory for the free men to mix. The burden of the labour of the country falls upon them. It is this class of slaves who, to quote an observer among certain Central African tribes, "have no security whatever, but may be treated and disposed of in all respects as the owner thinks proper".²²³ Among the Diakite a slave of the alien type is kept debarred from all his master's affairs. The master has absolute command of him, and he can chastise him in various ways. The slave is entirely dependent on his master's goodwill.²²⁴ When human sacrifices are needed, the slaves used for victims are almost invariably selected from the foreign group, not from the domestic slaves.²²⁵

Among a few peoples, as for instance the Galla, no distinction is said to be made between purchased slaves and those born in the family.²²⁶

In the two preceding chapters we have seen that there exist in the main two different orders of slavery with different origins, viz. the intratribal division, including debtor slaves, those enslaved for

crimes, and kidnapped defenceless persons, and the extratribal division of enslaved foreigners, principally captured in war. In view of the occurrence of these two distinct types, the question arises whether one of them may be regarded as earlier than the other ; does either of the two constitute the original source of slavery ? In other words, were people in the habit of enslaving their prisoners of war, before they learnt to do the same with their own countrymen, or had intratribal differentiation proceeded so far as to give rise to an unfree class, before slavery through captivity in war had developed ? Facts referring to the early stages of slavery do not give any definite answer to this question, but are, however, calculated to throw a certain light upon it.

The authors who have expressed an opinion regarding this problem in theoretical literature, generally seem to assume that slavery has arisen from captivity in warfare, as we have seen in a previous chapter (p. 250).

There seems to be only one method of inquiry as to which of the two general classes of slavery may be regarded as the original one, and that is by examining such cases where the one or other of these classes is stated to be the only one existing among a certain people. We find, accordingly, that in different parts of the world slavery through captivity in war or, at all events, enslavement of strangers, is represented as the exclusive form of slavery met with among certain peoples. Under the Mohammedan law, there are only two descriptions of persons recognized as slaves, first infidels made captives during war, and secondly, their descendants.²²⁷ The slaves of the Beni Amer " are either captured from the enemy or purchased from abroad, other sources do not exist, for a Beni Amer never sells his child, nor can he forfeit his own liberty, from which shame Islam seems to have preserved him ".²²⁸ Slavery is not used as a form of punishment by the Somali, only fines and penalty of death ; no Somali can become the slave of another, probably on account of the fact that they, nominally at least, profess Islam.²²⁹ Paulitschke believes that the slavery of the Galla—a very ancient national and legal institution—has arisen from the right of a conquering people, as the Galla were, to determine the fate of their subjected foes.²³⁰ Among the Ashongo, the slaves always belonged to a different tribe from that of the owners.²³¹ Originally every Ma-Huana was a free man, we read in Torday's and Joyce's description, but if, as occasionally happened, a Ma-Huana had children by a slave woman, these were forced to take the rank of their mother, while retaining, according to custom, the nationality of their fathers. In this way a slave population of Ba-Huana arose.²³² The slaves of the Toungtha in South-Eastern India " are in all cases captives taken in war ; the system of debtor slavery, prevailing among the Khyoungtha, is unknown among the wilder tribes ".²³³ In their wars the Kuki at

times capture children alive and often adopt them into their families, when they have none of their own ; " and the only slaves among them are captives thus taken ".²³⁴ The slaves of Keisar of Makisar, in the East Indian archipelago, have been brought from the other islands, or are their descendants.²³⁵ All the slaves of Baoru, in the Solomons, are said to have been bought in the southern part of the island.²³⁶ According to Ellis, captivity of war constituted the only form of slavery occurring in Tahiti.²³⁷

Although vastly preponderant in number, the reports of slaves being originally prisoners of war or captive strangers in general are not the only ones. In north-western California, for instance, the Indian tribes formerly held a number of slaves, " but they invariably entered this condition of life through debt, not through capture in war ".²³⁸ Kohler states that in western and central Deccan slavery generally does not arise from captivity in war but in consequence of certain crimes, particularly in the case of female delinquents, such as murder, witchcraft, violence against the husband, etc.²³⁹ According to Bock slavery does not exist among the Dyaks, " with the single exception of the Bahou Tring tribe, who not merely practise slavery, but put their slaves to torture and death. Slave debtors (*pandelinge*), however, are common in all parts of Koetei, and seem usually well satisfied with their lot." ²⁴⁰

Regarding the origin of slavery, we seem thus to be entitled to assume that captivity in war constitutes its veritable and dominant source, at least so far as we can conclude from the condition of the peoples known to us. But at the same time it seems probable that, in certain cases at all events, the process of social differentiation has, independently, conduced to the formation of a slave class. It also appears plausible that slavery arising from captivity in war does not constitute the very earliest form of social gradation, but that enslavement of prisoners has taken place after class-inequality had already developed to a certain extent. Then, only, did the demand for servants and labourers make itself felt. People had learnt the utility of having helpers at their disposal. For compulsory labour strangers proved the most adapted.

D. THE ORIGIN OF NOBILITY

CHAPTER XVI

NOBILITY OR THE UPPER FREE CLASS—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE MAIN CLASSES

While the common free class in native communities can be looked upon as the perpetuation of the earliest classless society, and slavery represents differentiation downward from the level of the free class, nobility, or the upper free class, has originated through certain elements of the people rising to a position above the medium social plane.

In a previous chapter we have seen that one of the principal causes of class-inequality has been subjugation of one people by another in war. Fusion of different peoples into one through conquest does not generally take place on equal terms, but in most cases the conquering people forms the upper classes in the conjoined society, the conquered people the subordinate classes. War and the amalgamation of different ethnical elements into one nation has been one of the main factors conducing to the rise of a nobility.

War has moreover influenced the origin of nobility through the social distinction which is also conferred upon those who show martial prowess. We learn from several peoples that brave and successful warriors are admitted to the rank of nobility. Thus among the Nootka Indians the different orders of nobility, up to the highest grade, were obtainable by feats of valour. The Isthmians confer nobility on him who is wounded in war, and he is further rewarded with lands, with some distinguished women, and with military command; he is deemed more illustrious than others, and the son of such a father, following the profession of arms, may inherit all the fathers' honours. In the Cueba tribe there was a class of nobles who had become famous in war. Anyone wounded in battle, when fighting in the presence of the reigning lord, was made a noble, and his wife became a principal woman.¹

Nobility, of course, represents very different types among different peoples, varying particularly according to existing economic and cultural conditions. In many cases the only common characteristic of the nobility in different communities is its position as the highest class or rank in relation to the other social layers.

In the main nobility has arisen either through extratribal amalgamation or through an intratribal process of differentiation. But the visible separation of the superior elements of a people into a

class of their own seems everywhere to proceed along the same lines. The nobility has in all countries marked its supremacy through the gradual acquisition of a number of material and social advantages which confer upon them a distinctive character and contribute to the formation of a privileged order.

One benefit which almost universally accrues to people obtaining influence and power and which in itself is a source of social promotion is the possession of wealth. "By far the commonest basis of aristocracy is wealth," says Ross. "A great fortune not only exempts a family from humilific employments and enables it to bedazzle with a splendid style of living, but through all history it has commanded ennoblement."² Wealth in the Trobriands is the outward sign and the substance of power, and the means also of exercising it, writes Malinowski.³ It has been stated that to the thinking of certain Malay tribes "a rich man and a man of rank are one and the same thing, which, in such a state of society, implies pretty plainly that none but the great can be the possessors of wealth."⁴ Among the Tlinkit, nobility is hereditary in certain families, "but the esteem it commands exclusively depends on wealth."⁵ There are many peoples among whom one order of the nobility is said to be composed of persons who have acquired reputation on account of their riches.⁶

A very usual benefit accompanying the possession of wealth is the acquisition of better and finer dwellings; and such very often characterize the upper classes. In New Zealand the houses of the higher order of the Maori "are snug and warm, and are highly ornamented with images and other carved work. . . . The commoner houses are not so large, nor so well finished; and have no ornaments about them."⁷ In Uganda the Baganda of the higher class give their houses a high-pitched roof and a stateliness which makes them something far superior to the ordinary African hut. The houses of the peasantry are greatly inferior in appearance to those of the gentlefolk, and many of them at a distance look like untidy haycocks.⁸ There are many other reports showing how the houses of high-born or rich people to a greater or less extent differ from those of the inferior classes.⁹ From certain peoples, on the other hand, it is stated that the houses of chiefs and common people are all similar.¹⁰

It is but natural that the clothing of the richer and upper classes should differ from that of common people, at least by its larger quantity and finer quality, as is generally the case.¹¹ Among many tropical peoples it is usual for the men of the common class to go naked, or with a very scanty covering, while only the members of the higher classes wear clothes.¹² In Samoa, before the contact with Europeans and also some time afterwards, the use of *siafo* (native cloth) as an article of dress was confined to a few unmarried females of the highest rank; all others were prohibited from wearing

it upon pain of heavy chastisement. The privileged few only wore it in the house.¹³ With regard to conditions in Assam we read in an account, "in numerous ways the nobility and respectable classes raised up insuperable barriers to secure them distinction and separation from the meaner castes. No person of low birth could wear the *chudder*, or sheet usually thrown over the body as a covering, except it was folded on the left shoulder and not on the right."¹⁴ In Uganda the nobles were "distinguished by leopard-cat skins and dirks, the commoners by coloured *mbugus* and cow or antelope skin cloaks".¹⁵ The nobles of the former kingdom of Quiché (Guatemala) wore a dress of white cotton, dyed or stained with different colours; the use of which was prohibited to the other ranks.¹⁶ From many peoples besides we learn that the members of the higher classes wear a different dress from that of the inferior classes.¹⁷ Among certain Bedouins the richest sheik and the meanest of his Arabs both dress in the same kind of shabby gown and *messlakh*. The chief may, however, indulge in "the gratification of seeing his wife and daughters better dressed than the other females of the camp".¹⁸

Distinctive head- and hair-dresses are among several peoples reserved for the use of the higher classes. Thus among the Niam-niam in Central Africa "only chieftains and members of royal blood have the privilege of covering the head with a skin, that of the serval being most generally designated for this honour".¹⁹ In old Samoa certain head-dresses, particularly a distinctive frontlet or crown, were in common use amongst the higher ranks. From the mention of them in some of the old traditions, they would appear to have been very ancient and distinctive tokens of rank. Certain crimson and scarlet feathers, obtained from Fiji and Tonga, were rare and costly in Samoa; but some chiefs possessed them in sufficient quantity to form armlets and other much prized ornaments.²⁰ Many other instances illustrate the exclusive character of certain descriptions of head-gear used among the upper ranks.²¹ Among the Indians of Virginia the men wear their hair cut after several fashions; the great men, or better sort, preserve a long lock behind for distinction.²² When an Abipone was elevated to the rank of nobility, on account of prowess in war, his hair was shaven by an old woman leaving the forehead to the back part of the head a bald streak, three inches wide, which they called by a certain name.²³ Among the Guaycuru Indians, the rank which an individual had attained was distinguished by the fashion in which the hair was cut.²⁴ Regarding the freemen among the ancient Teutons it is stated that besides the arms he wears; the sign and ornament of his freedom is the long hair which he suffers to float upon his shoulders or winds about his head. Among some of the tribes the long hair may have been confined to the noble families.²⁵ The wives of the great people of Katunga in Guinea are distinguished "by having the hair cut and shaven into a number

of small patches like the ace of diamonds, but larger ; and that of the wives of the humbler classes is cut entirely off, leaving the head as bald and bright as a barber's basin." 26

Colours worn by persons in their dress or in patterns on their body, often indicate rank. "Distinctions of rank," says Spencer, "naturally come to be marked by the colours of dresses, as well as by their quantities, qualities, and shapes. The coarse fabric worn by the servile classes, must naturally be characterized by those dull colours possessed by the raw materials used. Consequently, bright colours will habitually distinguish the dresses of the ruling classes, able to spend money on costly dyes." 27 In Central Celebes, plaited black and yellow frontlets were highly valued ; as, however, the yellow colour was exclusively associated with noble rank, only women of the higher classes were allowed to wear such ornaments. 28 Among the Malays of Malacca a man of low rank cannot wear a yellow *baju*, or cloak, which is the privilege of the Rajah. 29 The district governors of the Wamjambo in Central Africa were distinguished by a sheet of calico or a scarlet blanket. 30 In Tanna of the New Hebrides "red is the favourite colour of paint for the face. Some of the chiefs show their rank by an extra coat of the pigment and have it plastered on as thick as clay." 31 Tahitian women of high standing paint their cheeks red, and colour the lower part of the body dark blue, as an ornament and distinction of rank. 32 The *poncho*, or cloak, of the Araucanians is, "among persons of inferior condition, of a greenish blue, but those of the higher classes wear it of different colours, either white, red, or blue, with stripes a span broad, on which are wrought, with much skill, figures of flowers and animals in various colours, and the border is ornamented with a handsome fringe. Some of these *ponchos* are of so fine and elegant a texture as to be sold for a hundred and even a hundred and fifty dollars." 33 Indians of Guatemala wear a cloth round the middle, and passing between the legs. This covering, among the chiefs, is of white cotton ; but the common people make it of a piece of bark, well prepared. Green feathers are distinguishing marks of their chiefs and nobles. 34 Among the Galla a white cloak ornamented with green beads is exclusively worn by persons of noble birth. 35

Tattooing, also, is occasionally a sign of rank, distinguishing different strata of a tribe from one another. According to von den Steinen this was the case with certain Brazilian tribes who in this way ornamented men and women of the chief families. 36 In Yap of the Caroline Islands and in other places, the higher the rank a man occupies the more abundantly or more finely he is in general tattooed. 37 Among the Maori tattooing was a mark of rank, none but the slaves being without a more or less complete tattooing of the face. Anyone, provided he was not a slave, might be tattooed as much as he pleased, but the expense of the operation was so great,

that none but men of position could afford a complete suit of "moko".³⁸

Other permanent signs of gentility produced on the human body are long finger-nails, held in high estimation because they betoken the bearer as a person who can spend his time in leisure without having to work. An instance is afforded by the Tapuya Indians, among whom long nails were worn by the chief's relations and by those who had distinguished themselves in war.³⁹ In Sumatra persons of superior rank encourage the growth of their finger-nails, particularly those of the fore- and little fingers, to an extraordinary length, frequently tingeing them red. They do the same with the toenails since their feet, being always uncovered, receive as much attention as their hands.⁴⁰ In Tongareva Island persons of higher birth allowed their thumb-nails to grow extraordinarily long.⁴¹

Of bodily deformations, voluntarily induced, China furnishes a striking instance in the bound feet of the ladies. Obviously these have become signs of class-distinction, because of the implied inability to labour, and the implied possession of means sufficient to purchase attendance.⁴² In the case of high-born women in certain tribes of Borneo particular care is taken with the elongation of the lobe of the ear, so that the social status of the woman is indicated by the length of the lobe.⁴³ Among the Siamese an unnatural protusion of the left arm is a mark of gentility, "all persons of high grade being trained to place their elbows in this, to us, graceless, painful, and constrained position."⁴⁴

Very often the higher ranks distinguish themselves by their different movable ornamentation, in the first place either the greater quantity, the better material, or the finer execution of the same. "Nothing in this way," it is said of the Marutse-Mabunda in South Africa, "is in greater requisition than the anklets, of which the queen and the wives of men of rank wear from two to eight on each leg. The poorer classes have their bracelets and anklets generally made of iron, and do not wear so many of them."⁴⁵ It is, indeed, very usual among different peoples for necklaces, armlets, anklets, and other ornaments to vary according to the wealth and rank of the bearers, whether they be men or women, the richer people frequently wearing finery of considerable value, and the poorer endeavouring to imitate them as best they can, even if their adornments are made of much humbler material.⁴⁶ Among the New-Georgians, for instance, a highly valued arm-ring made of a single shell and worn exclusively by the chiefs and the most renowned warriors is an ornament indicating rank.⁴⁷ Nobles among the Aztec were allowed to wear ornaments of gold and gems upon their clothes, and, indeed, in their entire dress they were distinguished from the lower classes.⁴⁸ The Galla only permitted great men to wear a ring of ivory upon the upper arm.⁴⁹

Weapons are occasionally among symbols of rank. In Aneyza

and Medina only the sons of the Emir's house, officers of the Emir and certain other distinguished persons may carry a sword.⁵⁰ Among certain tribes of the Indian archipelago the value and beauty of a kris is a test of the rank or wealth of the wearer. Sometimes the wooden sheath has no covering, and with the progress of rank and riches it will acquire one of copper, of silver, or pure gold, and of the latter metal set with diamonds.⁵¹

Of distinctive insignia betokening rank among native races there exists a considerable variety. In Ashanti the tails of elephants "are ensigns of distinction, which are sometimes borne by sons of the king. The caboceers, or headmen, also have stools as emblems of their dignity, and these descend to their successors."⁵² Among the Musqu in North-Central Africa, every grandee carries with him a little horn.⁵³ The Maori chiefs carried a staff of distinction; this was generally the rib of a whale, as white as snow, with many ornaments of carved work.⁵⁴ A discriminative badge of the Araucanian Toqui, or highest order of nobility, is a species of battle-axe, made of porphyry or marble. The two next orders of the nobility carry staves with silver heads, and the first of these, by way of distinction, have a ring of the same metal around the middle of their staves.⁵⁵ The Uaupé Indians denote rank by means of the varying length of a hollow stone cylinder carried round the neck.⁵⁶

Great ethnological interest is offered by the sun-shade as a symbol of high rank. It is primarily one of the insignia of divine royalty, but the use of it has in Africa and elsewhere spread to the highest order of the nobility as well. The symbolism of the sunshade dates back to very ancient times; as a royal emblem it is, for instance, represented on the bas-reliefs belonging to the palace of Tiglath Pileser III in Nimroud.⁵⁷ Andree thinks that the sunshade originally comes from the Orient and that from the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris the use of it has spread in three different directions. While in Africa and Asia it has preserved its original significance of a token of dignity, in Europe the use of it has been democratized.⁵⁸

In Ashanti the three chief men of the kingdom are characterized by umbrellas of silk, surmounted by golden emblems; chiefs of the second class are recognizable by their umbrellas being also of silk but surmounted by wooden emblems; the third and fourth class of chiefs have umbrellas of cotton.⁵⁹ In various parts of the Indian archipelago the umbrella, according to its quality and colour, was the chief mark or order of office or nobility.⁶⁰ The highest chief of the ancient kingdom of Quiché in Guatemala was distinguished by a treble canopy or baldakin of costly feathers. The chief next in rank had a double canopy, whereas the chief third in rank could claim a single canopy.⁶¹ From a number of other peoples we learn that the sunshade is a sign of lordly rank and authority.⁶²

Another means of indicating rank which was originally connected with royalty but later on included the highest grades of nobility is the use of a band of musicians to confer pomp and solemnity upon a grandee when appearing in state. Every Ashanti noble is said to have his band of music, and as a visitor approaches, it plays his own peculiar air or tune, by which he is distinguished from his compeers.⁶³

Apart from symbolic tokens of distinction in common with royalty a considerable order of the nobility owes its origin to its connection with the ruler and the supreme power in general. From numerous peoples we learn of the existence of an official nobility composed of two sections, the one comprehending the members of the ruler's court and in general persons belonging to his immediate environment, and the other the chiefs and other officials of the ruler serving in different parts of the country.⁶⁴ The courts of many native potentates display a galaxy of picturesque figures, foremost being the ministers and other functionaries of the ruler who live there without being burdened with any other kind of work.⁶⁵ The same order includes persons who have been elevated to noble rank by the favour of the ruler.⁶⁶

To assist them in carrying on the affairs of government the rulers of many developed nations employ various officers of state ("eyes of the land", as they are called in Fiji), who act as sub-chiefs, deputies, or officials, and are entrusted with different duties.⁶⁷

Closely connected with official nobility, or rather forming a branch of it, appear to us the relatives of the reigning monarch. There are many reports stating that one of the various divisions of nobility owes its distinction to relationship with the chief or king.⁶⁸ In ancient Peru, for instance, the first and the most important order of the nobility was that of the Incas who, boasting a common descent with their sovereign, lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory. As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of one or even two hundred children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of years to be very numerous.⁶⁹

The common characteristic of the different divisions of official nobility is that their distinction and rank may be looked upon as a kind of emanation of the ruler's supreme dignity. The dependants, in their several gradations, receive a portion of the honours due to the sovereign of whom they are the representatives. Although not all branches of official nobility are as such hereditary, yet, from the nature of things, social optimacy displays a marked tendency to run in certain families. A son does not necessarily succeed to his father's particular office, yet, official posts will generally be filled from the same privileged class, which in a marked degree represents property, influence, ability, and other necessary qualifications.⁷⁰

The varying legal and conventional code of marriage regulations serve efficiently to set the nobility apart as a privileged class. Thus we find, for instance, that in polygynous societies a plurality of wives generally prevails among the wealthier or the higher social gradations only.⁷¹ In certain cases it is even stated that polygyny constitutes a distinct right of these classes, or that the greater the number of a patrician's wives, the more exalted he will be considered.⁷² Among the Chiquito Indians, for example, "polygamy is the privilege of the chiefs; other men are restricted to one wife at a time."⁷³ The Guarani chiefs were the only men who were allowed to have many wives at once.⁷⁴ In ancient Peru the great nobles were allowed, like their sovereign, a plurality of wives. The people, generally, whether by law or by necessity stronger than law, were more happily limited to one.⁷⁵ Among certain tribes in northern New Guinea the prevailing form of marriage is said to be monogamy, and to have more than one wife is represented as a particular privilege of a prominent set.⁷⁶

Where wives are procured by purchase the bride-price frequently varies according to the rank of the girl.⁷⁷ When determining the bride-price certain peoples also take the rank of the husband into account, "for a man of wealth and position is expected to give more for a wife than one lower in the social scale".⁷⁸

Strict endogamic rules are particularly maintained by the higher classes when contracting their marriages. The pride of birth, generally characterizing nobility, demands the preservation of their blood from deterioration through nuptial contact with inferiors. It seems a very general rule among different peoples that marriages should take place between persons belonging to the same class.⁷⁹ In Bali, for instance, a legal marriage can only be contracted between persons of the same caste.⁸⁰ Among many peoples intermarriage between different social ranks is expressly prohibited or is stated never to occur.⁸¹

Certain peoples inflict severe punishment on persons offending against the rules of endogamy. In the Mariana Islands every contact between the nobility and the common people was considered odious; a noble who married a girl of humble rank sacrificed the honour of his whole kin and would be killed. The nobles were not even allowed to choose concubines from among the common people.⁸² For similar reasons a man would be killed also if he dared to raise his eyes to a woman much superior to himself in rank.⁸³

In the Marshall Islands a son holds his father's rank only if his mother, too, belongs to it.⁸⁴ The Ossetian nobles attach great importance to purity of blood; if a noble marries into the second, or freeman class, his children are degraded to the third or slave class.⁸⁵ In Tahiti the offspring of a union between a noble and one of inferior rank was almost invariably destroyed to preserve the distinction of the reigning families.⁸⁶ If, in the same island, a woman of condition

should choose an inferior person as a husband, the children he has by her are killed.⁸⁷ From Hawaii it is stated that if the mother ranked lower than the father, or vice versa, the child was killed, in the first case by the father's relations, in the second case by those of the mother, "in order to avoid the degradation which they supposed it would entail on their family or class in society".⁸⁸ Meinicke reports from certain Pacific islands that difference in rank did not by any means prevent marriage between two persons, but that children of such a union were invariably destroyed immediately after birth.⁸⁹

Certain peoples allow men of a higher rank to take their wives from a lower rank, while a corresponding privilege is denied to the women of the higher sept.⁹⁰ In Tonga, if it happened that a man married a woman superior to him in rank, he was not thereby freed from the obligation of paying her those outward marks of respect to which her position entitled her.⁹¹ Among the native inhabitants of southern Celebes a woman of high descent who married below her rank would, in most cases, be expelled from her family, but one of the tribes, known to be keen in business, permits such a match provided that the bridegroom "purchases noble blood", which requires a substantial sum, and in this way attains equality of rank with the lady.⁹² When in Tahiti a marriage was contemplated between two persons of very different position, the inferiority was occasionally removed by the performance of certain ceremonies at the temple, in which way the parties were made equal in dignity. Without those sanctifying rites taking place all the offspring of such wedlock were put to death, to preserve the distinction of the noble families.⁹³

Thanks to the privileged authority and power of the men belonging to the highest ranks of nobility, custom or law in various countries permits them to take possession of any woman of the lower classes whom they may desire. What is known as "le droit du seigneur" in medieval Europe has counterparts among the aristocracy of barbarous races. In the Marshall Islands the nobles could make free with the wives of men in humbler position, whereas for the latter the high-born ladies were tabu and might not even be addressed by them.⁹⁴ The same is reported from Samoa.⁹⁵ In Bali haughty young men of the highest classes displayed their superiority, if they wished, by killing a man of the low Sudra caste, and carrying off women of that caste.⁹⁶ If any of the Incas desired a beautiful woman, it was lawful for him to have as many as he liked; and any pretty girl to whom he might take a fancy, not only was never denied to him, but was given up by her father with expressions of extreme thankfulness that an Inca should have condescended to take her as his servant.⁹⁷

It is probably a universal rule that the chastity of girls of high rank is more carefully watched over than that of their humbler sisters. Among the Yoruba peoples, for instance, girls of the lower

classes, who are seldom betrothed as infants or children, like those of higher rank, can lead any life they choose, without incurring reproach, and without affecting their future prospects of marriage ; but girls of the upper classes, who are almost always betrothed, must be chaste.⁹⁸ On the other hand, we learn from many countries of the remarkable liberties which in sexual respects are enjoyed by sets of women belonging to the very highest ranks. In different parts of Western and Southern Africa a woman of royal blood has the right of choosing from among the people such a husband as she thinks proper, even if he be already married, and of obliging him to have her for his only spouse. They have also the right, which none of the women of the people have, to divorce a husband who no longer suits them, and choose another, and it does not appear that they need assign any other motive for their divorce than their will. Only princesses have in addition the right of insisting on the punishment of death for the unfaithfulness of their husbands.⁹⁹ According to certain other reports daughters of kings and chiefs, or rich women generally, can live with whom they please without even marrying him, and change their partner as often as they like ; if he is married before, he has to divorce his wife, and he must not contract any new marriage. The man must be eminently fine and handsome, it is said, so that the heirs of high dignities may be superior to the generality of their countrymen. He must not disappoint his high-born companion in any way, for she has absolute power over his life and death. A chronicler saw once in O'jogo on the Binue such a woman who had a family of eleven children, most of whom had different fathers.¹⁰⁰ Varying instances of the sexual privileges of ladies of rank are further told from Ponape of the Caroline group, New Zealand, and Canara in the East Indies.¹⁰¹

Among the advantages which members of the nobility enjoy in some communities is preference in being nominated to offices of state. In the ancient kingdom of Quiché in South America, for instance, no person unless of noble blood could hold any office whatever ; " there was no instance of any person being appointed to a public office, high or low, who was not selected from the nobility."¹⁰² In ancient Mexico, under King Montezuma II, the common people were debarred from all offices in the royal services as these were reserved for the nobles.¹⁰³ The favourite maxim of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, one of the most renowned of the Peruvian sovereigns, is said to have been that knowledge is " not intended for the people ; but for the generous blood. Persons of low degree are only puffed up by it, and rendered vain and arrogant. Neither should such meddle with the affairs of government ; for this would bring high offices into disrepute, and cause detriment to the state."¹⁰⁴

Criminal law in many undeveloped communities generally

grants considerable precedence to the aristocracy and the rich. In ancient Samoa, for example, it was a maxim that a chief cannot steal; he was merely considered to take the things which he coveted.¹⁰⁵ "It does not appear," says Garcilasso de la Vega, "that any Inca of the blood royal has ever been punished, at least not publicly, and the Indians deny that such a thing has ever taken place. They say that the Inca never committed any fault that required correction. . . . The Indians also said that the Incas were free from the temptations which usually lead to crime."¹⁰⁶ In Ashanti persons belonging to the royal court could commit offences with impunity. A convicted criminal belonging to the aristocracy had the right to take his own life instead of being executed. Only a noble was allowed to kill or sell his wife in case of adultery on her part.¹⁰⁷

A detailed instance illustrating the privileges of nobility in criminal cases is given by Munzinger from the Marea and Beni Amer in East Africa. If a noble kills an equal, the family of the latter will await a suitable occasion for taking revenge. On very rare occasions the two families will agree as to the amount of the blood-money eventually to be paid, as the indemnity demanded for the life of a noble is generally very high. The blood-price of a Tigré, or serf, is about one-fifth of that of a great man. If a noble kills a Tigré, the master of the latter will take revenge by killing any Tigré belonging to the noble assassin; the family of the victim cannot naturally even think of calling a noble to account. If a Tigré happens to kill a noble, he will be executed, and his family will be delivered to the injured family as serfs, while all his property will be confiscated by the noble family.¹⁰⁸

It is very usual for the wergeld in the case of homicide to vary according to the rank of the person killed, and the higher his dignity, the higher the amount will be.¹⁰⁹

Offences and crimes, such as insult, adultery, theft, bodily damage and homicide, are frequently punished according to the rank of the injured party, and the higher the rank the heavier the punishment generally is.¹¹⁰ In other cases the punishment of the same crime is graduated in proportion to the offender's rank, and the more leniently he is punished the higher his standing is.¹¹¹

The notion regarding the close connection existing between a person's soul and his blood presumably gives the explanation of the superstitious objection to the shedding of the blood of persons of rank. Hence, among certain peoples, when such persons are put to death, on account of crime committed by them, it is by strangulation, suffocation, or beating. This is the procedure, for instance, in Siam and Madagascar.¹¹² In Ashanti the direct descendants of certain noble families are not subject to capital punishment, but can only be despoiled. The blood of the son of a king or of any of the royal

family cannot be shed ; but when guilty of a crime of magnitude, they are drowned in the river Dah.¹¹³

There are individual cases in which rank is stated not to influence the punishment inflicted on offenders. Thus from the Pongo country in West Africa it is reported that " theft and adultery are punished with death, and it matter not what may be the character or rank of the offender ".¹¹⁴

In certain cases of an offence being expiated by a fine, we learn that a higher amount is claimed from a rich person than from a poor. By the Gold Coast natives, for instance, a rich man who commits robbery is " more severely handled than a poor, which they think reasonable on two accounts ; first, the rich were not urged to it by necessity ; and secondly, they can better spare the money." ¹¹⁵ The Malay code of Malacca says that " if a freeman strike a slave, his fine, if rich, shall be ten *mas* (a gold coin), and if poor, five *mas*." ¹¹⁶ In certain tribes of Caucasia the price of blood paid by nobles in expiation of murder is generally double that paid by the lower class.¹¹⁷

More surprising are statements to the effect that physical punishment of criminals is occasionally administered in a more severe form, if the latter belong to the wealthy or noble class. Among the Heusaqua in South-West Africa it is said, " if any man of wealth and quality, or reputed wise, through fury or rage stab or wound another to death, they take him and beat his brain out against a tree, and put him into the grave with the murdered person ; for they say, such a person being endued with more understanding, ought to know better, and to give a good example to others ; whereas, on the other hand, poor people are permitted to ransom their lives by a payment of cattle." ¹¹⁸ Similarly, among certain tribes of lower Congo, a man who poisons another is put to a more cruel death if he is noble than if he is one of the common people.¹¹⁹

One of the main characteristics of nobility in general is the regard for old and distinguished ancestry, which is particularly entertained within the highest class itself but in other circles as well. Among the various Arab tribes, for instance, all the members are in principle equal. Only those are considered to be of noble birth (Sherifs) who can trace direct descent from Fatma-Zora, the daughter of the Prophet. Although the number of such people is too great to admit of an indisputable pedigree, yet they enjoy great veneration and have a right to the title of Sidi. There exists also a military nobility comprehending the descendants of old families celebrated in the traditions of the people.¹²⁰

Certain other peoples offer analogous instances. The Tartar tribes of the Caucasus have an hereditary nobility entitled Begs, of whom almost every village has a family ; and the common people have a great respect for the *old* Beg families, but not at all for the *new*

Begs, who have probably received their title from a commission in the Russian service.¹²¹ Among the Indians of Guatemala the Ajau, or nobles, were the descendants of "noted" families whose genealogies could be traced back to remote ages. Inferior to the nobility were a great number of "unknown" families, with obscure origins, and they formed the ordinary people.¹²² Among the nobles of the ancient Aztec was an order "who were governors of provinces, and could prove their princely descent and the ancient independence of their families".¹²³ The first order of the nobility in Fez comprehended those "noble in blood as descended from honourable ancestors".¹²⁴ Nobility in Madagascar is said to be strictly a matter of descent, and not of creation, "nor has it ever been the custom to confer such privileges as an Adrian (noble) possesses upon any one of a lower rank".¹²⁵ The earliest nobility of the ancient Teutons is believed to have consisted of individual families which of old had enjoyed a higher esteem than the rest of the citizens but whose origin is veiled in obscurity.¹²⁶

According to information obtained from a number of peoples a distinct sub-order of their nobility comprehends chiefs of subjugated tribes and their families who have been allowed by their conquerors to retain part of their former glory and superiority. In ancient Peru, for example, one order of the nobility were the Curacas, or caciques of the conquered nations, or their descendants. They were usually retained by the government in their places, though they were required to visit the capital occasionally, and to allow their sons to be educated there as the pledges of their loyalty.¹²⁷ The class called Voadziri in Madagascar are the descendants of the ancient sovereigns of the island. They are generally pretty rich in slaves and flocks, and are allowed to possess several villages. The people hold them in high esteem.¹²⁸ With regard to certain of the more advanced tribes in the Indian archipelago it is stated that when permanent conquests are attempted, "prudence has dictated to the Indian islander, as to other eastern nations, the necessity of leaving the native chief in nominal authority, and managing the government through his agency."¹²⁹ In Makin, of the Gilbert Islands, the second noble rank is held by the family of the former chiefs who have been defeated by a conqueror, while the family of the latter occupy the first noble rank.¹³⁰ There are several parallel instances reported from different parts of the world.¹³¹

' One important factor which among many peoples distinguishes the upper classes from the common people is their different food. Among the Wanyoro in Central Africa, for instance, the food of the people varies extremely according to their rank. While the food of the highest classes is more or less fixed, the lower classes eat whatever their limited agriculture and the animal world afford them.¹³² The

poorer Marutse have only one regular meal a day ; the well-to-do classes have two daily meals.¹³³ In Hawaii " the food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish and vegetables. To these the people of the higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs." A similar report is given of food conditions in Tahiti.¹³⁴ In Tonga turtle were reserved as food for the nobles.¹³⁵ — But we also meet with statements that no difference in regard to food distinguishes the various classes from one another. Thus among the Aeneze Bedouins " the richest sheikh lives like the meanest of his Arabs ; they both eat every day of the same dishes, and in the same quantity, and never partake of any luxury unless on the arrival of a stranger, when the host's tent is open to all his friends." ¹³⁶

Unsatisfactory food and other related conditions have been associated with greater susceptibility to illness noticeable among the lower classes of certain peoples. Dysentery and diarrhœa, it is said, are diseases from which the natives in certain districts of Assam chiefly suffer, and the former proves fatal in a large number of cases among the poorer classes. " The prevalence of these diseases, and the great mortality occasioned by them, are in a great measure due to the use of deficient and unwholesome food, insufficient clothing " and other similar causes. Cholera, too, " chiefly attacks the lowest classes, who are worst fed and clothed, and who live in houses abounding in insanitary conditions." ¹³⁷ In Bangalore, in India, certain diseases are very much confined to the poorer class of inhabitants, which is said to depend upon the kind of food they eat.¹³⁸ Ellis mentions from Polynesia certain forms of constitutional diseases which seem exclusively to attack the lower classes. The meagre living of the latter " exposes them to maladies, from which more generous diet and comfortable modes of life exempt their superiors ".¹³⁹ The pitiable condition of diseased persons who belong to a low class is illustrated by instances from Fiji. " Unless the afflicted one is of high rank, or valued for his services, the patience of his friends will be exhausted in a few days. . . . If sick persons have no friends, they are simply left to perish." ¹⁴⁰

Great service is rendered the upper classes by the use of slaves and this almost universally forms a prerogative of wealth and social rank in certain stages of culture. Among the Nootka Indians, for instance, " only the rich men—according to some authorities only the nobles—may hold slaves." ¹⁴¹ In Somali and Afar (Danakil) societies the possession of slaves is a luxury which can only be enjoyed by the rich who have assumed more refined Moslim forms of living.¹⁴² Concerning certain districts of Abyssinia we are informed that " from the governor to the humblest peasant, every house possesses slaves of both sexes in proportion to the wealth of the proprietor ".¹⁴³ In the former " Barbary " those Moors " that are able allow their wives negroes or black women to do all the servile

offices in the family".¹⁴⁴ Among the Kayan and Kenyah, men of the upper classes are able to cultivate larger areas than others, owing to the possession of slaves who assist them in their field work. To the upper class women, also, the labours of the field and the house are rendered less severe by the aid of female slaves.¹⁴⁵

Thanks to the use of slaves and servants the members of the high ranks to a large extent are exempt from manual labour which latter is frequently looked upon as unworthy of a high-born person. With reference to the Wasuaheli tribe it is stated that "the male munguana (gentleman) is the most useless being upon the coast of Africa. He is altogether above work. Work is the badge of the slave, and it is, therefore, in his estimation disgraceful. He lives entirely upon the sweat and toil of the wretched people whom he has brought into bondage."¹⁴⁶ We read in a description of the Wanyoro, "It is remarkable how proud the wives of the chiefs in this country are. To begin with they do no cooking; field work and water-carrying are left to the servants, and the mistresses sit on their mats and do nothing but smoke and talk."¹⁴⁷ Ladies of the highest classes in Abyssinia "seldom employ themselves except in spinning".¹⁴⁸ We have previously referred to the use of long finger-nails and of binding the feet as signs of exemption from labour and indication of high rank (p. 291). On the other hand there are occasional references to peoples among whom it is considered no disgrace for persons of high rank to occupy themselves with menial employments.¹⁴⁹

Circumstances of the above description draw attention to the fact that among a great number of peoples the upper classes are stated to represent a type of their own, differing physically and mentally from the common people. This is particularly the case with the Polynesian islanders generally, among whom "the chiefs are finer-looking men than the commoners; intellectually and physically they are superior; the contour of their features is more striking, more definite, the skull altogether larger." This superiority has been attributed to the supposed fact that the chiefs do not work and to the partial fact that they feed better and more regularly than the commoners. Against this Pritchard remarks that the chiefs *do* work, and that the food, though first formally presented to the chiefs, is by them subsequently shared with the people, from policy as well as in compliance with custom. The cause of the intellectual and physical superiority of the chiefs is by Pritchard attributed to the fact that, "as leaders, their mental faculties are more continuously active than those of the commoners. The chiefs are the sources and centres of thought and action in their given spheres. The result of this continuous mental activity is a higher intellectual development, and the physical character corresponds to the intellectual conditions."¹⁵⁰

Similar observations have been made by Malinowski in the

Trobriand islands,¹⁵¹ and are also reported from other native races.¹⁵² The personal superiority of the higher ranks includes the female sex. In New Zealand, for instance, "the women of the better class, such as the daughters of some of the more important chiefs, may lay claim to be considered handsome; they possess a gipsy-like style of beauty, which is heightened by a natural modesty and bashfulness."¹⁵³ Among distinctive features the much lighter skin of the wealthier and higher classes has often been pointed out. In Polynesia the fairer complexion of the chiefs in comparison with that of the common people is said to be conspicuous, and the skin of the latter classes increases in darkness the lower their social standing is.¹⁵⁴ In Dahalak, on the Nile, "people of the better sort, such as the Sheikh and his relations, men privileged to be idle, and never exposed to the sun, are of a brown complexion, not darker than certain Arabs. But the common sort employed in fishing, and those who go constantly to sea, are not indeed black, but red, and little darker than the colour of mahogany."¹⁵⁵ In Abyssinia "ladies who are always in the house are not so dark, and some of them are white".¹⁵⁶ So, also, in North-West Africa female Moors who live in towns, "together with the wealthier sort of the country, are inclined to paleness, which may be imputed to their sedentariness, or want of motion."¹⁵⁷ Japanese ladies and gentlemen of high rank who rarely expose themselves to the sun are represented as "white".¹⁵⁸

As regards distinct mental traits, characterizing different classes among native races, Spencer remarks that they are produced by daily submission to power. "The ideas, and sentiments, and modes of behaviour, perpetually repeated, generate on the one side an inherited fitness for command, and on the other side an inherited fitness for obedience; with the result that in course of time, there arises on both sides the belief that the established relations of classes are the natural ones."¹⁵⁹ In Hawaii the nobles were big of stature, fat, proud, bold, and insolent; the common people thin, wretched, timid and servile, mentally and physically debased.¹⁶⁰ Among the Maori consciousness of rank is carefully instilled into the child of a chief, both by the family and his future followers, who, it would appear, delight in fixing a yoke on themselves. "The result of this training is a dignity of demeanour that distinguishes the chief from his inferiors in rank, and personal pride, that becomes eventually a distinguishing characteristic."¹⁶¹ In the Mariana Islands, the men of the subjected common people were not only physically inferior to the nobles, but also mentally depraved, lazy, false, inhospitable.¹⁶² Among the Marea the child of noble descent is educated to haughtiness; the more arrogance a son shows the more will the father of the coming hero delight. Describing the conditions among the lower classes in Abyssinia, a chronicler states that "when a nation is reduced to a state of slavery, it is rare that it does not become

demoralized in every way, and the people lose their former energy and that feeling of pride which, after all, is mostly the inducement to great deeds".¹⁶³

Spencer comments upon the divergent types represented by the higher and lower classes of certain peoples and argues that naturally physical differences are eventually produced by differences in diet, and accompanying differences in clothing, shelter, and strain on the energies. "There arise between rulers and ruled unlikenesses of bodily activity and skill. Occupied, as those of higher rank commonly are, in the chase when not occupied in war, they have a life-long discipline of a kind conducive to various physical superiorities; while, contrariwise, those occupied in agriculture, in carrying burdens, and in other drudgeries, partially lose what agility and address they naturally had. Class-predominance is thus further facilitated."¹⁶⁴ Particularly with regard to the classes of Polynesian society the question has been raised whether the variations in physical and mental character should not be set down to racial differences. Do the chiefs and their descendants represent a conquering race who have overcome the people then living in the islands and reduced them to a subordinate social position? This question cannot be answered with any certainty on the basis of material available at the present time. Williamson is of opinion that the general superiority in physique of the chiefs, and the frequency among them of a skin fairer than that of the common people, are hardly a sufficient foundation of the theory of different racial origins. One has to bear in mind the special care devoted to the upbringing and nurture of chiefs' children and the practice of preserving the fairness of skin of their daughters. Recognizing that the Polynesians are the descendants of two or more ethnic groups of ancestors, Williamson assumes that the process of intermixture has taken place in the very distant past, and though the descendants of the mixed groups would display the physical characteristics of one or another of the ancestral groups in an ever varying degree whatever their ancestors may have been, they have become a substantially homogeneous race.¹⁶⁵ Other investigators, also, explain the more developed type of the highest classes in Polynesia by referring to their more comfortable life, their abundant food, more complete clothing and better dwellings.¹⁶⁶

A distinct feature of the aristocratic ranks among certain peoples is their separate language or mode of using the popular vernacular. In Polynesia the chiefs' languages were a widespread linguistic phenomenon. A special patrician form of speech, or method of address, has been reported from some of the islands. A similar practice was adopted in speaking to or of the gods, and it seems to have been the same language which was used also by the priests

when conducting the religious rites.¹⁶⁷ To carry their distinction to its farthest limit, the Hawaiian chiefs formed a conventional dialect, or court language, understood only among themselves. If any of its terms became known by the lower orders, they were immediately discarded and others substituted.¹⁶⁸ In Samoa there exists a language used exclusively when speaking to a chief, whether he is addressed by another chief of inferior rank to himself, or by a person of low rank. It is never used by a chief when speaking of himself. Persons of high rank, when addressing others, and talking of themselves, always use ordinary language, and sometimes the very lowest terms ; so that it is often amusing to listen to expressions of feigned humility from a proud man, who would be indignant indeed were such language used to himself by others.¹⁶⁹ The chiefs in Tonga had a conventional or courtly dialect understood and used only among and to themselves,¹⁷⁰ and the same has been said of the Maori chiefs.¹⁷¹ In the Fijian language there exists an aristocratic dialect in which not so much as a member of the chief's body, or the commonest acts of his life, are mentioned in ordinary phraseology, but are all hyperbolized.¹⁷² Similar observations have been made by various investigators regarding aristocratic languages or dialects found in a number of islands of the East Indian archipelago.¹⁷³ The Shilluk have an analogous courtly idiom which in their folk-tales is used also by the lion, the king of the animals, and others.¹⁷⁴ Among the Abipones also persons belonging to the rank of nobles are distinguished from the common people by their speech ; they generally use the same words, but so transformed by the interposition, or addition of other letters, that they appear to belong to a different language.¹⁷⁵

In Polynesia the power and elevation of the highest class over the inferior people appears to have been particularly high. The people paid them the utmost obedience, and this state of command on the one side and servility on the other left manifest traces in the character of both. Being the highest in the islands the exalted classes were protected by an elaborate system of tabu rules while jealously guarding their dignity against deterioration from contact with degraded elements.¹⁷⁶ The Tonga islanders "restricted the possession of a soul to chiefs and gentry".¹⁷⁷ According to Polynesian ideas in general the common class form an entirely different species of men, and only the nobles have connection with the gods.¹⁷⁸ In the opinion of the Maori, men differ among themselves in approximately the same degree as lions, jackals, and rats from one another. One species of men form the elevated class, another species the menial order or the slaves.¹⁷⁹

As regards the religious aspect of the Polynesian class-system we learn, for instance, that the different ranks, in Fiji, have tutelary

deities of their own,¹⁸⁰ and that in Tonga a specific religious power is thought inherent in the nobility.¹⁸¹ In Hawaii certain chiefs were believed to descend from the gods.¹⁸² The same was the case with the Arii, or nobles, in Tahiti, and for this reason the Arii jealously cherished the purity of their blood and killed children who were born in a marriage between one of themselves and a woman of inferior rank.¹⁸³ Polynesian gentility were frequently regarded as closely related to divine beings and in some cases as incarnate gods.¹⁸⁴

A characteristic trait of Polynesian nobility is implied in the stringent tabu laws which are obligatory upon them. According to reports from New Zealand the idea in which these laws originated seems to be that "a portion of the spiritual essence of an Atua, or sacred person, was communicated directly to objects which they touched, and also that the spiritual essence so communicated to any object was afterwards more or less retransmitted to anything else brought into contact with it".¹⁸⁵ The Polynesian (and Micronesian) tabu, according to Meinicke, meant a specific divine power inherent in the gods and in everything connected with them, as well as in the nobles, in proportion to their rank. Tabu was innate in certain things, the use of which was denied to ordinary people, and it could be transferred to any object by mere contact with a holy person. Infringement of the tabu rules not only incurred penalty of death but was also punished by the gods, and every otherwise inexplicable death was believed to be the judgment for the violation of tabu.¹⁸⁶

A corollary of the holy character as well as of the wealth and civic superiority of the nobles is the much more ceremonial observance of their religious and social functions. For example, in Fiji marriages are sanctioned by religious ceremonies, and, among the high chiefs, are attended with much form and parade.¹⁸⁷ Among the common people the marriage rites are less ceremonious. As regards the Limboo in India we read that "a poor man generally gets over all preliminaries, as well as the marriage ceremony, in one day. It costs a richer man a week."¹⁸⁸ Important and rich people among other nations as well are reported to celebrate "what might be called a fashionable wedding" in a much more solemn style than poor people marry.¹⁸⁹ In Algeria and Tunis it is usual with "persons of better fashion upon a marriage, at the birth or circumcision of a child, or upon any other feast or good day, to entertain their guests with particular hospitality".¹⁹⁰

The subordinate position of the lower classes in many countries is symbolized in the servile attitude expected from them when in the presence of important persons. In the old kingdom of Loango "the commons show themselves very humble to the nobility; for at the meeting of them in the streets, they fall down upon

their knees, turning their head another way, signifying thereby that they are not worthy to look upon such".¹⁹¹ Similarly, in old Dahomey, inferiors must salute the principal personages of the kingdom with bent knees and the clapping of hands.¹⁹² In Siam no man approaches a person of the higher orders without prostrating himself, raising his hands over his head, and bending the body low.¹⁹³ The Trobriand islanders treat chiefs and persons of rank with most marked deference. "When a chief is present, no commoner dares to remain in a physically higher position; he has to bend his body or squat. Similarly, when the chief sits down, no one would dare to stand."¹⁹⁴

There are a great number of regulations and observances illustrating the submission of the humbler classes in relation to the nobles. In Hawaii the chiefs distinguished themselves by a considerable degree of courtesy, "with a refinement of language and demeanour which betokened conscious rank. . . . In every department of life a distinction was made, as if contact with the serfs, by touch, use of the same articles, houses, food, or bathing places, would produce contamination."¹⁹⁵ The Hawaiian nobility are not permitted to borrow or take any fire from one of the commonalty; but must provide it themselves, or obtain it from their equals. The nobles are considered as too great to use anything not belonging particularly to themselves.¹⁹⁶ If a common man in Tonga "made use of any consecrated property belonging to a chief, or if he came into the presence of a chief with a wreath about his head, or with the head wet, or should he touch the head of the chief, or reach to take any object from above where he sat, or should place himself in a more elevated position, condign punishment would be the result; in some instances death itself was the penalty. When journeying, the commoner was required to sit down by the roadside while the superior passed; and, if he were carrying a burden, he must make a *détour* from the road, while, at the same time, lowering the burden from his shoulder, he carries it along with every mark of humility."¹⁹⁷ Samoan chiefs of rank who were regarded as sacred always took their meals separately, since whatever they touched was supposed to partake of their sacredness, so that all food left by them at the close of a meal was taken to the bush and thrown away, as it was believed that if a person not belonging to this sacred class ate of it, his stomach would immediately swell from disease, and death speedily ensue.¹⁹⁸ In the battles of the Caroline islanders, no man of one caste attacked another, we are told, but members of each of the existing castes fought their own equals. "This chivalrous distinction was kept up in the very hottest of the fray, no man daring to aim a blow at a superior, and none descending to strike an inferior. It was like the encounter of three distinct parties."¹⁹⁹ In the kingdom of Borneo proper "it used to be a punishable

offence for a person of inferior rank to pass the palace steps with his umbrella spread, or to sit in the afterpart of a boat, that being the place for nobles".²⁰⁰ The right or title to ride in a *palkee* or *dolu* was in Assam during ancient times only enjoyed by the nobles.²⁰¹

Distinct burial customs, also, characterize different degrees of wealth and social standing and in certain cases reflect popular notions regarding their different spiritual nature. There exists a vast material describing in detail how in cases of death divergent wealth and position manifests itself in difference as regards places of burial, manner of disposing of the dead body, greater or less pomp and solemnity in discharging the rites, the performance of human and other sacrifices, length of the funeral and mourning periods, different tombs, commemorative festivals, etc.²⁰² It is, however, impossible here for us to occupy ourselves more closely with the various features of these rites and practices.

The differences separating higher and lower ranks from one another in the present life extend in the notions of many peoples to the future existence as well, where frequently a different lot awaits members of different classes.²⁰³ In Samoan mythology, for instance, spirits of deceased persons of rank are deified into a particular class of supernatural beings.²⁰⁴ The Tonga natives believe that all Egi, or nobles, have souls which exist hereafter in Bolotoo, or the chief residence of the gods, not according to their moral merits but their rank in this world.²⁰⁵ To the thinking of the Marquesas Islanders chiefs and famous individuals generally will in the future existence enjoy the same privileges which were theirs in the present life.²⁰⁶ The Sibuyan tribe in Borneo divide their Sabayan, or future abode, into seven distinct stories which are occupied by the souls of the departed according to their rank and position in life.²⁰⁷ In Ashanti, the kings, chiefs, and the higher class are believed to dwell with the superior deity after death, enjoying an eternal renewal of the state and the luxury they possessed on earth.²⁰⁸ The Masai do not assume "any future life for women or common people. Only chiefs and influential headmen possess any life beyond the grave."²⁰⁹ Betsileo natives in Madagascar believe in the transmigration of souls after death into snakes, crocodiles, and certain fantastic beings according to their rank on earth.²¹⁰

Parallel with the development of the main social classes, viz. the slaves, the free commonalty and the nobility, social stratification as a whole embodies the differentiation of a great number of subdivisions as well as of intermediate groups between the principal orders. Some of these minor grades have been mentioned in preceding chapters, and the more noteworthy of these categories are the following. Liberated slaves are not always accepted among the free population as equals, but frequently form an intermediate layer

between the bondmen and the free citizens.²¹¹ Other sub- or intermediate divisions are among certain peoples formed by persons degraded on account of crimes committed by them,²¹² or who have risen or descended from their own degree through marriage with a spouse of superior or inferior standing ; ²¹³ another instance is, in certain cases, that of children born to parents who belong to different classes.²¹⁴ We have further to mention the numerous cases of former ruling families who have been spared by their conquerors and occupy a certain rank within the nobility (cf. p. 299).

In connection with class-inequality there remains the question regarding the possibility of transition from one class to another either by promotion to a higher class or by degradation to a lower one. We have seen in previous chapters that free persons can be reduced to slavery and, on the other hand, that slaves can be liberated and that elevation from the free class to nobility in certain cases can take place.

Perhaps the most usual means of elevation from one class to another is prowess in war. Thus among the Abipone Indians a person of the common order could be admitted into the rank of the nobles, in recognition of his services in war, and in such a case he was given a new distinctive name.²¹⁵ The former Aztec monarchs had established three military orders, the members of which were granted certain privileges and entitled to wear badges of distinction. Promotion to the order was open to all, but could only be won by some notable feat of arms.²¹⁶ Among the Galla there are certain degrees of merit, all warlike, that raise from time to time plebeian families to nobility.²¹⁷ The Northern Arabian tribes admit members of certain Paria groups to social promotion, if they display bravery in war.²¹⁸ Besides warlike distinction eloquence is among the Maori represented as a means to obtain influence and become a chief.²¹⁹ A similar rise is occasionally said to take place when a man obtains influence through marriage.²²⁰

In other cases the contrast between different classes is stated to be so great that no transition from one class to another can take place. In Buru Island, for instance, in the Indian archipelago, it is not possible to rise to a higher rank through merit or in any other way.²²¹ No commoner among the Hawaiians could ever attain the rank of a noble.²²² On the other hand we find that, among certain peoples, rigid separation of the different classes prevents degradation of a person from one class to another. Thus among the Bogos in East Africa no member of the family of the tribal ancestor can ever sink to the degree of a Tigré, or dependent person, however poor and weak he may become, while, on the other hand, a Tigré has no chance of elevating himself to the free order.²²³ Nor among the Marea can a noble forfeit his priority through poverty and wretchedness ; he remains independent, his noble rank is imperishable.²²⁴

F. THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XVII

COUNCIL OF THE INFLUENTIAL MEN AND CHIEFTAINSHIP

Although the origin of governing organs is not in a strict sense contained in the origin of social classes, yet both these aspects of tribal organization are so closely connected with one another, that our inquiry into class differentiation should be completed with a short study of the earliest systems of government.

In certain accounts of undeveloped tribes we meet with allegations that "there is utter absence of government among them", or statements to the same effect; ¹ such reports, however, should be received with the reserve due to all propositions containing broad negative generalities. As Hertzler has pointed out, "there undoubtedly exist, even among very low primitives, the rudiments of a regular government over and above the mere authority belonging to the head of each family".² And, moreover, in primitive societies we meet with unmistakable beginnings of many political functions and institutions which properly belong to a much more advanced stage of culture.

There are in the main two different types of government among native races. The one implies one-man rule which appears under varying names as chieftainship, headmanship, kingship, etc., and may be temporary or permanent, single or dual. A monarchical government is rather easily distinguishable, and it is this type of rule which almost seems to be expected among savages by the average European traveller, who appears to take it for granted that some sort of "chief" should be found in every savage tribe. The other type of government is centred in the elders' council or "the council of the influential men". This council can be regarded as a representation of public opinion. The existence of a council is not so apparent to the casual observer as is chieftainship. A collective rule, reflecting the popular mind generally, easily escapes notice. It is communities of this type which are occasionally believed by travellers to have no government at all. The meetings of the council are almost the only visible signs of its functions, but even these may be readily overlooked, as outwardly they do not differ much from casual gatherings of the men when they sit together and "yarn".

Among the most primitive races tribal authority is exercised

almost universally in the democratic form of a general council, while governments representing the monarchic principle are almost entirely absent among peoples usually relegated to the lowest group. We regard this as a very remarkable fact concerning primitive social organization, and it has in most cases only been mentioned in passing in theoretical literature.³

In communities with council government some individual member of the council may obtain such an ascendancy over the tribe through prowess in war or a forceful character generally, as to assume the position of a self-constituted chief for a certain period. The traditions of the Kiwai Papuans, for instance, tell us of several such leaders in former times, although in principle the Kiwai communities were very firmly rooted in the council system.

In order to describe the council system of government as completely as possible, we will first give an account of its organization among the Kiwai Papuans and then deal with the material showing its distribution among other peoples.

In Kiwai the tribal authority is exercised by a number of men collectively, each one the head of a certain group, and forming together a sort of council. The members of the council are not elected, but assume their position as a matter of course, and consequently membership fluctuates a good deal. Among the leaders are sometimes found men of middle-age, and they retain their office as long as they are in possession of their full mental and physical powers. As soon as old age makes itself felt, a man's influence decreases, and as the others cease to regard him as a leader, he automatically resigns himself to loss of prestige. The leading men frequently come together to talk over questions concerning the community. The great leaders, too, who appeared at intervals in former times, seem always to have acted in conjunction with the other "big men". Sitting close together in a circle, generally in sight of the people, but out of hearing, the men talk together in low voices, and any of them may express his views. It seems very rare for opinions to be in conflict in such an assembly. It is indeed surprising to what an extent the people's ways of thinking in public affairs run along identical lines, and the same unanimity is apparent when the general opinion is to be put into action. What one man says or does immediately stirs the others to chime in; everybody is at once ready to accept whatever proposition may happen to be put forward with sufficient persuasive power. The meetings of the leaders are regarded as very important occasions, and if, for instance, a young man happens to come near the place unawares, he will hasten by as quickly as possible, with his head bent down, so as not to attract the angry looks of the elders.

We learn from savage peoples in different parts of the world

that it is the group of old or competent men who have the lead in tribal affairs. Certain peoples display well-established systems of council government, from others we only obtain more or less general statements that the old or qualified men hold the ruling power.

Among the Torres Straits islanders, in the New Guinea region, the only system of government is represented by the old men who constitute a court which is beyond appeal, and which is calculated to mould or restrain public opinion.⁴ Among the Orokaiva Papuans there is "a recognized ascendancy of the old men",⁵ so also among the Bukaua in the former German New Guinea "a number of old men occupy the position of a kind of chiefs".⁶ The Gilbert islanders highly respect the old men as long as these are still active and take part in the general palavers; the young men have to content themselves with the decisions of the elders.⁷

In certain Australian tribes the council system of government is stated to be very pronounced. With reference to the Northern tribes of Central Australia, Spencer and Gillen observe that there is no one to whom the term "chief" or even head of the tribe, can be properly applied; but there are certain of the elder men, the heads of local groups, who at any great ceremonial gathering take the lead. They form, as it were, an inner council or cabinet and completely control everything. The younger men have no say whatever. The council of the elder men only comprise a few individuals. They usually speak in a subdued voice, and the demeanour of every one is as grave as possible.⁸ Similarly, among certain other tribes of Central Australia, the celebration of the great ceremonies is a time when the old men from all parts of the tribe come together and discuss matters of tribal interest.⁹ In the tribes of South-Eastern Australia, according to Howitt, there seems to be no person to whom the whole community yields submission. But he constantly observed in the various tribes that the old men met at some place apart from the camp and discussed matters of importance. Howitt mentions several tribes among whom such meetings of the old men used to take place.¹⁰ Lumholtz states that the Herbert River natives have no chiefs, but on important occasions the old men's advice is sought, and their counsel is mostly taken by the whole tribe, but there is no restraint put on the liberty of the individual.¹¹ There are no recognized chiefs in the tribes of Northern Australia either, writes Foelsche, but "the old men of each tribe form themselves into a sort of council when anything of importance is to be discussed, and what they decide upon is generally carried out".¹² The Narrinyeri are led by their old men who, when an important question arises, assemble at some place outside the camp and take counsel together upon the matter.¹³ Mathew confirms that there are no chiefs, in the ordinary application of the word, in Australia. "Men of preponderating influence are those

who are distinguished for courage, strength, and force of character. These, in conjunction with the elders, generally advise as to the public actions of the community, settle internal disputes, and enforce obedience to traditional law."¹⁴ There are many additional sources substantiating in varying terms that in the Australian tribes the system of government is directed by a council consisting of the old authoritative men.¹⁵

To some extent we meet with similar conditions among certain savage tribes in the Indian archipelago. The Ida'an or Dusun in north-eastern Borneo "have no established chiefs, but follow the councils of the old men to whom they are related".¹⁶ Among certain tribes in Celebes the elders assembled occasionally at meetings where questions concerning the common interest of several tribes were debated.¹⁷ The wild forest tribes of the Malay Peninsula "acknowledge no leader, consulting age and experience just when it suits their purpose, and then only".¹⁸ Among the Andaman islanders "the affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older men and women".¹⁹

The backward tribes in north-eastern Asia and in neighbouring arctic regions have a similar system of government. When, among the Chukchi, any trouble arose between two different family-groups, men from both sides would assemble. The old men of each side would elect one or two speakers, who had to speak in turn, one side after the other, to clear up the matter.²⁰ Before the Russian conquest the Kamchadales lived in perfect freedom, having no chiefs, the old men and those who were remarkable for their bravery bearing the principal authority in their villages.²¹ The Ghiliak have no chiefs; in the village councils one listens to the eldest and the richest men, occasionally to the shamans; but on the whole, no one is governed by anyone else.²² When the Russians first came in contact with the Yakut, all tribal questions, economic as well as juridical, were decided by a council of the elders.²³

Regarding certain Eskimo we learn that the old men are the self-elected but willingly followed counsellors; where they go, and what they undertake, the rest of the tribe will follow as a flock of sheep follow the leading ram. The council of the eldest has great influence.²⁴ The Alaska Eskimo discussed the affairs of village importance in the *khashgii*, or community house. "Here the old men of the village gave their weighty judgment. Here decisions of the hunt and disputes between people were settled."²⁵ The Point Barrow Eskimo have no chiefs in the ordinary sense of the word, "but appear to be ruled by a strong public opinion, combined with a certain amount of respect for the opinion of the elder people, both men and women, and by a large number of traditional observances."²⁶ The government among the Inuit tribes, where they have any, is patriarchal, "consisting of advice

from the older and more experienced which is recognized and complied with by the younger."²⁷

Speaking of the forms of primitive government Groves remarks that in North America "the trend was towards democracy, with the authority in the hands of the elders or a council elected by the people".²⁸ Among the Makahs all matters of importance are submitted to a council. The old men on these occasions generally do all the talking, although women are permitted to speak on matters where they are concerned.²⁹ The Woolwa Indians "have now no chief of their own; some deference, however, appears to be paid to the elders of a settlement".³⁰ Concerning the Araucanians Father Alcedo stated that "they have no chief or head to govern them: all military authority rests in their elders, to whom they pay the same respect as though they were the fathers of the country".³¹ There are no chiefs among any of the Fuegian tribes; "the older men and the wizards wield a certain undefined influence or authority over the people".³²

A parallel political organization is met with in the more primitive African tribes. Thus among the Bushmen the affairs of the various bands "are as a rule regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general".³³ The Dama in South-West Africa recognize the council of the elders as highest tribal authority. It is composed of the heads of families who are the upholders of tribal life and the preservers of tribal lore as well as of arts and crafts. This "gerontocracy" has developed out of the co-operation of a number of family headmen.³⁴ Respecting the Akamba, Lindblom states that from early times a patriarchal form of government has prevailed among them. Every elderly man exacts obedience from the members of his family, and he has absolute authority over his sons, even after they have families of their own. Questions of more general interest are dealt with by a local assembly of elders. There have never been any chiefs. The home government is in the hands of a council of the elders.³⁵ The Ituru pygmies have no chiefs; each little tribe or family party, consisting of forty to eighty persons, has half a dozen or more elders, little old men who control the politics of the community.³⁶ The Kimbunda community is founded on democratic principles as an oligarchy of the elders who are treated with great respect. "The people speak in the diction of their elders."³⁷ The Masai states are usually little republics ruled by an oligarchy of all the wealthier or more powerful elders.³⁸

Concerning the patrician order in Rome, H. J. Rose observes that it appears to have "much about it that was still reminiscent of the savage council of elders (which indeed is the name of their advisory body, the *senatus*). Its members were not exactly magistrates and not exactly priests, unless formally appointed to one or

other of these offices ; but they had in their possession the whole apparatus of traditional government, and they only were in a position to say whether any proceeding would or would not be *fas iusque*—in accordance with law, divine or human. In other words they kept up the descendants of the unwritten tribal customs, which now were gradually developing into formal law.”³⁹

Besides its administrative function the governing council acts as the tribal court of justice. This is the case for instance among the Kiwai Papuans where the council investigates and decides judicial controversies of public significance and others which have been brought before it. Mere private cases are settled or fought out by the respective persons or groups themselves. The proceedings of the tribunal are carried on methodically, and include the hearing of the parties and witnesses. The most frequent trials are those connected with sorcery, theft, compensation for murder, ownership of gardens or plots of land, divorce, etc. When women are involved, they too appear before the council and plead their cause. Sometimes a particularly great palaver is held—for instance, when a quarrel concerning several villages has to be settled and a number of different parties are represented. In certain cases the court meets in secret, as, for instance, when somebody is accused of sorcery and must not be forewarned. Of all antisocial offences none excites so much wrath as witchcraft practised against the community or some member of it. The general indignation at such a crime is so great that a mere accusation is wellnigh tantamount to conviction. Even if the accused is brought in, he will find himself in a hopeless situation, because everything he pleads will be turned against him. The natural issue is in most cases an agreement to kill the man. The execution itself takes place in secret. The culprit is generally enticed under some pretext to a distant place in the bush, where some men lie in ambush and shoot him with their bows and arrows.

Akin to this are the judicial proceedings of the council in certain parts of Australia. When a person has been murdered by sorcery among the Central Australian tribes, and when the culprit has been identified, a council is held of the old men of the group to which the dead man belonged. In many cases the verdict of the council is that vengeance is to be exacted by means of a particular form of secret magic for the perpetration of which a suitable man is selected. Assisted by a medicine-man he then destroys the murderer so skilfully by means of sorcery that no one will be able to trace the deed.⁴⁰ The councils of the Dieri and Kulin tribes, also, used to treat criminal cases. When a person had been adjudged guilty of having caused the death of another by magic, he was killed by an armed party sent out for that purpose.⁴¹ The Narrinyeri have very old court proceedings which are said to be extremely

like trial by jury, and which are conducted by "the judgment council of the elders of the clan". Every clan has its council, or *tendi*, consisting of experienced elderly men. When a member dies, the others select a suitable successor.⁴² The only tribunal of the Yakut in ancient times was their council. Retaliation was the main judicial principle, and the penalty of murder was death. To carry out the sentence, a man was told off to betray the doomed by making friends with him and then enticing him to the bush on some pretext. There warriors lay in wait and fell upon him unawares.⁴³ Regarding many additional tribes it is simply stated that the elders or the leading men are the tribal judges, without any details being given.⁴⁴

It is natural that chiefs are frequently invested with judicial power. More rarely we meet among nature peoples with a special judiciary office. The Rwala Bedouins, for instance, have a hereditary judge. Judicial dignity is hereditary in certain clans and passes as a rule from father to son. If the latter lacks the necessary intelligence, the litigants turn to his uncle or to some other member of his kin. Furthermore, every chief may pass sentence, but may not interfere in any way with the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges; he must submit when the contending parties appeal from his verdict to the hereditary judge.⁴⁵

It is a noteworthy fact that, among certain undeveloped peoples, in conjunction with the administrative council, we can trace the beginnings of another political convocation, that is, a popular or national assembly. Among the Kiwai Papuans, to give an example, the decisions of the council are announced before the assembled people, which particularly happens when the matter in hand entails some enterprise of a general nature. Almost invariably these tribal meetings have a formal character only, for everyone seems to be ready to comply with whatever is suggested by the leaders. But I was expressly told that at these popular assemblies, just as at the meetings of the council, anyone may utter whatever opinion he holds in the matter, although it is very rare for any one to avail himself of this right. However, in the tribal gatherings among savages we cannot but recognize an early representation of national democratic assemblies such as in developed forms are renowned for instance in classical Greece and Rome as well as the ancient Teutonic tribes.

Among the Yakut, mass-meetings or popular assemblies are held in summer in the open air. The oldest and most influential sit in the first rank, on the bare ground, with their legs crossed under them. In the second rank sit or kneel the independent but less wealthy heads of households. In the third rank are the youth, children, poor men, and often women, for the most part standing, in order the better to see and hear. In general it is the first row

which decides affairs ; the second row sometimes offers its remarks and amendments, but no more. The third rank listens in silence. The decision of the questions is always submitted to the first rank. Oratory is highly esteemed, and they have some talented orators. Decisions are never considered binding until confirmed by a mass-meeting.⁴⁶ In the Dieri tribe, in South-Eastern Australia, when the council has come to a conclusion regarding a certain question, one of them will announce the matter before a meeting at which all the men are present, sitting or standing round, the younger men remaining on the outside. At such a meeting, the younger a man is the less he says. In certain other tribes the old men who governed the community also consulted the people on matters which had to be decided. This they did by standing at their fires and speaking to all on the question under consideration. Among the Kulin, also, great tribal meetings were occasionally held.⁴⁷ In certain Central Australian tribes matters of importance are generally discussed and decided upon by the elder men, apart from the others, but appeals are occasionally made to an assembly of the whole tribe.⁴⁸ Knabenhans names the rudimentary "Volkversammlung" of the Australian tribes "a means of consulting the popular opinion as represented by the assembled male population". The right to speak is confined to those of ripe age.⁴⁹ Among the Macusi Indians in British Guiana the population is summoned together by the chief when tribal interest requires a general palaver.⁵⁰

The tribal councils are, to a great extent, composed of the heads of the different families, who in general play an important part in early democratic communities. This identity of the two groups of tribal leaders is among certain peoples expressly affirmed.⁵¹ Among the northern tribes of Nigeria the head of the extended family occupies a very definite administrative position *vis-à-vis* the village community. He is responsible to it for the public behaviour of the members of his household, and where the family constitutes a single political unit, the head of the family is also chief of the community. The family, represented by its headman (i.e. the oldest male member of the oldest generation), is thus the basis of administrative organization. No village chief can afford to disregard the opinions of the heads of the family.⁵² Each little family, it is said of the Kalahari Bushmen, goes its own way, and the father is a despot as long as he is in possession of his full physical power.⁵³ Among the Papuans in the neighbourhood of Finsch-Haven the eldest male member of the family was at the same time its chief. His title, *abumtau*, expressed a meaning half-way between "village chief" and "family head", and often the members of a single family formed a whole village compound.⁵⁴ In Arorae or Hurd island "there was no king, but the heads of families met and

ruled".⁵⁵ The Mantave islanders have not risen above village government. The different villages of the same island do not acknowledge any supreme chief, nor have they any regular political union, although intercourse and common enterprises maintain a certain degree of mutual dependence. The society is a democracy under petty chiefs who have very little authority. "It is probable that they are the heads of families, for there are several in one village."⁵⁶

When passing from the group of least developed native communities to those somewhat more advanced as regards political organization, we meet more and more frequent instances of the authoritative power being held by a single person. We can regard it as a general rule that before the development of permanent chiefs or kings the personal leadership of a tribe was of a temporary nature. Leaders sporadically performing a chief's functions are met with in very early stages of social and political evolution. It probably happens in every community that some prominent member may for a longer or shorter period exercise a dominant influence over his tribesmen, and to a casual observer such an ascendancy may easily assume the appearance of an established chieftainship. This gives, presumably, the explanation of the conflicting reports as to the existence or non-existence of chieftainship among certain peoples.

The fluctuating character of primitive one-man rule is instanced from a considerable number of nature peoples. Thus the Kongo pygmies "have no settled government or hereditary chief, merely clustering round an able hunter or cunning fighter, and accepting him as law-giver for the time".⁵⁷ Their whole mode of life, we read regarding the Bushmen, excludes a formal political organization. A number of families may occasionally unite into a larger group and even look upon some more respected member as their captain, but such an organization is only of a temporary nature, and no regular leadership is perceptible.⁵⁸ Among the Ona Fuegians an informal authority over the people of a given district might be exercised by its ablest member, but such leadership became apparent only in times of stress.⁵⁹ The headman of the Indians of British Guiana is generally the most successful hunter, who, without having any formal authority, yet because he organizes the fishing and hunting parties, obtains a certain amount of deference from the other men of the tribe. He settles tribal disputes and exercises influence in certain questions in time of war.⁶⁰ The Blackfoot Indians are said to follow a successful leader into almost any danger. But if the leader meets with failure, his followers abandon him.⁶¹

In the early stages of the development of chieftainship the personal qualifications of the prospective leader constitute the

determining factor in his obtaining tribal influence. We learn in many cases that a powerful personality and superior endowments may raise a man to power, although no constant chieftainship exists. According to various reports such qualifications are physical dexterity and courage, wealth and generosity, skill in warfare or in hunting or fishing, age and wisdom, eloquence, insight and power in supernatural matters. It does not, however, seem necessary here to quote the existing material in full.⁶²

Similar personal distinctions mark out a man to be a ruler in cases where an established chieftainship is filled by election or where a dominant person may constitute himself a chief by general consent. Such instances, also, are frequently mentioned in descriptions of native peoples.⁶³ Personal predominance naturally counts for much in cases, where the nomination of a chief depends upon the result of certain more or less severe tests which an aspirant has to undergo.⁶⁴

The personal factor is of great importance not only in influencing a man's rise to chieftainship but also in the maintainance of his power. There is abundance of statements expressing in varying terms that "a chief's tenure of authority depends upon his ability to maintain it", or that "his influence is derived rather from his personal character than from any constitutional rule", etc.⁶⁵

Finally we have to note the significance of personal conditions in cases where succession to chieftainship is partially or conditionally hereditary, i.e. when a chief is generally succeeded by his eldest son (or, according to varying rules of descent, by some other near relative), provided that the latter is considered fit, otherwise he is set aside and some other member of the reigning family is appointed. Many instances illustrate how the customary succession of a chief may be changed on account of personal circumstances and expediency.⁶⁶

We have to add that among a number of native peoples kingship and chieftainship are stated to be strictly hereditary. Thus in all the states of the Indian archipelago, wherever absolute government is established, the title of the royal family to the throne is considered divine and indefeasible. Their claims are guarded by superstition; and the Malay and Javanese languages have peculiar words "to express the judgment of Providence that would fall upon the man of inferior birth who should presume to arrogate the office or titles of royalty".⁶⁷ Among the Guarani Indians, "when a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be."⁶⁸ Further instances of the hereditaryness of chiefs are given from several peoples without any details being supplied.⁶⁹

There are a number of cases, though relatively few, in which women-rulers have been met with among native tribes.⁷⁰ According

to the law of descent of the Lillooet Indians "if a chief had no son he was succeeded by his eldest daughter".⁷¹

Under monarchical rule the council of the influential men, which we have indicated as apparently the earliest form of government, very generally subsists as an administrative organ, in a modified form. From a great many nature peoples we learn of the existence of an advisory or ministerial council assisting the ruler and composed in different ways.⁷² One of the main functions of the council is generally that of a court of justice.⁷³

In many cases we learn that the council is invested with considerable power. With regard to South African native law Whitfield remarks that the rule of the chiefs was by no means so irresponsible as it is generally believed to have been. "Their will was tempered, and to a large extent controlled, by a council, so weighty and influential, that no step of serious tribal importance was taken until the whole matter had been discussed by it at length." The councillors were the direct representatives of the people's wish, and in the very considerable freedom of speech permitted to them at their assemblies the popular voice found means of expression. A councillor was not formally appointed, he simply became one as his opinion at the public gatherings of the tribe increased in weight and, as he acquired popular influence, he grew to be accepted, as a representative of a section of the tribe. The councillors were recognized as arbitrators in civil disputes. A few were always to be found at the chief's residence, where they largely relieved the chief of the burden of judicial cross-questioning, and assisted him in the executive, fulfilling many of the duties of ministers of state under more advanced forms of government.⁷⁴ The Ashanti chief to all outward appearance was an autocrat. In reality every move and command of his had been discussed in private and been previously agreed upon by his councillors. Every one in the tribe had access to the councillors to whom popular opinion on any subject was thus made known.⁷⁵ From many other tribes we learn that "no chief could ever afford in important matters to act independently of the council", or that "in all important affairs a gathering of tribal counsellors or seniors has the right to cast the final decisive vote", etc.⁷⁶

The authority of the councillors is among certain peoples so great as to enable them to remove a chief⁷⁷ or even to execute him, if he is "an unconstitutional or unpopular monarch".⁷⁸

In certain communities there are separate village and tribal councils and also corresponding higher and lower grades of chiefs.⁷⁹

In the undeveloped groups of tribes, which are governed by a council and where there is absence of social ranks as well as of

division of labour, oppression can hardly ever be exercised by the community over its members. A study of a tribe of this type, such as the Kiwai Papuans, creates the strong impression that the people are kept together by social instinct and mutual interest, not by any kind of coercion. The conditions in which many primitive peoples live, afford one safeguard against any form of oppression, and that is the possibility of a group or even an individual family separating from the community and forming a settlement of their own. Among the Kiwai Papuans, for instance, internal quarrels have frequently caused larger or smaller groups to part from the others and found a new domicile, temporarily or permanent. There is no one to hinder malcontents from going away. Similar instances are reported from certain other tribes. If among the Kayans of Borneo, some portion of a tribe are dissatisfied with the conduct of their chief, they leave their former village, build a new long-house of their own at a suitable place and elect a new chief, while the old chief remains in the old village with a reduced following.⁸⁰ Among the Punans, also, in case of disagreement, one or more of the members of a band may refuse to accept the judgment of the leader and of the majority ; he or they will withdraw from the community together with wife and children to form a band which, though in the main independent of the parent group, will usually remain in its near neighbourhood and maintain some intercourse.⁸¹

Warfare has in various respects influenced the conditions of chieftainship. Thus, it is common in loosely organized tribes for the chiefs to exercise more notable authority only under the stress of war.⁸² Many peoples who include a plurality of subdivisions, only in war unite under the common leadership of a chief.⁸³

A very general institution is the appointment of a special chief in war, while the permanent chief only directs the civil administration of the tribe.⁸⁴ Regarding the Toba Indians we are informed that since the ordinary chiefs, who receive their rank by inheritance, are often too old and decrepit to serve as successful leaders in war, extraordinary chiefs are frequently elected in addition to them for a war expedition. These are usually young men who have distinguished themselves in battle.⁸⁵ Among the Indians of Nicaragua the war-chief was elected by the warriors to lead them, on account of his ability and bravery in battle, and had individual command of the forces ; but the civil or hereditary chief often accompanied the army, and, if the war chief was slain, either took his place in person or named a successor on the spot.⁸⁶ In the Poam Pomo Indian tribe the war chief becomes the peace chief when he grows too decrepit to conduct them to battle.⁸⁷—From certain other tribes we learn that they are led by the same chiefs in peace and in war, making no distinction between the two.⁸⁸

The outward splendour, insignia, etc., which frequently distinguish native kings and chiefs, are partly of the same character as those which separate the nobility from other classes, although displayed on a bigger scale (cf., pp. 288 *sqq.*). We find it natural, for instance, that the more or less pompous habitations of monarchs contribute to their elevation over the people at large.⁸⁹

As regards the many descriptions and forms of insignia distinguishing native rulers we must here restrict ourselves to mentioning a number of illustrative instances only. The rank of the chief was among the Maori indicated by the number of his cloaks, fastened one upon the other, that which was smallest, but generally most valuable, being worn on the outside.⁹⁰ In Hawaii the royal colour was yellow, and no one besides the king was allowed to wear a cloak entirely of yellow feathers.⁹¹ The same colour could in the kingdom of Borneo proper only be worn by the royal family.⁹² In Madagascar the regal colour was scarlet.⁹³ Among the Cross river natives in Guinea the same colour distinguished a chief.⁹⁴ Only head chiefs of the Kafirs were allowed to wear cloaks of leopard skin.⁹⁵

A distinctive hair-dress characterized the head chief in the Marquesas islands.⁹⁶ Long hair was worn by the Cæsars, the most illustrious family of the Julian house, and constituted probably a symbol of royalty.⁹⁷ The long hair of the Frankish Merovingian kings was sacred and implied a prerogative of the royal race.⁹⁸ In ancient Mexico the king wore a crown "in shape like a small mitre".⁹⁹

Certain arm-rings are emblems of chieftainship in Diagara in West Africa¹⁰⁰ and among the Koossa Kafirs.¹⁰¹ The Singhalese confine the use of gold ornaments to the royal family.¹⁰² In Dahomey sandals are an emblem of kingship.¹⁰³

A staff or sceptre as a mark of royalty is reported from different peoples.¹⁰⁴ In Bagirmi a part of the distinctive regalia was the royal lance.¹⁰⁵ The chief of the island of Nias had a particular state-lance.¹⁰⁶ Weapons of various descriptions belong among certain peoples to the category of regal symbols.¹⁰⁷ Negro potentates are frequently accompanied by bands of musicians or by a crier who announces the great man's approach.¹⁰⁸ A carved arm-chair is reported from Ashanti as a chief's emblem.¹⁰⁹

In connection with the nobility we have mentioned the use of umbrellas or baldachins as tokens of high rank. Originally various descriptions of sunshades were a symbol of royalty, and among several peoples they are still one of the outward distinctions of rulers.¹¹⁰ The king of Dahomey "rode under four white umbrellas, and three parasols, yellow, purple, and blue-red, were waved and twisted over him, to act as fans".¹¹¹ In Ashanti the king was shaded by an umbrella large enough to cover twenty or thirty

persons.¹¹² The king of Cazembe was sheltered from the sun by seven large gay-coloured umbrellas forming a canopy over him.¹¹³ Akin to sunshades are ceremonial fans, in Africa generally made of ostrich feathers mounted on long sticks; they are waved over royal persons when appearing in state.¹¹⁴

The use of a particular noble language or mode of speech, which we have mentioned in a previous chapter (pp. 303 *sq.*), naturally includes royal courts.

The exalted isolation of royal families attains its height in the marriages between brother and sister which are reported from several ruling houses.¹¹⁵ It is, however, possible that, in certain cases, the chroniclers of such marriages may have been misled by the ambiguous use of such kinship terms as "brother" and "sister" where the classificatory system of relationship exists. Garcilasso de la Vega states regarding the Peruvian Inca that "the heir to the kingdom should marry his eldest sister, legitimate both on the side of the father and the mother, and she was his legitimate wife. . . . They did it to ensure purity of the blood of the Sun; for they said that it was unlawful to mix human blood, calling all that was not of the Incas, human. They also declared that the princes married their sisters, in order that they might inherit the kingdom as much through the mother as the father: for otherwise they affirmed that the prince might be bastardized through his mother."¹¹⁶ It was only the sovereign who was "authorized to dispense with the law of nature—or, at least the usual law of nations—so far as to marry his own sister."¹¹⁷ Among the reigning family in Hawaii brothers and sisters marry, as stated by Ellis and Wilkes. The reason is that "being the highest chiefs in the islands, they could not marry any others who were their equals, and ought not to form alliances with inferiors, as it was desirable that the supreme rank they held should descend to their posterity". Such incestuous intercourse was, in other cases, contrary to the custom and feelings of the people.¹¹⁸ Within the royal family of the Sakalava in Madagascar marriages between brother and sister are said to have been contracted. Such marriages were, however, preceded by a ceremony of sprinkling the woman with consecrated water, and reciting prayers asking for her happiness and fecundity, "as if there was a fear that such unnatural unions would call down upon the parties the anger of the Supreme Being". Such marriages were usually made because of the difficulty sometimes occurring of finding a wife of equal rank with the chief or king.¹¹⁹ According to Herodotus, Kambyses, king of Persia, married his sister, "though she was his full sister, the daughter both of his father and his mother". Some time afterwards he took to wife another sister.¹²⁰

In Chapter IX we have paid attention to the union of a ruler's

position and the office of a priest or sorcerer and, to the highest combination of secular and divine supremacy, the king who is also a god.

The increased authority which religious and magical power confers upon a ruler has contributed to the extreme degree of autocracy which has signalized the potentates of not a few semi-civilized or barbarous peoples. (Cf., also, pp. 136. *sqq.*) An instance is furnished by the Inca sovereign. As the representative of the Sun and asserting his claims as a superior being, he stood at the head of the priesthood. At the same time he was the source from which all secular power flowed. He was, in short, "himself the state". The sovereign was placed at an immeasurable distance above his subjects. "Even the proudest of the Inca nobility, claiming descent from the same divine origin as himself, could not venture into the royal presence, unless barefoot, and bearing a light burden on his shoulders in token of homage."¹²¹ In Africa the king of Dahomey is said to be one of the most absolute tyrants in the world. Being regarded as a demi-god by his own subjects, his actions are never questioned. No persons ever approach him, not even his favourite chiefs, without prostrating themselves at full length on the ground, and covering their faces and heads with earth. The king is the absolute proprietor of the land, the people, and every thing that pertains to his domain. The people are his slaves, and they must come and go at his command. The women of the country, of all ages and conditions, are his absolute property.¹²² In very much the same terms has the despotism of the neighbouring former kingdom of Ashanti been depicted.¹²³ Certain Indian Rajahs can be assigned to the same group of rulers.¹²⁴ In Polynesia the chiefs of New Zealand and of Hawaii have in particular been referred to as absolute autocrats. The former of these chiefs are said to be accounted of divine origin and their spirits after death are supposed to reign in an abode of the gods. "This system of living worship induces the native chief to become the proudest being that can be found." The person of the Maori chief was sacred, he had the power of holding converse with the gods, in fact laid claim to being one himself, making the tabu a powerful adjunct to obtain control over his people and their goods. The Hawaiian chiefs, too, were considered to be descended from the gods.¹²⁵ Among many peoples, in addition, the rulers are thought to be descendants or representatives of the gods.¹²⁶

With the divine or holy character of many kings the pompous performance of their obsequies at death is closely connected. The ceremonial of a dead king naturally arises from a desire to celebrate his departure in a manner worthy of his rank and holiness. But another motive is evidently to preserve his remains more carefully or to provide them with a tomb which may serve as a shrine for the spirit when exercising posthumous duties towards the people.¹²⁷

The people's attitude towards their holy or otherwise exalted kings are reflected in the manifestations of subserviency which form a conspicuous feature of court ceremonial in many exotic states, of which a few instances have been given before. But chiefs of a comparatively modest order are also frequently treated in a corresponding way.¹²⁸ In the Ebon island, for instance, people of lower rank could only appear before the chiefs in a crouching position and looking down, and no one was allowed to stand, when a chief was sitting; a respectful distance from the chief was also to be maintained. This constant servility had conferred upon the whole deportment of the natives a character of great humility which was particularly noticeable with the older people.¹²⁹ The Tahitians rendered a singular homage to their kings; they stripped down the upper garments and uncovered the body as low as the waist, in the presence of the king. This homage was also paid to their gods, and to their temples.¹³⁰ In Hawaii the people prostrated themselves with their faces touching the ground, when their sacred chiefs were passing along. They were on no account allowed to touch a chief.¹³¹ When in certain countries in the Indian archipelago people approach their sovereign, they have to creep or to go on all fours, and retire in the same humiliating manner. They never stand erect, by any chance, in the sovereign's presence.¹³² The same is stated of the New Caledonians who, besides, must never pass behind a chief.¹³³

Singular expressions of the holiness of kings are the tabu rules to which they are subjected. In certain Polynesian islands to touch the king intentionally was punished with death, but to touch him involuntarily made the offender himself tabu, a very precarious condition. On account of his acquired holiness such a person could not use his hands for doing anything, not even for eating or drinking, but he had to be fed by someone else.¹³⁴ Not only the persons of the kings were sacred but everything connected with them, their clothes, houses, canoes, the ground under their feet, became holy.¹³⁵ By reason of the sacredness of the Samoan chiefs, whatever they came in contact with required to undergo a neutralizing ceremony, by sprinkling with a particular kind of coconut water. This took place both to remove the sanctity supposed to be communicated to the article or place that had touched the chief, and also to counteract the danger of speedy death, which was believed to threaten any person who might touch the sacred chief or anything that he had touched. Not only was the spot where such a chief had sat or slept sprinkled with water, but also the persons who had sat on either side of him when he received company, as well as the attendants who had waited upon him.¹³⁶ In the same islands the kings lived in a house isolated from the rest of the population. It was considered dangerous to approach them, because of the deadly influence supposed to radiate from their persons, the evil feared

being swelling of the body, and death. The chiefs of high rank took their meals separately, because whatever they touched was supposed to partake of their sacredness; so all food left by them was thrown away. If anyone not belonging to this sacred class ate of it, his stomach would swell from disease, and death would speedily ensue. No one might sit beside the chiefs, a vacant place being always left on each side of their seat of honour.¹³⁷ If a chief in Tonga entered a house belonging to a subject, it would become taboo and could never be inhabited by its owner; so there were particular houses for his reception when travelling.¹³⁸ When journeying by land the Tahitian kings had to be borne so as not on any account to touch the ground, even accidentally, outside their own private estate. When changing bearers they had to vault from the back of one man to that of the other. The bearers, who had become tabooed through contact, were generally exempt from other labours. Anyone who should stand over the king, or pass a hand over his head, would be liable to pay for the sacrilegious act with his life. Years would have elapsed before the sanctity of the soil, touched by a king, would have passed away, leaving it safe for other people to tread upon. A house or furniture which had become taboo by contact with the king had to be burnt or pulled down; any vessel from which he had eaten or drunk had to be destroyed.¹³⁹

Of a partly similar nature is the holiness and taboo of certain African kings. It is stated of the king-god of the Yukon kingdom in Nigeria that his person is charged with a spiritual force which makes it dangerous for any one to be touched by him. If he even touched the ground with his hands or uncovered foot, the crops would be ruined. (Similarly the king of Ashanti may not put his uncovered foot to the ground.) It was no doubt due to this fatal power of his *mana* that in former times the chief spoke to his subjects from behind a screen, a custom which was also followed by the early kings of Bornu.¹⁴⁰ The sacred king of Loango has one house in which alone he can eat, and another where alone he can drink. While the king is eating, the doors are carefully closed and bolted, and any person that should see him in the act of eating, would be put to death. In Pongo a chief always has a screen interposed between himself and others when he is drinking. The purpose of this usage, no doubt, is to protect the chief against the machinations of witchcraft. It is a common belief that persons are more susceptible to these influences while eating, drinking, or sleeping, than under other circumstances.¹⁴¹ In Dahomey the king is looked up to as a demi-god, and if he drink in public, every one must turn the head so as not to see him, while some of the court women hold up a cloth before him as a screen. He never eats in public, and the people affect to believe that he neither eats nor sleeps. It is criminal to say the contrary.¹⁴²

NOTES

A. THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY

CHAPTER I

EQUALITY OF RANK PREVAILING AMONG THE LOWEST RACES

- ¹ Lester Ward, "Social Classes," in *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, xiii, 625 sq.
- ² Tawney, *Equality*, p. 63.
- ³ Cf., *ibid.*, p. 123.
- ⁴ Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, ii, 460.
- ⁵ Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, i, 176.
- ⁶ Oldfield, "Aborigines of Australia," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iii, 256.
- ⁷ Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 113.
- ⁸ Schürmann, "Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226.
- ⁹ Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, pp. 211 sq.
- ¹⁰ Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 215.
- ¹¹ Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii, 194.
- ¹² Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, i, 244.
- ¹³ Thulié, "Instructions sur les Bochimans," in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie*, t. iv, série iii, 410.
- ¹⁴ Bleek, *The Naron*, p. 37.
- ¹⁵ Le Vaillant, *Travels from the Cape of Good-Hope*, ii, 67.
- ¹⁶ Man, "Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 109, 356.
- ¹⁷ Portman, *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, i, 40 sq.
- ¹⁸ Bailey, "Wild Tribes of the Veddahs," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., ii, 281.
- De Butts, *Rambles in Ceylon*, p. 140. Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 119.
- ¹⁹ Bailey, *loc. cit.*, N.S., ii, 307.
- ²⁰ Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, iii, 488.
- ²¹ Emerson Teanent, *Ceylon*, ii, 442.
- ²² Cook, *Account of a Voyage round the World*, Hawkesworth's ed., ii, 58.
- ²³ Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 178.
- ²⁴ Darwin, *Voyage of Beagle*, p. 229.
- ²⁵ Hyades, "Ethnographie des Fuegiens," in *Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie*, t. iv., série x, 335.
- ²⁶ Seeman, *Voyage of Herald*, ii, 59 sq.
- ²⁷ Hall, *Arctic Researches*, p. 571.
- ²⁸ Boas, "Central Eskimo," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vi, 581.
- ²⁹ Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 161, note.
- ³⁰ Crantz, *History of Greenland*, i, 180.
- ³¹ Astrup, *Blandt Nordpolens Naboer*, p. 253.
- ³² Lewin, *Wild Races of SE. India*, p. 253.
- ³³ Grange, "Expedition into the Naga Hills," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, ix, 950.
- ³⁴ Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, pp. 145 sq.
- ³⁵ Samuells, "Notes on a Forest Race," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxv, 1856.
- ³⁶ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 5.
- ³⁷ Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 258.
- ³⁸ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 21.
- ³⁹ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 219.
- ⁴⁰ Coolidge, *The Rain-Maker*, p. 232.
- ⁴¹ Karsten, *Indian Tribes of Chaco*, p. 45.
- ⁴² Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, i, 54-68.
- ⁴³ Post, *Ursprung des Rechts*, pp. 96 sq. *Id.*, *Bausteine*, ii, 44 sq. *Id.*, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 150.
- ⁴⁴ Gumplowicz, *Grundriss der Sociologie*, p. 126.
- ⁴⁵ Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁶ Fahlbeck, *Stånd och klasser*, p. 7.
- ⁴⁷ Durkheim, *De la Division du Travail Social*, p. 142.
- ⁴⁸ Krause, *Das Wirtschaftsleben der Völker*, p. 37.
- ⁴⁹ Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, p. 192.
- ⁵⁰ Thurnwald, *Repräsentative Lebensbilder*, pp. 33 sq.
- ⁵¹ Ginsberg, *Sociology*, pp. 135, 174.

CHAPTER II

THE POSITION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—AGE-CLASSES

¹ Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i., ch. 12, § 1, and ch. 5, § 7.

² Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, introduction, p. xxiv. Cf. Crauford, "Victoria River Downs Station," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 182. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, xxxv.

³ Seeman, *Viti*, p. 179.

⁴ Torday and Joyce, "Ba-Mbala," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx, 403.

⁵ Cf. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 523 sq. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 151.

⁶ Crauford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 1112. Cf. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 420 sq.

⁷ Westermarck, op. cit., i, 655 sqq. Instances of the degraded condition of women have been supplied by Post, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 32; id., *Ursprung des Rechts*, pp. 52-6; id., *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, pp. 326-8; id., *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 295-7. Westermarck, op. cit., i, 629 sq. Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, pp. 45-8, 171. Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, pp. 43-6. Briffault, *The Mothers*, i, 311-15.

⁸ Westermarck, op. cit., i, 629 sqq. Instances of women holding a less degraded position have been given by Post, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, pp. 328-331; id., *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 297 sq. Westermarck, op. cit., i, 638 sqq. Grosse, op. cit., pp. 77, 176. Briffault, op. cit., 316-327.

⁹ Mitchell, *Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii, 346.

¹⁰ Wirz, *Die Marind anim*, p. 67.

¹¹ Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 185.

¹² Schoolcraft, *Information of the Indian Tribes*, iii, 196.

¹³ Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, n.r viii, 53.

¹⁴ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 126 sq.

¹⁵ Holm, *History of Greece*, i, 182.

¹⁶ Teit, "Lilloet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, 254 sq.

¹⁷ Thurnwald, *Repräsentative Lebensbilder*, p. 67.

¹⁸ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 198.

¹⁹ Snow, "Wild Tribes in Tierra del Fuego," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S.*, i, 264.

²⁰ Burckhardt, *Beduins and Wahabys*, ii, 264.

²¹ Westermarck, *Early Beliefs*, pp. 153 sqq.

²² Briffault, *The Mothers*, i, 310 sq., 460 sqq.

²³ Thurnwald, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie*, pp. 29-60.

²⁴ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 599-613. Id., *Early Beliefs*, pp. 67 sqq. The question of parents' rights over their children has been treated in many works. Cf. Aristotle's *Politics*, b. i, ch. 12, §§ 1, 3. Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, pp. 78 sq., 171. Post, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Familienrechts*, pp. 332 sq.

²⁵ Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii, 51.

²⁶ Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloit and Kurnai*, p. 211. Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 113. Schürmann, "Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226. Wyatt, *Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes*, ib., p. 168. Matthews, "The Australian Native," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 189. Eyre, *Central Australia*, ii, 315. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 126 sq. Stanbridge, "Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S.*, i, 286. Mitchell, *The Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii, 346.

²⁷ Hagen and Pineau, "Les Nouvelles Hébrides," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 334.

²⁸ Svoboda, "Bewohner des Nikobaren Archipels," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, v, 191. Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 243.

²⁹ Krashennikow, *Камчатка*, ii, 14.

- ³⁰ Blumentritt, "Kianganen," in *Ausland*, lxiv, 120.
- ³¹ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 273.
- ³² Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 474.
- ³³ Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 172.
- ³⁴ Von Martius, *Ethnographie Brasiliens*, p. 274.
- ³⁵ Wickham, "Souromo or Woolwa Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 201.
- ³⁶ Grubb, *Among the Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 75. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 114 (Tlinkits), 414 (Southern Californians), 728 (Payas and Caribs).
- ³⁷ Murdoch, "Point Barrow Expedition," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 427.
- Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *ibid.*, xviii, 329. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, i, 68.
- ³⁸ Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i, 170.
- ³⁹ Fitzroy, *op. cit.*, ii, 179.
- ⁴⁰ *The History of Herodotus*, b. v, ch. 80.
- ⁴¹ Leviticus xix, 32.
- ⁴² *The Iliad*, xxiii, 787 sq.
- ⁴³ *The Odyssey*, xiii, 140 sq.
- ⁴⁴ Eyre, *op. cit.*, ii, 316.
- ⁴⁵ Curr, *Squatting in Victoria*, p. 245. Eyre, *op. cit.*, ii, 316.
- ⁴⁶ Parkinson, "Gilbertinsulaner," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, 40.
- Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, pp. xxv sq.
- ⁴⁷ Ward, "Congo Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 290. Schweinfurt, *The Heart of Africa*, ii, 18. Moffat, *Missionary Labours in Southern Africa*, p. 132.
- Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, pp. 298 sqq.
- ⁴⁸ Hearne, *A Journey to the Northern Ocean*, p. 345 (Indians west of Hudson's Bay). Seaman, *Voyage of Herald*, ii, 66 (Western Eskimo). Lyon, *Private Journal*, p. 356 (Eskimo). Catlin, *North American Indians*, i, 217. Willoughby, "Indians of the Quinaielt Agency," in *Ann. Report of the Bureau of Regents*, 1885-6, pt. i, 274. Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii, 203 (Moxo tribes). Grubb, *Among the Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 75.
- ⁴⁹ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 390.
- ⁵⁰ Hale, *op. cit.*, vi, 65.
- ⁵¹ Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, p. 84.
- ⁵² Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 294-314. *Id.*, *The Tree of Life*, pp. 55 sq.
- ⁵³ The fullest account of the initiation ceremonies of the Central Australians is given by Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, ch. vii-ix, and *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, ch. xi. Important descriptions are also, for instance, those of Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 58-75; Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, pp. 192-200; Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, pp. 116-121; and Schürmann, "Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," in *Woods, Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 226-234.
- ⁵⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 213-271.
- ⁵⁵ *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 328 sq.
- ⁵⁶ Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, i, 66.
- ⁵⁷ Cunow, *Verwandschafts-organisation der Australneger*, p. 28.
- ⁵⁸ Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, i, 62, 64 sq., 69. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 213. *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 329.
- ⁵⁹ Stanbridge, "Central Part of Victoria," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., i, 287 sq. Cunow, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i, 72. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, pp. 120 sq.
- ⁶⁰ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 213. *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 329.
- ⁶¹ *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 331.
- ⁶² Mathew, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-121.
- ⁶³ Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, i, 60.
- ⁶⁴ Cunow, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ⁶⁵ Curr, *op. cit.*, i, 72. Fison and Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 197. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 256.
- ⁶⁶ Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 221, 249, 256 (no special name is given to a female after any initiation rite), 269. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.*, i, 66. Mathew, *op. cit.*, p. 117. Curr, *op. cit.*, i, 72. Cunow, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 sq., 32 sq.
- ⁶⁷ Haddon, *Head Hunters*, pp. 42 sq. *Id.*, "Initiation," in *Rep. Cambridge Anthr. Exped.*, v, 208-221.

- ⁶⁸ Seligman, "Woman's Puberty Customs," *ibid.*, v, 201-7.
- ⁶⁹ Nieuwenhuis, *In Central Borneo*, i, 67 sqq.
- ⁷⁰ Man, "Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 129-135.
- ⁷¹ Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, p. 147.
- ⁷² Johnston, *Liberia*, ii, 1029-1036.
- ⁷³ Torday and Joyce, "Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 46.
- ⁷⁴ Lugg, "Puberty Customs of the Natives of Natal and Zululand," in *Man*, vii, 116.
- ⁷⁵ Hyades and Deniker, "Anthropologie," in *Mission Scientifique du Cape Horn*, vii, 376.
- ⁷⁶ Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii, 387 sq. Initiation ceremonies among the Brazilian natives are to a similar effect described by v. Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 69.
- ⁷⁷ Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii, 1320.
- ⁷⁸ Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guayana*, i, 168.
- ⁷⁹ Appun, "Indianer in Britisch Guayana," in *Ausland*, xlv, 186 sq.
- ⁸⁰ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, pp 496 sq.
- ⁸¹ Tout, "Ethnology of the Siciatl," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv, 32.
- ⁸² Among the Stseelis Indians boys do not seem to have been regularly secluded at all (Tout, "Report on the Stseelis," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv, 319), and among the Northern Maidu puberty ceremonies are held only for girls, although in one sense the initiation ceremonies of the Secret Society may be considered as puberty ceremonies for the boys also (Dixon, "The Northern Maidu," in *Bull. of the Amer. Museum of Natural History*, vol. xvii, pt. iii, 232).
- ⁸³ Rust, "Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., viii, 30.
- ⁸⁴ Teit, "The Lilloet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, 263-7.
- ⁸⁵ Rust, loc. cit., N.S., viii, 28-31.
- ⁸⁶ Dixon, loc. cit., vol. xvii, pt. iii, 232-9.
- ⁸⁷ Tout, "Ethnology of the Siciatl," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv, 32.
- ⁸⁸ Id., "Report on the Stseelis," *ibid.*, xxxiv, 319 sq.
- ⁸⁹ Id., "Ethnology of the Slatliumh," *ibid.*, xxxv, 137.
- ⁹⁰ Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, p. 216.
- ⁹¹ Tate, "Further Notes on the Kikuyu," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv, 265.
- ⁹² Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, i, 22-100.
- ⁹³ Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, p. 109.
- ⁹⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 269 sq. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 61 sq., 65.
- ⁹⁵ Schurtz, op. cit., p. 96.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 84 sq.
- ⁹⁷ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 264. Id., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 339. Brough Smyth, op. cit., i, 60. Cunow, *Verwandtschafts-Organisation der Australneger*, p. 33. Kohler, "Recht der Australneger," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vii, 357. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, p. 42 (Western Tribe of Torres Strait). Hyades and Deniker, "Anthropologie, Ethnographie," in *Mission Scientifique du Cape Horn*, vii, 376 (Fuegians). Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii, 1320 (Mauhés). Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 496 (Uaupés).
- ⁹⁸ Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 299. Appun, "Indianer in Britisch Guayana," in *Ausland*, xlv, 185.
- ⁹⁹ Rust, "Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., viii, 28.
- ¹⁰⁰ Man, "Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, xii, 130.
- ¹⁰¹ Mathew, "Australian Aborigines," in *Jour. and Proceed. Roy. Soc. N.S. Wales*, xxiii, 407.
- ¹⁰² Knabenhans, *Politische Organisation bei den australischen Eingeborenen*, p. 49.
- ¹⁰³ Thurnwald, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie*, p. 270.
- ¹⁰⁴ Knabenhans, op. cit., p. 75.
- ¹⁰⁵ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 272.

- ¹⁰⁶ Id., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 328.
- ¹⁰⁷ Cunow, op. cit., p. 33.
- ¹⁰⁸ Schürmann, "Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226. Cunow, op. cit., p. 33.
- ¹⁰⁹ Regarding food restrictions imposed upon the younger members of a tribe, cf. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 319 sq.
- ¹¹⁰ Brough Smyth, op. cit., i, p. xxxv. Fison and Howitt, *Kamrialoi and Kurnai*, p. 197, note. Cunow, op. cit., p. 33. Grey, *Expeditions in NW. and W. Australia*, ii, 248. Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 113 sq. Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, xxiv. Crauford, "Victoria River Downs Station," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 182. Knabenhans, op. cit., pp. 62 sqq.
- ¹¹¹ Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in Woods, op. cit., p. 16.
- ¹¹² Mitchell, *Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii, 346.
- ¹¹³ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 136.
- ¹¹⁴ Cunow, op. cit., p. 33.
- ¹¹⁵ Mitchell, op. cit., ii, 347.
- ¹¹⁶ Taplin, loc. cit., p. 16.
- ¹¹⁷ Wallace, op. cit., p. 496.
- ¹¹⁸ Brough Smyth, op. cit., i, 68.
- ¹¹⁹ Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 315 sq.
- ¹²⁰ Gräffe, "Yap," in *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, i, 2, p. 16.
- ¹²¹ Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 282, 284.
- ¹²² Girard, "Yakomas and Bougous," in *L'Anthropologie*, xii, 81.
- ¹²³ Niblack, "Coast Indians," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1887-8, pp. 256 sq.
- ¹²⁴ Tate, "Notes on the Kikuyu and Kamba Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv, 134.
- ¹²⁵ Taplin, loc. cit., pp. 15 sq.
- ¹²⁶ Willoughby, "Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vii, 499.
- ¹²⁷ Tate, loc. cit., p. 134.
- ¹²⁸ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 240.
- ¹²⁹ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, pp. 135 sq. With regard to the Encounter Bay natives it is reported, that no particular time is allotted for the practice of making scars upon the breast and shoulders. Meyer, "Aborigines of the Encounter Bay," in Woods, op. cit., p. 189.
- ¹³⁰ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 88. Id., *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 181.
- ¹³¹ Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, i, 314.
- ¹³² Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 568.
- ¹³³ Hopley, "Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiii, 353.
- ¹³⁴ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 240.
- ¹³⁵ Torday and Joyce, "Ba-Yaka," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 46.
- ¹³⁶ Rust, "Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., viii, 30.
- ¹³⁷ Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Ame Primitive*, pp. 341 sq.
- ¹³⁸ Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, pp. 98, 103 sqq.
- ¹³⁹ Rivers, *Social Organization*, p. 125.
- ¹⁴⁰ Schurtz, op. cit., p. 97.
- ¹⁴¹ Cf., for instance, Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i, 829 (ancient Hebrew). Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 43.
- ¹⁴² Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 60 sq.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 300.
- ¹⁴⁴ Karsten, *Civilization of the South American Indians*, pp. 157, 195.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 188.
- ¹⁴⁶ Schurtz, op. cit., p. 106.
- ¹⁴⁷ Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 118.
- ¹⁴⁸ Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p. 114. Cf. Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 288.
- ¹⁴⁹ Crawley, op. cit., p. 299.
- ¹⁵⁰ Schurtz, op. cit., p. 106.
- ¹⁵¹ Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 626.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL DIFFERENCES THROUGH PERSONAL QUALITIES

- ¹ Schumpeter particularly emphasizes the special function assigned to each class, "Die sozialen Klassen," in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, Bd. 57, pp. 35 sq.
- ² *The Politics of Aristotle*, b. i, ch. 5, § 2.
- ³ Rousseau, *De l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, p. 95.
- ⁴ Hiller, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 36 sq.
- ⁵ Ginsberg, *Sociology*, p. 159.
- ⁶ Hayes, *Sociology*, p. 474.
- ⁷ North, *Social Differentiation*, p. 17.
- ⁸ Mac Iver, *Society*, pp. 78 sq.
- ⁹ Ginsberg, "Class Consciousness," in *Encycl. of the Social Sciences*, iii, 536.
- ¹⁰ Mac Iver, op. cit., p. 85.
- ¹¹ Spann, *Gesellschaftslehre*, p. 391. Id., *Der wahre Staat*, p. 238.
- ¹² Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, pp. 205 sq., 208, 209. Id., *Grundriss der Sociologie*, p. 124.
- ¹³ Lester Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 203 sq.
- ¹⁴ Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, pp. 253 sq.
- ¹⁵ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 167. Id., *Bausteine*, ii, 52 sq. Id., *Ursprung des Rechts*, pp. 97, 102. Id., *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, pp. 151 sq.
- ¹⁶ Fahlbeck, *Klasserna och samhället*, p. 28. Id., *Klassväsendets uppkomst*, pp. 7 sq.
- ¹⁷ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 290 sqq.
- ¹⁸ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 368.
- ¹⁹ Dow, *Society and its Problems*, p. 210.
- ²⁰ Rousseau, *De l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, p. 112.
- ²¹ Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 194.
- ²² Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 167. Id., *Entstehung des Rechts*, p. 102. Id., *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 151.
- ²³ Sir James Frazer, in *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 83-8, explains how "the public profession of magic has been one of the roads by which the ablest men have passed to supreme power."
- ²⁴ Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 178.
- ²⁵ Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, p. 230.
- ²⁶ Inglis, *In the New Hebrides*, p. 24.
- ²⁷ Wyatt, "Account of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 168.
- ²⁸ Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, p. 355.
- ²⁹ Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 107.
- ³⁰ Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 376.
- ³¹ Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 413. Cf., d'Orbigny, *L'Homme Americain*, i, 399. Smith, *Araucanians*, p. 186.
- ³² Moffat, *Missionary Labours in Southern Africa*, pp. 248 sq.
- ³³ Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, p. 186. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 353.
- ³⁴ Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 138.
- ³⁵ Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 148.
- ³⁶ Dall, *Alaska*, p. 388.
- ³⁷ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 240.
- ³⁸ Emin Pascha, *Central Africa*, p. 349.
- ³⁹ Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*, pp. 250, 251.
- ⁴⁰ Alberti, *Kaffern*, p. 123.
- ⁴¹ Frazer, *Taboo or the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 190-223. Id., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii, 204-273.
- ⁴² Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii, 430.

- ⁴³ Oviedo, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, lib. xlii, cap. 1.
- ⁴⁴ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 440 sq.
- ⁴⁵ Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii, 333.
- ⁴⁶ Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 198.
- ⁴⁷ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 245.
- ⁴⁸ Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i, 104.
- ⁴⁹ Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks*, p. 285.
- ⁵⁰ Burton and Ward, "Journey into the Batak Country," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 512 sq.
- ⁵¹ Haddon, "Western Tribes of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 329.
- ⁵² Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii, 295.
- ⁵³ Gudgeon, "The Toa Taua," in *Jour. Polyn. Soc.*, xiii, 238.
- ⁵⁴ Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery," in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents*, 1884-5, pt. i, 365.
- ⁵⁵ Landa, *Relation des Choses de Yucatan*, § xxi.
- ⁵⁶ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 118.
- ⁵⁷ Westermarck contributes several examples showing that robbers, in distinction from thieves, are not infrequently regarded with admiration. *Moral Ideas*, ii, 16 sq.
- ⁵⁸ Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii, 50.
- ⁵⁹ Krashennikov, Камчатка, ii, 162.
- ⁶⁰ Macrae, "Account of the Kookies," in *Asiatic Researches*, vii, 189.
- ⁶¹ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i, 157 sq.
- ⁶² Swayne, *Lake Victoria*, p. 18.
- ⁶³ Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 116.
- ⁶⁴ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 244.
- ⁶⁵ Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 167.
- ⁶⁶ Donaldson, loc. cit., pt. ii, 45.
- ⁶⁷ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 133.
- ⁶⁸ Torday and Joyce, "Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 288.
- ⁶⁹ Gudgeon, "The Maori People," in *Jour. Polyn. Soc.*, xiii, 178.
- ⁷⁰ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 311.
- ⁷¹ Southey, op. cit., iii, 203.
- ⁷² Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens*, pp. 478 sq.
- ⁷³ Von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, i, 89.
- ⁷⁴ Donaldson, loc. cit., pt. i, 148.
- ⁷⁵ Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*, i, 251.
- ⁷⁶ Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 429.
- ⁷⁷ Casati, *Dieci Anni in Ekuatoria*, i, 129.
- ⁷⁸ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 36.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 37. Spencer gives numerous instances of war-trophies in their different forms, *ibid.*, ii, 39 sq.
- ⁸⁰ Stayt, *The Bavanda*, p. 73.
- ⁸¹ Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, 329. Powers, loc. cit., iii, 21 (Karok). Goddard, "Life of the Hupa," in University of California Publications, I, no. 1, 62 (Californian tribes). Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. viii, 5 (Makahs). Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, vi, 75 (Indians of Chile). Southey, op. cit., 589 (Omaguas). Grubb, *Among the Paraguayan Chaco*, p. 87.
- ⁸² Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 169 (people of Nias). Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, i, 130 (Dyaks). Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 193 (natives of the Barito river basin). Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 99. D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, ii, 10. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 346. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 122, 254 (natives of Samoa and the Marquesas islands). Yate, *Accounts of New Zealand*, p. 134.
- ⁸³ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 190. Macrae, "Account of the Kookies," in *Asiatic Researches*, vii, 195.
- ⁸⁴ Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 156.
- ⁸⁵ Pryer, "Natives of British Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 233 sq.
- ⁸⁶ Instances are offered by Henderson, *A History of Brazil*, p. 475. Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, ii, 1314 (Mundurucu). Lesson, *Les Polynésien*, i, 231. Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 219 (Dyaks). Finsch, op. cit., p. 83. Polack,

Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders, ii, 39. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 327; a.o.

⁸⁷ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 409.

⁸⁸ "Menschenköpfe als Trophäer," in *Globus*, xxi, 340.

⁸⁹ Preservation of skulls as tokens of valour has been instanced by Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 39 (Nagas of Upper Assam). Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 107, 115, 332. Id., "Warfare," in *Rep. Camb. Anthropol. Exped.*, v, 298, 300 (tribes of Torres Straits and the interior of Borneo). Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 164 sq. Meinicke, op. cit., i, 231. Brainne, *Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 246. Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 87 (Marquesas Islanders). Langsdorff, *Voyage in various Parts of the World*, i, 150 (Washington's Islanders). Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 17 (Loyalty Islanders). Blumentritt, "Kianganen," in *Ausland*, lxiv, 130. Hutter, *Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, pp. 358, 367. Telfer, *Crimea and Transcaucasia*, ii, 115 (inhabitants of Swannety); a.o.

⁹⁰ *The History of Herodotus*, b. iv, ch. 65.

⁹¹ Landtman, *The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 112, 119.

⁹² Bancroft, *Works*, i, 581 (Northern Mexicans).

⁹³ Cf. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 41.

⁹⁴ Friederici, "Scalping in America," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1906, p. 425.

⁹⁵ Of writers who speak of the scalp-taking of the American Indians some may be mentioned: Holmberg, *Völker des Russischen Amerika*, p. 322. Dall, *Alaska*, p. 417 (Tlinket). Niblack, "Coast Indians," in *Annual Reports of the Board of Regents*, 1887-8, p. 341. Catlin, *Letters on the North American Indians*, i, 31 (Blackfeet). Dixon, "The Northern Maidu," in *Bull. of the Am. Museum of Natural History*, xvii, pt. iii, 206. Beckwith, "Customs of the Dacotahs," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885-6, pt. i, 252. Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery," *ibid.*, 1884-5, pt. i, 150 sq., 412 sq. (Ioways and Mandans). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 488 (Apache). Neighbors, "The Comanches in Texas," in Schoolcraft, *Information of the Indian Tribes*, ii, 132. Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 198. Bossu, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, ii, 94 (Chactas). Nadaillac, *Pre-historic America*, p. 280 (ancient Chichmecs).

⁹⁶ *The History of Herodotus*, b. iv, ch. 64.

⁹⁷ Beckwith, "Customs of the Dacotahs," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885-6, pt. i, 252.

⁹⁸ Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery," *ibid.*, 1884-5, pt. i, 150, 151, 413.

⁹⁹ Catlin, *Letters on the North American Indians*, i, 31.

¹⁰⁰ Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii, 330.

¹⁰¹ Hodgson, "Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 44.

¹⁰² Lawson, op. cit., p. 198.

¹⁰³ Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, i, 240.

¹⁰⁴ Southey, op. cit., iii, 203.

¹⁰⁵ Von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 479.

¹⁰⁶ Ellis, *Ewe-Speaking Peoples*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁷ Von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 479. Landa, *Relation des Choses de Yucatan*,

§ xxix.

¹⁰⁸ Bougainville, *Voyage round the World*, p. 253.

¹⁰⁹ *The History of Herodotus*, b. iv, ch. 64. Spencer has supplied a number of instances showing how different parts of the body have been used as trophies. *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 1, pp. 41-4.

¹¹⁰ Donaldson, loc. cit., 1884-5, pt. i, 413.

¹¹¹ Friederici, "Scalping in America," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1906, p. 437.

¹¹² Cf. Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, p. 409. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii, 206 (Shoshones). Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 130. Friederici, loc. cit., 1906, pp. 437 sq. Macrae, "Account of the Kookies," in *Asiatick Researches*, vii, 195. Letourneau, *Esclavage*, p. 43 (Papuans).

¹¹³ Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Missouri River*, p. 309.

¹¹⁴ Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 57 sq.

¹¹⁵ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, ii, 27.

¹¹⁶ Cooper, *The Mishmee Hills*, pp. 190, 236.

¹¹⁷ Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 315.

¹¹⁸ Henderson, *A History of Brazil*, p. 475.

¹¹⁹ This is the case, for instance, when an ornament is composed of different objects affixed to the original "trophy", or part of the vanquished enemy's body. A warrior of the Angahmee Nagahs, to give an example, wears a collar made of goat's hair, dyed red, intermingled with long flowing locks of the hair of the persons he has killed, and ornamented with cowrie shells. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 145.

¹²⁰ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 174.

¹²¹ Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, i, 151.

¹²² Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 89.

¹²³ Joaq. Acosta, *Compendio Historico de la Nueva Granada*, p. 219.

¹²⁴ Harris, op. cit., ii, 208.

¹²⁵ Studer, "Timor," in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, ii, 240.

¹²⁶ Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 298.

¹²⁷ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 166.

¹²⁸ Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 261.

¹²⁹ Butler, op. cit., p. 148.

¹³⁰ Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 187.

¹³¹ Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii, 329.

¹³² Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Second Journey round the World*, i, 386.

¹³³ Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi, cap. xxvi. Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 330. Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii, lib. iv, cap. 6. Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 401.

¹³⁴ Nadaillac, *Pre-historic America*, pp. 279 sq.

¹³⁵ Harris, op. cit., i, 151. Paulitschke, op. cit., i, 89 (Galla).

¹³⁶ Bock, op. cit., p. 216.

¹³⁷ Du Chaillu, *Ashango*, p. 257.

¹³⁸ Acosta, op. cit., lib. vi, cap. xviii.

¹³⁹ Herrera, op. cit., dec. iii, lib. iv, cap. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Hirn, *Origins of Art*, pp. 221 sq.

¹⁴¹ Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, iii, 195.

¹⁴² Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xv, 329.

¹⁴³ Acosta, op. cit., lib. vi, cap. xxvi.

¹⁴⁴ Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, vi, 75.

¹⁴⁵ Beckwith, "Customs of the Dacotahs," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885-6, pt. i, 252.

¹⁴⁶ Wied, *Reise in das Innere von Nord Amerika*, ii, 198.

¹⁴⁷ Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 127.

¹⁴⁸ Hagenmacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, x, 31. Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost Afrika*, ii, 324.

¹⁴⁹ Baikie, *Exploring Voyages up the Rivers Kwora and Binue*, p. 295.

¹⁵⁰ Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Afrika*, i, 277.

¹⁵¹ Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 148.

¹⁵² Hasselt, "Die Noeforezen," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii, 194.

¹⁵³ Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 90.

¹⁵⁴ Catlin, *Letters on the North American Indians*, i, 101-104.

¹⁵⁵ New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 271.

¹⁵⁶ Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, ii, 28.

¹⁵⁷ Oviedo, op. cit., lib. xlii, cap. i. Cf. Squier, "Archæology and Ethnology," in *Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.*, V, iii, pt. i, 127.

¹⁵⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 764.

¹⁵⁹ Schoolcraft, op. cit., iv, 63.

¹⁶⁰ Tacitus, *Germania*, 31.

¹⁶¹ Clavigero, op. cit., i, 330. Acosta, op. cit., lib. vi, cap. xxvi.

¹⁶² Wied, op. cit., ii, 197.

¹⁶³ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 258.

¹⁶⁴ Wissler, "Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians," in *Bull. of the Amer. Museum of Natural History*, xviii, pt. iii, 270.

¹⁶⁵ Hirn, *Origins of Art*, pp. 270 sqq.

¹⁶⁶ Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, xxi, sqq.

¹⁶⁷ Beckwith, loc. cit., iii, 329.

¹⁶⁸ Wissler, loc. cit., xviii, pt. iii, 261.

¹⁶⁹ Dorsey, loc. cit., xv, 329.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Wissler, loc. cit., xviii, pt. iii, 270. *

- ¹⁷¹ Cf. Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 209 (whalers among the Kadiack Islanders). Alberti, *Kaffern*, p. 123 (lion hunters among the Kafirs).
- ¹⁷² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i, 340-3. Id., *Taboos and Perils of the Soul*, pp. 157-190. Tylor has given examples of purification ceremonies on occasions of contamination by bloodshed and murder. *Primitive Culture*, ii, 433 sq.
- ¹⁷³ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 375 sqq.
- ¹⁷⁴ Donaldson, op. cit., 1884-5, pt. i, 309.
- ¹⁷⁵ Langsdorff, *Voyages in Various Parts of the World*, i, 133.
- ¹⁷⁶ Paulitschke, op. cit., ii, 136.
- ¹⁷⁷ Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, 235.
- ¹⁷⁸ Schoolcraft, op. cit., iv, 63.
- ¹⁷⁹ Dorsey, loc. cit., iii, 329.
- ¹⁸⁰ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 764.
- ¹⁸¹ Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, xxi sq.
- ¹⁸² Hirn, *The Origins of Art*, p. 222.
- ¹⁸³ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii (1879), p. 75.
- ¹⁸⁴ Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 49.
- ¹⁸⁵ Cunningham, *Uganda and its People*, p. 345.
- ¹⁸⁶ Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii, 535.
- ¹⁸⁷ Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 330 sq.
- ¹⁸⁸ Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 224.
- ¹⁸⁹ Dalton, "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 204.
- Hobley, "Anthropologische Studien in Kavirondo and Nandi," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiii, 353. Hose, "Natives of Borneo," *ibid.*, xxiii, 167. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, p. 306 (Kayans of Borneo). Id., *Decorative Art in British New Guinea*, pp. 172, 176. Id., *Evolution in Art*, p. 45, note (Papuan). Lawes, "Ethnological Notes on the Motu," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii, 370. Chalmers, "Natives of the Kiwai Island," *ibid.*, xxxiii, 123. Quatrefages, *Les Polynésien*, p. 38 (Maori).
- ¹⁹⁰ Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 187.
- ¹⁹¹ Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, vi, 75.
- ¹⁹² Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 379.
- ¹⁹³ Holm, *History of Greece*, i, 238 sq. Richter, *Spiele der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 142-7.
- ¹⁹⁴ Sarasin, *Reisen in Celebes*, i, 269.
- ¹⁹⁵ Wissler, "Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians," in *Bull. of the Am. Museum of Natural History*, xviii, 261 sqq.
- ¹⁹⁶ Beckwith, "Customs of the Dacotahs," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885-6, pt. i, 252.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, p. 345.
- ¹⁹⁸ Joaq. Acosta, *Compendio Historico de la Nueva Granada*, p. 219 (Chibchas). Nadailac, *Pre-Historic America*, pp. 279 sq. (ancient Chichimenecs). Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 330. Bancroft, op. cit., ii, 401 (Aztecs). Beckwith, loc. cit., p. 252 (Dacota). Duncan, *West Africa*, p. 261 (Dahomeans). Baikie, *Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue*, p. 295 (Igbo). Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, i, 151; ii, 208. (Danakali, Amhara). Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, ii, 28. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, ii, 148 (Angahmee Nagah). Studer, "Timor," in *Deutsche Geografische Blätter*, ii, 240. Pryer, "Natives of British Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 233 sq.
- ¹⁹⁹ Lawes, loc. cit., *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii, 370.
- ²⁰⁰ Gudgeon, "Phallic Emblem from Atiu Island," in *Jour. Polyn. Soc.*, xiii, no. iv, 210.
- ²⁰¹ Fison, op. cit., p. xxii.
- ²⁰² Cf. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 1, pp. 156 sqq.
- ²⁰³ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 296.
- ²⁰⁴ Fison, op. cit., p. xxi.
- ²⁰⁵ Muller, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis van Sumatra*, pp. 136 sq.
- ²⁰⁶ Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 298 sq.
- ²⁰⁷ Stanbridge, "Tribes of the Central Part of Victoria," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., i, 292.
- ²⁰⁸ Staden, *Véritable Histoire et Description d'Amérique*, p. 281. Cf. Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohner Brasiliens*, p. 40.

- ¹⁰⁹ Squier, "Archæology and Ethnology of Nicaragua," in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, iii, pt. i, 127.
- ¹¹⁰ Powell, "Wyandot Government," in *Smithsonian Reports*, i, 64.
- ¹¹¹ Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v, 280.
- ¹¹² Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi, cap. xviii.
- ¹¹³ Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, p. 316.
- ¹¹⁴ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, ii, 202 sq.
- ¹¹⁵ Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, pp. 249 sq.
- ¹¹⁶ Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 271.
- ¹¹⁷ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 117.
- ¹¹⁸ Williams, *Fiji*, pp. 43 sq.
- ¹¹⁹ Hager, *Marshall-Inseln*, p. 66.
- ¹²⁰ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 258.
- ¹²¹ Lumley, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 181.
- ¹²² Müller, op. cit., pp. 136 sq.
- ¹²³ Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian*, p. 123 (Blackfeet).
- ¹²⁴ Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 431. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 433. Featherman, *Social History of Mankind*, iii, 206.
- ¹²⁵ Morgan, op. cit., pp. 342 sq. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, iii, 156. Powell, loc. cit., i, 68.
- ¹²⁶ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i, 35.
- ¹²⁷ Stoll, "Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl. zu Band I, 19.
- ¹²⁸ Cf. Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i, 163. Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, i, 383 (Kutchin tribe). Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian*, pp. 42 sq. Id., *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 211. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 232. Appun, "Indianer in Britisch Guyana," in *Ausland*, 44 Jahrg. (1871), p. 447. Schomburgh, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii, 317. Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 240. Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 197 (natives of Brazil). Dalton, "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 204 (Nagah). Macrae, "Account of the Kookies," in *Asiatick Researches*, vii, 193. Ling Roth, *Natives of Borneo*, ii, 163 sqq. Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 216. Hose, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiii, 167. Haddon, *Western Tribe of Torres Straits*, *ibid.*, xix, 394 sq. Id., *Head-Hunters*, pp. 107 sq. Chalmers, "Natives of the Kiwai Island," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiii, 123. Among the Tchukchi a girl is said not to be able to marry before she has shown her dexterity in stealing from neighbouring tribes. Krashenennikov, *Kamchatka*, ii, 162.
- ¹²⁹ Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Second Journey round the World*, i, 384.
- ¹³⁰ Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v, 269, 272 (Creek). Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, pp. 236 sq. (Indians west of the Mississippi). D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii, 166. Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 334 (Chiquitos). Arbusset and Daumas, *Cape of Good Hope*, p. 249 (Bushmen).
- ¹³¹ Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 73. Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 316 (natives of West Seram). Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 166 sq. Pfeiffer, op. cit., i, 384 (people of Ceram). Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 245. Id., *Folktales of the Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 275 sq. 406 sq., 518 sq.
- ¹³² Dall, *Alaska*, p. 196.
- ¹³³ Lord Aveybury quotes several examples. *The Origin of Civilization*, p. 106. Cf. Thurnwald, *Repräsentative Lebensbilder*, p. 55.
- ¹³⁴ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 498.
- ¹³⁵ Appun, "Indianer in Britisch Guayana," in *Ausland*, xlv, 446.
- ¹³⁶ Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 99.
- ¹³⁷ Von Martens, op. cit., pp. 58 sq.
- ¹³⁸ Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, 292.
- ¹³⁹ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 131.
- ¹⁴⁰ Coxe, *Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, p. 183. Dall, *Alaska*, p. 388.
- ¹⁴¹ Bossu, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, i, 147.
- ¹⁴² Frič and Radin, "The Bororo Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 390.
- ¹⁴³ St. John, "The Ainos," *ibid.*, ii, 254.
- ¹⁴⁴ Morgan, *Life of Buckley*, pp. 65 sq.

- 245 Sprout, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 sq.
 246 Tacitus, *Germania*, 32.
 247 Holm, *The History of Greece*, i, 238 sq. Richter, *Spiele der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 142 sqq.
 248 Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 340.
 249 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 764, 770.
 250 Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 264.
 251 Heuglin, *Reise in das Gebiet des Weissen Nil*, p. 196.
 252 Rohlf's, *Quer durch Africa*, ii, 199 sq.
 253 Hunters, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 215.
 254 Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 21.
 255 Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mejico*, i, 329.
 256 Crawley, *The Tree of Life*, p. 106. Cf. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, p. 304.
 257 Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 111.
 258 Hirn, *Origins of Art*, p. 222.
 259 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
 260 Karsten, *Origins of Religion*, p. 91.
 261 *Id.*, *Civilization of the South American Indians*, pp. 46, 62.
 262 *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 86.
 263 *Ibid.*, pp. 102 sqq.
 264 *Ibid.*, pp. 120.
 265 Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, p. 50.
 266 Tacitus, *Germania*, 6. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 239.
 267 *The History of Herodotus*, b. vii, ch. 231.
 268 Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii, lib. iv, cap. 7.
 Squier, "Archæology and Ethnology in Nicaragua," in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. iii, pt. i, 127.
 269 Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 326.
 270 Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 166.
 271 Chavanne, *Sahara*, i, 139.
 272 Gobat, *Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*, p. 268.
 273 Calvert, *The Aborigines of Western Australia*, p. 31. Grey, *Expeditions in NW. Australia*, ii, 240.
 274 Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v, 280.
 275 Herrera, *op. cit.*, dec. iii, lib. iv, cap. 7.
 276 Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, 221.
 277 Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mejico*, i, 325.
 278 Herrera, *op. cit.*, dec. iv, lib. viii, cap. 5.
 279 Simon, *Noticias Historiales*, p. 253.
 280 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 1, p. 75.
 281 Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery," in *Ann. Rep. Board of Regents*, 1884-5, pt. i, 151.
 282 Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, p. xx.
 283 Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii, 130 sq.
 284 Cranz, *History of Greenland*, p. 163 and note.
 285 Boas, "The Central Eskimo," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vi, 580.
 286 Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, a, 143.
 287 Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, pp. 101 sq.
 288 Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 315.
 289 Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks*, p. 285.
 290 Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, p. xxiv.
 291 Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xv, 221 sq.
 292 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 167.
 293 Niblack, "Coast Indians," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1887-8, p. 250.
 294 Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 409. Dobrzhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 440 sq.
 295 Maltzan, "Sittenschilderungen aus Süd-arabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 103.
 Friedrichs, "Eherecht des Islam," in *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, vii, 244.
 Blunt, *Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii, 234 sq. D'Escayrac de Lauture, *Le Desert et le Soudan*, pp. 330 sqq. Daumas, *Mœurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*, pp. 16, 17, 193.
 Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 389.
 296 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 764.
 297 Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 330.

²⁹⁸ Ellis, *Hawaii*, pp. 144 sq.

²⁹⁹ There are exceptions to this rule as we recognize from some of the examples collected by Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 46, 48 sq.

³⁰⁰ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 23.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 75 sq.

³⁰² Prjevalski, Монголія, i 48 sq.

³⁰³ Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 375.

³⁰⁴ Featherman, *op. cit.*, iii, 76.

³⁰⁵ Herrera, *General History of the West Indies*, iii, 299.

³⁰⁶ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 183.

³⁰⁷ Schoeman, *op. cit.*, i, 371 sq., 374.

³⁰⁸ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i, 199.

³⁰⁹ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 551.

³¹⁰ Cf. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 24.

CHAPTER IV

WEALTH AS INFLUENCING SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

- ¹ *The Politics of Aristotle*, b. iv, ch. 11, §§ 6-7.
- ² Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 70. Cf., Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 148.
- ³ Letourneau, *Property*, p. 91.
- ⁴ Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 95 sq.
- ⁵ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 259.
- ⁶ Haigh, "Teneriffe and its Inhabitants," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., vii, 108.
- ⁷ Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 167.
- ⁸ Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 185.
- ⁹ Kroeber, "Types of Indian Culture in California," in *University of California Publications*, ii, no. 3, pp. 87 sq. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 167, 353, 360.
- ¹⁰ Petroff, *Population of Alaska*, p. 126.
- ¹¹ Krashenennikov, Камчатка, ii, 161.
- ¹² Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 115, 125.
- ¹³ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 241.
- ¹⁴ Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 242. Cf. Svoboda, "Bewohner des Nicobaren-Arkipels," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, v, 191.
- ¹⁵ Haddon, "Western Tribe of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 329. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 127.
- ¹⁶ Brainne, *Nouvelle-Calédonie*, p. 241.
- ¹⁷ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 438.
- ¹⁸ Further instances occur in Thurnwald, *Lebensbilder von Naturvölkern*, p. 50 (Siberian tribes). Seligmann, *Veddahs*, p. 66. Radcliffe Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, pp. 42 sq. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, pp. 36 sq. (Trobriand Islanders). Karsten, *Indian Tribes of Chaco*, p. 93 (Choroto).
- ¹⁹ Lowie, *Primitive Sociology*, p. 344.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 341.
- ²¹ Tozzer, *Social Organization and Social Continuities*, pp. 196 sq.
- ²² Stern, *The Lummi Indians*, p. 72.
- ²³ Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia*, p. 263.
- ²⁴ Wied, *Reise in das Innere von Nord Amerika*, ii, 196. Further instances in Boas, "Kwakiutl Indians," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1895, pp. 342 sq. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 113 (Ahts).
- ²⁵ Teit, "The Lilloet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, ii, pt. v, 255.
- ²⁶ Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii, 218.
- ²⁷ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 123.
- ²⁸ Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 298 sq.
- ²⁹ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, i, 72.
- ³⁰ Paulitschke, op. cit., i, 241.
- ³¹ Sproat, op. cit., p. 113.
- ³² Lander, *Clapperton's last Expedition to Africa*, ii, 113.
- ³³ Burckhardt, op. cit., p. 132.
- ³⁴ Teit, loc. cit., ii, pt. v, 218.
- ³⁵ Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 284.
- ³⁶ Beckwith, "Customs of the Dacotahs," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1885-6, pt. i, 253.
- ³⁷ Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, pp. 135 sqq.
- ³⁸ Buchner, *Kamerum*, p. 31. Allen and Thomson, *River Niger*, ii, 204 (natives of Fernando Po). Hecquard, op. cit., p. 68 (Bassamans). Du Chaillu, "People of West Equatorial Africa," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., i, 309. Philips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 225. Munzinger, *Ostafrikamische Studien*, pp. 248, 326, 524 (Marea, a.o. tribes). Id., *Bogos*, p. 64. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii, 176 sq., 685 (Baela and tribes of Bagirmi). Proyart, "Loango," in *Pinkerton*, xvi, 568 sq. Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, i, 206 (Latooka). Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, p. 388

(Usambara). Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 24 (Wanyamwezi). Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, i, 93, 236 (Suaheli, Wakamba). Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 85 (Wanyoro). Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 195. Fisher, "Memoirs of Sylhet," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xix, 832. Daresté, *Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire du Droit*, p. 322 (Cambodians). Forbes, *Burma and its People*, p. 64. Gray, *China*, i, 184. Riedel, *Sluik-en kroesharige Rasses*, p. 302. Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 27 (certain Malays). Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 74 (Ellice and Kingsmill Islanders). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 41 (Fijians). Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 245. Hardisty, "Loucheux Indians," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1866, p. 312. Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*, p. 271. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia*, p. 276 (coast tribes). Roquefeuil, "Reise um die Welt," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxi, 323 (Nootka, a.o.). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 134, 168, 195, 241, 350, 410, 729, 772 (Kenais, Columbians, Nootka, Chinook, Californians, Mosquito, Isthmians).

³⁹ Allen and Thomsen, *River Niger*, ii, 106 (Nufi). Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 124. Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 180, 265 (Ashantee and tribes of South Guinea). Lenz, "Fan," in *Deutsche Geogr. Blätter*, i, 75. New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 120 (Wanika). Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 416 (Masai). Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 465 (Bechuanas). Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of South Africa*, i, 159 (Kafirs). Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i, 341 (Damara). Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnologie*, p. 33 (Miri). Id., "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 189 (Mishmi). Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, i, 311 sq. (Ostyak). Ahlqvist, *Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken*, p. 291. Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, p. 124. Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 416 (Araucanians). Wilson, "Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iv, 281.

⁴⁰ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 304. Monrad, *Guinea*, pp. 49 sq. Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, i, 145. Forbes, *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, i, 25 sq. Dapper, *Africa*, pp. 360, 392, 499 sq. (Arriacos and people of Quioia and Loango). Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 21, 125 (M'Pongo and people of Fogni). Wildmann, "People about Little Popo," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iv, 273. Chaillié, *Travels to Timbuctoo*, i, 157, 348 (Bambara, Landama and Nalou). Burton, *Lake Regions*, i, 118 (Wazaramo). Hagenmacher, "Reise im Somaliland," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft, x, 29. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, i, 280 (Jidda). Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 199 (Ovambo). Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 155. Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i, 330 (Hottentots). Shaw, "The Betsileo," in *Antananarivo Annual*, iv, 8. Bossu, *History of Corea*, p. 315. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 435 (Hawaiians). Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 152 (Patagonians). Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 81. Hunter, *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians*, p. 232 (Indians west of the Mississippi). Langsdorff, *Voyage in Various Parts of the World*, n. 47 (Aleuts). Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*, p. 100.

⁴¹ Soyaux, *Aus West-Africa*, i, 162 (people of Loango). Burton, *Lake Regions*, i, 118 (Wazaramo). Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 416 (Araucanians).

⁴² Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 483-492. Id., *Moral Ideas*, ii, 388. Cf., Gurewich, "Entwicklung der menschlichen Bedürfnisse," in *Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, xix, 76.

⁴³ Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xv, 225.

⁴⁴ Kielland, *Zululandet*, pp. 60 sq. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Africa*, i, 215. Endemann, "Die Sotho-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 39. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 218. Stolz, in Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii, 302.

⁴⁵ Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 95. Stolz, loc. cit., iii, 308.

⁴⁶ Soyaux, *Aus West-Africa*, i, 162 (people of Loango).

⁴⁷ Endemann, loc. cit., vi, 39. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 269 (tribes of South Guinea). "The wives are the principal of their husband, and the children which he hopes to obtain from them are the interest," says Buchner in his work, *Kamerun*, p. 31.

⁴⁸ Gray, *China*, i, 183.

⁴⁹ Endemann, loc. cit., vi, 39.

⁵⁰ Bassett-Smith, "Aborigines of North-West Australia," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiii, 325.

- ⁸¹ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 218.
- ⁸² Coxe, *Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, p. 259.
- ⁸³ Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 96.
- ⁸⁴ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 337 (Maori). Endemann, loc. cit., vi, 40. Cf. *supra*, p. 70.
- ⁸⁵ Cf. Mühzinger, *Bogos*, p. 65.
- ⁸⁶ Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, pp. 35 sq.
- ⁸⁷ Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 99.
- ⁸⁸ Cf., for instance, Peters, "Der Muata Cazembe," in *Zeitschrift für allgem. Erdkunde*, vi, 282 (Marave). Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, pp. 398 sq. (Bafioté). Shaw, "The Betsileo," in *Antananarivo Annual*, iv (1878), p. 8. Wilson, "Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S.*, iv, 281. Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, ii, 378 (Caraiib).
- ⁸⁹ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 492.
- ⁹⁰ Weber, *Vier Jahre in Africa*, ii, 215.
- ⁹¹ Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 372.
- ⁹² Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii, 50.
- ⁹³ Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 197.
- ⁹⁴ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 168.
- ⁹⁵ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, pp. 217 sq.
- ⁹⁶ Büttikofer, "Die Eingeborenen von Liberia," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, i, 81.
- ⁹⁷ Bouché, *Côte des Esclaves*, p. 147.
- ⁹⁸ Nicol, *La Tribu des Bakoko*, p. 79.
- ⁹⁹ Schapera, *The Khosian People*, pp. 251 sq.
- ¹⁰⁰ Whitfield, *South African Native Law*, p. 34.
- ¹⁰¹ Torday, *The Bashongo*, p. 49.
- ¹⁰² Landtman, op. cit., p. 247.
- ¹⁰³ Moore, *Marriage Customs*, p. 168.
- ¹⁰⁴ Gray, *China*, i, 212.
- ¹⁰⁵ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 338. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 328.
- ¹⁰⁶ Meinicke, op. cit., ii, 45, 187.
- ¹⁰⁷ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 77.
- ¹⁰⁸ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 241 (Tupinamba). Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 497. Peters, "Der Muata Cazembe," in *Zeitschrift für Allg. Erdkunde*, vi, 282 (Marave). Yunod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 94. Guillain, *Madagascar*, pp. 158 sq. (Ankara). Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 196. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia*, i, 378 sq. Steele, *Law and Customs of Hindoo Castes*, p. 170. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, i, 3; ii, 87; iii, 241, 419. Finsch, "Ponapé," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xii, 317.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cf. Millar who expresses a similar opinion, *Origin of Rank*, pp. 152 sq.
- ¹¹⁰ Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 337.
- ¹¹¹ Krashennikov, Камчатка, ii, 163.
- ¹¹² Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 132.
- ¹¹³ Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 258.
- ¹¹⁴ Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iv, 155.
- ¹¹⁵ Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 115.
- ¹¹⁶ Polak, *Persien*, i, 36.
- ¹¹⁷ Holmberg, *Völker des Russischen Amerika*, p. 294.
- ¹¹⁸ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 138.
- ¹¹⁹ Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, i, 243.
- ¹²⁰ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 216.
- ¹²¹ Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 122.
- ¹²² Prjevalski, Монголия, i, 41.
- ¹²³ Georgi, op. cit., i, 211.
- ¹²⁴ Ujfalvy, *Expédition Scientifique en Russie*, ii, 112.
- ¹²⁵ Phillips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 224.
- ¹²⁶ Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 364.
- ¹²⁷ Boas, "The Central Eskimo," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vi, 581.
- ¹²⁸ Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 15.
- ¹²⁹ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 219.
- ¹³⁰ Rivers, *Todas*, p. 566.
- ¹³¹ Wilkes, op. cit., v, 85.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADES

- ¹ The same has been stated by Grosse, *Formen der Familie*, p. 38. Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, p. 54. Osborn and Neumeyer, *The Community and Society*, pp. 322 sq. Durkheim, *Division du Travail*, p. 464.
- ² Hodgson, "Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal People," in *Jour. As. Soc.*, xviii, 717.
- ³ Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, p. 43.
- ⁴ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 127 sq.
- ⁵ Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, p. 242.
- ⁶ Cf., for instance, Bleek, *The Naron*, p. 36. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples*, p. 145 (Bushmen). Deniker, "Les Ghiliaks," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii, 309. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, pp. 290 sq.
- ⁷ Gibbs, "Tribes of N. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 185. Thomson, "Easter Island," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1888-9, p. 475. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 36. Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 133. Torday and Joyce, "Ethnographie of the Ba-Yaka," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 49. Id., "Ethnology of SW. Congo," *ibid.*, xxxvii, 150. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 135 (Somali, Danakil and Galla). Hutter, *Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, p. 355. Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 171. Haddon, "Western Tribe of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 344.
- ⁸ Weule, *Die Urgesellschaft und Ihre Lebensfürsorge*, p. 32.
- ⁹ Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp. 159 sqq. Id., "The Mailu," in *Trans. Roy. Soc. of S. Austr.*, xxxix, 632 sq.
- ¹⁰ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 213 sqq.
- ¹¹ Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 30 sqq.
- ¹² Weule, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 sq.
- ¹³ Müller-Lyer, *The History of Social Development*, pp. 158 sq.
- ¹⁴ Thurnwald, *Werden, Wandeln und Gestaltung der Wirtschaft*, pp. 6, 91. Cf. Knabenhans, *Politische Organisation bei den Australischen Eingeborenen*, p. 106.
- ¹⁵ Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, pp. 145 sq.
- ¹⁶ Landtman, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- ¹⁷ Wirz, *Marind-anim*, i, 68.
- ¹⁸ Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 158 sq.
- ¹⁹ Man, "Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 102.
- ²⁰ Niblack, "Coast Indians," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1887-8, p. 254.
- ²¹ Teit, "Lilloet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, 356 sq.
- ²² Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi, cap. 16. Garcilasso, *Primera Parte de los Commentarios Reales*, lib. iv, cap. 13. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 153.
- ²³ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 293.
- ²⁴ Endemann, "Die Sotho-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 27.
- ²⁵ Hasselt, "Die Noeforezen," *ibid.*, viii, 170.
- ²⁶ Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, i, 89, 91.
- ²⁷ Bleek, *The Naron*, p. 36. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples*, p. 145.
- ²⁸ Wirz, *op. cit.*, i, 68.
- ²⁹ Krashennikov, *Камчатка*, i, 272.
- ³⁰ Anderson, *Fiji and New Caledonia*, p. 107.
- ³¹ Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 36.
- ³² Daumas, *Mœurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*, p. 79.
- ³³ Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. viii, p. 11.
- ³⁴ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 194. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 116.
- ³⁵ Holmberg, *Völker des Russischen Amerika*, p. 391.
- ³⁶ Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 175.

- ³⁷ Cf. Acosta, op. cit., lib. vi, cap. xxxvi. Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 329 (ancient Mexicans). Carver, *Three Years' Travels through North-America*, p. 184. *The History of Herodotus*, b. v, ch. 6.
- ³⁸ In *Bausteine*, Post expresses the opinion that occupations which require great skill and which are regarded as specially important constitute the origin of class-inequality, ii, 52.
- ³⁹ Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 94.
- ⁴⁰ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 96.
- ⁴¹ Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 92. Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, ii, 547 sq. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 84 sq. West, *Ten Years in Polynesia*, p. 260.
- ⁴² Wilkes, op. cit., ii, 143. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 181. Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 145.
- ⁴³ Williams, *Fiji*, p. 60.
- ⁴⁴ Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, p. 53. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 362 sq. We have to note that in certain countries in Africa and Asia carpentry shares the lot of so many other handicrafts which from reasons hitherto unexplained are deemed unclean and are therefore despised. Cf. Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 102, 284 (Jolof and Futatoro). Raverty, "Siahposch," in *Globus*, viii, 342 (people of Kafiristan). Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324. "Aus Nepal und Tibet," in *Ausland*, xlix, 93.
- ⁴⁵ Horne and Aiston, *Savage Life in Central Australia*, p. 19.
- ⁴⁶ Wood, *Natural History of Man*, ii, 115.
- ⁴⁷ Zimmermann, op. cit., i, 548. Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 93.
- ⁴⁸ Turner, op. cit., p. 121. Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, ii, 141.
- ⁴⁹ Hale, op. cit., vi, 63, 102.
- ⁵⁰ Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 116.
- ⁵¹ Tate, "Notes on the Kiguyu and Kamba Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv, 265.
- ⁵² Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, i, 166.
- ⁵³ Cf. Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 71.
- ⁵⁴ Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, pp. 217 sq.
- ⁵⁵ *The History of Herodotus*, b. ii, ch. 47.
- ⁵⁶ A similar opinion has been expressed by Schurtz. *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 160.
- ⁵⁷ Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 438.
- ⁵⁸ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 273.
- ⁵⁹ Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, pp. 129-135. "Der Deutsche Scharfrichter," in *Deutsches Museum*, viii, 580 sq.
- ⁶⁰ Beneke, op. cit., pp. 140 sq. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 148.
- ⁶¹ Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, 226.
- ⁶² O'Connell, *Eleven Years in New Holland*, p. 129.
- ⁶³ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, pp. 325 sq.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 52.
- ⁶⁵ Frazer, *Taboos and Perils of the Soul*, pp. 171 sq.
- ⁶⁶ Glas, "Canary Islands," in *Pinkerton*, xvi, 820.
- ⁶⁷ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i, 610; ii, 50. Maltzan, "Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 104 sq.
- ⁶⁸ O'Connell, op. cit., p. 129.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 41.
- ⁷⁰ Dalton, op. cit., p. 326.
- ⁷¹ "Der Deutsche Scharfrichter," in *Deutsches Museum*, vii, 580. Beneke, op. cit., p. 72.
- ⁷² Cook, Art. "Handicrafts," in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 1955. Maltzan, loc. cit., xxi, 105.
- ⁷³ "Aus Nepal und Tibet," in *Ausland*, xlix, 93.
- ⁷⁴ Maltzan, loc. cit., p. 105.
- ⁷⁵ Cook, loc. cit., p. 1955.
- ⁷⁶ Dalton, op. cit., p. 324.
- ⁷⁷ Haggemacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsband*, x, 35.
- ⁷⁸ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 141.
- ⁷⁹ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii, 238.

- ⁸⁰ Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 455 (Senegambians). Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 102, 284 (Jolof and people of Futatoro). Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, iv, 147 (Fellani).
- ⁸¹ Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 93. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 85.
- ⁸² O'Connell, *Eleven Years in New Holland*, p. 129. Parkinson, "Gilbert-Inseln," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, 99.
- ⁸³ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i, 72.
- ⁸⁴ In Thurn, *Indians of Guinea*, pp. 255 sq.
- ⁸⁵ Cf. Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, pp. 9 sq.
- ⁸⁶ Westermarck, "Position of Woman in Early Society," in *Sociological Papers*, 1904, p. 150.
- ⁸⁷ Knox, *The Island of Ceylon*, p. 183.
- ⁸⁸ Raffanel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 18 sq.
- ⁸⁹ Simon, *Noticias Historiales*, p. 253.
- ⁹⁰ Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, iii, 130 sq.
- ⁹¹ Cranz, *History of Greenland*, i, 163 and note.
- ⁹² Polack, *op. cit.*, ii, 53.
- ⁹³ Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the Indian Tribes*, v, 280.
- ⁹⁴ Agricultural work is not despised by all nature peoples. The Kafirs of Kafirstan, for instance, leave most of their work to the Baris, who are a class of pariahs, but occupy themselves with farming and war (Raverty, "Siahposch," in *Globus*, viii, 342). A similar statement is given of certain natives in Futa-Diallon (Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 337).
- ⁹⁵ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 634; ii, 273 sq.
- ⁹⁶ Lévy-Bruhl, *Mentalité Primitive*, pp. 361 sqq.
- ⁹⁷ Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 104.
- ⁹⁸ Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 93.
- ⁹⁹ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 209.
- ¹⁰⁰ Featherman, *op. cit.*, iii, 130 sq.
- ¹⁰¹ Burton, *Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome*, ii, 248.
- ¹⁰² *The History of Herodotus*, b. v, ch. 6.
- ¹⁰³ Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48. Macpherson, "Report upon the Khonds," in *Calcutta Review*, v, 47 sq. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 299.
- ¹⁰⁵ Raverty, *loc. cit.*, viii, 343.
- ¹⁰⁶ Maltzan, "Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 105.
- ¹⁰⁷ Barth, *Travels in North Central Africa*, iv, 147 sq.
- ¹⁰⁸ Cook, Art., "Handicrafts," in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 1955.
- ¹⁰⁹ Beneke, *Von Unehrliehen Leuten*, pp. 66-72. Schurtz, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- ¹¹⁰ Knox, *The Island of Ceylon*, p. 137.
- ¹¹¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Macpherson, *loc. cit.*, v, 47 sq.
- ¹¹² Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324.
- ¹¹³ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii, 238.
- ¹¹⁴ Maltzan, *loc. cit.*, xxi, 105.
- ¹¹⁵ Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
- ¹¹⁶ Tennent, *In Ceylon*, ii, 191.
- ¹¹⁷ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 85.
- ¹¹⁸ Beneke, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-6. Cook, *loc. cit.*, iv, 1955.
- ¹¹⁹ Beneke, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- ¹²⁰ Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
- ¹²¹ Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 102, 282-4 (Jolof and Futatoro). Reade, *Savage Africa*, pp. 455 sq. (Mandingo). Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, iv, 147 sq. (Fellani). Maltzan, *loc. cit.*, xxi, 104 sq. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 73 sq. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, pp. 325 sq. Beneke, *Von unehrliehen Leuten*, pp. 18-23 (ancient Germans).
- ¹²² Raffanel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 18 (Senegambians). Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 354. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, i, 274 sq.
- ¹²³ Sherring, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
- ¹²⁴ Raffanel, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 89, note. Mollien, *op. cit.*, i, 284.
- ¹²⁵ Mollien, *op. cit.*, i, 102.
- ¹²⁶ Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, i, 641 (peoples of West Africa). Raffanel, *op. cit.*, p. 17 (Senegambians). Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 486 (Morocco). Paulitschke,

Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, ii, 141 (Somali and Danakil). Maltzan, loc. cit., xxi, 104.

¹²⁷ Ratzel, op. cit., i, 641 (peoples of West Africa). Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 132 (Mandingo). Raffanel, op. cit., p. 18 (Senegambians).

¹²⁸ Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, i, 272.

¹²⁹ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii, 333.

¹³⁰ Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 283.

¹³¹ Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 486 sq.

¹³² Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 73.

¹³³ Maltzan, "Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 104.

¹³⁴ Raffanel, op. cit., pp. 18, 19 (Senegambians). Hecquard, op. cit., p. 89 note. Dubois, op. cit., pp. 73 sq.

¹³⁵ Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 456.

¹³⁶ Wilson, op. cit., p. 73.

¹³⁷ Mollien, op. cit., i, 102.

¹³⁸ Raffanel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 19.

¹³⁹ Durkheim, *Division du Travail*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁰ Jerusalem, *Einführung in die Soziologie*, p. 4 sq.

¹⁴¹ Müller-Lyer, *History of Social Development*, pp. 105-119.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AS INFLUENCED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADES (concluded)

¹ Cf., for instance, Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 102 (Jolof-Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 455. Caillié, *Travels to Timbuctoo*, i, 105 (Senegambians). Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 443 sq.; ii, 145, 178, 370. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 258 sq. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528 (Teda). Harnier, "Reise auf dem Weissen Nil," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, xi, 25 (Denqa). Dufton, *Abyssinia*, pp. 165, 169 (Jews of Abyssinia). Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 31. Hildebrand, "Bemerkungen über die Somal," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii, 4. Haggenmacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x, 25 sq., 35. Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 33, note (Somali). Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 402 (Masai). Maltzan, "Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 105. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, i, 322. Nesfield, *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 29. Macpherson, "Report upon the Khonds," in *Calcutta Review*, v, 47 sq. "Aus Nepal and Tibet," in *Ausland*, xlix, 93. Raverty, "Siahposch," in *Globus*, vii, 342 (Kafirs of Kafirstan).

² Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-shoe*, pp. 40-53. Wake, "Race Elements of the Madecasses," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii, p. xxxviii. Dufton, *Abyssinia*, pp. 165, 169. Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, ii, 167 (Gold Coast natives).

³ Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 444.

⁴ Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i, 879. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 148.

⁵ Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, iii, 286.

⁶ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 189.

⁷ Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 258. Id., "Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v, 30.

⁸ Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, ii, 67.

⁹ Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, p. 218.

¹⁰ Beck, op. cit., i, 879. Wuttke, op. cit., p. 148.

¹¹ Sumner, "Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 104. Cf., Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 199.

¹² Lenz, "Fan," in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, i, 76.

¹³ Harkness, *A Singular Race of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 71.

¹⁴ Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 132.

¹⁵ Lander, *Clapperton's Last Expedition*, i, 306. Laing, loc. cit., i, 76.

¹⁶ Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, ii, 156.

¹⁷ Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, i, 373.

¹⁸ Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 202.

¹⁹ Harkness, op. cit., p. 77.

²⁰ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 188. Raffles, *History of Java*, i, 192.

²¹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 293 sq.

²² A number of such instances are given by Lawrence. *The Magic of the Horse-shoe*, pp. 40-55.

²³ Agapitov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Вурягъ," in Изв. В.С. отд. Геогр. Общ., xiv, 2, note 8. Шашков, "Шаманство," in Зап. Имп. Русск. Геогр. Общ., ii, 46.

²⁴ Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, i, 41, 46 sq., 62-288.

²⁵ *Diodorus Siculus*, b. x, ch. 4. *The Geography of Strabo*, b. x, ch. 3, 22. § The Dactyli are mentioned in the Phoronide, a fragment of a poem dated from an age hardly less ancient than that of Homer and Hesiod. A French translation of it is given by Bertrand ("L'Introduction des Métaux en Occident," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii, 247) and Rosignol (*Les Métaux dans l'Antiquité*, p. 16).

²⁶ Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, pp. 216, 218 sq.

²⁷ Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 208.

²⁸ Kalewipoeg, vi, 168-172, 399-410.

- ²⁹ Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i, 847 sq., 883.
- ³⁰ Cf., op. cit., i, 879.
- ³¹ Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 443. Chavanne, op. cit., p. 528.
- ³² Burton, *First Footsteps*, pp. 33, note.
- ³³ Harris, *Highlands of Æthiopia*, ii, 295. Cf., Dufton, *Abyssinia*, pp. 165, 169.
- ³⁴ Pripuzov, "Шаманство у Якутовъ," in Изв. В. С. Отд. Георг. Общ., xv, 62.
- ³⁵ Agapitov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Бурятъ," ib., xiv, 8.
- ³⁶ Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 258. Id., "Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v, 30. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528.
- ³⁷ Haggenmacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x, 25 sq.
- ³⁸ Mollis, *The Masai*, p. 330.
- ³⁹ Rohlfs, op. cit., i, 258 sq. Id., loc. cit., v, 30.
- ⁴⁰ Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48.
- ⁴¹ Maltzan, "Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 105.
- ⁴² Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 324.
- ⁴³ Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 113.
- ⁴⁴ Chavanne, op. cit., p. 528. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 259. Id., "Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v, 30.
- ⁴⁵ Chavanne, op. cit., p. 528. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 258.
- ⁴⁶ Chavanne, op. cit., p. 528. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, p. 444. Rohlfs, "Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v, 30 (Teda).
- ⁴⁷ Büttikofer, "Eingeborenen von Liberia," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, i, 80. Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 33, note (Somali). Zöppritz, "Pruysenaere's Reisen," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, xi, 25 (Denqa). Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i, 879.
- ⁴⁸ Mollis, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 102, 284 (Jolof, Futatoro). Hollis, *The Masai*, pp. 330 sq. Haggenmacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x, 26. Burton, op. cit., p. 33, note (Somali). Chavanne, op. cit., p. 528. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 259. Nachtigal, op. cit., i, 444 (Teda).
- ⁴⁹ Schmidt, *Völkerkunde*, p. 203 (negro tribes). Casati, *Dieci Anni in Equatoria*, i, 207 (Manbettu). Chavanne, op. cit., p. 528. Nachtigal, op. cit., i, 443 sq. (Teda). Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 141 (Somali and Danakil). Hunter, *History of the Indian Tribes*, p. 48 (Kands).
- ⁵⁰ Endemann, "Die Sotho-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 25.
- ⁵¹ Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 113.
- ⁵² Wake, "Race Elements of the Madacasses," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii, p. xxxviii.
- ⁵³ Schrader, *Sprachenvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 236.
- ⁵⁴ Rossignol, *Les Métaux dans l'Antiquité*, p. 33.
- ⁵⁵ Hoeck, *Kreta*, i, 305 sq.
- ⁵⁶ Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, ii, 216. Id., *Geschichte des Priesterthums*, i, 138 sq.
- ⁵⁷ André, *Ethnographische Parallelen*, i, 155.
- ⁵⁸ Lawrence, *The Magic of the Horse-shoe*, p. 53.
- ⁵⁹ Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 78 sq.
- ⁶⁰ Nachtigal mentions certain legends of the Mohammedan Negroes, according to which a smith a long time ago through offence and treachery to the Prophet branded his whole class with infamy (*Sahara und Sudan*, i, 444). Strabo in his *Geography*, suggests that mining and certain other occupations had relation to the gods, who were thought to be coursing over the mountains (b. x, ch. 3, § 23). With reference to the Hindoos of the North-Western Provinces, among whom the blacksmiths occupied a far inferior position to the other metallurgic castes, viz., those of the braziers and goldsmiths, Nesfield supposes the reason to be the evil association which Hinduism has attached to the colour of black. *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 29.
- ⁶¹ Harnier, "Reise auf dem Weissen Nil," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, ii, 133.
- ⁶² Zöppritz, "Pruysenaere's Reise," ibid., xi, 25.
- ⁶³ Rohlfs, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 258 sq. Id., "Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, v, 30. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 528.
- ⁶⁴ Hecquard, *Voyage sur la Côte de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 336.

- ⁶⁵ Thomson, *Masai Land*, p. 248. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 834. Id., *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 402. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 331.
- ⁶⁶ Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii, 24.
- ⁶⁷ Haggenmacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x, 25.
- ⁶⁸ Dufton, *Abyssinia*, p. 165.
- ⁶⁹ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii, 656.
- ⁷⁰ Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48.
- ⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 84. Cf., also, Schurtz, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 78.
- ⁷² Haggenmacher, loc. cit., x, 25. Harnier, *Reise auf dem Weissen Nil*, ib., ii, 133.
- ⁷³ Burton, *First Footsteps*, p. 33, note.
- ⁷⁴ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 140. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i, 344 sqq., 348 sqq. Lawrence, *Magic of the Horse-shoe*, pp. 26-40. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, ii, 126.
- ⁷⁵ Cf. Plinius, *Naturalis Historiae Libri*, lib. xxxiv, cap. xv, sect. 45.
- ⁷⁶ Tylor, op. cit., i, 140. *Thousand and one Nights*, i, 34.
- ⁷⁷ Nesfield, *Caste System of the North-Western Provinces*, p. 29.
- ⁷⁸ Tylor, op. cit., i, 140. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, pp. 45, 282 sq. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, pp. 11, 13. Faye, *Norske Folke-Sagn*, pp. 24 sq. Thiele, *Danmarks Folkesagn*, ii, 142 sq., 155 sq. *Thousand and one Nights*, i, 34, 35. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii, 138. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 274. *Finlands, Svenska Folkdiktning*, vii, vols. 2 and 5, cf. Indices.
- ⁷⁹ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, iii, 467. Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, ii, 31.
- ⁸⁰ *Thousand and one Nights*, i, 34. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 381 sq. Krause, *Volks Glaube der Südslaven*, p. 117. Grimm, op. cit., iii, 453.
- ⁸¹ Tylor, op. cit., i, 140. Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 1-140. Beck, *Geschichte des Eisens*, i, 879.
- ⁸² Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 273. Cf., also, Stewart, "Notes on the Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc.*, xxiv, 644.
- ⁸³ Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, pp. 282, 382, 387. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, p. 10. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 274.
- ⁸⁴ Plinius, *Naturalis Historiae Libri*, lib. xxxiv, cap. xv, sect. 44. Wuttke, op. cit., pp. 95, 350 sq., 357. Skeat, op. cit., pp. 454 sq.
- ⁸⁵ Plinius, op. cit., lib. xxxiv, cap. xv, sect. 45.
- ⁸⁶ Wuttke, op. cit., p. 345.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 378. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 321.
- ⁸⁸ Wuttke, op. cit., p. 95.
- ⁸⁹ Skeat, op. cit., pp. 274, 338.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 274, 398.
- ⁹¹ Lyon, *Private Journal*, p. 368.
- ⁹² Wuttke, op. cit., pp. 68, 439, 440, 442. Liebrecht, op. cit., p. 311. Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, ii, 154. Krauss, *Volks Glaube der Südslaven*, p. 126.
- ⁹³ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 274.
- ⁹⁴ *Thousand and one Nights*, i, 35.
- ⁹⁵ Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, pp. 95, 302 sq. *Thousand and one Nights*, i, 35.
- ⁹⁶ Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 395 sq.
- ⁹⁷ Skeat, op. cit., p. 273.
- ⁹⁸ I Kings vi, 7.
- ⁹⁹ Exodus xx, 25.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bréal, "Trois Inscriptions Italiques," *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., xxxii, 242.
- ¹⁰¹ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, lib. v, cap. ix, 11.
- ¹⁰² Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p. 114.
- ¹⁰³ Ovidius, *Fasti*, lib. vi, 226-232.
- ¹⁰⁴ Bréal, loc. cit., xxxii, 243.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., xxxii, 242 sq.
- ¹⁰⁶ Henzén, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, 128-135. Bréal, loc. cit., xxxii, 242.
- ¹⁰⁷ Wuttke, op. cit., p. 349.
- ¹⁰⁸ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ii, 1001.
- ¹⁰⁹ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, i, 346 sq.
- ¹¹⁰ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 140.
- ¹¹¹ Bréal, loc. cit., xxxii, 243.
- ¹¹² Wuttke, op. cit., p. 95.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL INEQUALITY CAUSED BY THE AMALGAMATION OF TRIBES

- ¹ Ratzenhofer, *Die soziologische Erkenntnis*, p. 178.
- ² Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 293 sq. Id., "Social Classes," in *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, xiii, 617, 620.
- ³ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, p. 186.
- ⁴ Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, i, 345.
- ⁵ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, i, 210. Cf., Speke, *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, p. 247.
- ⁶ Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 48.
- ⁷ Id., *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 34.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 311.
- ¹⁰ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 23, 241.
- ¹¹ Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, i, 234.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, i, 339.
- ¹³ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 219.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 75.
- ¹⁵ Browne, "Dar-Fur," in *Pinkerton*, xv, 158.
- ¹⁶ Wilson, "Nile Valley," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xviii, 8 sq., 10, 12. Rüppel, *Reisen in Nubien*, p. 31. Weber, *Bier Jahre in Afrika*, ii, 408. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 106 sq.
- ¹⁷ Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii, 103, 116; iv, 146 sq. Rohlf's, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii, 213. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 188.
- ¹⁸ Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 48.
- ¹⁹ Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, i, 312.
- ²⁰ Bowring, *Siam*, i, 123 sq.
- ²¹ Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, i, 270.
- ²² Ellis, *Hawaii*, pp. 147, 426. Id., *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 414 sq.
- ²³ Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 508 sq.
- ²⁴ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 40.
- ²⁵ Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 133. Cf., *The History of Herodotus*, v, 68.
- ²⁶ Schoemann, op. cit., i, 133.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, i, 133.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 133. Marquardt, *Cyzicus und sein Gebiet*, pp. 52 sq.
- ²⁹ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, b. iii, ch. 20. *The Geography of Strabo*, b. viii, ch. v, § 4. Schoemann, op. cit., i, 200.
- ³⁰ Sohm, *The Institutes*, pp. 38-40. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i, 79, 109 sq.
- ³¹ Waitz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes in ältester Zeit*, i, 161.
- ³² Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i, 101-3. Waitz, op. cit., i, 157.
- ³³ Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, iv, 14 sq.
- ³⁴ Ratzenhofer, *Die soziologische Erkenntnis*, p. 178.
- ³⁵ Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii, 103, 116, 146.
- ³⁶ Allen and Thomsen, *Niger*, ii, 106.
- ³⁷ Howitt, "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 509.
- ³⁸ Gumplowicz, *Rassenkampf*, p. 226.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 219 sq.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 226 sq.
- ⁴¹ Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 192.
- ⁴² Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 401.
- ⁴³ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 73.
- ⁴⁴ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, pt. i, b. vii, ch. 1.
- ⁴⁵ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 72.

⁴⁶ Forbes, *Dahomey*, i, 19.

⁴⁷ Emin Pasha, op. cit., p. 192.

⁴⁸ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 94 sq.; iv, 412 sq. Id., *Hawaii*, pp. 421 sq. Meinicke, *Inseln det Stillen Oceans*, ii, 41, 83 sqq., 184 sq. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, ii, 152; iii, 77. Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 253. West, *Ten Years in Polynesia*, p. 260. Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 83 sqq. Thomsen, *Story of New Zealand*, i, 94. Parkinson, "Gilbertinsulaner," in *Intern. Archiv. für Ethnographie*, ii, 98 sq. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 20 (Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand, Hawaii, Gilbert Islands, Fiji).

⁴⁹ Riedel, *Sluik- en kroesharige Rassen*, p. 251. Id., "De Topantunuasu van Central Selebes," in *Bijdragen tot de Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, i, 82. Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 167 sq.

⁵⁰ Wilson, *West Africa*, pp. 72 sq., 75 sq. Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, pp. 132 sq. Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 133. "Skizzen aus Senegambien," in *Globus*, xxiii, 131. Caillié, *Travels through Central Africa*, i, 98 sqq.

⁵¹ Von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnologie Amerikas*, i, 459. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 770.

⁵² Instances of such peoples are given by Hecquard, *Afrique Occidentale*, p. 25 (M'Pongo). Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda und der Aegyptische Sudan*, i, 96 (Waganda). Buchner, *Kamerun*, p. 29 (Dualla). Möller, Pagels, and Gleerup, *Tre år i Kongo*, i, 132 (natives on the Upper Congo). Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 213 (Wagogo), 240 (Washambala), 277 sq. (Msalala). Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 406 (Ossetes). Dareste, *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire du Droit*, p. 321 (Cambodians). Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen*, pp. 154, 228, 293, 384, 406, 434 (tribes in the East-Indian Archipelago). Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, pp. 36 sq. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 83 (Kingsmill Islanders). Hale, "Ethnography and Philology," *ibid.*, vi, 82 (natives of Ascension Island). Gräffe, "Die Carolineninsel Yap," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, Bd. I, Hft. 2, p. 22. Holmberg, "Völker der Russischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, fasc. ii, 294 (Tlinkit), 358 (Konyag). Boas, "Social Organization of the Kwakiutl Indians," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1895, p. 338. Stoll, "Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Arch. für Ethnographie*, Suppl. zu Bd. I, 4. Von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnologie Amerikas*, i, 72, 232 (Guaucuru). Waitz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes in der ältesten Zeit*, i, 149 sq.

⁵³ Fahlbeck, *Klassväsendets uppkomst*, 11. Id., *Stånd och klasser*, 7. Id., *Klasserna och samhället*, p. 32.

⁵⁴ Cooley, *Social Progress*, p. 218.

B. THE ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD

CHAPTER VIII

INTRODUCTION.—THE HUMAN NEED OF MEDIATORS WITH THE PRETERNATURAL WORLD

- ¹ Avebury, *Pre-Historic Times*, pp. 551 sqq.
- ² Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, iii, 4.
- ³ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 424.
- ⁴ Frazer, *The Magic Art*, i, 222.
- ⁵ Westermarck, "Religion och Magi," in *Euterpe*, 1905, p. 24.
- ⁶ Cf. Spann, *Gesellschaftslehre*, p. 350.
- ⁷ Avebury, op. cit., p. 551. Id., *Origin of Civilization*, p. 250.
- ⁸ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 298 sq.
- ⁹ Tylor gives a number of instances showing how "to the mind of the lower races it seems that all nature is possessed, pervaded, crowded, with spiritual beings", many of which are "considered directly to affect the life and fortune of Man". Op. cit., ii, 195 sqq.
- ¹⁰ Lévy-Bruhl, *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*, pp. 63 sqq.
- ¹¹ Ward, "Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 286.
- ¹² Büttikofer, *Reisebilder aus Liberia*, ii, 325.
- ¹³ Kielland, *Zululandet*, p. 53.
- ¹⁴ Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, pp. 147 sq.
- ¹⁵ St. John, "Wild Tribes of Borneo," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., ii, 239.
- ¹⁶ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 406.
- ¹⁷ Kubary, in Bastian, *Allerlei*, i, 46.
- ¹⁸ Oldfield, "Aborigines of Australia," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iii, 228.
- ¹⁹ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 740.
- ²⁰ Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, p. 116.
- ²¹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 29 sq.
- ²² Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 726.
- ²³ Holden, *Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, p. 314.
- ²⁴ Thunberg, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," in Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi, 142.
- ²⁵ Jellinghaus, "Munda-Kohls," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, 335.
- ²⁶ Macpherson, "Religious Opinions of the Konds," in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vii, 187 sq.
- ²⁷ Bailey, "Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., ii, 301.
- ²⁸ Logan, "Ethnography of the Indo-Pacific Archipelagoes," in *Jour. of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, ix, 288.
- ²⁹ Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 142.
- ³⁰ Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 121.
- ³¹ Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 45.
- ³² Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 200.
- ³³ Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, p. 107.
- ³⁴ Sundén, *Översikt af nordiska mytologin*, pp. 36, 65.
- ³⁵ Porthán, *Tutkimuksia*, pp. 129-151.
- ³⁶ Avebury, *Origin of Civilization*, pp. 25-29, 236 sq. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii, 128-131. Bartels, *Medicin der Naturvölker*, pp. 11-41. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 44 sqq.
- ³⁷ Maddox, *The Medicine Man*, p. 23.
- ³⁸ Lippert, *Geschichte des Priesterthums*, i, 48.
- ³⁹ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 291.
- ⁴⁰ Holden, op. cit., pp. 284, 301.
- ⁴¹ Wayland, "Tribes of Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 206.
- ⁴² Schebesta, *Forest Dwarfs of Malaya*, p. 192.

- ⁴³ Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 68.
⁴⁴ Turner, loc. cit., xi, 194.
⁴⁵ Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 210.
⁴⁶ Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, iii, 197 sqq.
⁴⁷ Agaritov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Буряты," in *Извѣстія В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, xiv, 14.
⁴⁸ Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, p. 82.
⁴⁹ Lumbholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i, 311.
⁵⁰ Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, pp. 333 sq.
⁵¹ Musters, *Unter den Patagoniern*, p. 193.
⁵² Beecham, *Ashantee*, pp. 190 sq.
⁵³ Maclean, *Kafir Laws and Customs*, pp. 81 sq.
⁵⁴ Smirnov, Черемисы, p. 202.
⁵⁵ Shashkov, "Шаманство," in *Записки Геогр. Общ.*, ii, 4.
⁵⁶ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 162.
⁵⁷ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 14. Genetz, "Matkamuielmia Venäjän Lapista," in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, vi, 375.
⁵⁸ Buch, "Die Wotjöken," in *Acta. Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, xii, 590.
⁵⁹ Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, 1, p. 430.
⁶⁰ Hole, *The Passing of the Black Kings*, p. 21.
⁶¹ Proyart, "History of Loango," in Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi, 595.
⁶² Möller, Pagels, and Glerup, *Tre år i Kongo*, ii, 85.
⁶³ Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 62. Hall, *Arctic Researches*, p. 572. Astrup, *Blandt Nordpolens Naboer*, p. 283.
⁶⁴ Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 284.
⁶⁵ Bartram, "The Creek and Cherokee Indians," in *Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.*, iii, pt. i, 21.
⁶⁶ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 418.
⁶⁷ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 499.
⁶⁸ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 103. Tregear, *The Maoris*, p. 117.
⁶⁹ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 200.
⁷⁰ Haddon, "Western Tribe of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 398, 401.
⁷¹ Hagen and Pineau, "Les Nouvelles Hébrides," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 336.
⁷² Curr, *The Australian Race*, i, 48.
⁷³ Blagden, "Folk-lore and Popular Religion of the Malays," in *Jour. of the Straits Branch of the Roy. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 6.
⁷⁴ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 223.
⁷⁵ *Ib.*, i, 15.
⁷⁶ Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 250.
⁷⁷ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 280.
⁷⁸ Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, i, 253.
⁷⁹ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, ii, 139.
⁸⁰ Macpherson, "Report upon the Khonds," in *The Calcutta Review*, v, 51.
⁸¹ Krohn, *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus*, p. 90.
⁸² Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 164.
⁸³ Bourkie, "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 462.
⁸⁴ Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vii, 157.
⁸⁵ Schomburgh, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, i, 170.
⁸⁶ Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 68.
⁸⁷ Bossu, *Nouvelles Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, ii, 97.
⁸⁸ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i, 263.
⁸⁹ Cf. Cameron, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 100 (Ugogo). Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 181 (Waganda). Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 133 (Hottentot). Rowlatt, "Expedition into the Mishmee Hills," in *Jour. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, xiv, 487. Robinson, "Notes on the Dophlas," *ib.*, xx, 128 sq. Karatanov, Popov, and Potanin, "Качинские Татары," in *Извѣстія Геогр. Общ.*, xx, 6, p. 628 (Tartars). Rühls, *Finland och dess invånare*, ii, 45 (ancient Finns). Wichmann,

- "Tietoja Votjaakkien mytologiasta," in *Suomi*, series iii, pt. vi, 32 (Wotyak). Krashennikov, Описание Земли Камчатки, ii, 158 (Koryak). Gray, *China*, p. 100. Tromp, "De Rambaï en Sebroeang Dajaks," in *Tijdschrift for Indische taal-land- en volkenkunde*, xxv, 113. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Straits," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, 1, p. 309. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 85 (Koyag). Ehrenreich, op. cit., p. 32 (Karaya). Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 146 (Samoans). Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 36 (Tahitians). Haddon, "Western Tribe of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 306. Bonwick, "The Australian Natives," *ibid.*, xvi, 208. Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 360. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii, 271.
- ⁹⁰ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 121 sq.
- ⁹¹ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 333.
- ⁹² Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, ii, 67.
- ⁹³ Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, ii, 108.
- ⁹⁴ Schwaner, *Borneo*, ii, 181.
- ⁹⁵ Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, pp. 88 sq.
- ⁹⁶ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, ii, 84, 138 sq., 221, 285.
- Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 208.
- ⁹⁷ Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp. 228 sqq.
- ⁹⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 203.
- ⁹⁹ Wilson, "Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iv, 303.
- ¹⁰⁰ Wichmann, loc. cit., series iii, pt. vi, 32. Buch, "Die Wotjaken," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, xii, 608. Aminoff, "Reseberättelse," in *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, xxi, 230. Waronen, *Suomen kansan muinaisia taikvoja*, i, 1 (ancient Finns).
- ¹⁰¹ Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 371.
- ¹⁰² Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 373.
- ¹⁰³ Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 35.
- ¹⁰⁴ Taylor, op. cit., p. 104.
- ¹⁰⁵ Landtman, *Kiuaï Papuans*, pp. 155 sq., 301, 444.
- ¹⁰⁶ Riedel, *De sluk- en kroesharige Rassen*, p. 413 (people of Kaiser or Mikasar). Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 255. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, pp. 55 sq. (Torres Straits Islanders). Moura, *Le Royaume de Cambodge*, i, 180. Priklonski, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in *Хивая Старина*, 1, 2, p. 31 (Yakut). Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 25 (Abor).
- ¹⁰⁷ Becker, *Le Vie en Afrique*, ii, 298.
- ¹⁰⁸ Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 162.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cf., Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, ii, 100. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 251 (Marquesans). Ellis, op. cit., i, 349 (Tahitians). Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, i, 183 (Santal). Macpherson, "Religious Opinions of the Khonds," in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vii, 194. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, ii, 93, 220 (Dravida tribes). Paasonen, "Matkakertomus Mordvalaisten maalta," in *Jour. de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, viii, 141, and Waronen, *Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla suomalaisilla*, pp. 16 sq. (certain Finns). King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 201 sq.
- ¹¹⁰ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 56 sq.
- ¹¹¹ Robertson Smith and Bertholet, Art. "Priests," in Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii, 3839 sq.
- ¹¹² Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen im Kongostaate*, p. 409.
- ¹¹³ Kielland, *Zululandet*, pp. 53 sq.
- ¹¹⁴ Burton and Ward, "Journey into the Batak Country," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 500.
- ¹¹⁵ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 72.
- ¹¹⁶ Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 255.
- ¹¹⁷ Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, i, 115.
- ¹¹⁸ Curr, *The Australian Race*, i, 45.
- ¹¹⁹ Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 463.
- ¹²⁰ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 334.
- ¹²¹ Williams, *Fiji*, p. 210.
- ¹²² Seemann, *Viti*, p. 189.
- ¹²³ Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands*, p. 27. Bechtinger, *Ein Jahr auf den Sandwich-Inseln*, p. 86.

- ¹²⁴ Kubary, in Bastian, *Allerlei*, i, 47.
¹²⁵ Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 202 sq.
¹²⁶ Möller, Pagels and Gleerup, *Tre år i Kongo*, ii, 85.
¹²⁷ Mooney, "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vii, 392.
¹²⁸ Lumbholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i, 323.
¹²⁹ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 344.
¹³⁰ Burton and Ward, loc. cit., i, 500.
¹³¹ Thomson, op. cit., i, 115.
¹³² Vieillard and Deplanche, "Nouvelle Calédonie," in *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vi, 78.
¹³³ Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 136.
¹³⁴ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 500.
¹³⁵ Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 339.
¹³⁶ Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda und der Aegyptische Sudan*, i, 105. Ditmar, "О Коряках и Чукчахъ," in Вѣстникъ Геогр. Общ., xvi, 1, p. 30. Olsufiev, "Очеркъ Анадырской Округи," in Записки Приамурск. Отд. Геогр. Общ., ii, 1, p. 139.
¹³⁷ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 354.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF PRIESTS

- ¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i, 411.
² Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, p. 81.
³ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 22.
⁴ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 80.
⁵ Smirnov, Черемисы, p. 162.
⁶ Wilson, "Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S.*, iv, 303.
⁷ Bailey, "Wild Tribes of the Veddahs," *ibid.*, ii, 301.
⁸ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 229.
⁹ Moura, *Le Royaume de Cambodge*, i, 178.
¹⁰ Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 125, 243.
¹¹ Banzarov, Шаманство у Монголовъ, p. 32.
¹² Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, ii, 51.
¹³ Macpherson, "Religious Opinions of the Khonds," in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vii, 189.
¹⁴ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 207.
¹⁵ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 327.
¹⁶ Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 65.
¹⁷ Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, ii, 105 sqq.
¹⁸ Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 10.
¹⁹ Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 112.
²⁰ Shortland, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 sq.
²¹ Holden, *Past and Present of the Kafir Races*, p. 283.
²² Dall, *Alaska*, p. 422.
²³ Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, i, 216 sq.
²⁴ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 174.
²⁵ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 162.
²⁶ Malcolm, "The Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 72.
²⁷ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 187.
²⁸ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 605.
²⁹ Casati, *Dieci Anni in Equatoria*, i, 185 sq.
³⁰ Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas*, p. 224.
³¹ Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i, 392.
³² Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 87.
³³ Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 121.
³⁴ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 23.
³⁵ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 178 sq.
³⁶ *Ib.*, ii, 116.
³⁷ Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, i, 110.
³⁸ Croke, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, ii, 189.
³⁹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 207.
⁴⁰ Walhouse, "On the Belief in Bhutas," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, v, 408.
⁴¹ Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, i, 178.
⁴² Kubary, in Bastian, *Allerley*, i, 10.
⁴³ Wallace, *Australasia*, p. 100.
⁴⁴ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 281.
⁴⁵ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 283 sq., 310.
⁴⁶ Banzarov, Шаманство у Монголовъ, p. 32.
⁴⁷ Walhouse, *loc. cit.*, v, 409.
⁴⁸ Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
⁴⁹ Risley, *op. cit.*, ii, 207.
⁵⁰ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 274.
⁵¹ Prikionski, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in *Хивая Старина*, i, 4, p. 63.
⁵² Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, pt. i, p. 423.

⁵³ Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, p. 116.

⁵⁴ A very detailed treatise of worship of gods in nature was given by Tylor, in *Primitive Culture*. Various manifestations of nature-worship have been examined by De la Sayssaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, pp. 102-111. Goblet d'Alviella, *Origin of the Conception of God*, pp. 122 sqq. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, ch. xvii. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, pp. 39-53, a.o.

⁵⁵ Goblet d'Alviella, op. cit., p. 82. Fustel du Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, pp. 136 sqq.

⁵⁶ This is also the opinion of Lippert: a primitive cult may have existed before there were any priests, being at first administered without priests. *Geschichte des Priesterthums*, i, 47.

⁵⁷ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 298.

⁵⁸ *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 98.

⁵⁹ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 127.

⁶⁰ Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, p. 285.

⁶¹ Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 413.

⁶² Steller, *Beschreibung von Kamtschatka*, p. 277.

⁶³ Mainov, "Les Restes de la Mythologie Mordvine," in *Jour. de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, v, 7.

⁶⁴ Aspelin, *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana*, p. 91. Waronen, *Suomen kansan muinaisia taikoj*, i, 2.

⁶⁵ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 14. Düben, *Lappland och lapparne*, p. 256.

⁶⁶ Rasmussen, *The Iglulik Eskimo*, p. 110.

⁶⁷ Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*, pp. 204 sq.

⁶⁸ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 298.

⁶⁹ Musters, *Unter den Patagoniern*, p. 194.

⁷⁰ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 41.

⁷¹ Robertson Smith and A. Bertholet, Art. "Priests," in Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii, 3839.

⁷² Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p. 117.

⁷³ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 204.

⁷⁴ Yate, *Account of New Zealand*, p. 147.

⁷⁵ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 530.

⁷⁶ Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 211.

⁷⁷ Serpa Pinto, *Wanderings quer durch Africa*, i, 124.

⁷⁸ Musters, op. cit., p. 195.

⁷⁹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 119 sq.

⁸⁰ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 41 sq.

⁸¹ Lewin, *Wild Tribes of South-Eastern India*, p. 285.

⁸² Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 25.

⁸³ Hislop, *Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 19.

⁸⁴ Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 142.

⁸⁵ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 127.

⁸⁶ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 298.

⁸⁷ Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 458.

⁸⁸ Id., *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 530.

⁸⁹ Mainov, "Les Restes de la Mythologie Mordvine," in *Jour. de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, v, 10.

⁹⁰ Ditmar, "О Корякахъ и Чукчахъ," in *Вѣстникъ Геогр. Общ.*, xvi, i, p. 30.

⁹¹ Meek, op. cit., ii, 69.

⁹² Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, iii, 47.

⁹³ Spencer gives a number of such instances. *Ibid.*, iii, 47 sq.

⁹⁴ Dalton, op. cit., 229.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁹⁶ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, iv, 213.

⁹⁷ Corre, "Les Serères," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii, 19.

⁹⁸ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 61.

⁹⁹ Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, pp. 103 sq.

¹⁰⁰ Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 106.

¹⁰¹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 342.

¹⁰² Kubary, in Bastian, *Allerlei*, i, 11.

¹⁰³ Pallas, *Reise*, i, 91.

¹⁰⁴ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 36.

- 108 Crooke, op. cit., i, 180.
 109 Ib., ii, 143.
 107 Hale, "Ethnography and Philology," in *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 98.
 108 Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 243.
 109 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, iii, 55 sqq.
 110 Lippert, *Geschichte des Priesterthums*, i, 133 sqq.
 111 Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 290 sq.
 112 Frazer, *The Dying God*, p. 198.
 113 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii.
 114 Frazer, *The Magic Art*, p. 89.
 115 Cf. Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 86 sq.
 116 Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 64 sq.
 117 Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda und der Aegyptische Sudan*, i, 105.
 118 Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, p. 226.
 119 Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, pp. 172 sq.
 120 Frazer, *The Magic Art*.
 121 Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 178.
 122 Ling Roth, "Native of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 114.
 123 Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 127.
 124 Schooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 196.
 125 Lippert, op. cit., i, 133.
 126 Spencer, op. cit., ii, 338 sqq.
 127 Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, pp. 300 sq.
 128 Lang, in Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 243.
 129 Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 778.
 130 Casati, *Dieci Anni in Eguatoria*, i, 117 (Unioro). Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 605 (Chicova). Endemann, "Sotho-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 42. Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 113 (Banjar). Proyard, "History of Loango," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 577.
 131 Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 370 sq.
 132 D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii, 140.
 133 Logan, "Ethnography of the Indo-Pacific Archipelagoes," in *Jour. of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, ix, 288.
 134 Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 42 sq.
 135 Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in Woods, *Native Tribes of S. Australia*, p. 32.
 136 Inglis, "New Hebrides," in *Jour. Ethn. Soc.*, iii, 62.
 137 Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i, 397.
 138 Burton and Ward, "The Batak Country," in *Trans Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 513.
 139 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, iii, 63.
 140 Ib., iii, 61.
 141 Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 145.
 142 Nesfield, *Caste System of the NW. Provinces*, p. 50.
 143 Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i, 143.
 144 Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 204.
 145 A similar opinion is expressed by Schmoller. "Thatsachen der Arbeitsteilung," in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, xiii, 69.
 146 Shortt, "Rude Tribes of Southern India," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iii, 379.
 147 Crookes, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, iv, 214.
 148 Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 542.
 149 Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, i, 102 sq.
 150 Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 48.
 151 Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 37.
 152 Ib., p. 39.
 153 Hodgson, "Koch, Bodo and Dhimál People," in *Jour. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, xviii, 733.
 154 Robinson, "The Dophlás," *ibid.*, xx, 128.
 155 Jellinghaus, "Munda-Kolhs," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, 334.
 156 Vial, *Les Lolos*, p. 12.
 157 Aspelin, "Mordvalaisten pakanalliset jumalet," in *Kirjallinen Kuukaulehti*, viii, 185.
 158 Landtman, *Folktales of the Kiwai Papuans*, 185 sqq.
 159 Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 88, 89.

- 160 Lippert, *Geschichte des Priesterthums*, i, 199 sqq.
 161 Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 37; ii, 421.
 162 Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 130.
 163 Hislop, *Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 19.
 164 Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i, 396.
 165 Hershheim, *Südsee-Erinnerungen*, pp. 22 sq.
 166 Lippert, op. cit., i, 200.
 167 Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 287.
 168 Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 315 sq.
 169 Dumas, *Mœurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*, p. 13.
 170 Hislop, *Tribes of the Central Provinces*, pp. 19 sq.
 171 Cf. Hodgson regarding the Bodo and Dhimal people, in *Jour. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, xviii, 727.
 172 Cf. Steller regarding the Kamchadales. *Beschreibung von Kamtschatka*, p. 277.
 173 Yate, *Account of the New Zealanders*, p. 146.
 174 Crooke, op. cit., ii, 428.
 175 Richardson, "Tanala Customs," in *Antananarivo Annual*, ii, 98.
 176 Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 62.
 177 Ross, "The Eastern Tinneh," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1866, p. 306.
 178 Musters, *Unter den Palagoniern*, p. 194.
 179 Smirnov, *Черемисы*, p. 202.
 180 Blumentritt, "Kianganen," in *Ausland*, 1891, p. 120.
 181 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 85.
 182 Hislop, op. cit., p. 19.
 183 Lang, in Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 243.
 184 Bridges, "Das Feuerland," in *Globus*, 1885, p. 332.
 185 Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 366.
 186 Schultze, *Der Fetischismus*, p. 131. Robertson Smith and A. Bertholet, Art. "Priests," in Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii, 3840.
 Maybaum, *Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums*, pp. 10 sq. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the NW. Provinces*, ii, 143. Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 254.
 187 Georgi, *Russland*, i, 82.
 188 Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, p. 24. Düben, *Lappland*, p. 256.
 189 Waronen, *Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla Suomalaisilla*, p. 47. Aspelin, *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana*, pp. 91, 94.
 190 Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 10.
 191 Maclean, *Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 83.
 192 Wood, *Natural History of Man*, i, 209.
 193 Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 605.
 194 Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii, 52.
 195 Veniaminoff, *Записки объ Островахъ Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла*, iii, 65.
 196 Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 196.
 197 Hind, *Red River Exploring Expedition*, ii, 132.
 198 Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 27.
 199 Appun, "Indianer in British Guayana," in *Ausland*, 1871, p. 159.
 200 Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 480.
 201 Id., *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 533.
 202 Roth, *Queensland Aborigines*, p. 167.
 203 Lawes, "Ethnological Notes on the Motu," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii, 374.
 204 Yate, *Account of New Zealand*, p. 147.
 205 Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii, 29.
 206 Schneider, *Religion der Afrikanischen Naturvölkern*, p. 214.
 207 Acosta, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. v, cap. xxvi.
 208 Burnet, "Comanches," in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, i, 237.
 209 Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 112, 113.
 210 Oldfield, "Aborigines of Australia," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iii, 235.
 211 Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, ii, 59.
 212 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 200.

- ²¹³ Haggemacher, "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x, Hft. 47, p. 26. Hildebrand, "Bemerkungen über die Somal," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii, 4.
- ²¹⁴ Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 366.
- ²¹⁵ Högström, *Beskrifning öfver Sveriges Lapmarker*, p. 198. Rühls, *Finland och dess invånare*, ii, 43. Hertzberg, *Vidskepelsen i Finland*, p. 111. Eckemann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, iv, 142.
- ²¹⁶ Högström, op. cit., p. 198.
- ²¹⁷ Rühls, op. cit., ii, 42 sq. Allardt, "Nyländska folkseder," in *Nyland*, iv, 133.
- ²¹⁸ Shortt, "Hill Tribes of the Neilgherry," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., vii, 278.
- ²¹⁹ Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 21.
- ²²⁰ Möller, Pagels, and Gleerup, *Tre år i Kongo*, i, 282.
- ²²¹ Ehrenreich, *Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 68.
- ²²² Hocart, "Witchcraft in the Solomons," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv, 229.
- ²²³ Rühls, op. cit., ii, 43. Eckermann, *Religionsgeschichte*, iv, 142.
- ²²⁴ Högström, op. cit., pp. 198 sq.
- ²²⁵ Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et Survivances*, v, 83.
- ²²⁶ Lindblom, *Akamba*, pp. 279 sq.
- ²²⁷ Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, p. 309.
- ²²⁸ Wood, *Natural History of Man*, i, 209.
- ²²⁹ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 228.
- ²³⁰ Bonwick, *Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, p. 177.
- ²³² Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, p. 251.
- ²³¹ Brand, quoted by Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, 115.
- ²³³ Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, pp. 139 sq.
- ²³⁴ Lubinski, "Der Medizinmann," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-21, p. 213.

CHAPTER X

QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED OF ASPIRANTS TO PRIESTHOOD.—
INITIATION OF PRIESTS

- 1 Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, ii, 119.
- 2 Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, i, 114.
- 3 Cook, *Voyage round the World*, ii, 240. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 342.
- 4 Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 26.
- 5 Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 30.
- 6 Kubary, in Bastian, *Allerlei*, ii, 47.
- 7 Turner, *Samoa*, p. 345.
- 8 Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 192.
- 9 Thomson, "Savage Island," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 139.
- 10 Hocart, "Witchcraft in the Solomons," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv, 229.
- 11 Howitt, *Tribes of SE. Australia*, p. 304.
- 12 Cameron, "Tribes in New South Wales," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xiv, 360.
- 13 Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 488.
- 14 Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 115.
- 15 Hickson, *A Naturalist in Celebes*, p. 196.
- 16 Seligmann, *Veddas*, p. 128.
- 17 Harkness, *Singular Race of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 75.
- 18 Macpherson, "Khonds," in *Calcutta Review*, v, 58 sq.
- 19 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 190.
- 20 Raverty, "Káfiristan," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxviii, 364.
- 21 Krohn, *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus*, p. 83.
- 22 Verbitzki, Алтайские Инородцы, p. 44.
- 23 Mihailovski, "Шаманство," in Изв. Общ. Любнт. Естествозн, xx, 74.
- 24 Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 498.
- 25 Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 177.
- 26 Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 400.
- 27 Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 62.
- 28 Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 350.
- 29 Wayland, "Tribes of Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 206.
- 30 Thiel, "Le Sorcier dans l'Afrique Equatoriale," in *Anthropos*, i, 49.
- 31 Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 42.
- 32 Brown, *Bantu Nomads*, p. 127.
- 33 Jacobsen, "Leben und Treiben der Eskimo," in *Ausland*, 1891, p. 637.
- 34 Schomburgh, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i, 172.
- 35 Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 257.
- 36 Maybaum, *Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums*, pp. 10 sq.
- 37 Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 191.
- 38 Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 121.
- 39 Cruikshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii, 142.
- 40 Veniaminov, Записки объ Островахъ Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла, iii, 61 sq.
- 41 Dorsey, "Siouan Cults," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 395.
- 42 Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, p. 80.
- 43 Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 99.
- 44 Ward, "Congo Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 286.
- 45 Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, i, 199.
- 46 Buch, "Wotjäken," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, xii, 591.
- 47 Priklonski, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in Хивая Старина, i, 3, p. 73.
- 48 Schmoller, "Thatsachen der Arbeitsteilung," in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, xiii, 69.
- 49 Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 59.
- 50 Hoffman, "Menomini Indians," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xiv, 62.
- 51 Lothrop, *Tierra del Fuego*, p. 172.
- 52 Ross, "The Eastern Tinneh," in *Ann. Rep. of the Board of Regents*, 1866, p. 307.

- ⁵³ Veniaminov, op. cit., iii, 55.
⁵⁴ Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, p. 87.
⁵⁵ Stern, *Lummi Indians*, p. 75.
⁵⁶ Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 116.
⁵⁷ Agapitov and Hangalov, Шаманство у Буряты," in Изв. В.—Сиб. Отд Георгр. Общ., xiv, 1, p. 41.
⁵⁸ Friis, *Lappish Mythologi*, p. 2.
⁵⁹ Holmberg, Finno-Ugric, *Siberian Mythology*, p. 284.
⁶⁰ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii, 428.
⁶¹ Blagden, "Folk-lore of the Malays," in *Jour. of the Straits Branch of the Roy. As. Soc.*, 1896, p. 4.
⁶² Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 116.
⁶³ Hocart, "Witchcraft in the Solomons," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv, 229.
⁶⁴ Vial, *Les Lolos*, p. 12.
⁶⁵ Burton, *Mission to the King of Dahomey*, ii, 151.
⁶⁶ Veniaminov, "Записки объ Островахъ Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла," i, 125.
⁶⁷ Dall, *Alaska*, p. 425.
⁶⁸ Rink, op. cit., p. 58.
⁶⁹ Hoffman, "The Mide'wiwin," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vii, 157.
⁷⁰ Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 362.
⁷¹ Hambly, "The Owimbundu," in *Field Museum*, Anthropological Series, xxi, no. 2, p. 273.
⁷² Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, p. 82. Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 167.
⁷³ Shaskov, "Шаманство," in Записки Георгр. Общ., ii, 83.
⁷⁴ Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, iv, 109.
⁷⁵ Bastian, *Mensch in der Geschichte*, ii, 132.
⁷⁶ Sumner, "The Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx, 102 sq.
⁷⁷ Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 177.
⁷⁸ Holmberg, op. cit., p. 283.
⁷⁹ Genetz, "Matkamuihelmia Venäjän Lapista," in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, vi, 340.
⁸⁰ Malcolm, "Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 77.
⁸¹ Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 185.
⁸² Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, p. 301.
⁸³ Stanbridge, "Tribes in Victoria," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., i, 300.
⁸⁴ Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 48.
⁸⁵ Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 481, 487, 488.
⁸⁶ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 36 sq.
⁸⁷ Id., *Hawaii*, pp. 384 sq.
⁸⁸ Tromp, "Dajaks," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde*, xxv, 113.
⁸⁹ Gason, "The Dieyerie Tribe," in Woods, *Native Tribes of S. Australia*, p. 283. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii, 73. Taplin, *South Australian Aborigines*, p. 78.
⁹⁰ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 152.
⁹¹ Bonwick, "Australian Natives," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 209.
⁹² Gason, "Dieyerie," ib., xvi, 48.
⁹³ Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," ib., xvi, 48. Id., *Native Tribes of SE. Australia*, p. 408.
⁹⁴ Cole, "Wild Tribes of Davao," in *Field Museum*, Anthr. Series, xii, 97.
⁹⁵ Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, p. 177.
⁹⁶ Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii, 39.
⁹⁷ Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 115. Id., *Natives of Sarawak*, i, 266.
⁹⁸ Macpherson, "Khonds," in *Calcutta Review*, v, 58.
⁹⁹ Shimkevitch, "Шаманство у Гольдовъ," in Записки Приамурск. Отд. Георгр. Общ., ii, 1, p. 9.
¹⁰⁰ "Тунгусы," in Сибирскій Вѣстникъ, xix, 39 sq.
¹⁰¹ Holmberg, Finno-Ugric, *Siberian Mythology*, p. 497.
¹⁰² Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 257.
¹⁰³ Lothrop, *Tierra del Fuego*, p. 172.
¹⁰⁴ Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii, 202. Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, i, 241; ii, 361.

- 108 Hutchinson, "Chaco Indians," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iii, 323.
- 109 Russell, op. cit., p. 257.
- 107 Bourkie, "Medicine-men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 456.
- 108 Mihailovski, "Шаманство," in Извѣстія Общ. Любителей Естествознанія, lxxvi, 74.
- 109 Molina, *Fables and Rites of the Yncas*, p. 14.
- 110 Jellinghaus, "Munda-Kolhs," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, 334.
- 111 Bell, *Gold Coast Settlement*, p. 19.
- 112 Cheyne, *Western Pacific Ocean*, p. 10.
- 113 Hale, "Ethnography and Philology," in *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 56.
- 114 Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 192.
- 115 Man, "Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 96 sq.
- 116 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 270.
- 117 Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 83.
- 118 Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 59.
- 119 Bourkie, "Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 452 sq.
- 120 Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, ii, 1344.
- 121 Maddox, *The Medicine Man*, p. 32.
- 122 Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, pp. 145 sq.
- 123 Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 363.
- 124 Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 515.
- 125 Shashkov, loc. cit., ii, 83.
- 126 Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 189. Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 264.
- 127 Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 145.
- 128 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 50.
- 129 Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, pp. 241 sq.
- 130 Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, ii, 1344.
- 131 Banzarov, Шаманство у Монголовъ. Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 83. Krohn, *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus*, p. 84 (Finno-Ugric tribes in Siberia).
- 132 Verbitzki, Алтайскіе Инородцы, p. 45.
- 133 Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, ii, 132.
- 134 Prikloński, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in Хивья Старина, i, 4, p. 50.
- 135 Szaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 172.
- 136 Mihailovski, "Шаманство," in Изв. Общ. Любителей Естествознанія, lxxv, 74. See also Agaritov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Бурятъ," in Изв. В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., xiv, 45.
- 137 "Тунгусы," in Сибирскій Вѣстникъ, xix, 40.
- 138 Friis, *Lappish Mythologi*, p. 4. Tornæus, *Beskrifning öfver Tornå och Kemi Lappmarker*, p. 20.
- 139 Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 283.
- 140 Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iii, 87.
- 141 Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, ii, 87.
- 142 Bourkie, "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 452 sq.
- 143 Lubinski, "Der Medizininmann bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-1, p. 241.
- 144 Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 334.
- 145 Ehrenreich, *Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 33.
- 146 Musters, *Unter den Patagoniern*, p. 194.
- 147 Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 191. Cf. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's* p. 99. Holden, *Kafir Races*, pp. 285 sq. Maclean, *Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 80.
- Kielland, *Zululandet*, pp. 54 sq.
- 148 Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, pp. 282 sq.
- 149 Hambly, "The Owimbundu," in *Field Museum*, Anthropological Series, xxi, no. 2, s. 273.
- 150 Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 254.
- 151 Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 250.
- 152 Wilkes, op. cit., iii, 87.
- 153 Blackhouse, *The Australian Colonies*, p. 103.
- 154 Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii, 142.

- ¹⁵⁵ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 64.
- ¹⁵⁶ Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 117.
- ¹⁵⁷ Malcolm, "Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 77.
- ¹⁵⁸ Friis, op. cit., p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁹ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii, 16 sq.
- ¹⁶⁰ Griuzov, "Шаманство у Якутовъ," in Изв. В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., xv, 64 sq.
- ¹⁶¹ Merzbacher, *Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, ii, 87.
- ¹⁶² Awebury, *Origin of Civilization*, pp. 266 sqq. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii, 410—421.
- ¹⁶³ Cf. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 190. Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iii, 88 (Fijians). Zimmermann, *Inseln des Stillen Meeres*, i, 543 (Tongans). Gill, *Myths from the South Pacific*, p. 35 (Hervey Islanders). Hale, "Ethnography and Philology," in *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 56 sq. (Melanesians). Burton and Ward, "Batak Country," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 502. Harkness, *Singular Race of the Neigherry Hills*, p. 167 (Todas). Seligmann, *Veddas*, pp. 133 sq. Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 401. Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 101 sq. Ditmar, "О Корякахъ и Чукчахъ," in Вѣстникъ Геогр. Общ., xvi, 1, p. 30 (Siberian peoples). Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 87 (Makololo). Kingsley, *West African Studies*, pp. 145 sq. (Gold Coast natives). Veniaminov, Записки объ Островахъ Уналашкинскаго Оутѣла, iii, 72 (Tlinkit). Dall, *Alaska*, pp. 144 sqq. (Mahlemut). Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 208 (Kadiak islanders).
- ¹⁶⁴ Cf., Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 213 sq. (Santal). Malcolm, "Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 77. Hodgson, "Kóoch, Bodo and Dhimal People," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xviii, 730. Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, pp. 363 sq. (Byga). Krohn, *Suomen suvuun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus*, pp. 88, 90 (Siberian tribes). Cheyne, *Western Pacific*, p. 121 (Bornabi islanders). Codrington, *Melanesia*, p. 209. Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, 229 sq. (Masupia). Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 121. Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 199. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, pp. 432 sq. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 707 (Chontales).
- ¹⁶⁵ Cf. Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, p. 81. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, p. 108. Karatanov, Попов, and Potanin, "Качинские Татары," in Извѣстія Геогр. Общ., xx, 6, p. 632 (Tartars). Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, 540 sq. Marco Polo, *Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, ii, 53 sq. (people of Zardandan). Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 414 (Araucanians).
- ¹⁶⁶ Cf. Shooter, *Kafirs*, p. 174. Holden, *Kafir Races*, p. 288. Rowley, *Religion of the Africans*, pp. 134 sq. (Marganja). Bastian, *Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 92.
- ¹⁶⁷ Cf. Allen and Thomson, *River Niger*, ii, 213 (Edeeyah). Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 377 (Tartars). Turner, "Ungava District," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 195 sq. (Eskimo).
- ¹⁶⁸ Such instances are given by Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, pp. 181, 239, 267, 305, 327, 357 sq., 394 and 452 (peoples in the East Indian Archipelago). Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 191. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 221 (Samoans). Codrington, "Religious Beliefs in Melanesia," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, x, 284 (Bank's islanders). Fison and Howitt, *Kamiralo and Kurnai*, p. 250. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 250 (equatorial Africans), Prjevalski, Отъ Кяхты на Истоки Желтой Рѣки, p. 430 (natives of East Turkestan).
- ¹⁶⁹ Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 227.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Thousand and One Nights*, i, 237 note.
- ¹⁷¹ Hamilton, "Account of the East Indies," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, viii, 280.
- ¹⁷² Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, p. 348.
- ¹⁷³ Hickson, *North Celebes*, p. 259.
- ¹⁷⁴ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 44.
- ¹⁷⁵ Polack, *New Zealanders*, ii, 101.
- ¹⁷⁶ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 219.
- ¹⁷⁷ Schomburgh, *British-Guiana*, ii, 54.
- ¹⁷⁸ Kulakov, "Буряты Иркутской Губерніи," in Извѣстія. В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., xxvi, 4—5, p. 138.
- ¹⁷⁹ Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 330.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 120.
- ¹⁸¹ Id., *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 97.

- 188 Shooter, *Kafirs*, p. 191.
- 188 Shashkov, "Шаманство," in *Записки Геогр. Общ.*, ii, 84.
- 184 Pripuzov, "Шаманство у Якутовъ," in *Извѣстія В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, xv, 65.
- 185 Friis, *Lappisk Mythologie*, p. 4.
- 186 Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 115.
- 187 Dieffenbach, *New Zealand*, ii, 119.
- 188 Bonwick, "Australian Natives," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 209.
- 189 Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 362.
- 190 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 777.
- 191 Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, ii, 236.
- 192 Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 201.
- 193 Hoffman, "Menomini Indians," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xiv, 62.
- 194 Astrup, *Blandt Nordpolens Naboer*, p. 283. Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 240.
- 195 Rasmussen, *Iglulik Eskimos*, p. 111.
- 196 Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 145.
- 197 Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii, 428.
- 198 Kulakov, loc. cit., xxvi, 4–5, p. 139.
- 199 Rasmussen, op. cit., pp. 115 sq.
- 200 Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, p. 146.
- 201 Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 48 sq.
- 202 Cameron, "Tribes in N.S. Wales," *ibid.*, xiv, 360.
- 203 Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 522.
- 204 Rink, *Tales of the Eskimo*, p. 58.
- 205 Lisianski, *Voyage round the World*, p. 207.
- 206 Jones, op. cit., p. 87.
- 207 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 777.
- 208 Ehrenreich, *Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 68.
- 209 Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 120.
- 210 Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 185.
- 211 Cole, "Wild Tribes of Davao District," in *Field Museum, Anthr. Series*, xii, 97.
- 212 Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 134.
- 213 Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 97.
- 214 Id., *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 120.
- 215 Butt-Thomsen, *West African Secret Societies*, pp. 55 sq.
- 216 Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, p. 40.
- 217 Rasmussen, *Iglulik Eskimos*, p. 112.
- 218 Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 240.
- 219 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 777.
- 220 Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 343.
- 221 Lubinski, "Der Medizinmann bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920–1, p. 245.
- 222 Agapitov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Буряты," in *Извѣстія В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, xiv, 45.
- 223 Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 178.
- 224 Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 36.
- 225 Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, b. vi, ch. xiv.
- 226 Rasmussen, op. cit., p. 114.
- 227 Mestorf, "Altgrönländische Religion," in *Globus*, 1871, p. 55.
- 228 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 740 sq.
- 229 Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 335.
- 230 Von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 492.
- 231 Lubinski, loc. cit., 1920–1, p. 247.
- 232 Lethrop, *Tierra del Fuega*, p. 172.
- 233 Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 630.
- 234 Kiehländ, *Zululandet*, p. 55.
- 235 Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 293.
- 236 Brown, *Bantu Nomads*, p. 127.
- 237 Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, p. 127.
- 238 Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 120.
- 239 Seligmann, *Veddas*, p. 628.
- 240 Anderson and Eells, *Alaska Natives*, p. 67.

- ²⁴¹ Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, pp. 177 sq.
²⁴² Best, *The Maori*, i, 245.
²⁴³ Rink, *Tales of the Eskimo*, p. 58. Cf. Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 240. Turner, "Ethnology of the Ungava District," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 195. Rasmussen, *Igluli Eskimos*, p. 112.
²⁴⁴ Dall, *Alaska*, p. 425.
²⁴⁵ Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, pp. 87 sq.
²⁴⁶ Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, p. 204.
²⁴⁷ Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 258.
²⁴⁸ Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, ii, 236.
²⁴⁹ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 777.
²⁵⁰ Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 334.
²⁵¹ Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, pp. 362 sq.
²⁵² Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 371.
²⁵³ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 343. Ehrenreich, *Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 69.
²⁵⁴ Dobrzhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 67 sq.
²⁵⁵ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 120.
²⁵⁶ Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 264.
²⁵⁷ Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, p. 38.
²⁵⁸ Butt-Thompson, *West African Secret Societies*, p. 56.
²⁵⁹ Bastian, *Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 86.
²⁶⁰ Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 330.
²⁶¹ Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, ii, 133. Müller, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 764 sq.
²⁶² Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 284.
²⁶³ Von Wrangel, Путешествіе по Сѣвернымъ Берегамъ Сибири, i, 349.
²⁶⁴ Agapitov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Бурягъ," in Изв. В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., xiv, 45.
²⁶⁵ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 270.
²⁶⁶ Malcolm, "Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 77.
²⁶⁷ Shortt, "Tribes of the Neilgherry," *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., vii, 248.
²⁶⁸ Ling Roth, "Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 115.
²⁶⁹ Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, p. 302.
²⁷⁰ Wirz, *Marind-anim*, pp. 66 sq.
²⁷¹ Descamp, *État Social des Peuples Sauvages*, pp. 70 sq.
²⁷² Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 529.
²⁷³ Roth, *North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 153.
²⁷⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 485.
²⁷⁵ Müller, loc. cit., i, 765.
²⁷⁶ Brown, op. cit., p. 177.
²⁷⁷ Lothrop, *Tierra del Fuego*, p. 173.
²⁷⁸ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 97.
²⁷⁹ Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 99.
²⁸⁰ Schomburgk, *Britisch-Guiana*, i, 172.
²⁸¹ Priklonski, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in Хивия Старина, i, 4, p. 50. Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 83, 84. Von Wrangel, op. cit., i, 349. Krohn, *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus*, p. 85.
²⁸² Düben, *Lappland*, pp. 271 sq. Waronen, *Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla suomalaisilla*, p. 51.
²⁸³ Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 115.
²⁸⁴ Shashkov, loc. cit., ii, 85.
²⁸⁵ Agapitov and Hangalov, loc. cit., xiv, 46 sqq.
²⁸⁶ Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii, 202.
²⁸⁷ Lévy-Bruhl, *Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*, pp. 417 sq.
²⁸⁸ Id., *L'Âme Primitive*, pp. 341 sq.
²⁸⁹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 392 sq., 523 sq. Id., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 480 sq., 485.
²⁹⁰ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 325. Id., *Folktales of the Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 187 sq.
²⁹¹ Brown, op. cit., pp. 176 sq., 302.
²⁹² Southey, op. cit., i, 204.

CHAPTER XI

HOW PRIESTS GAIN REPUTATION.—ORIGIN OF PRIESTHOOD AS A
DISTINCT ORDER

- ¹ Lubinski, "Der Medizinmann bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-1, p. 342.
- ² Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 256.
- ³ Wayland, "Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 206.
- ⁴ Müller, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 762.
- ⁵ Martin, *Inlandsstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 958.
- ⁶ Thompson, "Savage Island," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 140.
- ⁷ Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Âme Primitive*, p. 7.
- ⁸ Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, i, 116.
- ⁹ Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iii, 89.
- ¹⁰ Vieillard and Deplanche, "Nouvelle-Calédonie," in *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vi, 76.
- ¹¹ Bell, *The Gold Coast Settlement*, p. 24.
- ¹² Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 52.
- ¹³ Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 178.
- ¹⁴ Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, pp. 239 sq.
- ¹⁵ Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 192.
- ¹⁶ Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, p. 39.
- ¹⁷ Bouche, *La Côte des Esclaves*, p. 127.
- ¹⁸ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 128.
- ¹⁹ Chavanne, *Reisen im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, p. 411.
- ²⁰ Brown, *Bantu Nomads*, p. 127. Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 293.
- ²¹ Hahn, *Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, p. 83.
- ²² Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 212.
- ²³ Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 114.
- ²⁴ Cook, *Voyage round the World*, ii, 240.
- ²⁵ Best, *Maori*, i, 248.
- ²⁶ Smith, *Araucanians*, pp. 234, 236.
- ²⁷ Turner, "Ungava District," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 196.
- ²⁸ Beecham, op. cit., p. 191.
- ²⁹ Ellis, op. cit., pp. 127 sq.
- ³⁰ Ibid., pp. 126 sq.
- ³¹ Bell, *Gold Coast*, p. 21.
- ³² Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii, 147 sq.
- ³³ Dornan, op. cit., p. 294.
- ³⁴ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 69 sq.
- ³⁵ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 202.
- ³⁶ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 126.
- ³⁷ Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 184.
- ³⁸ Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 414.
- ³⁹ Dobrizhoffer, op. cit., ii, 73.
- ⁴⁰ Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, i, 171.
- ⁴¹ Merzbacher, *Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, ii, 87.
- ⁴² Hooper, *Tents of the Tushki*, pp. 317 sq.
- ⁴³ Dobrizhoffer, op. cit., ii, 70.
- ⁴⁴ Cruickshank, op. cit., ii, 146.
- ⁴⁵ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 779.
- ⁴⁶ Müller, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 765. Cf. Isaacs, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, ii, 162.
- ⁴⁷ Bechtinger, *Sandwich-Inseln*, p. 86.
- ⁴⁸ Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 116.
- ⁴⁹ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 463.
- ⁵⁰ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 532.
- ⁵¹ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 303.

- ⁸⁸ Kolben, *Cape of Good Hope*, i, 134.
- ⁸⁹ Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 365.
- ⁹⁰ Vieillard and Deplanche, "Nouvelle Calédonie," in *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vi, 81.
- ⁹¹ Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 88.
- ⁹² Cameron, "Tribes of New South Wales," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xiv, 362.
- ⁹³ Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, p. 107, note.
- ⁹⁴ Bourkie, "Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 454.
- ⁹⁵ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, iii, 140.
- ⁹⁶ Isaacs, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, ii, 304.
- ⁹⁷ Leslie, *Zulus*, p. 47.
- ⁹⁸ Polack, *New Zealanders*, i, 263.
- ⁹⁹ Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 57.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cameron, loc. cit., ib., xiv, 362.
- ¹⁰¹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 38.
- ¹⁰² Ling Roth, loc. cit., xxi, 115.
- ¹⁰³ Ward, "Congo Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 286.
- ¹⁰⁴ Veniaminov, Записки объ Островахъ Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла, iii, 65 sq.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 115.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ellis, op. cit., i, 406.
- ¹⁰⁷ Seeman, *Viii*, pp. 401 sqq.
- ¹⁰⁸ Bonwick, *Tasmanians*, p. 177.
- ¹⁰⁹ Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 203.
- ¹¹⁰ Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 167.
- ¹¹¹ Georgi, *Russland*, ii, 377.
- ¹¹² Respecting ceremonies of this kind, cf., for instance, Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 240. Veniaminov, op. cit., iii, 72 (Tlinkit). Dall, *Alaska*, pp. 144 sq. Falkner, *Patagonia*, pp. 116 sq. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 373 sq. (Tahitians). Williams, *Fiji*, p. 190. Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 543 (Tongans). Seligmann, *Veddahs*, pp. 133 sq. Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, ii, 142. Holden, *Kaffir Races*, p. 288. Harkness, *Aboriginal Race of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 167 (Toda). Karatanov, Popov, and Potanin, "Качинскіе Татары," in Извѣстія Геогр. Общ., xx, 6, p. 632 (Tartars). Olsufiev, "Очеркъ Анадирской Округи," in Записки Приамурск. Отд. Геогр. Общ., ii, 1, p. 118 (Chukchi). Ditmar, "О Корякахъ и Чукчахъ," in Вѣстникъ Геогр. Общ., xvi, 1, p. 30 (Koryak). Lönnrot, *Finnarnes magiska medicin*, p. 11 (Finns). Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, pp. 293 sq. (Lapps).
- ¹¹³ Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 101.
- ¹¹⁴ Olsufiev, "Очеркъ Анадирской Округи," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 101.
- ¹¹⁵ Hiekisch, *Die Tungusen*, p. 102.
- ¹¹⁶ Karatanov, Popov, and Potanin, "Качинскіе Татары," in Извѣстія Геогр. Общ., xx, 6, p. 631.
- ¹¹⁷ Rink, *Eskimo*, pp. 60 sq. Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 240.
- ¹¹⁸ Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i, 170.
- ¹¹⁹ Hawtray, "Lengua Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 290.
- ¹²⁰ Merolla, "Congo," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xv, 225.
- ¹²¹ Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 201.
- ¹²² Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 88.
- ¹²³ Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 412.
- ¹²⁴ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 27.
- ¹²⁵ Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 96.
- ¹²⁶ Macpherson, "Khonds," in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vii, 199.
- ¹²⁷ Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, pp. 106 sq.
- ¹²⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 212.
- ¹²⁹ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 105.
- ¹³⁰ Bourkie, "Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 457.
- ¹³¹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 57.
- ¹³² Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 87.
- ¹³³ Forbes, *Dahomey*, i, 172.
- ¹³⁴ Erckert, *Kaukasus*, p. 37.
- ¹³⁵ Götte, *Das Delphische Orakel*, p. 82.
- ¹³⁶ Howitt, *Tribes of SE. Australia*, p. 410.

- ¹⁰¹ Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, p. 206.
¹⁰² Rasmussen, *Iglulik Eskimos*, pp. 112 sq.
¹⁰³ Martin, *Inlandsstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, pp. 957 sq.
¹⁰⁴ Prjevalski, *Монголія*, i, 57.
¹⁰⁵ Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, ii, 45.
¹⁰⁶ Karatanov, Popov and Potanin, "Качинские Татары," in *Извѣстія Георг. Общ.*, xx, 6, p. 632.
¹⁰⁷ Man, "Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 97.
¹⁰⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 740.
¹⁰⁹ Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, p. 169.
¹¹⁰ Bourkie, loc. cit., ix, 456.
¹¹¹ Jacobsen, "Eskimo," in *Ausland*, 1891, p. 637.
¹¹² *The Indian Antiquary*, vi, 123.
¹¹³ Jellinghaus, "Munda-Kolhs," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, 334.
¹¹⁴ Man, loc. cit., xii, 97.
¹¹⁵ Casati, *Dieci Anni in Equatoria*, i, 117.
¹¹⁶ Hecquard, *L'Intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 113.
¹¹⁷ Cf. preceding chapter, p. 158.
¹¹⁸ Wood, *Natural History of Man*, i, 208.
¹¹⁹ Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas*, pp. 209 sq.
¹²⁰ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, pp. 779 sq.
¹²¹ Lichtenstein, *Southern Africa*, ii, 61.
¹²² Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 303.
¹²³ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 351. Cf., Cămeron, *Quer durch Afrika*, i, 99 sq.
¹²⁴ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 252.
¹²⁵ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 380.
¹²⁶ Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 256, 259.
¹²⁷ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 394 sq.
¹²⁸ Mayne, *British Columbia*, p. 260.
¹²⁹ Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the United States*, v, 274.
¹³⁰ Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. i, lib. iii, cap. 4.
¹³¹ Musters, *Unter den Patagoniern*, p. 195.
¹³² Charlevoix, *A Voyage to North-America*, ii, 204.
¹³³ Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, 430.
¹³⁴ Herodotus, *History*, b. iv, ch. 69.
¹³⁵ Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Âme Primitive*, pp. 324 sq.
¹³⁶ Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 284.
¹³⁷ Wayland, "The Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 207.
¹³⁸ Awebury, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 265.
¹³⁹ Réville, *Histoire des Religions*, ii, 238.
¹⁴⁰ De la Grasserie, *Des Religions Comparées*, p. 260.
¹⁴¹ Lippert, *Geschichte des Priesterthums*, i, 58.
¹⁴² Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 57 sq.
¹⁴³ Thomson, *Savage Island*, p. 135.
¹⁴⁴ Codrington, *Melanesians*, pp. 192 sq.
¹⁴⁵ Tromp, "De Rambai en Sebroeang Dajaks," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxv, 113.
¹⁴⁶ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 211.
¹⁴⁷ Man, "Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 97 sq. Id., "Andamane and Nicobarese Objects," ib., xi, 289.
¹⁴⁸ Merzbacher, *Hochregionen des Kaukasus*, ii, 87.
¹⁴⁹ Kulakov, "Буряты Иркутской Губерніи" in *Извѣстія В.—Сиб. Отд. Георг. Общ.*, xxvi, 4-5, p. 140.
¹⁵⁰ Thiel, "Le Sorcier dans l'Afrique Equatoriale," in *Anthropos*, i, 51.
¹⁵¹ Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 433.
¹⁵² Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, pp. 168 sqq.
¹⁵³ Bossu, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, ii, 96.
¹⁵⁴ Such practices of the priests in removing the "cause" of diseases are reported in a great many works, as for instance the following: Allier, *The Mind of the Savage*, pp. 51 sq. Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folk*, pp. 193. Bonwick,

"Australian Natives," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 208. Oldfield, "Aborigines of Australia," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., iii, 243. Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 38 sq. Id., *Tribes of SE. Australia*, pp. 519 sqq. Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 360. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 531 sq. Bonwick, *Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, p. 195. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 198 (Banks islanders). Lothrop, *Tierra del Fuego*, pp. 96, 172. Wissler, *The American Indian*, p. 201. Lubinski, "Der Medizinmann bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-1, pp. 235, 260 sqq. Hawtray, "Lengua Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 290. Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 229 (Tupinamba). Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 69 (Ipurina). Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i, 172 (Waraus). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 770 (Isthmians). *Ib.*, i, 287 (Columbians). Dorsey, "Siouan Cults," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 417. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *ib.*, xviii, 435. Junker, *Reisen in Afrika*, i, 405 (Makaraka). Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, p. 108. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, p. 197 (Bushmen). Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii, 120 sqq. Hieckisch, *Die Tungusen*, p. 103.

¹⁵⁵ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, pp. 225 sq.

¹⁵⁶ Hirn, *Origins of Art*, p. 285.

¹⁵⁷ Holden, *Kafir Races*, p. 316. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 99. Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, p. 81.

¹⁵⁸ Becker, *La Vie en Afrique*, i, 80 ; ii, 303.

¹⁵⁹ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 347.

¹⁶⁰ Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 339.

¹⁶¹ Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 185.

¹⁶² Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 232.

¹⁶³ Jellinghaus, "Munda-Kolhs," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii, 336.

¹⁶⁴ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii, 58.

¹⁶⁵ Krivoschepkin, *Енисейскій Округъ*, p. 325.

¹⁶⁶ Olsufief, "Очеркъ Агадырской Округи," in *Записки Приамурск. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, ii, 1, p. 117.

¹⁶⁷ Priklonski, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in *Хивая Старина*, i, 4, p. 58.

¹⁶⁸ Bonwick, "Australian Natives," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 209.

¹⁶⁹ Cameron, "Tribes of New South Wales," *ibid.*, xiv, 362.

¹⁷⁰ Thomson, *New Zealand*, i, 115.

¹⁷¹ Hickson, *North Celebes*, p. 258.

¹⁷² Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, p. 170.

¹⁷³ Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, ii, 126.

¹⁷⁴ Petroff, "Alaska," in *Tenth Census of the United States*, p. 2. Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 241. Astrup, *Bland Nordpolens Naboer*, p. 287.

¹⁷⁵ Crantz, *Greenland*, i, 214.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 148. Mejer, *Periode der Hexenprocesse*, p. 23. Kaarsberg, *Om Satanismen, Djævelsbesættelse og Hexevæsen*, p. 22.

¹⁷⁷ Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, i, 162.

¹⁷⁸ Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 84.

¹⁷⁹ Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, pp. 112 sqq.

¹⁸⁰ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, i, 405.

¹⁸¹ *Id.*, op. cit., i, 403-415. *Id.*, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 406-421. *Id.*, *Early Beliefs*, pp. 116-128.

¹⁸² Nilsson, op. cit., pp. 83 sq.

¹⁸³ Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 396.

¹⁸⁴ Molina, *History of Chile*, ii, 86.

¹⁸⁵ Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 117.

¹⁸⁶ Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 371.

¹⁸⁷ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 168.

¹⁸⁸ Veniaminov, *Записки объ Островахъ Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла*, iii, 65.

¹⁸⁹ Krashennenikov, *Описание Земли Камчатки*, ii, 81.

¹⁹⁰ Eckert, *Der Kaukasus*, p. 37.

¹⁹¹ King, *Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 19.

¹⁹² Joinville, "People of Ceylon," in *Asiatick Researches*, vii, 425.

¹⁹³ Christmas, *Et Aar i Siam*, p. 90.

¹⁹⁴ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 43 sq.

¹⁹⁵ Götte, *Das Delphische Orakel*, pp. 78 sq.

- 196 Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 113 sqq.
- 197 Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. v, cap. xv.
- 198 Justi, "Die Weltgeschichte des Tabari," in *Ausland*, 1875, p. 307.
- 199 Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 412 sqq. Id., *History of Human Marriage*, i, 403 sqq. Id., *Early Beliefs*, pp. 117 sq.
- 200 Meek, op. cit., ii, 45.
- 201 Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 76 sq.
- 202 Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 121 sq.
- 203 Bowdich, *A Mission to Ashanti*, p. 264.
- 204 Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii, 153
- 205 Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, pp. 111 sq.
- 206 Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, ii, 236.
- 207 Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, ii, 440.
- 208 Herodotus, *History*, b. i, ch. 199.
- 209 Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 57-72.
- 210 Westermarck, *Early Beliefs*, p. 128.
- 211 Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, p. 396.
- 212 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 213.
- 213 Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, p. 77.
- 214 Krivoschapkin, Енисейскій Округъ, p. 310.
- 215 Düben, *Lappland*, p. 256.
- 216 Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 415.
- 217 Boller, *Among the Indians*, p. 81.
- 218 Dorsey, "Siouan Cults," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 502.
- 219 *Ibid.*, xi, 390.
- 220 Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. i, lib. iii, cap. 4.
- 221 Thomson, *Savage Island*, pp. 95, 139.
- 222 Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 542.
- 223 Svoboda, "Die Bewohner des Nikobaren-Archipels," in *Intern. Archiv. für Ethnographie*, v, 192.
- 224 Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 360.
- 225 Von Dittmar, "Koräken und Tschuktschen," in *Mélanges Russes*, iii, 31.
- 226 Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 283.
- 227 Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. v, cap. xxvi.
- 228 Id., lib. v, cap. xxvi. For further examples, cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii, 416 sqq.
- 229 Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i, 173.
- 230 Joinville, "People of Ceylon," in *Asiatick Researches*, v, ii, 425.
- 231 Seligmann, *Veddás*, pp. 179 sq.
- 232 Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 484 sq.
- 233 Crawley, *Dress, Drinks, Drums*, p. 197.
- 234 Christmas, *Et Aar i Siam*, pp. 92 sq.
- 235 Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, ii, 442.
- 236 Baudissin, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, p. 37. Maybaum, *Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums*, pp. 46 sqq.
- 237 Cf. Karsten, *Civilization of the South American Indians*, pp. 21, 87.
- 238 Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Tribes of the Malay Peninsula*, ii, 254.
- 239 Holmberg, op. cit., p. 519.
- 240 Cf., Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 412 sq. (Tahitians). Du Chaillu, *The Country of the Dwarfs*, p. 169 (Otando people). Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Africa*, i, 119 sq. (people of Kiakka). Shimkevitch, "Шаманство у Гольдговъ," in Запски Приамурс. Отд. Георг. Обш, ii, 1, pp. 12 sqq. (Golds). Rasmussen, *Iglulik Eskimos*, p. 114.
- 241 Joinville, loc. cit., vii, 425.
- 242 Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 59.
- 243 Christmas, op. cit., p. 90.
- 244 Crawley, op. cit., p. 161.
- 245 Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 44.
- 246 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 50.
- 247 Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, ii, 389.
- 248 Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 213 sq.
- 249 Acosta, op. cit., lib. v, cap. xv.

- 250 Skeat and Blagden, op. cit., pp. 253 sq.
 251 Sumner, "Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 102.
 252 Dall, *Alaska*, p. 383.
 253 *Ib.*, p. 426.
 254 Malcolm, "Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 77.
 255 Dalton, op. cit., p. 270.
 256 Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, i, 63.
 257 Seligmann, *Veddás*, p. 129.
 258 Gray, *China*, i, 99.
 259 Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 123.
 260 Meek, op. cit., ii, 43.
 261 Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i, 368.
 262 Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, p. 114.
 263 Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, ii, 45; iii, 26.
 264 Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 393.
 265 *Id.*, "Völker des Russischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*,
 iv, 349.
 266 Joinville, "People of Ceylon," in *Asiatick Researches*, vii, 426.
 267 Egede, *Grönland*, pp. 97 sq. Kane, *Arctic Explorations*, ii, 126. Cf., Ras-
 mussen, *Iglulik Eskimos*, p. 114.
 268 Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 157.
 269 Riggs, "Dacota Language," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*,
 iv, p. xvii.
 270 Hind, *Red River Exploring Expedition*, ii, 155.
 271 Hoffman, "Menomini Indians," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xiv, 61.
 272 *Ibid.*, xiv, 61.
 273 Hind, op. cit., ii, 155.
 274 Coreal, op. cit., ii, 389.
 275 Burton, *Mission to Dakota*, ii, 152.
 276 Bastian, *San Salvador*, p. 153.
 277 Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 630.
 278 Deguignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, etc., i, 1, p. 392.
 279 Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 59.
 280 Ling Roth, "Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 118.
 281 Hickson, *North Celebes*, p. 259.
 282 Thomson, *New Zealand*, i, 114 sq. Deiffenbach, *New Zealand*, ii, 119.
 283 Gill, *Myths from the South Pacific*, p. 35.
 284 Williamson, *Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*, iii, 91 sqq.
 285 Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, p. 6.
 286 Talbot, *Southern Nigeria*, p. 60.
 287 Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Âme Primitive*, p. 336.
 288 Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 282.
 289 Wayland, "Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 207.
 290 Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 257.

CHAPTER XII

CLASSIFICATION OF PRIESTHOOD.—DISTRIBUTION OF PRIESTLY FUNCTIONS

- ¹ Avebury, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 389.
- ² Réville, *Histoire des Religions*, i, 105; ii, 73, 74, 238, 239.
- ³ De la Grasserie, *Des Religions Comparées*, pp. 259 sqq., 265 sq.
- ⁴ Goblet d'Alviella, *Origin and Growth of the Conception of God*, p. 271.
- ⁵ Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 289 sq.
- ⁶ Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 58.
- ⁷ Frazer, *The Magic Art*, i, 222.
- ⁸ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 584. Id., *Early Beliefs*, pp. 1 sqq.
- ⁹ Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 88.
- ¹⁰ Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, pp. 106, 107.
- ¹¹ Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, ii, 1335, 1343.
- ¹² Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 103.
- ¹³ Williams, *Fiji*, p. 209.
- ¹⁴ Arbousset and Daumas, *Cape of Good Hope*, p. 240.
- ¹⁵ Bartram, "Creek and Cherokee Indians," in *Trans. of the Am. Ethnological Society*, iii, pt. i, p. 21.
- ¹⁶ Goblet d'Alviella, op. cit., p. 95.
- ¹⁷ Frazer, *G. B.*, i, 64 sqq.
- ¹⁸ Cf. Roth, *North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 153. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 462. Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 48 sq. (Kurnai, Wotjobaluk, Woiorung and Murring).
- ¹⁹ Bonwick, "Australian Natives," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 208. Cf. Mathew, "Australian Aborigines," in *Jour. and Proceed. of the Roy. Soc. of New South Wales*, xxxiii, 418.
- ²⁰ Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, pp. 253 sq.
- ²¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 15.
- ²² Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 142.
- ²³ Howitt, loc. cit., p. 41.
- ²⁴ Curr, *Squatting in Victoria*, p. 275.
- ²⁵ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 191.
- ²⁶ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 363.
- ²⁷ Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, p. 122.
- ²⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 777.
- ²⁹ Dobrzhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 67.
- ³⁰ Benedict, "Guardian Spirit," in *Mem. Am. Anthr. Association*, no. 29, 69.
- ³¹ Wissler, *The American Indian*, 199 sq.
- ³² Egede, *Greenland*, pp. 192 sq.
- ³³ Veniaminov, Эписки объ Островах Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла, iii, 73 sqq.
- ³⁴ Hoffman, "The Mide'wiwin," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vii, 157.
- ³⁵ Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 328.
- ³⁶ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 434.
- ³⁷ Rowley, *Africa Unveiled*, p. 120. Müller, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 763.
- ³⁸ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 293.
- ³⁹ Hamby, "Owimbundu," in *Field Museum*, Anthr. Series, xxi, no. 2, pp. 273 sq.
- ⁴⁰ Agapitov and Hangalov, "Шаманство у Бурятъ," in Извѣстія В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., xiv, 1, p. 46. Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 82.
- ⁴¹ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 740 (Indians of Honduras). Büttikofer, *Liberia* ii, 331 sq. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, pp. 93, 540, 726 (tribes in equatorial Africa). Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 199 (Munda, Hos, Bhunij). Buch, "Wotjaken," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, xii, 591. Vieillard and Deplanche, "Nouvelle-Calédonie," in *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vi, 76.

- ⁴² Hocart, "Witchcraft in the Solomons," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv, 229.
- ⁴³ Saville, *Unknown New Guinea*, p. 267.
- ⁴⁴ Lubinski, "Der Medizinmann bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-1, p. 243.
- ⁴⁵ Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i, 323.
- ⁴⁶ Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the United States*, v, 271.
- ⁴⁷ Lubinski, loc. cit., 1920-1, p. 243.
- ⁴⁸ Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xviii, 429 sq.
- ⁴⁹ Stuhlmann, op. cit., p. 779.
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Lumholtz, op. cit., i, 314 sq. Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, pp. 241 sq.
- ⁵¹ *The Thousand and One Nights*, i, 66 sq., note.
- ⁵² Cameron, *Quer durch Africa*, i, 100.
- ⁵³ Alberti, *Die Kaffern*, p. 74.
- ⁵⁴ Porthan, *Tulkimuksia*, pp. 174-190.
- ⁵⁵ Backhouse, *Mauritius and South Africa*, pp. 230 sq.
- ⁵⁶ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 189.
- ⁵⁷ Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 156.
- ⁵⁸ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 270.
- ⁵⁹ Verbitzki, Алтайские Инородцы, p. 45.
- ⁶⁰ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 223.
- ⁶¹ Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 211.
- ⁶² Molina, *Yncas*, pp. 13 sq.
- ⁶³ Veniaminov, op. cit., i, 123.
- ⁶⁴ Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 284.
- ⁶⁵ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 124, 522.
- ⁶⁶ Allen and Thomson, *River Niger*, i, 327.
- ⁶⁷ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 133.
- ⁶⁸ Büttikofer, "Liberia," in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, i, 85.
- ⁶⁹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 632.
- ⁷⁰ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 352.
- ⁷¹ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Africa*, i, 280.
- ⁷² Wayland, "Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 206.
- ⁷³ Müller, "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 763.
- ⁷⁴ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 292.
- ⁷⁵ Dalton, "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 338.
- ⁷⁶ Banzarov, Шаманство у Монголовъ, p. 37. Shashkov, "Шаманство," in Записки Геогр. Общ., ii, 87. Verbitzki, op. cit., p. 44.
- ⁷⁷ Krohn, *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalanpalvelus*, p. 112.
- ⁷⁸ Thomson, *New Zealand*, i, 249.
- ⁷⁹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 394.
- ⁸⁰ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 38.
- ⁸¹ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 192.
- ⁸² Dalton, loc. cit., v, 333.
- ⁸³ Backhouse, op. cit., p. 230.
- ⁸⁴ Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, pp. 409, 411.
- ⁸⁵ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 26.
- ⁸⁶ Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i, 312.
- ⁸⁷ Coolidge, *The Rainmakers of Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 201 sq.
- ⁸⁸ Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 256 sq.
- ⁸⁹ Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, ii, 361.
- ⁹⁰ Southey, *History of Brazil*, iii, 181.
- ⁹¹ Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 414.
- ⁹² Rink, *Eskimo*, p. 62.
- ⁹³ Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 284.
- ⁹⁴ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 266.
- ⁹⁵ Bartram, "Creek and Cherokee Indians," in *Trans. of the Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, iii, 1, p. 21.
- ⁹⁶ Proyart, "Loango," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 595.
- ⁹⁷ Wayland, "Karamoja," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxi, 206.
- ⁹⁸ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 293.
- ⁹⁹ Holden, *Kaffir Races*, p. 308. Wood, *Natural History of Man*, i, 208. Maclean,

- Kafir Laws*, p. 104. Kielland, *Zululandstet*, p. 54. Backhouse, *Mauritius and South Africa*, pp. 230 sq.
- ¹⁰⁰ Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, ii, 16.
- ¹⁰¹ Verbitzki, *Атлантике Ипородцы*, p. 41.
- ¹⁰² Georgi, *Russland*, i, 223.
- ¹⁰³ Bastian, *San Salvador*, p. 95.
- ¹⁰⁴ Lenz, *Westafrika*, p. 201.
- ¹⁰⁵ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 41 sq.
- ¹⁰⁶ Serpa Pinto, *Quer durch Afrika*, i, 125.
- ¹⁰⁷ Bourkie, "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 454.
- ¹⁰⁸ Haddon, "Western Tribe of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 401.
- ¹⁰⁹ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, ii, 204.
- ¹¹⁰ Yate, *New Zealand*, p. 147.
- ¹¹¹ Müller, "Wahrsagerie bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 763.
- ¹¹² Chavanne, op. cit., p. 410. Möller, Pagels, and Gleeurp, *Tre år i Kongo*, i, 283 sq.
- ¹¹³ Soyaux, *Aus West-Afrika*, i, 216, 230.
- ¹¹⁴ Büttikofer, *Liberia*, ii, 330. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, pp. 86 sq. Lenz, op. cit., pp. 184 sqq. Magyar, *Süd-Afrika*, i, 119, 280 (Kimbunda, people of Kiakka). Serpa Pinto, op. cit., i, 121 (Ganguella).
- ¹¹⁵ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 20.
- ¹¹⁶ Rink, *Eskimo*, p. 61.
- ¹¹⁷ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 352.
- ¹¹⁸ Möller, Pagels and Gleeurp, op. cit., i, 283.
- ¹¹⁹ Dornan, op. cit., p. 291.
- ¹²⁰ Müller, loc. cit., i, 763.
- ¹²¹ Bourkie, loc. cit., ix, 461.
- ¹²² Krause, op. cit., p. 284, note.
- ¹²³ Becker, *Vie en Afrique*, i, 79.
- ¹²⁴ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, pp. 188 sq., 726 (Waganda and Basiba). Shooter, *Kafirs*, p. 167, a.o.
- ¹²⁵ Müller, loc. cit., i, 763.
- ¹²⁶ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 20.
- ¹²⁷ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 43.
- ¹²⁸ Lander, *Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, i, 281.
- ¹²⁹ Schaeffner, *Rechtsverfassung Frankreichs*, i, 9.
- ¹³⁰ Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, pp. 211 sqq., 217.
- ¹³¹ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 45.
- ¹³² Rink, *Tales of the Eskimo*, p. 58. Astrup, *Blandt Nordpolens Naboer*, p. 283.
- ¹³³ Nansen, *Eskimoliv*, p. 242, note.
- ¹³⁴ Anderson and Ells, *Alaska Natives*, p. 67.
- ¹³⁵ Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 256 sq.
- ¹³⁶ Bourkie, "Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 408.
- ¹³⁷ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 152.
- ¹³⁸ Lubinski, "Der Mediziner bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1920-21, p. 237.
- ¹³⁹ Ehrenreich, *Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 33.
- ¹⁴⁰ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 67.
- ¹⁴¹ Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 117.
- ¹⁴² Smith, *Araucanians*, p. 238.
- ¹⁴³ Lothrop, *Tierra del Fuego*, p. 160.
- ¹⁴⁴ Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, ii, 152. Cf. Bell, *Gold Coast Settlement*, p. 19.
- ¹⁴⁵ Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 188. Hartmann, *Die Völker Afrikas*, p. 214.
- ¹⁴⁶ Burton, *Mission to Dahome*, ii, 155.
- ¹⁴⁷ Wissmann, *Quer durch Afrika*, p. 380.
- ¹⁴⁸ Lenz, *Westafrika*, p. 87.
- ¹⁴⁹ Shooter, *Kafirs*, p. 191. Arbousset and Daumas, *The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, p. 136. Maclean, *Kafir Laws*, p. 79. Müller, "Wahrsagerie bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i, 262.
- ¹⁵⁰ Schapera, *The Khoisan People*, p. 196.

- ¹⁵¹ Georgi, *Russland*, ii, 276. Holmberg, *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology*, p. 499.
- ¹⁵² Karatanov, Popov and Potanin, "Качинские Татары," in *Извѣстія Геогр. Общ.*, xx, 6, p. 631.
- ¹⁵³ Priputov, "Шаманство у Якутовъ," in *Извѣстія В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, xv, 64. Priklonski, "Три Года въ Якутской Области," in *Хивая Старина*, i, 4, p. 58.
- ¹⁵⁴ Shimkevitch, "Шаманство у Гольдовъ," in *Записки Приамурск. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, ii, i, p. 8.
- ¹⁵⁵ St. John, *Forests of the Far East*, i, 72. Cf. Ling Roth, *Natives of North Borneo*, i, 266.
- ¹⁵⁶ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 48.
- ¹⁵⁷ Williams, *Fiji*, p. 189.
- ¹⁵⁸ Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 366.
- ¹⁵⁹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 526.
- ¹⁶⁰ Cole, "Davao District," in *Field Museum, Anthr. Ser.*, xii, 97.
- ¹⁶¹ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 292.
- ¹⁶² Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 257.
- ¹⁶³ Sumner, "Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx, 103.
- ¹⁶⁴ Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, pp. 243 sq.
- ¹⁶⁵ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 203.
- ¹⁶⁶ Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, p. 172.
- ¹⁶⁷ Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. v, cap. xxvii.
- ¹⁶⁸ Krashennnikov, *Описание Земли Камчатки*, ii, 81.
- ¹⁶⁹ Pitt-Rivers, "Aua Island," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv, 430.
- ¹⁷⁰ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 350.
- ¹⁷¹ Alberti, *Die Kaffern*, p. 63.
- ¹⁷² Lenz, *Westafrika*, p. 204.
- ¹⁷³ Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 158.
- ¹⁷⁴ Hambly, "The Owimbunda," in *Field Museum, Anthr. Ser.*, xxi, no. 2, p. 273.
- ¹⁷⁵ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 355.
- ¹⁷⁶ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 26.
- ¹⁷⁷ Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v, 270.
- ¹⁷⁸ Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii, lib. iv, cap. vii.
- ¹⁷⁹ Id., dec. ii, lib. x, cap. vi.
- ¹⁸⁰ Lawes, "Tribes of New Guinea," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii, 374.
- ¹⁸¹ Pitt-Rivers, loc. cit., lv, 429.
- ¹⁸² *The Thousand and One Nights*, i, 38.
- ¹⁸³ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii, 384.
- ¹⁸⁴ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 232.
- ¹⁸⁵ Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 359. Howitt, "Australian Medicine Men," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 26.
- ¹⁸⁶ Burton, *Mission to Dahome*, ii, 155.
- ¹⁸⁷ Egede, *Greenland*, p. 192.
- ¹⁸⁸ Powers, loc. cit., iii, 57.
- ¹⁸⁹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, i, 60.
- ¹⁹⁰ Murray, *Papua*, p. 66.
- ¹⁹¹ Kolben, *Cape of Good-Hope*, i, 133.
- ¹⁹² Kostrov, "Колдовство Томской Губерніи," in *Записки В.—Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, i, 16.
- ¹⁹³ Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, p. 159.
- ¹⁹⁴ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, ii, 867. Delacroix, *Procès de Sorcellerie*, p. 60.
- Hansen, *Zuaberwahn*, p. 16. Bang, *Hexewæsen og Hexeforsølgelser*, p. 15.
- ¹⁹⁵ Turner, "Ungava District," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 199.
- ¹⁹⁶ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha*, p. 394.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, b. vi, ch. 19.
- ¹⁹⁸ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 263.
- ¹⁹⁹ Götte, *Das Delphische Orakel*, p. 77.
- ²⁰⁰ Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta*, p. 70.
- ²⁰¹ Casati, *Dieci Anni in Equatoria*, i, 186.
- ²⁰² Bastian, *Allerlei*, i, 40 sq.

- ¹⁰³ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 152. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 394.
- ¹⁰⁴ Briffault, *Mothers*, ii, 532 sqq.
- ¹⁰⁵ Lowie, *Primitive Religion*, pp. 243 sq.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ling Roth, *Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i, 266, 270.
- ¹⁰⁷ Sumner, "Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxx, 103 sq. Cf., Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, pp. 248 sq.

C. THE ORIGIN OF SLAVERY

CHAPTER XIII

THEORY.—INTRATRIBAL SLAVERY

- ¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, b. i, ch. 4, par. 2.
- ² Sohm, *Institutions*, p. 165.
- ³ Jhering, *Geist des Römischen Rechts*, ii, 167.
- ⁴ Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen*, ii, 431.
- ⁵ Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4653.
- ⁶ Ingram, *History of Slavery*, p. 262.
- ⁷ Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 9.
- ⁸ Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, ii, 534 sq.
- ⁹ Letourneau, *L'Évolution de l'Esclavage*, p. 492.
- ¹⁰ Tourmagne, *Histoire de l'Esclavage*, p. 1.
- ¹¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 291.
- ¹² Milner, *The Problem of Decadence*, p. 73.
- ¹³ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i, 670.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 670 sq.
- ¹⁵ Nieboer, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 27 sq., 31 sq. Wallon, *Histoire de l'Esclavage*, i, p. xiv.
- ¹⁶ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 314 (Beit Bidel and Az Kukui under the Nebtab, the ruling class of the Beni Amer). French-Sheldon, "Customs among the Natives of East Africa," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 380 (Wa-rombutta under the Massai). Zöppritz, "Pruyssenaere's Reisen," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsband*, xi, 24 (pariah villages under the Denqa). Heuglin, "Ägypt. Sudan," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, 11 (Band II), p. 105 (Sheri and Bambiri under the Niamniam). Krapf, *Travels in East Africa*, pp. 364 sq. (Wand-moho, Elkonono, Waman, a.o., under the Ma-ai and Wakuafi). Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 175 (over thirty serf tribes, under eight Aedsha tribes). Burrows, "Belgian Congo," *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxviii, 32 (Pygmy tribes under Mabode tribes). Allen and Thomsen, *Niger*, ii, 91 sq., 107 (Kinami and Yariba under the Filata). Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 61 (people of Acron under the Fanynean). Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, i, 338 sqq. (Fanti under the Ashanti). Hobhouse, "Einige der primitivsten Völker," in *Zeitschrift für Völker-psychologie*, iv (1928), p. 403 (Batwa pygmies under Bantu tribes). Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 240 (Wambugu and Wapare under the Washambala). Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, i, 345; ii, 82 sq., 146 sq. (Makalabari, Barwa, and Masarwa under the Bechuana); Madessana under the Bamangwato; several helot tribes under the Marutse). Schapera, *The Khoisan People*, pp. 149, 233 (Bushmen under the Ba-Tawana, Ova-Kwangari, Ba-Tlaro, Ba-Mangwato, a.o.; Bergdama under the Naman). Lewin, *Wild Races of SE. India*, pp. 277 sq. (tributary tribes under the Kooki). King, *Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*, p. 7 (Vadaca under the Toda). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 43 (Naggali under the Mbau, Fiji). Firth, *The New Zealand Maori*, p. 194 (several subjected tribes). "Gemälde aus Columbia," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxiii, 323 (Cocina under the Goahiro). Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 376 (Guana under the Guaycuru).
- ¹⁷ Niebeer, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 275, 291 sq.
- ¹⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 295 sq.
- ¹⁹ Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 253.
- ²⁰ Oppenheimer, *The State*, pp. 37 sqq.
- ²¹ Thurnwald, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung der Wirtschaft*, p. 18.
- ²² Groves, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 230.
- ²³ Bogardus, *Sociology*, p. 142.
- ²⁴ Sumner and Keller, *Science and Society*, i, 228 sqq. Cf. Wagner, *Volkwirtschaftslehre*, i, 375.
- ²⁵ Babcock, *Man and Social Achievement*, p. 198.
- ²⁶ Peschel, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 152. *Id.*, *Das Afrikanische Gewerbe*, p. 96.
- ²⁷ Spencer, *op. cit.*, iii, 459.

- ²⁸ Babcock, op. cit., p. 212.
- ²⁹ Hayes, *Sociology*, p. 603.
- ³⁰ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 90 sq. Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, i, 327. Laing, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 133 (Mandingo and Solima). Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, i, 23 (Mandingo). Büttikofer, "Die Eingeborenen von Liberia," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, i, 82. Soyaux, *Aus Westafrika*, i, 162 (Loango). Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 150 (Jolof). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 207 (Takue). Id., *Bogos*, p. 43. Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 240. Id., *The Great African Island*, p. 181. Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4655 (ancient Hebrew). Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, 426, note. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 40. Gomes, *Among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 94. Waanders, "Zeden en Gebruiken der Balinezen," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, viii, 133. Colquhoun, *The Shans*, p. 131. Dareste, *Études d'Histoire du Droit*, p. 321. Bowring, *Siam*, i, 189. Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 188.
- ³¹ Colquhoun, *The Shans*, p. 185.
- ³² Gomes, *Among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 95.
- ³³ Burton and Ward, "The Batak Country," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 508.
- ³⁴ Blumentritt, "Maguindanaos," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 891.
- ³⁵ Id., "Kianganen," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 132.
- ³⁶ Colquhoun, op. cit., p. 189.
- ³⁷ Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iv, 717.
- ³⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 241.
- ³⁹ Steele, *Law of Hindoo Castes*, p. 51.
- ⁴⁰ Gray, *China*, i, 241 sq.
- ⁴¹ Colquhoun, op. cit., p. 189.
- ⁴² Tacitus, *Germania*, 24. Cf. Waitz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes*, i, 161 sq.
- ⁴³ Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, i, 326.
- ⁴⁴ Riedel, *De sluiik- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 293.
- ⁴⁵ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 190.
- ⁴⁶ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, a., pp. 243 sq.
- ⁴⁷ Hutchinson, "Social and Domestic Traits of Africa," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., i, 329.
- ⁴⁸ Veltén, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli*, p. 74.
- ⁴⁹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 294.
- ⁵⁰ Wilson, *West Africa*, pp. 270 sq. Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, pp. 140 sq. Monrad, *Guinea*, p. 78. Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, ii, 247 sq. Wildmann, "Bight of Benin," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., ii, 272. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 249. Rowley, *Africa Unveiled*, p. 181 (Ashanti). Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, pp. 47 sq. Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, p. 403. Phillips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 224. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 193 (Waganda). Hodgson, "Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 47 sq. Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 192 sq. Kohler, "Indische Gewohnheitsrechte," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, viii, 119 sq., 125 sq. Steele, *Law of Hindoo Castes*, pp. 50 sq., 177, 197. Lewin, *Tribes of SE. India*, pp. 86 sq. Newbold, *Straits of Malacca*, i, 141. Colquhoun, *The Shans*, p. 186. Bowring, *Siam*, i, 124. Bastian, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 187, note 3. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 39. Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 162 (Nias). Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 252. Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 204 sq. (Barito river natives). Pfeiffer, *Journey round the World*, i, 105 (Borneo). St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 83 (Sea Dyak). Riedel, *Sluiik- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 434 (Wetar). McNair, *Perak and the Malays*, p. 192.
- ⁵¹ Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 230.
- ⁵² Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 19.
- ⁵³ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 163.
- ⁵⁴ Crab, *Molokische Eilanden*, p. 312.
- ⁵⁵ Lieftrinck, "Rijk Bangli," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxiv, 185.
- ⁵⁶ Riedel, "Central Celebes," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, v, 1, p. 82.
- ⁵⁷ Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 167.
- ⁵⁸ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 240, 255 sq.
- ⁵⁹ Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 184.

- ⁶⁰ Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 48. Winterbottom, *S. Leone*, i, 127.
- ⁶¹ Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 7655.
- ⁶² Campbell, "Lomboos," in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc., of Bengal*, xxx, 603.
- ⁶³ Krashennikov, Камчатка, ii, 163.
- ⁶⁴ Juarror, *History of Guatemala*, p. 192.
- ⁶⁵ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii, 8 sq.
- ⁶⁶ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 56, 98.
- ⁶⁷ Parkinson, *Bismarck Archipel*, p. 78.
- ⁶⁸ Landtman, *Kiwai Papuans*, p. 245.
- ⁶⁹ Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 166.
- ⁷⁰ Phillips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 224.
- ⁷¹ Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, pp. 140 sq.
- ⁷² Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, p. 47.
- ⁷³ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 213 sq.
- ⁷⁴ Lewin, *Wild Races of SE. India*, p. 87.
- ⁷⁵ Pfeiffer, *Journey round the World*, i, 105.
- ⁷⁶ Macnaghten, *Muhammedan Law*, p. 65.
- ⁷⁷ Bogaardt, "Moko-Moko," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, N.V., p. 31.
- ⁷⁸ Steele, *Law of Hindoo Castes*, p. 197.
- ⁷⁹ Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, ii, 248. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 221.
- ⁸⁰ Cruickshank, op. cit., ii, 248. Ellis, op. cit., p. 221. Id., *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 295. Hutchinson, "Social and Domestical Traits of African Tribes," in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N.S., i, 329.
- ⁸¹ Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 205.
- ⁸² Cruickshank, op. cit., ii, 247 sq. Hutchinson, loc. cit., i, 329. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 294 sq. Id., *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 221.
- ⁸³ Rattray, op. cit., p. 43.
- ⁸⁴ Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 184.
- ⁸⁵ Lewin, *Wild Races of SE. India*, p. 87.
- ⁸⁶ Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 286.
- ⁸⁷ Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 252. Kroesen, "Anambas-, Natoena- en Tambelan-Eilanden," in *Tijdschrift voor ind. taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxi, 244.
- ⁸⁸ Schwaner, op. cit., i, 205.
- ⁸⁹ Monrad, *Guinea*, p. 78.
- ⁹⁰ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 255.
- ⁹¹ Kohler, "Indische Gewohnheitsrechte," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, viii, 125.
- ⁹² Steele, op. cit., p. 197.
- ⁹³ Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 167.
- ⁹⁴ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 163.
- ⁹⁵ Hutchinson, loc. cit., i, 329.
- ⁹⁶ Monrad, op. cit., pp. 98 sq.
- ⁹⁷ Macdonald, *Africana*, p. 166.
- ⁹⁸ Wilson, *West Africa*, pp. 155 sq.
- ⁹⁹ Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, ii, 240.
- ¹⁰⁰ Phillips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 224.
- ¹⁰¹ Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 184.
- ¹⁰² Newbold, *Straits of Malacca*, i, 141.
- ¹⁰³ Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 166.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ruppel, *Reisen in Nubien*, p. 159 (Nuba). Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 38. Id., *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 155, 557 (Habab, Tegele). Harris, *Ethiopia*, iii, 296. Thomson, *Masai*, p. 243. Burton, *Lake Regions*, i, 309; ii, 33 (Wagogo, Wanyamwezi). Steinmetz, op. cit., pp. 213, 285 (Wagogo, Wapokomo). Velten, *Suaheli*, p. 70. Bosman, *Guinea*, p. 133. Cruickshank, op. cit., i, 328 sq. Duncan, *West Africa*, ii, 130 (Kasso-Kano). Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 289. Id., *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 218, 289. Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, i, 283 (Suani). Bowring, *Siam*, i, 191. Gray, *China*, i, 241 sq. Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 163. Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 172 (Chono Indians). Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 326. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 218, 435, 511 (Sound Indians, Utahs, Apache). Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4655 (ancient Hebrew). Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology*, i, 6 (Anglo-Saxons).

- ¹⁰⁶ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 245. Blumentritt, "Maguindanaos," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 891.
- ¹⁰⁶ Walen, "The Sakalava," in *Antananarivo Annual*, no. viii (1884), p. 56.
- ¹⁰⁷ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 289.
- ¹⁰⁸ Cockrane, *Through Russia and Siberia*, i, 159.
- ¹⁰⁸ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 139 (Galla and Djimma). Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 113, 309 (Wazaramo, Wagogo). Hodgson, "The Wakeke," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 47. Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 150 (Jolof). Du Chaillu, *Western Equatorial Africa*, pp. 93 sq. (Fan). Hecquard, *L'Intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 116 (Balante). Park, *Interior Districts of Africa*, i, 23, 296 (West African natives, Mandingo). Laing, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 133, 364 (Mandingo, Soolima). Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 169 (Gold Coast). Forbes, *Dahomey*, i, 27. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 202, 218 (Dahome, Slave Coast). Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 282. Rowley, *Africa Unveiled*, p. 181 (Ashanti). Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 48. Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, i, 127 sq. Wilson, *West Africa*, pp. 72, 178, 271 (Jalof, Ashanti, South Guinea). Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 288. Allen and Thomson, *Niger*, ii, 92. Phillips, "Lower Congo," *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 224. Tuckey, *Zaire*, p. 161 (Lower Congo). Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, 403. Soyaux, *Aus West-Afrika*, i, 162 (Loango). Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, 240 sq. (Washambala). Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, 292 (Marutse-Mabunda). Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 181. Guillain, *Madagascar*, p. 169 (Sakalava). Dalton, "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 234. Butler, *Travels in Assam*, p. 94. Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 627 (Kuki). Daresté, *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire du Droit*, p. 321. Colquhoun, *The Shans*, p. 54. Bastian, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 187, n. 3. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 40. Hickson, *A Naturalist in Celebes*, p. 194. Id., "The Sangirese," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 142. Blumentritt, "Die Maguindanaos," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 891. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 85 (Tonga). Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 659 (Guatemala). Stoll, "Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl. zu Bd. i, 27. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, pp. 18 sq. (Aztec). Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 324 sq. Landa, *Relacion des Choses de Yucatan*, par. xxx. Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4655 (ancient Hebrew). Waitz, *Verfassung des deutschen Volkes*, i, 162 (ancient Teutons).
- ¹¹⁰ Peters, "Völkerstämme von Süd-Afrika," in *Zeitschrift für allg. Erdkunde*, vi, 284.
- ¹¹¹ Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 233.
- ¹¹² Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 386.
- ¹¹³ Guillain, *Madagascar*, p. 169.
- ¹¹⁴ Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 247.
- ¹¹⁵ Riedel, *De sluk- en kroesharige rassen*, pp. 252, 293 (Aaru archipel, Tanembar and Timorlae). Waanders, "Zeden en gebruiken der Balinesen," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, viii, 133. Burton and Ward, "The Batak Country," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 508. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 456.
- ¹¹⁶ Cruickshank, *Gold Coast*, i, 325.
- ¹¹⁷ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 286 sq.
- ¹¹⁸ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 202. Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 188.
- ¹¹⁹ Proyart, "Loango," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 570, 581.
- ¹²⁰ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 144.
- ¹²¹ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 207.
- ¹²² Colquhoun, *The Shans*, p. 131.
- ¹²³ Gomes, *Sea Dyaks*, p. 95.
- ¹²⁴ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i, 193.
- ¹²⁵ Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, i, 195.
- ¹²⁶ Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 42.
- ¹²⁷ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 90.
- ¹²⁸ Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, p. 109.
- ¹²⁹ Herrera, *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, dec. iii, lib. iv, cap. 7.
- ¹³⁰ Stevenson, *Twenty Years in South America*, ii, 418.
- ¹³¹ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 83.
- ¹³² Müller, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van Sumatra*, pp. 117 sq. (Menangkabo of Sumatra). Bogaardt, "Moko-Moko," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*

- van *Nederlandsch Indië*, 1858, p. 27. Cole, "Davao District," in *Field Museum of Natural History*, Anthr. Series, xii, 85.
- ¹³³ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 162.
- ¹³⁴ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 51.
- ¹³⁵ Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 322.
- ¹³⁶ Proyart, loc. cit., xvi, 581.
- ¹³⁷ Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa*, i, 220.
- ¹³⁸ Valdez, *Tribal Life in West Africa*, ii, 130.
- ¹³⁹ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 456.
- ¹⁴⁰ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 244 sq.
- ¹⁴¹ Steinmetz, op. cit., pp. 248, 256 sq.
- ¹⁴² Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli*, p. 70.
- ¹⁴³ Hodgson, "The Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 47 sq.
- ¹⁴⁴ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 281.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 193. Cf. Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 240.
- ¹⁴⁶ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 45, 53. Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 627.
- ¹⁴⁷ Lieftrinck, "Bangli," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde*, xxiv, 184.
- ¹⁴⁸ Hickson, *A Naturalist in Celebes*, p. 194.
- ¹⁴⁹ Juarror, *History of Guatemala*, p. 191.
- ¹⁵⁰ Stoll, "Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl. zu Bd. i, 27.

CHAPTER XIV

EXTRATRIBAL SLAVERY.—ENSLAVEMENT THROUGH CAPTIVITY IN WAR

- ¹ Instances of the custom of enslaving captives in war are reported from all over the slave-holding world and occur throughout this chapter.
- ² Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, p. 364.
- ³ Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 167.
- ⁴ Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, pp. 82 sq.
- ⁵ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 326. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, ii, 113.
- ⁶ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 241.
- ⁷ Hodgson, "The Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 47.
- ⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 723.
- ⁹ Ellis, *Madagascar*, ii, 147.
- ¹⁰ Forbes, *Dahomev*, i, 20.
- ¹¹ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 272.
- ¹² Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 407, 579.
- ¹³ Ellis, op. cit., i, 192.
- ¹⁴ Krashenennikov, *Камчатка*, ii, 62.
- ¹⁵ Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 39.
- ¹⁶ Squier, "Archæology and Ethnology of Nicaragua," in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 127.
- ¹⁷ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 674.
- ¹⁸ Weatherly, *Social Progress*, p. 30.
- ¹⁹ Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, i, 123.
- ²⁰ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 92. Id., *Bausteine*, ii, 54. Id., *Ursprung des Rechts*, p. 97. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, pp. 316, 339. Letourneau, *L'Evolution de l'Esclavage*, p. 492. Tournmagne, *Histoire de l'Esclavage*, pp. 2, 4 sq. Schmoller, *Die soziale Frage*, p. 31. Lester Ward, "Social Classes," in *Am. Jour. of Sociology*, xiii, 618 sq. Thurnwald, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung der Wirtschaft*, p. 18.
- ²¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 291; iii, 458.
- ²² Dow, *Society and its Problems*, p. 270.
- ²³ Landtman, *Kiwait Papuans*, p. 148.
- ²⁴ Robertson Smith, *Kinship in Early Arabia*, pp. 283 sq.
- ²⁵ Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 332 sq.
- ²⁶ Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, pp. 130 sq.
- ²⁷ Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 74.
- ²⁸ Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 649.
- ²⁹ Parkinson, "Salomo Inseln," in *Abhandlungen des Königlichen Museums zu Dresden*, vii, 13.
- ³⁰ Curr, *The Australian Race*, i, 86.
- ³¹ Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4653.
- ³² Dixon, "Northern Maidu," in *Bull. of the Am. Mus. of Natural History*, vol. xvii, pt. iii, p. 206.
- ³³ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 80, 433, 581, 629.
- ³⁴ Williams, *Fiji*, p. 42.
- ³⁵ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 244. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 358 (Hervey islanders). Glaumont, "Néo-Calédoniens," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 85. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 161, 231 (New-Caledonians, Solomon-islanders). Hagen and Pineau, "Nouvelles Hébrides," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 326. Erskine, *Western Pacific*, pp. 39, 321, 334 (islanders of the New Hebrides and the Samoan group). Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, i, 374 (Fijians). Id., *Voyage towards the South Pole*, i, 245 (Maori). Id., *Voyage round the World*, iii, 447 (Maori). Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, i, 380 (Minahassar). Krapf, *Travels in Eastern*

Africa, p. 392 (Wadole). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 581 (Northern Mexicans). "Gemälde von Columbia," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxiii, 357.

- ³⁸ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ch. xlvi.
³⁹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 358, sq.
⁴⁰ Cf. Westermarck, op. cit., pp. 557 sqq. Andree, *Anthropophagie*, pp. 94, 101.
⁴¹ Mariner, *Tonga*, i, 264 sq.
⁴² Seemann, *Viti*, p. 181. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 178.
⁴³ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 108.
⁴⁴ Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 121. Id., *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 486. Id., "Zur Ethnographie der Salomo Inseln," in *Abhandlungen des Königlichen Museums zu Dresden*, vii, 14.
⁴⁵ Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 260.
⁴⁶ Brainne, *Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 246.
⁴⁷ Yate, *New Zealand*, p. 129.
⁴⁸ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 273.
⁴⁹ Hutter, *Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, pp. 357 sq.
⁵⁰ Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 261.
⁵¹ Lewin, *Wild Tribes of SE. India*, p. 269.
⁵² Haddon, *Rep. Camb. Anthr. Exp.*, v, 300 sqq.
⁵³ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 358.
⁵⁴ Andree, *Anthropophagie*, p. 101.
⁵⁵ Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii, 240.
⁵⁶ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i, 335.
⁵⁷ Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 531.
⁵⁸ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahaby*, i, 81, 142. Daumas, *Mœurs de l'Algérie*, p. 312.
⁵⁹ Alberti, *Kaffern*, pp. 152 sq., 155.
⁶⁰ Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, iii, 332.
⁶¹ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, i, 220.
⁶² Carver, *Travels through N. America*, pp. 224 sq.
⁶³ Kohler, "Rechte der Urvölker Nordamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, xii, 369.
⁶⁴ Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, ii, 210.
⁶⁵ Dixon, "The Northern Maidu," in *Bull. Am. Mus. of Natural History*, vol. xvii, pt. iii, p. 206.
⁶⁶ Holmberg, "Völker des russischen Amerikas," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, f. ii, pp. 358 sq.
⁶⁷ Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 39.
⁶⁸ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 160.
⁶⁹ Id., *Hawaii*, p. 135.
⁷⁰ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 346.
⁷¹ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 254. Cf. Roquefeuil, "Reise um die Welt," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxi, 183.
⁷² Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, ii, 92 sq. Id., "Monbuttu," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 9.
⁷³ Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, ii, 284.
⁷⁴ Meinicke, op. cit., ii, 247.
⁷⁵ Mariner, *Tonga*, i, 264.
⁷⁶ Southey, *History of Brazil*, ii, 369 sq.
⁷⁷ v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas*, i, 206 sq.
⁷⁸ Staden, *Histoire et Description de l'Amérique*, pp. 300 sqq.
⁷⁹ Williams, *Fiji*, p. 176.
⁸⁰ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii, 55.
⁸¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 291.
⁸² Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, ii, 151.
⁸³ Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 183.
⁸⁴ v. Martius, op. cit., i, 298.
⁸⁵ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 195.
⁸⁶ Butler, *Travels in Assam*, p. 156.
⁸⁷ Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 380.
⁸⁸ Finsch, *New Guinea*, pp. 93, 99.
⁸⁹ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 407.
⁹⁰ Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii, 241.

- ⁸⁹ Finsch, *Neu Guinea*, p. 78.
- ⁹⁰ Parkinson, op. cit., p. 485.
- ⁹¹ Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 197.
- ⁹² v. Martius, op. cit., i, 206 sq.
- ⁹³ Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, ii, 295.
- ⁹⁴ Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 288.
- ⁹⁵ Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 149.
- ⁹⁶ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 557.
- ⁹⁷ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 40.
- ⁹⁸ Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4653.
- ⁹⁹ Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, i, 221, 230.
- ¹⁰⁰ *History of Herodotus*, iv, 62. Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte*, i, 302.
- ¹⁰¹ Cf. Lichtenstein, *Travels in South Africa*, i, 278 (Kooosa, Kafir). Stayt, *The Bavenda*, p. 73. Endemann, "Die Sotho Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 29. Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii, 24 (Masai). Wake, "Madecasses," in *Jour. Anthr. Soc.*, 1869, p. xxiv. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 283. Dalton, "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 233 (tribes of Koladein). Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 224. D'Albertis, *Neu Guinea*, i, 415 (Yule islanders). Hagen, "Iles Salomon," in *L'Anthropologie*, iv, 211. Hager, *Marschall-Inseln*, pp. 65. D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, i, 401 (Araucanians). Spix and v. Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii, 1314 (Mundrucu). Azara, *L'Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 145 (Payagua, Macoby). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 344, 498 (Roque River Indians, Apache). Dixon, "Northern Maidu," in *Bull. Am. Mus. of Natural History*, vol. xiii, pt. iii, p. 208.
- ¹⁰² Pfeiffer, *Voyage round the World*, ii, 93.
- ¹⁰³ Krapf, *Travels in East Africa*, p. 363.
- ¹⁰⁴ Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, p. 214.
- ¹⁰⁵ Harris, "Berbers of Morocco," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxvii, 70.
- ¹⁰⁶ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 42.
- ¹⁰⁷ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Africas*, i, 257 (Galla). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 155, 458 (Beduan, Bazen). D'Escayrac, *Le Désert*, p. 471 (Ghazwa). Hutten, *Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, p. 357. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, pp. 109, 181 sq. Cole, "Davao District," in *Field Museum*, Anthropological Series, xii, 95 (Bagabo, Philippines). Schoolcraft, *The American Indians*, p. 402 (Pawnee). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 407 (Southern Californians). Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. viii, pp. 51 sq. Petroff, *Alaska*, p. 138.
- ¹⁰⁸ Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa*, i, 220.
- ¹⁰⁹ Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii, 535.
- ¹¹⁰ Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*, p. 94.
- ¹¹¹ v. Martius, *Ethnologie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 71.
- ¹¹² Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 193.
- ¹¹³ Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, p. 153.
- ¹¹⁴ Hayes, *Sociology*, p. 603.
- ¹¹⁵ Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, i, 333.
- ¹¹⁶ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, pp. 246, 254.
- ¹¹⁷ Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 100.
- ¹¹⁸ Man, "Andaman Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii, 356.
- ¹¹⁹ Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, p. 214.
- ¹²⁰ Harris, "Berbers of Morocco," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxvii, 70 sq. Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 302. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 42 (Banaka, Bapuku). Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 19 sq. (Charrua). D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii, 89 (Charrua). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 500 (Comanche). Neighbors, "Comanche," in Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes*, ii, 132. Steller, *Kamtschatka*, p. 356. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 61 (Samoans). Bougainville, *Voyage round the World*, p. 253. Fison and Howitt, *Kamiraloï and Kurnai*, p. 214.
- ¹²¹ Landa, *Relacion des Choses de Yucatan*, par. xxix.
- ¹²² Ximenes, *Historia de los Indios de Guatemala*, p. 199. Stoll, "Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv. für Ethnographie*, Suppl. zu Bd. i, p. 27.
- ¹²³ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 589.
- ¹²⁴ Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 431. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, iii, 156.
- ¹²⁵ Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian*, p. 123.
- ¹²⁶ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, ii, 160. Id., *Hawaii*, p. 166.

- ¹²⁷ Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 341 sq.
¹²⁸ Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, pp. 130 sq.
¹²⁹ Powell, "Wyandot," in *First Ann. Rep. of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 68.
¹³⁰ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 410.
¹³¹ Featherman, *Races of Mankind*, i, 307.
¹³² Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 291 sq.
¹³³ Torday and Joyce, "Ba-Yaka," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 49.

CHAPTER XV

FURTHER SOURCES OF SLAVERY.—CLASSIFICATION OF THE SLAVE ORDER

¹ Cf., for instance, Tuckey, *River Zaire*, p. 161 (lower Kongo). Ellis, *Madagascar*, ii, 147. Bancroft, *Works*, 195, 218, 511 (Columbians, Apache). Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 307 (Timorese).

² Cf. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 218. Oppenheimer, *The State*, p. 38.

³ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 289.

⁴ Donaldson, *Africana*, ii, 166.

⁵ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 213.

⁶ Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa*, i, 220.

⁷ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, ii, 53.

⁸ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 551.

⁹ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, a, 143 sq.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, ii, 143.

¹¹ Jones, "Kutchin Tribe," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1866, p. 325. Parkinson, *Bismarck Archipel*, p. 27 (New Hebrides, Solomons, New Ireland, New Britain). Grimm, *op. cit.*, i, 456 (ancient Teutons).

¹² Tonkes, *Volkskunde von Bali*, p. 61. Liefrink, "Rijk Bangli," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxiv, 184. Stern, *Lummi Indians*, p. 73. Hardisty, "Loucheux Indians," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1866, pp. 315 sq. Tout, "SE. Tribes of Vancouver," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvii, 308.

¹³ Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, p. 98.

¹⁴ Parkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 27 (several islands). Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 456 (ancient Teutonic tribes).

¹⁵ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 351.

¹⁶ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudens*, i, 288.

¹⁷ Du Chaillu, *Ashongo*, p. 436.

¹⁸ Post, *op. cit.*, i, 175 sq.

¹⁹ Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 179.

²⁰ Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 123.

²¹ Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 177.

²² Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i, 79.

²³ Cf., for instance, Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 261 (Galla). Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 50. *Id.*, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 308 sq., 310 (Beni Amer.). Hutchinson, *Ten Years among the Ethiopians*, pp. 1 sq. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 42, 213 (Banaka, Bapuku and Wagogo). Velten, *Suaheli*, p. 70. Du Chaillu, *Western Equatorial Africa*, pp. 93, 94 (Fan). Lander, *Clapperton's Last Voyage*, i, 193 (Guinea natives). Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 178 (Ashanti). Rowley, *Africa Unveiled*, p. 181 (Ashanti). Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 34. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 218. Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, p. 403. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 13 sq. (Bihé). Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 193. Kestell-Kornish, *The North of Madagascar*, p. 17. De Bode, "Turkestan," in *Jour. Ethn. Soc.*, i, 68. Rowlatt, "The Mishmee Hills," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xiv, 92. Steele, *Law of Hindoo Castes*, pp. 50 sq. Bowring, *Siam*, i, 189. Hickson, *A Naturalist in Celebes*, p. 194 (Sangir island). Riedal, *Sluit- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 434 (Wetar). *Id.*, "Central Selebes," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 5th V, vol. v, 82. Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 168 (Barito river). Hasselt, "Die Noeforen-sen," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii, 200. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 165. (Solomons). Polack, *New Zealanders*, ii, 53. Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, i, 412 (Kutchin). Dall, *Alaska*, p. 720 (Tlinket). Petroff, *Alaska*, p. 165 (Tlinket). Holmberg, "Völker der Russischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, f. ii, p. 330 (Tlinket). Krause, *Die Tlinket Indianer*, p. 152. Boas, "Kwakiutl Indians," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1895, pp. 338 sq. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 108, 240 (Tlinkit, Chinook). Stoll, "Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl.

zu Bd. I, p. 27. Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 207 (Sparta). Waitz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes*, i, 162 (ancient Teutons).

¹⁴ Cf. Barth, *Travels in North Central Africa*, ii, 131. D'Escayrac, *Le Desert*, p. 429 (Soudan).

¹⁵ Tuckey, *River Zaïre*, p. 161.

¹⁶ Johnstone, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 278 sqq. Baker, *Nyanza*, i, 17 sqq. D'Escayrac, op. cit., p. 471.

¹⁷ Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 240.

¹⁸ Tuckey, op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁹ Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 388. Monrad, *Guinea*, pp. 222, 290. Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 70. Proyart, "Loango," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 588.

²⁰ Ellis, *Madagascar*, ii, 147.

²¹ v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas*, i, 72 sq.

²² Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, 292 sq.

²³ Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 330.

²⁴ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 296.

²⁵ Allen and Thomson, *Niger*, i, 401.

²⁶ Livingstone, "Reisen in Inner-Afrika," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxi, 170.

²⁷ Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii, 652.

²⁸ Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 171 sq.

²⁹ Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. viii, p. iv.

³⁰ Earl, *Papuans*, p. 84.

³¹ Du Chaillu, "Western Equatorial Africa," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc., N.S.*, i, 309.

³² Holmberg, "Völker des Russischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, f. ii, p. 294. Petroff, *Alaska*, p. 138.

³³ Mollien, op. cit., i, 105.

³⁴ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 276.

³⁵ Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, i, 185.

³⁶ The following are a number of instances showing that the descendants of various classes of slaves remain slaves, which implies that it is the master of the parents who has authority over the children:—Macnaghten, *Muhammedan Law*, p. 62. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 139 (Galla). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 155 (Beduan). Id., *Bogos*, p. 44. New, *Life in East Africa*, p. 67 (Wasuahili). *Clapperton's Second Expedition*, pp. 213 sq. (Fellata). Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 166 (Central African tribes). Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 218. Id., *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 289. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 118 sq., 169, 213 (Diakite, Sarrakolese, Kita). Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 193. Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 240. Id., *The Great African Island*, pp. 181 sq. Steele, *Law of Hindoo Castes*, p. 51. Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, p. 54. Bowring, *Siam*, i, 189. Gray, *China*, i, 242. Riedel, *Sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 406. Id., "Central Selebes," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 5th V, vol. i, p. 82. Hager, *Marschall Inseln*, p. 149. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 343 (Maori). Polack, *New Zealanders*, ii, 52. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, ii, 113. Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 608. Hale, "Ethnography and Philology," in *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 33, 216 (Maori, Chinook Indians). Holmberg, "Völker der Russischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, f. ii, p. 330 (Tlinket). Petroff, *Alaska*, p. 165 (Tlinket). Dall, *Alaska*, p. 417 (Tlinket). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 195 (Nootka). v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas*, i, 232 (Guaycuru). Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv, 4653 (ancient Hebrew).

³⁷ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 292.

³⁸ Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 193.

³⁹ Torday and Joyce, "Ba-Huana," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 286.

⁴⁰ Bouche, *Côte des Esclaves*, p. 153.

⁴¹ Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, 426, n. 3.

⁴² Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 289.

⁴³ Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 166. Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, pp. 39 sq. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 119.

⁴⁴ Rattray, op. cit., p. 39.

- ⁵⁵ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 278.
- ⁵⁶ Stoll, "Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl. zu Bd. I, p. 27.
- ⁵⁷ Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, ii, 301.
- ⁵⁸ Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 42.
- ⁵⁹ Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, p. 127.
- ⁶⁰ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 276.
- ⁶¹ Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 18.
- ⁶² Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, i, 326.
- ⁶³ Bartram, *Travels through Carolina*, p. 184.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, p. 392 (Bafote). Caillié, *To Timbuctoo*, i, 100; i, 17, 66 (Senegal, Bana, Tuareg). Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, i, 346 (Bechuana). De Bode, "Yamud and Goklan Tribes," in *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.*, i, 68. Colquhoun, *Amongst Shans*, p. 54. Krashennikov, Камчатка, ii, 62 (Kamtchadale). Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 343 (Maori). Dieffenbach, *New Zealand*, ii, 113. Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, p. 90 (Aht). Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 366 (ancient Athenians).
- ⁶⁵ Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 44. Cf. Polack, *New Zealanders*, ii, 52 sq.
- ⁶⁶ Hayes, *Sociology*, p. 603.
- ⁶⁷ Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, i, 346.
- ⁶⁸ Wilson, "Indian Tribes," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., iv, 290.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. Duncan, *West Africa*, ii, 137. Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 291.
- ⁷⁰ Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 194.
- ⁷¹ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 171 (Kita negroes).
- ⁷² Ellis, op. cit., i, 194.
- ⁷³ Steinmetz, op. cit., pp. 170, 241.
- ⁷⁴ Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 180.
- ⁷⁵ Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii, 503.
- ⁷⁶ Colquhoun, *Among the Shans*, pp. 54, 185.
- ⁷⁷ Polack, *New Zealanders*, ii, 53.
- ⁷⁸ Bodenstedt, *Völker des Kaukasus*, ii, 47.
- ⁷⁹ Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 368.
- ⁸⁰ Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 194.
- ⁸¹ Meek, op. cit., i, 291. Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 163.
- ⁸² Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 83 (north-central African tribes).
- ⁸³ Hodgson, "The Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 48.
- ⁸⁴ Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 242.
- ⁸⁵ Cf. Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 331.
- ⁸⁶ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 179.
- ⁸⁷ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 287 sqq.
- ⁸⁸ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Waháby*, pp. 103 sq. Mollien, *Voyages dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 330 (Bondou).
- ⁸⁹ Tuckey, *River Zaire*, pp. 160 sq.
- ⁹⁰ Georgi, *Russland*, i, 211 (Kirghiz). Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, p. 91 (Aht).
- ⁹¹ Lawson, *History of Carolina*, p. 198.
- ⁹² Büttikofer, "Liberia," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, i, 82.
- ⁹³ Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 65.
- ⁹⁴ Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 219. Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 168, 215 sq. (Barito River natives). Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 96 (Tahitians). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 326 (Maori). Hale, "Ethnography and Philology," in *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 33 (Maori).
- ⁹⁵ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 241 (Washambala). Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 38.
- ⁹⁶ Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 83.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 43 (Banaka and Bapuku).
- ⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 278 (Msalala).
- ⁹⁹ Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, p. 127.
- ¹⁰⁰ Tuckey, op. cit., p. 160 (central Kongo). Clapperton, *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, pp. 95, 214 (Boussa, Fellata). Du Chaillu, "People of Western Equatorial Africa," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., i, 309.
- ¹⁰¹ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 292.
- ¹⁰² Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 19.
- ¹⁰³ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 54.

- ¹⁰⁴ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 723.
¹⁰⁵ Bouche, *Côte des Esclaves*, p. 27.
¹⁰⁶ Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 13.
¹⁰⁷ Bancroft, op. cit., i, 764.
¹⁰⁸ Allison, "Similkameen Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 316.
¹⁰⁹ Bancroft, op. cit., i, 226 sq. Hale, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 216.
¹¹⁰ Wilson, "Indian Tribes," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., iv, 290.
¹¹¹ Teit, "Lillooet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, p. 221.
¹¹² Bancroft, *Works*, i, 195 (Nootka). Wilson, loc. cit., iv, 290 (Cowitchan).
 Featherman, *Races of Mankind*, iii, 60, 350 (Maya, Nootka).
¹¹³ Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, pp. 26 sq.
¹¹⁴ Schoemann, *Griechische Alerthümer*, i, 368.
¹¹⁵ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 103.
¹¹⁶ Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, i, 315 sq.
¹¹⁷ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 30.
¹¹⁸ v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 72.
¹¹⁹ Instances of the divergent dresses of slaves are given by Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 139 (Afar). Burton, *Lake Regions*, i, 34 (Wamrima). Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii, 237 (Azkar). Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 43.
¹²⁰ Gräffe, "Yap," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, Bd. II, Hft. 2, pp. 16, 22.
¹²¹ Rattray, op. cit., p. 43.
¹²² Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 398.
¹²³ Torday and Joyce, "Ethnology of Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvii, 147.
¹²⁴ Cf. Paulitschke, op. cit., ii, 140 (Galla). v. Martius, op. cit., i, 232 (Guau-curu). Waitz, *Verfassung des deutschen Volkes*, i, 163 (ancient Teutons).
¹²⁵ Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, i, 237.
¹²⁶ Grimm, op. cit., i, 400, 471.
¹²⁷ Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 44.
¹²⁸ Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 608 (Maori).
¹²⁹ Featherman, *The Races of Mankind*, ii, p. 350.
¹³⁰ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 83 (north-central Africa). Macnaghten, *Muhammedan Law*, p. 63.
¹³¹ Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, p. 168.
¹³² Allen and Thomsen, *Niger*, ii, 92.
¹³³ Van der Decken, *Ost-Afrika*, i, 130.
¹³⁴ Haggemacher, "Im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband x, no. 47, p. 31.
¹³⁵ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 402. Cf., Waitz, *Verfassung des deutschen Volkes*, i, 198.
¹³⁶ "Malayan Laws," in *Jour. of the Indian Archipelago*, ix, 85.
¹³⁷ Ortolan, *Législation Romaine*, p. 114.
¹³⁸ Lander, *Clapperton's Last Voyage*, i, 284.
¹³⁹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i, 192.
¹⁴⁰ Grimm, op. cit., 468.
¹⁴¹ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 218 sq. Id., *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 291.
 Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 119, 144, 172, 241 (Diakite, Sarrakole, Kita, Washambala).
¹⁴² Rattray, op. cit., p. 39.
¹⁴³ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 282. Id., *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 202.
¹⁴⁴ Torday, *Bashongo*, p. 54.
¹⁴⁵ Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, pp. 38 sq.
¹⁴⁶ Macnaghten, op. cit., p. 64.
¹⁴⁷ Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 291.
¹⁴⁸ Kohler, "Recht der Marshallinsulaner," in *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, xii, 450.
¹⁴⁹ Dall, *Alaska*, p. 420.
¹⁵⁰ Rattray, op. cit., pp. 38, 40.
¹⁵¹ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 291.
¹⁵² Clapperton, *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, p. 214.
¹⁵³ Hodgson, "Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 48.
¹⁵⁴ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 193.
¹⁵⁵ Hutchinson, *Ten Years among the Ethiopians*, p. 6.

- 156 Cf. Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii, 31 sq.
- 157 Wilson, *West Africa*, pp. 179, 271 sq.
- 158 Rowley, *Africa Unveiled*, p. 181.
- 159 Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 219.
- 160 Clapperton, op. cit., p. 249.
- 161 Hutchinson, "African Tribes," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., i, 329.
- 162 Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 178.
- 163 Steinmetz, op. cit., pp. 169, 193 (Kita, Waganda). Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 180 (Tuareg). Phillips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 230. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 18 (Aztec).
- 164 Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 188.
- 165 Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 179.
- 166 Phillips, loc. cit., xvii, 230.
- 167 Boyle, *Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 284.
- 168 Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 169 sq.
- 169 Ibid., p. 291 (Wapokomo).
- 170 Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 103.
- 171 Steinmetz, op. cit., pp. 43, 194.
- 172 Rattray, op. cit., pp. 44 sq.
- 173 Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 291.
- 174 Cf. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 179 (Tuareg). Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 18 (Aztec).
- 175 Hodgson, "Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 48.
- 176 Velten, *Suaheli*, p. 74.
- 177 Blumentritt, "Maguindanaos," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 891.
- 178 Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, i, 368.
- 179 Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 287.
- 180 Bouche, *Côte des Esclaves*, p. 146.
- 181 Harris, *Ethiopia*, iii, 169.
- 182 Hodgson, "Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 47 sq.
- 183 Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 195, 293.
- 184 Velten, *Suaheli*, p. 73.
- 185 Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 205. Bouche, op. cit., p. 146.
- 186 Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 171.
- 187 Macnaghten, *Muhammedan Law*, p. 63. *The Thousand and One Nights*, i, 63 (Lane in a note). Friederichs, "Erbrecht des Islam," in *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, vii, 277 sq. D'Escayrac, *Le Désert*, p. 493.
- 188 Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, ii, 214.
- 189 Newbold, *Straits of Malacca*, ii, 293. Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 155.
- 190 Cole, "Davae District," in *Field Museum*, Anthrop. Series, xii, 95.
- 191 Genesis, xvi, 5.
- 192 Dall, *Alaska*, p. 490.
- 193 Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 195.
- 194 Cf. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 351 (Californians). Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 171 (Kita negroes). Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 163 (Nias).
- 195 Waanders, "Zeden der Balinesen," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, vii, 133.
- 196 Riedel, *Sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 434.
- 197 Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 58.
- 198 v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 71.
- 199 Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 241.
- 200 Torday, *The Bashongo*, p. 54.
- 201 Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 456.
- 202 Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 154.
- 203 Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, pp. 105, 154 (Diakite, Sarrakole, Kita).
- 204 Ibid., p. 272.
- 205 Hodgson, "Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 48.
- 206 Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 140 sq.
- 207 Lewin, *Wild Races of SE. India*, p. 194.
- 208 Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 364.
- 209 Torday, *Bashongo*, p. 54.

- ²¹⁰ Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 105.
- ²¹¹ Instances of the distinction made between the two sub-divisions of slavery are given, for instance, by Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 289. Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 76 (Mandingo). Hutchinson, *Ten Years among the Ethiopians*, pp. 1 sq. Ingram, *Slavery*, p. 266 (ancient Hebrew).
- ²¹² Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 76. Laing, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 133.
- ²¹³ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 309 sqq. (Beni Amer). Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, ii, 151 (Ofkano). New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 56 (Wasuahili). Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 169 (Kita). Clapperton, *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, pp. 139, 213 sq. (Koolfu, Fellata). Duncan, *Western Africa*, pp. 41, 95, 259 sq. (Guinea). Monrad, *Guinea*, p. 293. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 219 sq. Chavanne, *Im alten und neuen Kongostaate*, p. 402 (Bafiote). Campbell, *Wild Tribes of Khondistan*, pp. 53 sq., 79.
- ²¹⁴ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 213 (Wagogo). Passarge, *Adamaoua*, p. 487. Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 154 sq. (Jolof). Park, *Interior of Africa*, i, 288, note. Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 330. Laing, *Travels in Western Africa*, p. 133. Du Chaillu, "Western Equatorial Africa," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc., N.S.*, i, 309 (Mandingo). Duncan, *Western Africa*, ii, 137 (Zaba-kano). Allen and Thomsen, *Niger*, ii, 92 (Kinami). Phillips, "Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 224. Tuckey, *River Zaire*, p. 160.
- ²¹⁵ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 292 sq.
- ²¹⁶ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 219.
- ²¹⁷ Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 369 sq.
- ²¹⁸ Du Chaillu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 331.
- ²¹⁹ Velten, *Suaheli*, p. 73.
- ²²⁰ Steinmetz, op. cit., p. 118.
- ²²¹ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 213 (West Africa). Cole, "Davao District," in *Field Museum*, Anthrop. Series, xii, 95.
- ²²² Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, pp. 41, 43.
- ²²³ Park, *Interior Districts of Africa*, i, 23.
- ²²⁴ Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, p. 119.
- ²²⁵ Cf. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 249. Baikie, *River Kwora*, p. 315.
- ²²⁶ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 139.
- ²²⁷ Macnaghten, *Mudhammedan Law*, p. 62. Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria* p. 289.
- ²²⁸ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 308 sq.
- ²²⁹ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 522.
- ²³⁰ Paulitschke, op. cit., ii, 139.
- ²³¹ Du Chaillu, *Ashongo*, p. 428.
- ²³² Torday and Joyce, "Ba-Huana," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi, 286.
- ²³³ Lewin, *Wild Races of SE. India*, p. 194.
- ²³⁴ Macrae, "Kookies," in *Asiatic Researches*, vii, 188.
- ²³⁵ Riedal, *Sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 406.
- ²³⁶ Meimicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 165.
- ²³⁷ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 95.
- ²³⁸ Kroeber, "Indian Culture in California," in *Univ. of California Publications*, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 88.
- ²³⁹ Kohler, "Indische Gewohnheitsrechte," in *Zeitschrift für vgl. Rechtswissenschaft*, viii, 107.
- ²⁴⁰ Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 210.

D. THE ORIGIN OF NOBILITY.

CHAPTER XVI

NOBILITY OR THE UPPER FREE CLASS.—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE MAIN CLASSES

¹ Bancroft, *Works*, i, 193 sq., 764, 770.

² Ross, "Class and Caste," in *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, xxii, 462. Id., *Outlines of Sociology*, xxii, 46, p. 237 sq.

³ Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 14.

⁴ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 37.

⁵ Holmberg, "Völker des Ruschischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, f. ii, 294.

⁶ Dapper, *Africa*, p. 192 (Fez). Bosman, *Guinea*, p. 132. Conder, "Bechuana-land," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 89. Hager, *Marshall Inseln*, p. 149. Stavorus, "Celebes," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xi, 267. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 208 (Maori). Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 122.

⁷ Yate, *New Zealand*, pp. 153 sq. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 318.

⁸ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 651.

⁹ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 130 (Galla). Johnston, op. cit., ii, 627 (Bahima). Rohlf's, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii, 157 (Bautchi). Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 395. Allen-Thomson, *Niger*, i, 320. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 76. Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia*, pp. 181, 184 sq. Georgi, *Russland*, i, 212 (Kirghiz). Ujfalvy, *Expédition Scientifique en Russie*, ii, 27 (Kirghiz). Gräffe, "Yap," in *Jour. des Muséum Godeffroy*, Bd. I, Hft. 2, p. 18. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 175 (Tahiti). Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 206 (Hawaii). Molina, *History of Chili*, ii, 59 (Araucanians). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 651 (Zapotec).

¹⁰ Forbes, *Dahomey*, i, 29. Du Chaillu, *Ashango*, p. 425. Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 34 (Damel). Le Vaillant, *Travels from the Cape of Good-Hope*, ii, 346 (Kafers). Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 62 (Guarany).

¹¹ Paulitschke, op. cit., i, 88 sq., ii, 138 (Danakil, Galla, Somali). Chavanne, *Sahara*, pp. 198, 199 (Tuareg). Macdonald, *Africana*, i, 16. Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 114 (Singhalese). Cook, *Voyage round the World*, ii, 193 (Tahiti).

¹² Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 333 (Chiquito). Bougainville, *Voyage round the World*, p. 250 (Tahiti).

¹³ Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 115.

¹⁴ Butler, *Travels in Assam*, pp. 225 sq.

¹⁵ Swayne, *Lake Victoria*, p. 251.

¹⁶ Juarros, *History of Guatemala*, p. 193.

¹⁷ Cf. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 331 (Beni Amer). New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 59 (Wasuahili). Poncet, "Abyssinia," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xv, 71 (Sennar). Daumas, *Mœurs de l'Algérie*, p. 362. Nachtigal, *Sahara*, iii, 484 (Dar-For). Joinville, "People of Ceylon," in *Asiatick Researches*, vii, 431. Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 8 (Khamtis). Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, ii, 394; iii, 354 (Tahiti, Maori). Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 42 sq. (Minuanes). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 182, 689 sq. (Nootka, Guatemala).

¹⁸ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahdby's*, pp. 41, 132.

¹⁹ Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, ii, 6. Id., "Völkerskizzen," in *Globus*, Bd. xxiii, 3.

²⁰ Stair, op. cit., p. 117.

²¹ Burton, *Lake Regions*, i, 238 (Wasagara). Rohlf's, *Quer durch Afrika*, ii, 261 (Ilori). Guessfeldt, "Loango-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii, 205. Burckhardt, op. cit., p. 27. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 225 (New Caledonia), ii, 32 (Fiji).

²² Beverley, *History of Virginia*, p. 128.

²³ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 443.

²⁴ Southey, op. cit., i, 118.

- ²⁵ Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, pp. 133 sq., 134, note.
- ²⁶ Lander, *Clapperton's Last Voyage*, ii, 218 sq.
- ²⁷ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 182.
- ²⁸ Sarasin, *Reisen in Celebes*, ii, 106.
- ²⁹ Newbold, *Straits of Malacca*, ii, 178.
- ³⁰ Swayne, *Lake Victoria*, p. 191.
- ³¹ Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 77.
- ³² Beechey, *The Pacific and Behring Straits*, p. 224.
- ³³ Molina, *History of Chili*, ii, 57.
- ³⁴ Juarros, op. cit., pp. 194 sq.
- ³⁵ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, i, 89.
- ³⁶ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Brasiliens*, p. 190.
- ³⁷ Gräffe, "Yap," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, Bd. i, Hft. 2. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 32 (Samoans). Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i, 692.
- ³⁸ Wood, *Natural History of Man*, ii, 114 sq. Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, i, 315. Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., vi, 30.
- ³⁹ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 379.
- ⁴⁰ Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 47.
- ⁴¹ Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., v, b., 169.
- ⁴² Spencer, op. cit., ii, 202.
- ⁴³ Hose and McDougall, op. cit., i, 69.
- ⁴⁴ Bowring, *Siam*, i, 129.
- ⁴⁵ Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, 348 sq.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, i, 88, 273 sq. (Suaheli, Wakilema). Forbes, *Dahomey*, i, 28. Ehrmann, *Neueste Kunde von Asian*, ii, 450 (Birma).
- ⁴⁷ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 655.
- ⁴⁸ Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 191.
- ⁴⁹ New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 271.
- ⁵⁰ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii, 125, 377.
- ⁵¹ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 213.
- ⁵² Beecham, *Ashanti*, p. 104.
- ⁵³ Burton, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, iii, 206.
- ⁵⁴ Cook, *Voyage round World*, iii, 466 sq.
- ⁵⁵ Alcedo, *Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i, 404 sq.
- ⁵⁶ v. Martius, *Ethnologie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 73.
- ⁵⁷ Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, p. 358.
- ⁵⁸ Andree, "Der Schirm als Würdezeichen," in *Globus*, xxvii, 71 sq.
- ⁵⁹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 262 sq.
- ⁶⁰ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 214.
- ⁶¹ Stoll, "Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnologie*, Suppl. zu Bd. i, 15.
- ⁶² Bouche, *Côte des Escalves*, p. 42. Nachtigal, *Sahara*, iii, 443 (Darfur).
- Livingstone, "Reisen in Inner-Afrika," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxi, 103.
- ⁶³ Beecham, *Ashanti*, p. 105.
- ⁶⁴ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 126 sqs. (Galla). Schweinfurth, "Monbuttu," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 11. Dapper, *Afrika*, p. 192 (Fez). Nachtigal, *Sahara*, ii, 610 sqq. (Bagirmi). iii, 231 sqq. (Wadai). Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii, 31 (Unyamvezi). Bosman, *Guinea*, 132 sq. (Gold Coast). Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 165. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 461 (Bango). Peters, "Völkerstämme von Süd-Afrika," in *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, vi, 393 sq. Holub, *Seven Years in Southern Africa*, ii, 238 (Marutse-Mabunda). Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 184. Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 346 sqq. Colquhoun, *Burma*, p. 20. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 412 sq. (Hawaii). Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp. 70 sq. Waitz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes*, i, 191 (old German nobility).
- ⁶⁵ Bosman, *Guinea*, p. 462.
- ⁶⁶ Lemprière, "Morocco," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyage*, xv, 712. Clapperton, *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, p. 57 (Yoriba). Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, v, 83 sq. (Kingsmill islanders). Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 411 sq.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 626 sq. Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 253.
- ⁶⁸ Valdez, *Tribal Life in Western Africa*, ii, 233 (Cazembe). Haigh, "Teneriffe," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., vii, 108. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, i, 330

(Bechuana). Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 346 sqq. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 515 (Kirghiz). Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i, 68. Riedel, *Sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 228.

⁶⁹ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 36 sq. v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 459.

⁷⁰ Cf. Stewart, loc. cit., *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 626 sq. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 36.

⁷¹ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i (1885), 654 sq. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 437 sq., 494 sq. Instances are given by: Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 169. Deniker, "Kalmouks," in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, sér. 2, vii, 495. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 76. Bock, *Head-Hunters of Borneo*, p. 224 (Dyak). Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 270. Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii, 302. D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, i, 395 (Naiabu). Inglis, "New Hebrides," in *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.*, iii, 63. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 244 (Loyalty islanders). Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 337. Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 128 (Hawaii). Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific and Behring Straits*, p. 294 (Hawaii). D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii, 166 (Chiquito). v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 104, 217, 627, 632 (several South American Indian tribes).

⁷² Cf. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 630. Torday, *Bashongo*, p. 49.

⁷³ Southey, *History of Brazil*, i, 334.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 368 sq.

⁷⁵ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 116.

⁷⁶ Shellong, "Papua von Finsch-Haven," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi, 18.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 281. *Id.*, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 182. Endemann, "Die Sotho-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi, 39.

⁷⁸ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 182.

⁷⁹ Cf. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 240 (Marea). Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 284 (Singhalese). Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 278. St. John, "NW. Borneo," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., ii, 234 sq. (Sea Dyak). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 195 sq., 729 (Nootka, Indians of Honduras).

⁸⁰ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii, 238.

⁸¹ Cf. Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 95 (M'Pongo). Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 72 sq. (Jolof). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 313 (Beni Ame.). Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii, 320 (Somali). Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 191. Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 114 sq. Wilken, "Volken van den Indischen Archipel," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 5th V, i, 153. Riedel, *Sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, pp. 228 sq., 384 (several tribes in the Indian Archipelago).

⁸² Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, b., 112.

⁸³ Kubary, "Ebongruppe," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, Bd. i, Hft. 1, p. 37. Hager, *Marshall-Inseln*, p. 97. Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, ii, 171.

⁸⁴ Hager, op. cit., p. 97.

⁸⁵ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 406.

⁸⁶ Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, ii, 171. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i, 256 ; iii, 98 sq.

⁸⁷ Cook, op. cit., ii, 171.

⁸⁸ Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 326 sq.

⁸⁹ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 50.

⁹⁰ Cf. Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, ii, 187 (Rajput). Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 114 sq. (Singhalese). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 240 (Beni Amer). v. Martius, *Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, i, 72.

⁹¹ Erskine, *Western Pacific*, p. 158.

⁹² Matthes, *Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 13.

⁹³ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 78 sq.

⁹⁴ Hershheim, *Südsee Erinnerungen*, p. 81.

⁹⁵ Meinicke, op. cit., ii, 123.

⁹⁶ Tonkes, *Bali*, pp. 56 sq.

⁹⁷ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, pt. I, bk. 2, ch. 15.

⁹⁸ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 184.

⁹⁹ Proyard, "Loango," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 570, 581.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 187. *Id.*, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 287. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 43 (Ashanti). Bowdich, *Ashanti*, p. 254. Baikie, *Rivers Kwora and Binue*, p. 114. Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton,

- Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 272. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 108 sq. (Guinea, Kongo, Loango).
- ¹⁰¹ Finsch, "Ponape," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xii, 317. Taylor, *Te Ika a Mau*, p. 167. Hamilton, "New Account of the East Indies," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, viii, 364.
- ¹⁰² Juarros, *Kingdom of Guatemala*, p. 190. Bancroft, *Works*, p. 642.
- ¹⁰³ Bancroft, op. cit., ii, 192.
- ¹⁰⁴ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 120 sq.
- ¹⁰⁵ Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 104.
- ¹⁰⁶ Garcilasso de la Vega, op. cit., pt. i, bk. 2, ch. 15.
- ¹⁰⁷ Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., ii, 146.
- ¹⁰⁸ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 242 sq., 314.
- ¹⁰⁹ Bosman, *Guinea*, p. 168. Guillain, *Madagascar*, p. 189. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 523 sq. (Kirghiz). Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 222 (Rejang laws). Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, i, 379 sqq. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i, 104 sq. Strantz, *Geschichte des Deutschen Adels*, i, 30 sq. (ancient Teutons).
- ¹¹⁰ Cf. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 202. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 154 (Lower Kongo). Tuckey, *River Zaire*, p. 162 (Lower Kongo). Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, i, 281, 327. Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 409 (Ossetes). Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 113. Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 167. Eck, "Lombok," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxii, 356. Blumentritt, "Kianganen," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 120. Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, iii, 158. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Inddianer*, p. 122.
- ¹¹¹ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, pp. 243 sq. (Marea). Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 120. Ellis, *Tsi-speaking Peoples*, pp. 282, 301. Id., *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 223. Valdez, *Tribal Life in West Africa*, i, 342 (Dahomi). Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 143 sq., 153 (Upper Guinea and Calabar). Tuckey, *River Zaire*, p. 162 (Lower Kongo). Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 112. Eck, "Lombok," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxii, 356.
- ¹¹² Wake, "Malagasy," in *Antananarivo Annual*, vi, 1882, p. 4.
- ¹¹³ Bowdich, *Ashantee*, p. 255.
- ¹¹⁴ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 288.
- ¹¹⁵ Bosman, *Guinea*, p. 169.
- ¹¹⁶ Crawford, op. cit., iii, 113 sq.
- ¹¹⁷ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, pp. 116 sq.
- ¹¹⁸ Dapper, *Africa*, p. 594.
- ¹¹⁹ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 154.
- ¹²⁰ Blunt, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, ii, 234. Chavanne, *Sahara*, p. 389. Daumas, *Mœurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*, pp. 16 sq., 193. D'Escayrac, *Le Désert*, pp. 330 sqq.
- ¹²¹ Haxthausen, op. cit., p. 183.
- ¹²² Stoll, "Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, Suppl. zu Bd. i, 19 sq.
- ¹²³ Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 186.
- ¹²⁴ Dapper, op. cit., p. 192.
- ¹²⁵ Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 184.
- ¹²⁶ Wirtz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes*, i, 193.
- ¹²⁷ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, p. 38.
- ¹²⁸ Rochon, "Madagascar," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 745 sq.
- ¹²⁹ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i, 249.
- ¹³⁰ Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, b., 124.
- ¹³¹ Cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 412 (Hawaii). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 84 (Tonga). Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 227 (Gorontalo). Ehrmann, *Neueste Kunde von Asien*, ii, 449 sq. (Birma). Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 275 (Gond).
- ¹³² Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 77.
- ¹³³ Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii, 309.
- ¹³⁴ Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, ii, 154 sq.; iii, 141. Bougainville, *Voyage round the World*, p. 269.
- ¹³⁵ Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 741.
- ¹³⁶ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahdby's*, p. 41.

- 137 Hunter, *Assam*, i, 283 ; ii, 103.
- 138 Buchanan, "Journey through Mysore, Canara and Malabar," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, viii, 592.
- 139 Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 39.
- 140 Williams, *Fiji*, pp. 158 sq.
- 141 Bancroft, *Works*, i, 195.
- 142 Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 139.
- 143 Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, iii, 304.
- 144 Addison, "West Barbary," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xv, 411.
- 145 Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i, 69.
- 146 New, *Life in Eastern Africa*, p. 64.
- 147 Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 77.
- 148 Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, ii, 40.
- 149 Shaw, "Barbary," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xv, 666.
- 150 Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 410 sq. Cf. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, b., 113, vi, 203 (Mariana Islands, Hawaii).
- 151 Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp. 51 sq.
- 152 Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 66. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, i, 411 (Kirghiz). Dalton, "Ethnographie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 206.
- 153 Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, i, 310 sq.
- 154 Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., v, b., 34.
- 155 Bruce, *Travels to the Source of the Nile*, i, 352.
- 156 Waldmeier, *Ten Years in Abyssinia*, p. 15.
- 157 Addison, loc. cit., xv, 411.
- 158 Ehrmann, *Neueste Kunde von Asien*, iii, 443.
- 159 Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, ii, 302.
- 160 Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., vi, 203.
- 161 Polack, *New Zealanders*, i, 52.
- 162 Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., v, b., 99, 113.
- 163 Parkyns, *Abyssinia*, i, 301.
- 164 Spencer, op. cit., ii, 300 sqq.
- 165 Williamson, *Central Polynesia*, iii, 137.
- 166 Waitz-Gerland, op. cit., v, b., 34 sq.
- 167 Williamson, op. cit., iii, 89, 91 sqq.
- 168 Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 19.
- 169 Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp. 68 sq.
- 170 West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, p. 263.
- 171 Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 352.
- 172 Williams, *Fiji*, p. 29.
- 173 Humboldt, *Kawi-Sprache*, i, 49 sqq. Marsden, *Malayan Language*, xv sqq.
- Burton and Ward, "Journey into the Batak Country," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 504. Waanders, "Zeden der Balinezen," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, viii, 127.
- 174 Hofmayr, *The Shilluk*, pp. 180 sqq.
- 175 Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 204.
- 176 Cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 98. Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, iii, 156 sq.
- 177 Seeman, *Viti*, p. 398.
- 178 Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 186.
- 179 Zimmermann, *Inseln des Stillen Meeres*, i, 661.
- 180 Williams, *Fiji*, p. 186.
- 181 Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 85.
- 182 Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 385.
- 183 *Ibid.*, iii, 98.
- 184 Quatrefages, "Les Polynésiens," in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. 49, p. 539.
- 185 Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, p. 102.
- 186 Meinicke, op. cit., i, 47 sq. Cf. Quatrefages, *Les Polynésiens*, p. 40.
- 187 Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iii, 91 sq.
- 188 Campbell, "Lomboos," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xix, 603.
- 189 Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 214. Rüppell, *Abyssinia*, ii, 50.
- 190 Shaw, "Barbary," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xv, 602.
- 191 Dapper, *Africa*, p. 510.

- ¹⁹³ Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 165.
- ¹⁹⁴ Bowring, *Siam*, i, 12.
- ¹⁹⁵ Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 52.
- ¹⁹⁶ Jarves, *Hawaiian Islands*, p. 19.
- ¹⁹⁷ Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 127.
- ¹⁹⁸ West, *Ten Years in Polynesia*, pp. 263 sq.
- ¹⁹⁹ Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp. 121 sq.
- ²⁰⁰ O'Connell, *Eleven Years in New Holland*, p. 220.
- ²⁰¹ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, ii, 291.
- ²⁰² Butler, *Travels in Assam*, p. 223.
- ²⁰³ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 159 (Habab). Nachtigal, *Sahara*, ii, 687 (Bagirmi). Caillié, *To Timbuctoo*, i, 96 (Braknas). Windhus, "Morocco," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xv, 456. Glas, "Canary Islands," *ibid.*, xvi, 821. Clapperton, *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, p. 49 (Katunga). Lander, *Clapperton's Last Expedition*, ii, 223 sq. (Yariba). Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 22 (M'Pongo). Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 230. Monrad, *Guinea*, pp. 11 sq. Bowdich, *Ashantee*, p. 282. Beecham, *Ashantee*, p. 232. Forbes, *Dahomey*, i, 32. Burton, *Mission to Dahome*, ii, 19 sq. Mockler-Ferryman, *British Nigeria*, p. 260. Bentley, *Congo*, i, 174 sq., 177. Anderson, *Ngami*, p. 332 (Namaqua). Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii, 25 (Masai and Wakuafi). Moffat, *Missionary Labours in Southern Africa*, p. 308 (Bechuana). Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 393 (Kafir). Le Vaillant, *Cape of Good Hope*, ii, 350 sq. (Kafir). Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 234, 423. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 184. Sibree, *Madagascar*, pp. 246, 251, 257. Shaw, "The Betsileo," in *Antananarivo Annual*, no. iv (1878), p. 7. Cowan, *Tanala*, p. 6. Dalton, "Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 204, 210; vi, 234 (Naga, Kuki, Khyen). King, *Nilgiri Hills*, p. 41. Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 648 sq. Rowlatt, "Mishmee Hills," *ibid.*, xiv, 488. Newbold, *Straits of Malacca*, i, 251 (Naning). Ross, *History of Corea*, p. 319. Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 156 (Nias). Schwaner, *Borneo*, p. 184 (Barito river natives). Broke, Lowe, and Ling Roth, "Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 121 (Sea Dyaks). Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii, 32. Marsden, *Sumatra*, pp. 387 sqq. Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 19 (Bali). Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 261 (Saa). Elton, "Solomon Islands," *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 97. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 163. Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 49, 323 sq.; ii, 40, 118 (Polynesians, Maori, Fijians, Samoans). Hager, *Marshall-Inseln*, p. 67. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 149 (Samoa). Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 408, 411 (Tahiti, Hawaii). Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, i, 331 (Maori). Yate, *New Zealand*, pp. 135 sqq. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 359 (Hawaii). Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 122 (Hawaii). Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, pp. 311 sq. Holmberg, "Völker des Russischen Amerika," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, t. iv, f. ii, 323 sq. (Tlinkit). Dall, *Alaska*, pp. 390, 417, (Tlinkit, Aleut). Coxe, *Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, pp. 246 sq. (Fox Islands). Mayne, *British Columbia*, p. 293. Gibbs, "Tribes of Washington and Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 202. Bancroft, *Works*, i, 205, 781 (Nootka, Panama, and Darien Indians). Appun, "British Guayana," in *Ausland*, Jahrg. 44 (1871), p. 185. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 33 sqq. (Inca).
- ²⁰⁴ Cf. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 277. Dieffenbach, *New Zealand*, ii, 66.
- ²⁰⁵ Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 215.
- ²⁰⁶ Mariner, *Tonga*, ii, 100.
- ²⁰⁷ Roquefeuil, "Reise um die Welt," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxi, 183.
- ²⁰⁸ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 76.
- ²⁰⁹ Bowdich, *Ashantee*, p. 262.
- ²¹⁰ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 832.
- ²¹¹ Shaw, "Betsileo," in *Antananarivo Annual*, no. iv, 1878, p. 10.
- ²¹² Cf. Petroff, *Alaska*, p. 172 (Tlinkit). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i, 325 (Maori). Blair, *The State of Slavery amongst the Romans*, p. 177. Tacitus, *Germania*, 25. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i, 97 (ancient Teutons). Waitz, *Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes*, i, 154 (ancient Teutons).
- ²¹³ Cf., for instance, Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, b., 113 (Mariana Islands).
- ²¹⁴ Cf. Torday, *Bashongo*, p. 54.
- ²¹⁵ Cf. Buchner, *Kamerun*, pp. 29 sq. Du Chaillu, "Western Equatorial Africa," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., i, 309. Rüppell, *Reisen in Nubien*, p. 107.

Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, i, 87 (Audhiya, Fatehpu). Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, ii, 237 sq. (Bali).

²¹⁵ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 441.

²¹⁶ Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 403.

²¹⁷ Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, ii, 219.

²¹⁸ Maltzan, "Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 107.

²¹⁹ Shortland, *Traditions of the New Zealanders*, p. 226.

²²⁰ Parkinson, "Gilbertinsulaner," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, 99.

²²¹ Riedel, *Sluk- en kroesharige rassen*, p. 16.

²²² Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 203.

²²³ Munzinger, *Bogos*, p. 49.

²²⁴ Id., *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 236.

E. THE ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XVII

COUNCIL OF THE INFLUENTIAL MEN AND CHIEFTAINSHIP

¹ Furlong, "The Alaculoofs and Uahgans," in *Proc. of the 19th Intern. Congress of Americanists*, p. 427. Cf. Angas, *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand*, i, 88. Eyre, *Expedition into Central Australia*, ii, 315.

² Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, p. 78.

³ Mention of a primitive government with the power held by a council of the elders is made, for instance, by Davis and Barnes, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 49 sq. Groves, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 243 sq. Hayes, *Sociology*, pp. 606 sq. Schmoller, "Arbeitsteilung," in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, xiii, 74. Elliot Smith, *Human History*, p. 298. Sumner and Keller, *Science of Society*, i, 464, 466 sq. Thurnwald, *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie*, pp. 270 sqq. Tozzer, *Social Origins*, pp. 199 sq. Wallis, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 13 sq. Wissler, *Introduction to Social Anthropology*, p. 131.

⁴ Haddon, "Western Tribes of Torres Straits," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix, 329.

⁵ Williams, *Orokaiva Society*, p. 104.

⁶ Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii, 399.

⁷ Parkinson, "Gilbertinsulaner," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii, 40.

⁸ Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 20 sqq., 27.

⁹ Id., *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 272.

¹⁰ Howitt, *Native Tribes of SE. Australia*, pp. 320-6.

¹¹ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 177.

¹² Foelsche, "Aborigines in the Neighbourhood of Port Darwin," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 196 sq.

¹³ Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 80.

¹⁴ Mathew, "Australian Aborigines," in *Jour. and Proceed. of the Royal Society of NS. Wales*, xxiii, 398. Id., *Two Tribes of Queensland*, pp. 128 sq. Id., *Eaglehawk and Crow*, pp. 93 sq.

¹⁵ Curr, *The Australian Race*, i, 55 sqq. Lang, *Aborigines of Australia*, p. 7. Thunwald, *Representative Lebensbilder*, pp. 61 sq., 65 sq. Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 345. Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution*, pp. 207 sq. Knabenhans, *Politische Organisation bei den australischen Eingeborenen*, pp. 168 sqq. Steinmetz, *Entwicklung der Strafe*, ii, 39 sq. Macgillivray, *Voyage of Rattlesnake*, i, 151; ii, 27 sq. (natives of Port Essington). Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 126 sq. Cunow, *Verwandschafts-Organisationen der Australneger*, p. 112 (Dieri). Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 315 sqq. Schürmann, "Aborigines of Port Lincoln," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226. Wyatt, "Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aborigines," ib., p. 168. Gason, "The Dieyrie Tribe," ib., p. 262. Matthews, "Tribes of the Upper Murray," in *Proceed. Geogr. Soc. of Australasia, S. Austr. Branch*, iv, 49. Matthews, "The Australian Native," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 189. Bennett, "The Dalleburre Tribe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvii, 406. Mitchell, *Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, ii, 346. Krichauff, "The Aldolingu," in *Proceed. Roy. Geogr. Soc. of Australasia, S. Austr. Branch*, ii, 77 sq.

¹⁶ St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 381.

¹⁷ Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, ii, 322.

¹⁸ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 5.

¹⁹ Radcliffe Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, p. 44.

²⁰ Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p. 662.

²¹ Krashennikov, Камчатка, ii, 14.

²² Deniker, "Les Ghiliaks," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii, 309.

²³ Sumner, "The Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 70.

²⁴ Klutschak, *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*, p. 230 sq. Jacobsen, "Leben der Eskimo," in *Ausland*, vol. 64 (1891), p. 637.

²⁵ Anderson and Eells, *Alaska Natives*, p. 48.

²⁶ Murdoch, "Point Barrow Expedition," in *Smithsonian Reports*, ix, 427.

- ²⁷ Gilder, *Swatha's Search*, p. 242.
- ²⁸ Groves, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 411.
- ²⁹ Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. vii, 53.
- ³⁰ Wickham, "Souromo or Woolwa Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 201.
- ³¹ Alcedo, *Dictionary of America*, i, 91.
- ³² Cooper, "Tierra del Fuego," *Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin*, lxxiii, 177 sq.
- ³³ Schapera, *The Khoisan People*, p. 76. Cf. Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution*, p. 207. Thulié, "Bochimans," in *Bull. Soc. d'Anthropologie*, s. iii, t. iv, 410.
- ³⁴ Thurnwald, *Repräsentative Lebensbilder*, pp. 53 sq.
- ³⁵ Lindblom, *Akamba*, pp. 149 sq.
- ³⁶ Christy, *Big Game and Pygmies*, p. 47.
- ³⁷ Jaspert, "Die Völkerstämme Mittel-Angolas," in *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Völker-Museum Frankfurt am Main*, v, 20.
- ³⁸ Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 418.
- ³⁹ Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, pp. 129 sq.
- ⁴⁰ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 477 sqq.
- ⁴¹ Howitt, *Native Tribes of SE. Australia*, pp. 321, 326.
- ⁴² Taplin, "Narrinyeri," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 36.
- ⁴³ Sumner, "The Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi, 143.
- ⁴⁴ Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 345 (Australians). Hankins, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 698 (Australians). Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, ii, 295. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 9 sq. Taplin, "Narrinyeri," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 34. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 76. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, v, b., 117 (certain Caroline islanders).
- ⁴⁵ Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, pp. 426 sq.
- ⁴⁶ Sumner, loc. cit., xxxi, 73.
- ⁴⁷ Howitt, op. cit., pp. 320, 323, 324.
- ⁴⁸ Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, ii, 317 sq.
- ⁴⁹ Knabenhans, *Politische Organisation bei den Australischen Eingeborenen*, pp. 174 sqq., 177.
- ⁵⁰ Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii, 321.
- ⁵¹ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 246. Schmoller, "Arbeitsteilung," in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, xiii, 74.
- ⁵² Meek, op. cit., i, 244 sq.
- ⁵³ Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 85.
- ⁵⁴ Schellong, "Papuas der Umgebung von Finsch-Haven," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi, 10.
- ⁵⁵ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 295.
- ⁵⁶ Logan, "The Indo-Pacific Archipelago," in *Jour. of the Indian Archipelago*, ix, 303.
- ⁵⁷ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 539.
- ⁵⁸ Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 444.
- ⁵⁹ Lothrop, *Indians of Tierra del Fuego*, p. 84.
- ⁶⁰ Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, pp. 211 sq.
- ⁶¹ Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 253.
- ⁶² Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 790 (Australians). Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 9 sqq. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii, 295. Stewart, "Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 608 sq. Radcliffe Brown, *Andaman Islanders*, pp. 45 sqq. Petroff, *Alaska*, p. 125 (Eskimo). Crantz, *Greenland*, i, 179 sq.
- ⁶³ Cullen, "Darien Indians," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., iv, 266. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 219. Coolidge, *The Rain-Makers*, p. 232 (Apache). Neighbors, "Comanche," in Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes*, ii, 130. Swan, "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. viii, 52. Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 208 (Selish Indians). Hrdlička, "Apache," in *Am. Anthropologist*, N.S., vii, 481. Hunter, *Captivity among the Indians*, p. 315 (Indians west of the Mississippi). Dall, *Alaska*, p. 202 (Kutchin). Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, p. 418. Lander, *Clapperton's Last Expedition*, ii, 223 (Yariba). Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 245. Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa*, i, 192. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 93 (Kafirs). Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan*

Races of the Malay Peninsula, ii, 196. Schwaner, *Borneo*, i, 171 (Barito River natives). Hagen and Pineau, "Nouvelles Hébrides," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 335. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 343 (Maori).

⁶⁴ Von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 16. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii, 430 sq.

⁶⁵ Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, i, 131. Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahdbyts*, p. 161. Rohlf's, *Quer durch Afrika*, i, 262 (Tebu). Burton, *Lake Regions*, i, 113; i, 70, 362 (Wazaramo, Wanyamwezi, Wajiji). Nachtigal, *Sahara*, i, 440 sq. (Teda). Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 27 (Bulu). Mollien, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, i, 148 (Yolof). Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 141 (Gold Coast). Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 251. Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, p. 86. Chapman, *Travels in South Africa*, i, 39 (Bamanwato). Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 361 (Namaqua). Watt, "Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 354. Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i, 65 sq, 182 (Kayans and Punans). Tromp, "Dajaks," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxv, 111. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 63 (Trobriand islanders). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 43 (Fiji). Dieffenbach, *New Zealand*, ii, 112. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 343 (Maori). Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 120 (Araucanians). Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 106 sqq. v. Martius, *Ethnographie Amerika's*, i, 59, 78 (Brazilian tribes). Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i, 169 (Warraus). Bancroft, *Works*, i, 547, 584, 764 (Pima, Maricopa, etc.). Jones, *Ojebway*, p. 108 sq. Burnet, "Comanche," in Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes*, i, 231. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, iii, 338 (Chinook). Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, vi, 208 (Selish). Richardson, *Arctic Expedition*, ii, 26 sqq. (Chippeways).

⁶⁶ Musil, *Rwala Bedouins*, p. 50. Emin Pasha, *Central Africa*, p. 91 (Unioro). Hodgson, "The Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 40. Kootz-Kretschmer, *Die Safwa*, i, 192. Ellis, *Madagascar*, i, 342. Hunter, *History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 47 (Khands). Hickson, *A Naturalist in Celebes*, p. 198 (Sangir Island). Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 213. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, pp. 369 sq. (Fiji). Azara, *Amérique Méridionale*, ii, 96 (Guanas). Karsten, *Indian Tribes of Chaco*, p. 46 (Toba). Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 12. Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xi, 221 sqq. Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 123, 352, 371.

⁶⁷ Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 29.

⁶⁸ Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 102.

⁶⁹ Frazer, *Early History of the Kingship*, p. 235 (Ashanti). Hecquard, *L'Intérieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*, pp. 24, 26 sq., 123 sq., 125 (several tribes). Watt, "Tribes of Manipur," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi, 354. Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii, 101 (Kai tribe). Fitzroy, *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, ii, 164 (Patagonians). Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 499.

⁷⁰ Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahdbyts*, ii, 268. Snow, "Tierra del Fuego," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., i, 264. Dobrizhoffer, *Abipones*, ii, 108. Thurnwald, *Repräsentative Lebensbilder*, p. 67 (Pomo Indians).

⁷¹ Teit, "Lilloet Indians," in *The Jesup Expedition*, vol. ii, pt. v, 254 sq.

⁷² Bosman, *Coast of Guinea*, pp. 133 sq. (Gold Coast). Monrad, *Guinea*, pp. 68 sq. Junod, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 150. Winterbottom, *Sierra Leone*, i, 128. Du Chailu, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 330. Hodgson, "The Wahehe," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lvi, 40. Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, pp. 261 sq. (Bechuana). Dalton, *Ethnologie of Bengal*, p. 45 (Kuki). Macpherson, "Khonds," in *Calcutta Review*, v, 38. Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Tribes of the Malay Peninsula*, i, 122 (Perak, Semang). Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, p. 182 (Punans). Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 52 (Trobriand islanders). Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 163 (Nias). Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii, 309. Pitt-Rivers, "Aua Island," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv, 429. Glaumont, "Néo-Calédoniens," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 75. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 219. Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," in *Smithsonian Reports*, xii, 224. v. Martius, *Ethnologie Amerika's*, i, 290 (Brazilian tribes).

⁷³ A detailed account of the judicial procedure of the advisory council is given for instance by Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 258 sqq.

⁷⁴ Whitfield, *South African Native Law*, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Rattray, *Ashanti Law*, p. 82.

⁷⁶ Meek, op. cit., i, 251. Heckel, *The Yao*, p. 17. Wilson, *Western Africa*,

p. 78 (Mandingo). Stayt, *The Bavando*, p. 71. Schapera, *The Khoisan People*, p. 328 sqq. Schultze, *Aus Namaland*, p. 321 (Hottentots). Stavroinus, "Celebes," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xi, 267. Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 121.

⁷⁷ Karsten, *Indian Tribes of Chaco*, p. 46 (Toba).

⁷⁸ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 255.

⁷⁹ Torday, *The Bashongo*, pp. 83 sq.

⁸⁰ Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, i, 66.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182 sq.

⁸² Dobrizhoffer, *Avipones*, ii, 103. D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii, 81 (Puelche). Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 499. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, i, 169 (Warraus). Lewin, *Wild Races in SE. India*, p. 250 (Kuki). Elton, "Salomon Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii, 98.

⁸³ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii, 118 (Galla). Falkner, *Patagonia*, p. 121. D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii, 113 sq., 118 (certain Chaco Indians). Coolidge, *The Rain-Maker*, p. 232 (Apache). Powers, "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, iii, 21 (Karok). Tregear, *The Maoris*, p. 113. Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*, p. 212 (Ysarog).

⁸⁴ Von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, ii, 24 (Masai). Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 302. Sproat, *Scenes of Savage Life*, pp. 115 (Aht). Powers, loc. cit., iii, 246 (the Shastika).

⁸⁵ Karsten, *Indian Tribes of Chaco*, p. 46.

⁸⁶ Squier, "Archæology of Nicaragua," in *Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc.*, vol. iii, pt. i, 126 sq.

⁸⁷ Powers, loc. cit., iii, 157.

⁸⁸ Gibbs, "Tribes of W. Washington and NW. Oregon," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i, 185. Jones, "Kutchin Tribes," in *Smithsonian Reports*, 1866, p. 325. Dall, *Alaska*, p. 202. Macpherson, "The Khonds," in *Calcutta Review*, v, 38.

⁸⁹ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 29 sqq. (Inca). Id., *Conquest of Mexico*, pp. 285 sqq. (Aztec). Butler, *Account of Assam*, i, 310 sq. (Khamtis). Butler, *Travels in Assam*, pp. 100 sq. (Kuki). Sibree, *Madagascar*, pp. 344 sqq. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, i, 160 (Mursuk).

⁹⁰ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 354.

⁹¹ *Ib.*, iv, 157. Id., *Hawaii*, p. 135.

⁹² St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, ii, 291.

⁹³ Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 187.

⁹⁴ Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, pp. 160 sq.

⁹⁵ Alberti, *Die Kaffern*, pp. 40, 48. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 59 sq.

⁹⁶ Roquefeuil, "Reise um die Welt," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxi, 181.

⁹⁷ Frazer, *History of the Kingship*, p. 203.

⁹⁸ Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology*, viii, 105.

⁹⁹ Bancroft, *Works*, ii, 147.

¹⁰⁰ Hecquard, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 150.

¹⁰¹ Liechtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, ii, 328.

¹⁰² Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, p. 114.

¹⁰³ Burton, *Mission to Dahome*, i, 238.

¹⁰⁴ v. Martius, *Ethnologie Amerika's*, i, 64. Id., *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 19 (Mundruku, Tupixoba). Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 258. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ Nachtigal, "Hofstat des Königs von Bagirmi," in *Globus*, xxiv, 120.

¹⁰⁶ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archipel*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁷ Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, ii, 45 (Monbuttu). v. Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, p. 19. Id., *Ethnologie Amerika's*, i, 64, 290 (Gez or Cran Indians).

¹⁰⁸ Ellis, *Tsi-speaking Peoples*, p. 263. Nachtigal, loc. cit., xxiv, 120. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, p. 79 (Sultan of Kuka). Dufton, *Abyssinia*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁹ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 263.

¹¹⁰ Nachtigal, "Hofstaat des Königs von Bagirmi," in *Globus*, xxiv, 120. Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika*, i, 191 (Bornu). Id., "Reise von Tripolis nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Erg. v, H. 25, p. 15 (Fezan). Stoll, "Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Intern. Archiv für Ethnol.*, Suppl. zu Bd. i, 15. Williams, *Fiji*, p. 20.

- ¹¹¹ Burton, *Mission to Dahome*, i, 309 sqq., 315.
- ¹¹² Beecham, *Ashanti*, p. 115.
- ¹¹³ Peters, "Muata Cazembe," in *Zeitschrift für allg. Erdkunde*, vi, 378. Valdez, *Tribal Life in West Africa*, ii, 217.
- ¹¹⁴ Nachtigal, *Sahara*, ii, 604. Id., "Hofstaat des Königs von Bagirmi," in *Globus*, xxiv, 120.
- ¹¹⁵ Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, ii, 459. Moore, *Marriage Customs*, p. 169 (Siam). Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 131 (Tahiti, Marquesas Islands, Hawaii). Meinicke, *Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii, 148 sq. (Rarotonga). Hutchinson, *The Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, i, 458.
- ¹¹⁶ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, pt. i, bk. 4, ch. 9. Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, lib. vi, cap. xii, xviii.
- ¹¹⁷ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 117.
- ¹¹⁸ Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 445. Id., *Polynesian Researches*, iv, 435. Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iv, 32.
- ¹¹⁹ Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 252. Guillain, *Madagascar*, p. 26, note.
- ¹²⁰ *History of Herodotus*, bk. iii, 31.
- ¹²¹ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, i, 26 sq.
- ¹²² Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 202. Cf., *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 162.
- ¹²³ Wilson, op. cit., p. 175. Beecham, *Ashanti*, p. 90 sq.
- ¹²⁴ Cf. Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 45.
- ¹²⁵ Polack, *New Zealanders*, i, 58 sq. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 352. Cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 105; iv, 422.
- ¹²⁶ Battel, "Angola," in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, xvi, 330. Malcolm, "The Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 71. Stewart, "Northern Kachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxiv, 625 (Kuki). Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 59 (Timor). Glaumont, "Néo-Calédoniens," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii, 74 sq. Thomson, "Fijians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv, 342. Williamson, *Social and Political System of Central Polynesia*, iii, 61.
- ¹²⁷ A very detailed description of the funeral rites for Ashanti kings is given by Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, pp. 103-146.
- ¹²⁸ Instances are given by Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, ii, 128 sqq., 146 sq., 396; iv, 410; v, b. 194 (Bornu, Dahomi, Zulu, Inca, etc.). Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p. 65. Riedel, *Sluik- en kroesharige Rassen*, p. 19 (Buru).
- ¹²⁹ Kubary, "Ebongruppe," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, Bd. i, H. 1, p. 37.
- ¹³⁰ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 105. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie*, vi, 191 sq.
- ¹³¹ Ellis, op. cit., iii, 101; iv, 413. Waitz-Gerland, *ibid.*, vi, 210.
- ¹³² Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii, 18.
- ¹³³ Glaumont, loc. cit., vii, 74 sq.
- ¹³⁴ Zimmermann, *Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, i, 543 sq.
- ¹³⁵ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii, 101. Williamson, *Social and Political System of Central Polynesia*, iii, 80.
- ¹³⁶ Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp. 127 sq.
- ¹³⁷ Williamson, op. cit., iii, 72 sq.
- ¹³⁸ *Ib.*, iii, 76.
- ¹³⁹ *Ib.*, iii, 79 sq.
- ¹⁴⁰ Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i, 254 sq.
- ¹⁴¹ Wilson, *Western Africa*, pp. 309 sq.
- ¹⁴² Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, pp. 162 sq. Wilson, op. cit., p. 202.

AUTHORITIES QUOTED

- Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlich-Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden.* Berlin.
- Acosta, Joaquin. *Compendio Historico de la Nueva Granada.* Paris, 1848.
- Acosta, Joseph de. *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1792.
- Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae.* Helsingfors.
- Adanson, Michel. "A Voyage to Senegal, etc.," in Pinkerton, xvi.
- Addison, Lancelot. "An Account of West Barbary," in Pinkerton, xv.
- Агапитовъ (Agapitof), Н. Н., and Хангаловъ (Hangalof), М. Н. Матерьялы для изученія шаманства въ Сибири. Шаманство у Бурятъ Иркутской Губерніи, in *Извѣстія В.-Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, xiv.
- Ahlqvist, August. "Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken," in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xiv, 1885.
- Ainsworth, W. Francis. "The Assyrian Origin of the Izedis or Yezidis," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, i. London, 1861.
- Alberti, Joh. Chr. L., *Die Kaffern.* Gotha, 1815.
- Albertis, L. M. d'. *New Guinea.* 2 vols. London, 1880.
- Alcedo, Antonio de. *Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies.* 5 vols. London, 1812-15.
- Allardt, Anders. "Nyländska folkseder och bruk," in Nyland, *Samlingar utgifna af Nyländska Afdelningen*, iv. Helsingfors, 1889.
- Allen, Grant. *Evolution of the Idea of God.* London, 1897.
- Allen, William, and Thomson, T. R. H. *Expedition to the River Niger.* 2 vols. London, 1848.
- Allier, Raoul. *The Mind of the Savage.* London, 1929.
- Allison, S. S. "Account of the Similkameen Indians of British Columbia," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi, 1892.
- American Anthropologist, The.* Published for the American Anthropological Association. Washington.
- American Journal of Sociology, The.* Chicago.
- Aminoff, T. G. "Reseberättelse afgifven till Finska Vetenskaps-societeten," in *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens förhandlingar*, xxi, 1870.
- Ammon, Otto. *Die natürliche Auslese beim Menschen.* Jena, 1893.
- *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen.* Jena, 1896.
- Anderson, H. Dewey, and Eells, Walter Crosby. *Alaska Natives.* Stamford, California, 1935.
- Anderson, J. W. *Notes of Travel in Fiji and New Caledonia.* London, 1880.
- Andersson, Charles John. *Lake Ngami.* London, 1856.
- Andree, Richard. *Ethnographische Parallelen.* Stuttgart, 1878.
- *Ethnographische Parallelen.* Neue Folge. Leipzig, 1889.
- *Die Anthropophagie.* Leipzig, 1887.
- "Der Schirm als Würdezeichen," in *Globus*, xxvii, 1875.
- Angas, George French. *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand.* 2 vols. London, 1847.
- Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine, The.* Antananarivo.
- Anthropologie, L'.* Paris.
- Appun, Karl Ferd. "Die Indianer in British Guayana," in *Ausland*, xlv, 1871.
- Arbousset, T., and Dumas, F. *Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.* Cape Town, 1846.
- Archives d'Études Orientales,* publiées par J. A. Lundell. Uppsala.

- Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik.* Tübingen.
- Aristotle's Politics.* Trans. by Benjamin Jowet. Oxford, 1905.
- Arvieux, Laurent d'. *Travels in Arabia.* London, 1718.
- Asiatick Researches.* Calcutta, 1801.
- Apselin, J. R. *Suomen asukkaat pakanuuden aikana.* Helsingfors, 1885.
- "Mordvalaisten pakanalliset jumalat," in *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti*, viii-ix.
- Astrup, Eivind. *Blandt Nordpolens Naboer.* Christiania, 1895.
- Ausland, Das. *Stuttgart and Augsburg.*
- "Aus Nepal und Tibet," in *Ausland*, xlix, 1876.
- Avebury, Sir John Lubbock, Lord. *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man.* London, 1902.
- Azara, Félix de. *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale.* 4 vols. Paris, 1809.
- Babcock, Donald C. *Man and Social Achievement.* New York, 1929.
- Back, Sir George. *Travels to the Arctic Regions.* London, 1836.
- Backhouse, James. *Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa.* London, 1844.
- Baikie, William Balfour. *Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue.* London, 1856.
- Bailey, John. "An Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* London, N.S., ii.
- Baker, Sir Samuel W. *The Albert N'yanza.* 2 vols. London, 1867.
- *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia.* London, 1867.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe. Works. *The Native Races of the Pacific Coast of North America.* 2 vols. San Francisco, 1883.
- Bang, Vilhelm. *Hexevæsen og Hexeforfølgelser.* Copenhagen, 1896.
- Банзаровъ (Banzarof), Д. Черная въра или Шаманство у Монголовъ. St. Petersburg, 1891.
- Barrow, John. *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa.* 2 vols. London, 1806.
- Bartels, Max. *Die Medicin der Naturvölker.* Leipzig, 1893.
- Barth, Henry, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa.* 5 vols. London, 1857-8.
- Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, J. *Le Bouddha et sa Religion.* Paris, 1860.
- Bartram, William. *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.* London, 1792.
- "The Creek and Cherokee Indians," in *Trans. of the American Ethnological Society*, iii, 1 (1853).
- Bassett-Smith, P. W. "The Aborigines of North-Central Australia," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiii, 1893.
- Bastian, Adolf. *Afrikanische Reisen.* Bremen, 1857.
- *Der Mensch in der Geschichte.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1860.
- *Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei verschiedenen Völkern der Erde.* Berlin, 1872.
- *Die Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste.* 2 vols. Jena, 1874-5.
- *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1888.
- Baudissin, Wolf Wilhelm. *Die Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priesterthums.* Leipzig, 1889.
- Bauer, Arthur. *Les Classes Sociales.* Paris, 1902.
- Beach, Walter Greenwood. *An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems.* Cambridge, Mass., 1925.
- Bechtinger, J. *Ein Jahr auf den Sandwich-Inseln.* Wien, 1869.
- Beck, Ludwig. *Die Geschichte des Eisens.* 5 vols. Braunschweig, 1884-1903.
- Becker, Jerome. *La Vie en Afrique.* 2 vols. Paris, 1887.
- Beckwith, Paul. "Customs of the Dakotahs," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1885-6.
- Beecham, John. *Ashantee and the Gold Coast.* London, 1841.
- Beechey, F. W. *Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait.* London, 1831.

- Beeckman, Daniel. "A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo," in Pinkerton, xi, 1812.
- Bell, Hesketh J. *The History etc. of the Gold Coast Settlement*. Liverpool, 1893.
- Benedikt, Ruth Fulton. "The Concept of the Guardian Spirit of North America," in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, no. 29. 1923.
- Beneke, Otto. *Von unehrlichen Leuten*. Hamburg, 1863.
- Bennett, M. "Notes on the Dalleburra Tribe of Northern Queensland," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lxii. 1927.
- Bent, Charles. "Indian Tribes of New Mexico," in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the U.S.*, i.
- Bentley, W. Holman. *Pioneering on the Congo*. 2 vols. London, 1900.
- Benzinger, Immanuel. Art. "Law and Justice," in Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii, — Art. "Slavery," *ibid.*, iv.
- Bérenger-Féraud, L. J. B. *Superstitions et Survivances*. 5 vols. Paris, 1896.
- Bertrand, Alex. "L'Introduction des Métaux en Occident," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii, 1883.
- Best, Elsdon. *The Maori*. 2 vols. Wellington, 1924.
- Beverly, Robert. *The History of Virginia*. Richmond, Virginia, 1856.
- Bickmore, Albert S. "Some Notes on the Ainos," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., vii, 1869.
- Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië. Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*. Amsterdam.
- Blackhouse, James. *Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*. 1843.
- Blagden, C. Otto. "Notes on the Folklore and Popular Religion of the Malays," in *Jour. of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. July, 1896.
- Blair, William. *An Inquiry into the State of Slavery*. Edinburgh, 1833.
- Bleek, D. F. *The Naron, a Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*. Cambridge, 1928.
- Blohm, Wilhelm. *Die Nyamwezi*. Hamburg, 1931.
- Blumentritt, Fred. "Die Maguindanaos," in *Ausland*, vol. 64. 1891.
- "Die Kianganen (Luzon)," in *Ausland*, vol. 64. 1891.
- Blunt, Lady Anne Isabella Noel. *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*. 2 vols. London, 1879.
- Bluntschli, J. K. *The Theory of the State*. Oxford, 1842.
- Boas, Franz. "The Central Eskimo," in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, vi, 1884-5.
- "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1894-5.
- Bock, Carl. *Head-Hunters of Borneo*. London, 1881.
- Bode, C. A. de. "On the Yamud and Goklan Tribes of Turkestan," in *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.*, i. London, 1848.
- Bodenstedt, Friedrich. *Die Völkerdes Kaukasus*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1855.
- Bogaardt, T. C. "Moko-Moko," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 1858.
- Bogardus, Emory S. *Sociology*. New York, 1934.
- Bogoras, Waldemar. "The Chukchee," in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vii. 1904-9.
- Boller, Henry A. *Among the Indians*. Philadelphia, 1868.
- Bonwick, James. *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*. London, 1870.
- "The Australian Natives," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi. 1886.
- Bosman, William. *Description of the Coast of Guinea*. London, 1705.
- Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*. 2 vols. Paris, 1768.
- Bouche, Pierre. "Sept ans en Afrique Occidentale," *La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey*. Paris, 1885.

- Boudin, J. C. M. "Du Nègre Esclave chez les Peaux-Rouges," in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, v.
- Bougainville, L. de. *A Voyage round the World*. London, 1772.
- Bourkie, John G. "The Medicine-Men of the Apache," in *Smithsonian Report*, ix. 1892.
- Bowdich, T. Edward. *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*. London, 1819.
- Bowring, Sir John. *The Kingdom and People of Siam*. 2 vols. London, 1857.
- Boyle, Frederick. *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*. London, 1865.
- Brainne, Ch. "La Nouvelle-Calédonie," in *Bibliothèque des Chemins de Fer*. Paris, 1854.
- Bramly, Alwyn Jennings. "The Mari Tribe," in *Man*, vi. 1906.
- Brand, John. *Observations on Popular Antiquities*. 2 vols. London, 1813.
- Bréal, Michel. "Trois Inscriptions Italiques," in *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., vol. 32. 1876.
- Brett, W. H. *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*. London, 1868.
- Bridges, Thomas. "Manners and Customs of the Firelanders," in *A Voice from South America*, xii, 1866.
- "Das Feuerland und seine Bewohner," in *Globus*, xlvii, 1885.
- Briffault, Robert. "The Mothers," *A Study of the Origins and Sentiments of Institutions*. 3 vols. London, 1937.
- Brinton, Daniel G. *The Myths of the New World*. New York, 1868.
- *Religions of Primitive Peoples*. New York, 1897.
- Brown, A. R. *The Andaman Islanders*. Cambridge, 1922.
- Brown, J. Tom. *Among the Bantu Nomads*. London, 1926.
- Browne. "A Journey to Dar-Fur," in *Pinkerton*, xv. 1814.
- Bruce of Kinnaird, James. *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*. 5 vols. Edinburgh, 1790.
- Brunner, H. *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1887-1892.
- Buch, Max. "Die Wotjaken," in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xii. 1883.
- Buchanan, Francis. "A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, etc.," in *Pinkerton*, vii. 1811.
- Bücher, Carl. *Industrial Evolution*. London, 1901.
- Buchner, Max. *Kamerun*. Leipzig, 1887.
- Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*. New York.
- Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Paris.
- Burchell, William J. *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1822-4.
- Burchardt, John Lewis. *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*. London, 1830.
- Burnet, David G. "The Comanches and other Tribes of Texas," in *Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes of the U.S.*, i. 1851.
- Burrows, Gui. "On the Natives of the Upper Welle District of the Belgian Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxviii. 1899.
- Burton, Richard, F. *First Footsteps in East Africa*. London, 1856.
- *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1860.
- *Wanderings in West Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1863.
- *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome*. 2 vols. London, 1864.
- *Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah*. London, 1879.
- Burton and Ward. "Report of a Journey into the Batak Country," in *Trans. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, i. 1827.
- Butler, John. *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*. London, 1855.
- Butt-Thomson, F. W. *West African Secret Societies*. London, 1929.
- Büttikofer, J. *Reisebilder aus Liberia*. 2 vols. Leiden, 1890.
- "Einiges über die Eingeborenen von Liberia," in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, i. 1888.

- Butts, de. *Rambles in Ceylon*. London, 1841.
- Cæsar. "Commentarii de Bello Gallico," in *C. Julii Cæsaris Opera Omnia*, i. London, 1819.
- Caillié, René. *Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo*. 2 vols. London, 1830.
- Calcutta Review, The*. Calcutta.
- California (University of), Publications. *American Archæology and Ethnology*. Berkeley.
- Callaway, Henry. *The Religious System of the Amazulu*. 4 parts. Natal, 1868-1870.
- Calvert, Albert F. *The Aborigines of Western Australia*. London, 1894.
- Cameron, A. L. P. "Notes on some Tribes of New South Wales," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xiv. 1884.
- Cameron, Verney Lovett. *Quer durch Afrika*. 2 vols. N. 1. 1877.
- Camoens, L. de. *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusíads). 2 vols. London, 1880.
- Campbell, A. "Note on Lomboos and other Hill Tribes," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xix. 1850.
- Campbell, Sir George. *The Ethnology of India*. Calcutta, 1865.
- Campbell, John. *A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan*. London, 1864.
- Carver, Jonathan. *Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America*. Philadelphia, 1796.
- Casati, Gaetano. *Dieci Anni in Equatoria*. 2 vols. Milano, 1891.
- Castrén, M. A. *Nordiska resor och forskningar*. 8 vols. Helsingfors, 1852-1870.
- Catat, Louis. "Les Habitants du Darien Méridional," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii. 1889.
- Catlin, Geo. *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*. 2 vols. London, 1841.
- Chalmers, James. "Notes on the Natives of Kiwai Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiii. 1903.
- Chantre, Ernest. *Recherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase*. 4 vols. Paris, Lyon, 1885-7.
- Chapman, James. *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1868.
- Charlevoix, P. F. X. de. *A Voyage to North-America*. 2 vols. Dublin, 1766.
- Chavanne, Josef. *Die Sahara*. Wien., etc., 1879.
- *Reisen und Forschungen im alten und neuer. Kongostaate*. Jena, 1887.
- Cheyne, Andrew. *A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean*. London, 1852.
- Christmas, Walter. *Et Aar i Siam*. Copenhagen, 1894.
- Christy, Cuthbert. *Big Game and Pygmies*. London, 1924.
- Clapperton, Hugh. *Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccato*. London, 1829.
- Clarke, Robert. "The Colony of Sierra Leone and its Inhabitants," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* London, N.S., ii. 1862.
- Clavigero, F. S. *Historia Antigua de Mexico*. 2 vols. London, 1826.
- English trans. 2 vols. London, 1787.
- Cochrane, John Dundas. *A Pedestrian Journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary*. 2 vols. London, 1825.
- Codrington, R. H. *The Melanesians*. Oxford, 1891.
- "Religious Beliefs in Melanesia," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, x.
- Cole, Fay-Cooper. "The Wild Tribes of Davao District," in *Field Museum of Natural History*. Anthr. Series, vii, 2.
- Colquhoun, Archibald Ross. *Amongst the Shans*. London, 1885.
- *Burma and the Burmans*. London, 1885.

- Conder, C. R. "The Native Tribes in Bechuanaland," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xi, 1886.
- Contemporary Science Series, The.* London.
- Cook, James. "An Account of a Voyage round the World in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770 and 1771," in Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages . . . in the Southern Hemisphere.* Vols. ii-iii. London, 1773.
- *A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775.* 2 vols. London, 1777.
- *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean undertaken for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere.* 3 vols. London, 1784.
- Cook, P. A. W. *Social Organization and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomiwana.* Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1931.
- Cook, Stanley, A. Art. "Handicrafts," in Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iv.
- Cooley, Charles Horton. *Social Organization.* New York, 1912.
- *Social Progress.* New York, 1924.
- , Angell, Robert Cooley, and Carr, Lowell Juilliard, *Introductory Sociology.* London, 1933.
- Coolidge, Mary Roberts. *The Rain-Makers. Indians of Arizona and New Mexico.* Cambridge, Mass.
- Cooper, John M. "Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent Territory," in Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Bulletin*, vol. 63. 1917.
- Cooper, T. T. *The Mishmee Hills.* London, 1873.
- Coreal, François. *Voyages aux Indes Occidentales.* 2 vols. Paris, 1722.
- Corre, A. "Les Serères de Joal et de Portudal," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii. 1883.
- Cowan, W. Deans. *The Tanala.* Faravohitra, 1881.
- *The Bara Lands.* Antananarivo, 1881.
- "The Stone Elephant of Ambohisary," in *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, no. iv. 1878.
- Coxe, William. *An Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America.* London, 1804.
- Crab, P. van der. *De Moluksche Eilanden.* Batavia, 1862.
- Cranz, David. *The History of Greenland.* 2 vols. London, 1767.
- Crauford, Linsay. "Victoria River Downs Station," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- Crawford, John. *History of the Indian Archipelago.* 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1820.
- "On the supposed Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages of Society," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. London*, N.S. iv. 1866.
- Crawley, Ernest. *The Mystic Rose. A study of Primitive Marriage.* London. 1902.
- *The Tree of Life. A Study of Religion.* London, 1905.
- *Dress, Drinks, and Drums. Further Studies of Savages and Sex.* London, 1931.
- Crooke, W. *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.* 4 vols. Calcutta, 1896.
- Cruickshank, Brodie. *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa.* 2 vols. London, 1853.
- Cullen. "The Darien Indians," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., iv. London, 1866.
- Cunningham, J. F. *Uganda and its Peoples.* London, 1905.
- Cunningham Memoirs, The.* Dublin.
- Cunow, Heinrich. *Die Verwandtschafts-Organisationen der Australneger.* Stuttgart, 1894.
- Curr, Edward M. *The Australian Race.* 4 vols. Melbourne and London, 1886-7.

- Curr, Edward M. *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*. Melbourne, 1883.
- Czaplicka, M. A. *Aboriginal Siberia*. Oxford, 1914.
- Dall, William H. *Alaska and its Resources*. Boston, 1870.
- Dalton, Edward Tuite. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. Calcutta, 1872.
- "Beschreibende Ethnologie Bengalens," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v, 1873; vi, 1874.
- Dapper, Olfert. *Africa: being an Accurate Description of the Regions of Egypt, Barbary, Lybia, etc.* London, 1670.
- Daresté, Rudolphe. *Nouvelles Études d'histoire du Droit*. Paris, 1902.
- Darwin, Charles. *Journal of Researches into the Natural History of the Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*. London, 1845.
- Daumas, M. J. E. *Mœurs et Coutumes de l'Algérie*. Paris, 1853.
- David, J. "Über die Pygmäen am oberen Ituri," in *Globus*, vol. 85. 1904.
- Davy, John. *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*. London, 1831.
- Dawson, James. *Australian Aborigines*. Melbourne, 1881.
- Decken, C. C. von der. *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*. 5 vols. Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1869-1879.
- Deguignes, Joseph de. *Histoire Générale des Hunds, des Turcs, des Mongols, et autres Tartares Occidentaux*. 4 vols. Paris, 1756-8.
- Delacroix, Frédéric. *Les Procès de Sorcellerie au XVII^e Siècle*. Paris, 1894.
- Deniker, J. "Les Ghiliaks," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, ii. 1883.
- "Étude sur les Kalmouks," in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 2 Série, vii.
- Descamps, Paul. *État Social des Peuples Sauvages*. Paris, 1930.
- Deutsche Geographische Blätter*. Herausgegeben von der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Bremen. Bremen.
- "Deutsche Scharfrichter, Der," in *Deutsches Museum*, vii. 1857.
- Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben*. Leipzig.
- Dieffenbach, Ernest. *Travels in New Zealand*. 2 vols. London, 1843.
- Diodurus Siculus*, The Historical Library. Made English by G. Booth. London, 1700.
- Dittmar, C. v. "Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen," in *Mélanges Russes*, iii. 1859.
- Дитмаръ (Dittmar), К., О Корякахъ и . . . Чукчахъ; in *Вѣстникъ Геогр. Общ.* xvi-xvii.
- Dixon, Roland B. "The Northern Maidu," in *Bull. of the American Museum of Natural History*, xvii, 3.
- Dobrizhoffer, Martin. *An Account of the Abipones*. 3 vols. London, 1822.
- Donaldson, Thomas. "The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U.S. National Museum," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1884-5, pt. ii.
- Dornan, S. S. *Pygmies and Bushmen*. London, 1925.
- Dorsey, James Owen. "A Study of Siouan Cults," in *Smithsonian Report*, xi, 1894.
- "Omaha Sociology," *ibid.*, iii, 1884.
- "Siouan Sociology," *ibid.*, xv, 1898.
- Doughty, Charles M. *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1888.
- Dow, Grove Samuel. *Society and its Problems*. London, etc., 1922.
- Düben, Gustaf v. *Om Lappland och Lapparne*. Stockholm, 1873.
- DuBois, J. A. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. Oxford, 1906.
- Du Chaillu; Paul B. *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*. London, 1861.
- "Observations on the People of Western Equatorial Africa," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. London*, N.S., i, 1861.
- *A Journey to Ashango-Land*. London, 1867.
- *The Country of the Dwarfs*. London, 1872.
- Dufton, Henry. *A Journey through Abyssinia*. London, 1867.

- Duncan, John. *Travels in Western Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1847.
- Dunlap, Knight. *Social Psychology*. Baltimore, 1927.
- Durkheim, Emile. *De la Division du Travail Social*. Paris, 1893.
- Du Tertre, Jean Baptiste. *Histoire Générale des Antilles*. 4 vols. Paris, 1667-1671.
- Earl, George Windsor. "The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago," in *The Ethnographical Library*, i. 1853.
- Eck, R. van. "Schets van het Eiland Lombok," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxii. 1875.
- Eckermann, Karl. *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte und Mythologie*. 4 vols. Halle, 1845-8.
- Eckert, R. von. *Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*. Leipzig, 1887.
- Egede, Hans. *A Description of Greenland*. London, 1818.
- Egede, Paul. *Efterretninger om Grønland*. Copenhagen, 1788.
- Ehrenreich, P. *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*. Berlin, 1891.
- Ehrmann, Theophil Friedrich. *Neueste Kunde von Asien*. 3 vols. Weimar, 1811-12.
- Ellis, A. B. *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*. London, 1887.
- *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. London, 1890.
- *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*. London, 1894.
- Ellis, Havelock. *Man and Woman*. A Study of Human Secondary Characters. London, 1926.
- Ellis, William. *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii*. London, 1827.
- *History of Madagascar*. 2 vols. London, 1838.
- *Polynesian Researches*. 4 vols. London, 1859.
- Ellwood, Charles A. *Cultural Evolution*. New York and London, 1927.
- Elton, F. "Natives of the Salomon Islands," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii.
- "Emin Pasha" in *Central Africa. Trans.* London, 1888.
- Encyclopædia Biblica*. Ed. by Cheyne, T. K., and Sutherland Black, J. 4 vols. London, 1899-1903.
- Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*. London, etc.
- Endemann, K. "Mittheilungen über die Sotho-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vi. 1874.
- Erman, Adolf. *Travels in Siberia*. 2 vols. London, 1848.
- Erskine, John E. *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*. London, 1853.
- Escayrac de Lauture, d'. *Le Désert et le Soudan*. Paris, 1853.
- Ethnographisches Archiv*. Jena.
- Этнографический Сборникъ (Ethnographical Series). Published by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. St. Petersburg.
- Eyre, Edward John. *Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*. 2 vols. London, 1845.
- Fahlbeck, P. E. *Stånd och klasser*. Lund, 1892.
- "Klassväsendets uppkomst," in *Heimdals Småskrifter*, vol. 15. 1913.
- *Klasserna och samhället*. Stockholm, 1920.
- Falkner, Thomas. *A Description of Patagonia*. Hereford, 1774.
- Farrer, James A. *Primitive Manners and Customs*. London, 1879.
- Faye, Andreas. *Norske Folke-Sagn*. Christiania, 1844.
- Featherman, A. *Social History of the Races of Mankind*. 7 vols. London, 1881-1891.
- Fellman, Jakob. *Anteckningar under min vistelse i Lappmarken*. Borgå, 1844.
- Field Museum of Natural History*. Anthropological Series. Chicago.
- Finsch, Otto. *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner*. Bremen, 1865.

- Finsch, Otto. "Ueber die Bewohner von Ponape," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xii. 1880.
- Firth, Raymond. *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. London, 1929.
- Fisher. "Memoir of Sylhet, Kachar and the adjacent districts," in *Jour. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xix. 1850.
- Fison, Lorimer. *Tales from Old Fiji*. London, 1904.
- and Howitt, A. W. *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. Melbourne, 1880.
- Fitzroy, Robert. *Surveying Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle*. 3 vols. London, 1839.
- "Principal Varieties and Early Migrations of the Human Race," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. London*, N.S., i. 1861.
- Foelsche, Paul. "Tribes in the Neighbourhood of Port Darwin," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- Folsom, Joseph Kirk. *Culture and Social Progress*. New York, 1928.
- Forbes, C. J. F. S. *British Burma and its People*. London, 1878.
- Forbes, Frederick E. *Dahomey and the Dahomans*. 2 vols. London, 1851.
- Forsyth, James. *The Highlands of Central India*. London, 1871.
- Frazer, Sir James G. *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*. London, 1905.
- *The Golden Bough*. 9 vols. London, 1911-14.
- Freeman, Edward A. *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*. 5 vols. London, 1867-1876.
- French-Sheldon, Mrs. "Customs among the Natives of East Africa," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi. 1892.
- Frič, Vojtěch, and Radin, Paul. "Contributions to the Study of the Bororo Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvi.
- Friederich, R. "Voorlopig Verslag van het Eiland Bali," in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxii-xxiii, 1849-1850.
- Friedrichs, Karl. "Das Eherecht des Islams," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vii. 1887.
- Friederici, Georg. "Scalping in America. From the *Smithsonian Report for 1906*.
- Friis, J. A. *Lappisk Mythologi, Eventyr og Folkesagn*. Christiania, 1871.
- Frischbier, H. *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*. Berlin, 1870.
- Fritsch, Gustav. *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*. Breslau, 1872.
- Fustel de Coulange, N. D. *La Cité Antique*. Paris, 1900.
- Galton, Francis. *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*. London, 1889.
- Garcilasso de la Vega. *Primera Parte de los Commentarios Reales*. Madrid, 1723.
- *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*. 2 vols. London, 1869-1871.
- Gason, Samuel. "The Dieyerie Tribe," in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*. Adelaide, 1879.
- "Of the Tribes Dieyerie, etc.," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- "Gemälde von dem Freistaat Columbia," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxiii.
- Genetz, A. "Matkamuiestelmia Venäjän Lapista," in *Suomen Kuvalehti*, v-vi. 1877-8.
- Georgi, Joh. Gottl. *Russland. Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reiches*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1783.
- Gibbs, George. "Tribes of Western Washington and North-western Oregon," in *U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, i. 1877.
- Gilder, William H. *Schwaika's Search. Sledging in Quest of the Franklin Records*. London, 1882.

- Gill, William Wyatt. *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*. London, 1876.
- Gillette, John M., and Reinhardt, James M. *Current Social Problems*. New York, etc., 1923.
- Ginsberg, Morris. *Sociology*. London, 1934.
- "Class Consciousness," in *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, iii.
- Girard, Henry. "Yakomas et Bougous," in *L'Anthropologie*, xii. 1901.
- Gladstone, William Ewart. *Juventus Mundi*. London, 1869.
- Glas, George. "The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands," in Pinkerton, xvi.
- Glaumont. "Usages des Néo-Calédoniens," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii. 1887.
- Globus. *Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*. Braunschweig.
- Gmelin, Johann Georg. *Reise durch Sibirien*. 4 vols. Göttingen, 1751-2.
- Gobat, Samuel. *Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia*. London, 1847.
- Goblet d'Alviella, Eugène. *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God*. London and Edinburgh, 1892.
- Goddard, Pliny Earle. "Life and Culture of the Hupa." University of California Publications. *American Archæology and Ethnology*, i. 1903.
- Goldziher, Ignaz. *Muhammedanische Studien*. 2 vols. Halle, 1889-1890.
- Gomara, Francisco Lopez de. "Historia General de las Indias," in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xxii. 1852.
- Gomes, Edwin H. *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks*. London, 1911.
- Götte, Wilhelm. *Das Delphische Orakel*. Leipzig, 1839.
- Gräffe, E. "Die Carolineninsel Yap," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, i, 2. 1873.
- Grange. "Expedition into the Naga Hills," in *Jour. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, ix, 2. 1840.
- Grasserie, Raoul de la. *Des Religions Comparées au Point de Vue Sociologique*. Paris, 1899.
- Gray, John Henry. *China. A History of the Laws, Manners and Customs of the People*. 2 vols. London, 1878.
- Greenhow, H. M. "The People of Oude," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., i. 1861.
- Grey, George. *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-west and Western Australia*. 2 vols. London, 1841.
- Grimm, Jacob. *Deutsche Mythologie*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1875-8.
- *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1899.
- Grinnell, George Bird. *Blackfoot Lodge Tales. The Story of a Prairie People*. London, 1893.
- *The Story of the Indian*. London, 1896.
- Grosse, Ernst. *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirthschaft*. Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896.
- Groves, Ernest R. *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York, 1932.
- Grubb, W. Barbrooke. *Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco*. London, 1904.
- Gudgeon, W. E. "The Toa Tauga or Warrior," in *Jour. of the Polynesian Society*, xiii.
- "The Maori People," *ibid.*, xiii.
- "Phallic Emblem from Atiu Island," *ibid.*, xiii.
- Guessfeldt, Paul. "Zur Kenntniss der Loango-Neger," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii. 1876.
- Guillain, Charles. *Documents sur l'Histoire, etc., de la Partie Occidentale de Madagascar*. Paris, 1845.
- Gummere, Francis G. *Germanic Origins. A Study in Primitive Culture*. New York, 1892.
- Gumplowicz, Ludwig. *Der Rassenkampf*. Innsbruck, 1883.

- Gumpłowicz, Ludwig. *Grundriss der Sociologie*. Wien, 1885.
- Gurewitsch, B. "Die Entwicklung der menschlichen Bedürfnissen und die sociale Gliederung der Gesellschaft," in *Staats- und Socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, xix. 1901.
- Haddon, A. C. "The Decorative Art of British New Guinea," in *Cunningham Memoirs*, x. 1894.
- "Evolution in Art," in *The Contemporary Science Series*. 1895.
- *Head-Hunters, Black, White and Brown*. London, 1901.
- *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*. 6 vols. Cambridge, 1904-1935.
- Hagen, A. "Les Indigenes des Iles Salomons," in *l'Anthropologie*, iv. 1893.
- and Pineau, A. "Les Nouvelles Hébrides," in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vii. 1889.
- Hager, Carl. *Die Marshall-Inseln*. Leipzig, 1886.
- Hagemacher, G. A. "Reise im Somali-Lande," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, x, no. 47. 1876.
- Hahn, Theophilus. *Tsun-i-Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*. London, 1881.
- Haigh, Miss. "The Island of Teneriffe and its Inhabitants," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. London., N.S.*, vii.
- Hale, Horatio. *Ethnography and Philology. U.S. Exploring Expedition under the Command of Charles Wilkens*, vi. 1846.
- Hall, Charles Francis. *Arctic Researches and Life among the Esquimaux*. New York, 1865.
- Hambly, W. D. "The Ovimbundu of Angola," in *Field Museum of Natural History. Anthropological Series*, xxi, 2. 1934.
- Hamilton, Alexander. "A New Account of the East Indies," in *Pinkerton*, viii. 1811.
- Hankins, Frank Hamilton. *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New York, 1928.
- Hansen, Joseph. *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprocess im Mittelalter*. München and Leipzig, 1900.
- Hardisty, William L. "The Loucheux Indians," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1866.
- Harkness, Henry. *Description of a Singular Race inhabiting the Neilherry Hills*. London, 1832.
- Harnier, Wilhelm v. "Reise auf dem Weissen Nil," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 11, Bd. ii.
- Harris, W. B. "The Berbers of Morocco," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxvii. 1898.
- Harris, W. Cornwallis. *The Highlands of Æthiopia*. 3 vols. London, 1844.
- Hartland, E. S. *Ritual and Belief*. London, 1914.
- Hartmann, Robert. *Die Völker Afrikas*. Leipzig, 1879.
- Hasselt, A. L. van. *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*. Leiden, 1882.
- Hasselt, J. B. van. "Die Noeforesen," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii. 1876.
- Hawkesworth, John. *An Account of the Voyages . . . for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*. 3 vols. London, 1773.
- Hawtrey, S. H. C. "The Lengua Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi. 1901.
- Haxthausen, August von. *Transcaucasia*. London, 1854.
- Hayes, Edward Cary. *Sociology*. New York, 1930.
- Hearne, Samuel. *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*. London, 1795.
- Hecquard, Hyacinthe. *Voyage sur la Côte et dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique Occidentale*. Paris, 1855.
- Heckel, Benno. "The Yao Tribe," in *University of London Institute of Education, Studies and Reports*, iv. 1935.
- Henderson, James. *A History of Brazil*. London, 1821.
- Henzen, Guil. *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*. Berolini, 1874.

- Hernsheim, Franz. *Südsee-Erinnerungen*. Berlin, 1883.
- Herodotus, History of*. Ed. by G. Rawlinson. 4 vols. London, 1875.
- Herrera Tordesillas, Antonio de. *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*. 4 vols. Madrid, 1601.
- The same work, English version, trans. by J. Stevens. 6 vols. London, 1725-6.
- Hertzberg, Rafael. *Vidskepelsen i Finland på 1600-talet*. Helsingfors, 1889.
- Hertzler, Joyce O. *Social Institutions*. New York, 1929.
- Heuglin, M. Th. v. *Reise in das Gebiet des Weissen Nil*. Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1869.
- "Berichte und Arbeiten über den Ägyptischen Sudan," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 11, Bd. ii.
- Hickson, Sydney J. *A Naturalist in North Celebes*. London, 1889.
- "Notes on the Sengirese," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi. 1886.
- Hiekisch, Carl. *Die Tungusen*. St. Petersburg, 1879.
- Hildebrand, J. M. "Bemerkungen über die Somal," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vii. 1875.
- Hiller, E. T. *Principles of Sociology*. New York and London, 1933.
- Hind, Henry Youle. *Red River Exploring Expedition*. 2 vols. London, 1860.
- Hirn, Yrjö. *The Origins of Art*. London, 1900.
- *Skildringar ur Pueblofolkens konstlif*. Helsingfors, 1901.
- Hislop, Stephen. *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, s. 1. 1866.
- Hobhouse, L. T. "Über einige der primitivsten Völker," in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, iv. 1928.
- Hobley, C. W. "Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiii. 1903.
- Hocart, A. M. "Medicine and Witchcraft in Eddystone and the Salomons," *ibid.*, lv. 1925.
- Hodgson, A. G. O. "Notes on the Wahehe," *ibid.*, lvi. 1926.
- Hodgson, B. H. "On the Origin, etc., of the Kocch, Bodo and Dhimal People," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xviii. 1849.
- Hoeck, Karl. *Kreta*. 3 vols. Göttingen, 1923-9.
- Hoffman, W. J. "The Mide'wiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa," in *Smithsonian Report*, vii. 1891.
- "The Menomini Indians," *ibid.*, xiv. 1896.
- Hofmayr, Wilhelm. "Die Schilluk," in *Anthropos*, ii, 5. 1925.
- Högström, Pehr. *Beskrifning öfver de till Sweriges Krona lydande Lapmarker*. Stockholm, 1747.
- Holden, William C. *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*. London, 1866.
- Hole, H. M. *The Passing of the Black Kings*. London, 1932.
- Hollis, A. C. *The Masai*. Oxford, 1905.
- Holm, Adolph. *The History of Greece*. 4 vols. London, 1894-8.
- Holmberg, Heinr. Joh. "Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika," in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv, 2.
- Holmberg, Uno. "Fenno-Ugric, Siberian (Mythology)," in *The Mythology of all Races*, iv. Norwood, Mass., 1927.
- Holub, Emil. *Seven Years in South Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1881.
- Hooper, W. H. *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*. London, 1853.
- Horne, G., and Aiston, G. *Savage Life in Central Australia*. London, 1924.
- Hose, C. "The Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiii. 1893.
- and McDougall, William. *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*. 2 vols. London, 1912.
- Howitt, A. W. *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. London, 1904.
- "Notes on the Australian Class Systems," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xii. 1883.

- Howitt, F. G. S. "Australian Medicine Men," *ibid.*, xvi. 1886.
- Hrdlička, Aleš. "Notes on the San Carlos Apache," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vii, 3. 1905.
- Humboldt, Alexander der. *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*. 2 vols. London, 1811.
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1936-9.
- Hunter, John D. *Memoirs of a Captivity among the Indians of North America*. London, 1823.
- Hunter, W. W. *The Annals of Rural Bengal*. 3 vols. London, 1868-1872.
- *A Statistical Account of Assam*. 2 vols. London, 1879.
- Hunter, Sir William Wilson. *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*. Oxford, 1903.
- Hutchinson, Thomas. *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*. 2 vols. Boston, 1764-7.
- Hutchinson, Thomas. *Ten Years' Wanderings among the Ethiopians*. London, 1861.
- Hutchinson, Thos. J. "Social and Domestical Traits of the African Tribes," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. London*, N.S., i. 1861.
- "On the Chaco and other Indians of South America," *ibid.*, N.S., iii. 1865.
- Hutter, Franz. *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*. Braunschweig, 1902.
- Hyades, P., and Deniker, J. *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn. Tome VII: Anthropologie, Ethnographie*. Paris, 1891.
- Hyades. "Ethnographie des Fuégiens," in *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, x, 4. 1887.
- Jacobsen, J. A. "Leben und Treiben der Eskimo," in *Ausland*, vol. 64. 1891.
- Jagor, F. *Travels in the Philippines*. London, 1875.
- Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich*, Leipzig, 1883.
- Jarrett, Bede. *Social Theory of the Middle Ages*. London, 1926.
- Jarves, James Jackson. *History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu, 1872.
- Jaspert, F. and W. "Die Völkerstämme Mittel-Angolas," in *Veröffentlichungen aus dem städtischen Völker-Museum Frankfurt am Main*, v. 1930.
- Jellinghaus, Th. "Sagen, Sitte und Gebräuche der Munda-Kolhs," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iii. 1871.
- Jesup North Pacific Expedition, The. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*. New York.
- Jevons, Franc Byron. *An Introduction to the History of Religion*. London, 1902.
- Jhering, Rudolph von. *Geist des römischen Rechts*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1874-8.
- Iliad of Homer, The*. Trans. by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Meyer. London, 1883.
- Im Thurn, Everard F. *Among the Indians of Guiana*. London, 1883.
- Indian Antiquary, The*. A Journal of Oriental Research. Bombay.
- Inglis, John. "Report of a Missionary Tour in the New Hebrides," in *Jour. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, iii. 1854.
- *In the New Hebrides*. London, 1887.
- Ingram, John Kells. *A History of Slavery and Serfdom*. London, 1895.
- Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. Leiden.
- Johnston, Sir Harry, *The Kilima-Njaro Expedition*. London, 1886.
- *The Uganda Protectorate*. 2 vols. London, 1902.
- *Liberia*. 2 vols. London, 1906.
- Joinville. "Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon," in *Asiatick Researches*, vii. 1801.

- Jones, Peter. *History of the Ojebway Indians*. London, 1861.
- Jones, Strachan. "The Kurchin Tribes," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1866.
- Jordan, H. *Der Tempel der Vesta*. Berlin, 1886.
- Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*. Sydney.
- *de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja*. Helsingfors.
- *des Muséum Godeffroy*. Hamburg.
- *of the African Society*. London.
- *of the Anthropological Society of London*. London.
- *of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta.
- *of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Colombo.
- *of the Ethnological Society of London*. London.
- *of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia, The*. Singapore.
- *of the Polynesian Society, The*. Wellington, N.Z.
- *of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, The*. London.
- *of the Royal Asiatic Society, The*. London.
- *of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Singapore.
- Isaacs, Nathaniel. *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1836.
- Juarros, Domingo. *Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala*. London, 1823.
- Jukes, J. Beete. *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. Fly*. 2 vols. London, 1847.
- Junker, Wilh. *Reisen in Afrika*. 3 vols. Wien and Olmütz, 1889-1891.
- Junod, Henri A. *The Life of a South African Tribe*. 2 vols. London, 1927.
- *Les Ba-ronga. Étude Ethnographique sur les Indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa*. Neuchâtel, 1898.
- Justi, Ferdinand. "Die Weltgeschichte des Tabari," in *Ausland*, vol. 48. 1875.
- Извѣстія Императорскаго Общества Любителей Естествознанія, Антропологии и Этнографіи (Bulletins of the Imperial Society for Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography). Moscow.
- Извѣстія Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества (Bulletins of the Imperial Geographical Society.) St. Petersburg.
- Извѣстія Восточно-Сибирскаго Отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. (Bulletins of the East-Siberian Branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.) Irkutsk.
- Kaarsberg, Hans S. *Om Satanismen, Djævlebesættelse og Hexevæsen*. Copenhagen, 1926.
- Kalewipoeg, eine Estnische Sage, verdeutscht von Carl Reinthal*. Dorpat, 1857-1861.
- Kane, Elisha Kent. *Arctic Explorations*. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1856.
- Karpler, A. *Holländisch-Guiana*. Stuttgart, 1881.
- Каратаповъ (Karatanof), И., Поповъ (Popof), Н., and Потанинъ (Potanin), Г., Качинскіе Татары. In Извѣстія Геогр. Общ., xx, 6.
- Karsten, Rafael. *The Civilization of the South American Indians*. London, 1926.
- *Indian Tribes of the Argentine and Bolivian Chaco*. Helsingfors, 1932.
- *The Origins of Religion*. London, 1935.
- Kearns, J. F. *The Tribes of South India*. London, 1865.
- Keating, William H. *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*. 2 vols. London, 1825.
- Kestell-Cornish, Robert. *Tour of Exploration in the North of Madagascar*. London, 1877.
- Keysser, Ch. "Aus dem Leben der Kaileute," in Neuhausse, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii.

- Kielland, Theodor. *Zululandet*. Bergen, 1877.
- King, L. W. *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. London, 1899.
- King, W. Ross. *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*. London, 1870.
- Kingsley, Mary H. *Travels in West Africa*. London, 1897.
- *West African Studies*. London, 1901.
- Klose, H. "Das Bassarivolk," in *Globus*, lxxxiii, 1903.
- Kloss, C. Boden. *In the Andamans and Nicobars*. London, 1903.
- Kluttschak, Heinrich W. *Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos*. Wien, 1881.
- Knabenhans, A. *Die Politische Organisation bei den Australischen Eingeborenen*. Leipzig, 1919.
- Knox, Robert. *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*. London, 1817.
- Kohler, J. "Ueber das Recht der Australneger," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vii. 1887.
- "Ueber das Recht der Papuas auf Neu-Guinea," *ibid.*, vii. 1887.
- "Indische Gewohnheitsrechte," *ibid.*, viii. 1889.
- "Die Rechte der Urvölker Nordamerikas," *ibid.*, xii. 1894.
- "Das Recht der Marschallinsulaner," *ibid.*, xii. 1897.
- Kolben, Peter. *The Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope*. 2 vols. London, 1731.
- Kootz-Kretschmer, Elise. *Die Safwa. Ein Ostafrikanischer Volksstamm in seinen Leben und Denken*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1926-9.
- Костровъ (Kostrof), Н. Н. Колдовство . . . Томской Губерніи, in *Записки В.-Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, i.
- Krapf, J. Lewis. *Travels . . . and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*. London, 1860.
- Krause, Aurel. *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*. Jena, 1885.
- Krause, Fritz. *Das Wirtschaftsleben der Völker*. Breslau, 1924.
- Krauss, Friedrich S. *Volks Glaube und religiöser Gebrauch der Sudslaven*. Munster.
- Крашенениковъ (Krashenennikof), С. Описание земли Камчатки. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1755.
- Кривошапкинъ, (Krivoshapkin), М. Ф., Енисейскій Округъ. Edited by the Imperial Geographical Society. St. Petersburg, 1865.
- Krichauff, F. E. H. W. "Further Notes on the Aldolonga, etc.," in *Proceedings of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. of Australasia, S. Australian Branch*, ii. 1890.
- Kroeber, A. L. "Types of Indian Culture in California," in University of California Publications, *American Archæology and Ethnology*, ii, 3. 1904.
- "The Tribes of the Pacific Coast of North America," in *Proceed. of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists*, 1917.
- Kroesen, R. C. "Aantekeningen over de Anambas-Eilanden," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxi. 1875.
- Krohn, Julius. *Suomen Suvun Pahanallinen Jumalanpalvelus*. Helsingfors, 1894.
- Kubary, J. "Die Ebongruppe," in *Jour. des Museum Godeffroy*, i. 1873.
- "Die Palau-Inseln in der Südsee," *ibid.*, i, 4. 1873.
- *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Karolinischen Inselgruppe*. Berlin, 1885.
- Küchler, L. W. "Marriage in Japan," in *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, xiii. 1885.
- Kuhn, Adalbert. *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westphalen*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1859.
- Кулаковъ (Kulakof), П. Е. Буряты Иркутской Губерніи, in *Извѣстія В.-Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, xxvi, 4-5.
- Laing, Alexander Gordon. *Travels in the Timannee in Western Africa*. London, 1825.
- Landa, Diego de. *Relation des Choses de Yucatan*. Paris, 1864.

- Lander, Richard. *Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1830.
- Landtman, Gunnar. *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea*. London, 1927.
- "The Folk-Tales of the Kiwai Papuans," in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, tom. xlvii. Helsingfors, 1917.
- Lane, Edward William. *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. London, 1860.
- Lang, Andrew. *Myth, Ritual and Religion*. 2 vols. London, 1899.
- Lang, Gideon S. *The Aborigines of Australia*. Melbourne, 1865.
- Langsdorff, G. H. von. *Voyages in Various Parts of the World*. 2 vols. London, 1813-14.
- Lawes, W. G. "The Motu, Koitapu and Koiari Tribes of New Guinea," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, viii.
- Lawrence, Robert Means. *The Magic of the Horse-Shoe*. Boston and New York, 1898.
- Lawson, John. *The History of Carolina*. London, 1714.
- Layard, Austen Henry. *Niniveh and Babylon*. London, 1867.
- *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*. 2 vols. London, 1887.
- Layard, J. W. "Flying Tricksters, Ghosts, Gods, and Epileptics," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lx. 1930.
- "Shamanism," *ibid.*, lx. 1930.
- Le Bon, Gustave. *L'Homme et les Sociétés*. 2 vols. Paris, 1881.
- *La Civilisation des Arabes*. Paris, 1884.
- Lehner, Stefan. "Bukaua," in Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii.
- Le Mesurier, C. J. R. "The Veddas's of Ceylon," in *Jour. of the Ceylon Branch of the Roy. As. Soc.*, ix. 1886.
- Lempriere, W. "Tour to Marocco," in Pinkerton, xi.
- Lenormant, François. *Chaldean Magic*. London, 1878.
- Lenz, Oskar. "Mittheilungen über das Volk der Fan," in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, i. 1877.
- *Skizzen aus Westafrika*. Berlin, 1878.
- Lepsius, Richard. *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and Sinai*. London, 1853.
- Leslie, David. *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*. Edinburgh, 1875.
- Lesser, Alexander. "Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lx.
- Lessen, A. *Les Polynésians*. 4 vols. Paris, 1880-4.
- Letourneau, Ch. *L'Évolution de l'Esclavage*. Paris, 1897.
- *Property. Its Origin and Development*. London, 1892.
- Le Vaillant, François. *Travels from the Cape of Good-Hope into the Interior Parts of Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1790.
- *New Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa*. 3 vols. London, 1796.
- Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien. *Primitive Mentality*. London, 1923.
- *How Natives Think*. London, 1926.
- *The "Soul" of the Primitive*. London, 1928.
- *Le Surnaturel et la Nature dans la Mentalité Primitive*. Paris, 1931.
- *La Mythologie Primitive*. Paris, 1935.
- Lewin, T. H. *Wild Races of South-eastern India*. London, 1870.
- Lewis, M., and Clarke, W. *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*. London, 1814.
- Lichtenstein, Henry. *Travels in Southern Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1812-15.
- Liebrecht, Felix. *Zur Volkskunde*. Heilbronn, 1879.
- Liefcrinck, F. A. "Het rijk Bangli, eiland Bali," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxiv. 1877.
- Lindblom, Gerhard. "The Akamba," in *Archives d'Études Orientales*, vol. 17. 1920.
- Lippert, Julius. *Allgemeine Geschichte des Priesterthums*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1883-4.

- Lippert, Julius. *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*. 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1886-7.
- Lisiansky, Urey. *A Voyage round the World*. London, 1814.
- Lister, J. J. "The Natives of Fakaofu," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi.
- Livingstone, David. *Missionary Travels in South Africa*. London, 1857.
- "Reisen in Inner-Afrika," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxi, 1875.
- Livius, Titus. *Historiarum Libri*.
- Lobo, Jerome. "A Voyage to Abyssinia," in *Pinkerton*, xv, 1814.
- Logan, J. R. "Ethnography of the Indo-Pacific Archipelagos," in *Jour. of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, ix, 1855.
- Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland. *The Indians of Tierra del Fuego*. New York, 1928.
- Lowie, Robert H. *Primitive Society*. New York, 1920.
- *Primitive Religion*. London, 1925.
- Lubbock, Sir John. See Avebury, Lord.
- Lubinski, Ida. "Der Medizinmann bei den Naturvölkern Südamerikas," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, lii-liiii, 1920-1.
- Lugg, H. C. "Notes on some Puberty and other Customs of the Natives of Natal and Zululand," in *Man*, vii, 1907.
- Lumholtz, Carl. *Among Cannibals*. London, 1889.
- *Unknown Mexico*. 2 vols. London, 1903.
- "Réponse. Un Questionnaire de Sociologie," in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, xi, 4, 1888.
- Lumley, Frederick E. *Principles of Sociology*. New York, 1928.
- Lyall, Sir Alfred C. *Natural Religion in India*. Cambridge, 1891.
- *Asiatic Studies*. 2 vols. London, 1899.
- Macdonald, R. Duff. *Africana*. 2 vols. London, etc., 1882.
- Macgillivray, John. *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* London, 1852.
- MacIver, R. M. *Society, its Structure and Changes*. Toronto, 1931.
- Maclean. *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*. Mount Coke, 1858.
- Macnaghten, Sir William Hay. *Principles of Muhammedan Law*. Calcutta, 1881.
- McNair, Fred. *Perak and the Malays*. London, 1878.
- Macpherson, Samuel Charters. "Religious Opinions of the Khonds," in *Jour. of the Roy. As. Soc.*, vii, 1843.
- "Report upon the Khonds," in *The Calcutta Review*, v, 1846.
- Macrae, John. "Account of the Kookies," in *Asiatic Researches*, vii, 1801.
- Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius. *Saturnalia*. 2 vols. Quedlinburgi et Lipsiae, 1848-1852.
- Maddox, John Lee. *The Medicine-Man*. Berlin, 1922.
- Magyar, Ladislaus. *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*. Pest and Laipzig, 1859.
- Mainof, W. "Les Restes de la Mythologie Mordvine," in *Jour. de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, v, 1889.
- "Malayan Laws of the Principality of Johor," in *Jour. of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, ix, 1855.
- Malcolm, Sir John. "Essay on the Bhills," in *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, i, 1827.
- Malinowski, B. *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. London, 1926.
- *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*. London, 1913.
- *Coral Gardens and their Magic*. 2 vols. London, 1935.
- "The Natives of Mailu," in *Trans. Roy. Soc. of S. Australia*, xxxix, 1915.
- *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London, 1922.
- Mallery, Garrick. "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," in *Smithsonian Report*, x, 1888-9.
- Maltzan, Heinrich v. "Sittenschilderungen aus Südarabien," in *Globus*, xxi, 1872.

- Man.* A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science. London.
- Man, E. G. *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*. Calcutta, 1867.
- "On the Andamanese and Nicobarese Objects," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xi. 1881.
- "Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," *ibid.*, xii. 1882.
- Marett, R. R. *Sacraments of Simple Folk*. Oxford, 1933.
- Mariner, William. *The Natives of the Tonga Islands*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1827.
- Markham, Clements R. *Rites and Laws of the Incas*. London, 1863.
- Marquardt, J. *Cyrcus und sein Gebiet*. Berlin, 1836.
- Marsden, William. *The History of Sumatra*. London, 1811.
- Martin, Rudolf. *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*. Jena, 1905.
- *A Grammar of the Malayan Language*. London, 1812.
- Martius, C. F. Ph. v. *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*. München, 1832.
- *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867.
- Mason, F. "Physical Character, etc., of the Karens," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxxv, 2. 1866.
- Mathew, John. *Eaglehawk and Crow*. London, 1899.
- "The Australian Aborigines," in *Jour. and Proceed. of the Roy. Soc. of N.S. Wales*, xxiii.
- *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland*. London, 1910.
- Matthes, B. F. *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*. 's Gravenhage, 1875.
- Matthews, Daniel. "Native Tribes of the Upper Murray," in *Proceed. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. of Australasia, S. Australian Branch*, iv. 1901.
- Matthews, M. C. "Manners, Customs, Religion, etc., of the Australian Native," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- Maybaum, S. *Die Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums*. Breslau, 1880.
- *Die Entwicklung des israelitischen Prophetenthums*. Berlin, 1883.
- Mayne, R. C. *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*. London, 1862.
- Meek, C. K. *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*. 2 vols. Glasgow, 1925.
- "Megasthenes, The Indica of." Collected by E. A. Schwanbeck, trans. by J. W. McCrindle, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xi. 1877.
- Meinicke, Carl E. *Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans*. Leipzig, 1875-6.
- Mejer, Ludwig. *Die Periode der Hexenprocesse*. Hannover, 1812.
- Mélanges Russes. Tirés du Bulletin Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*. St. Pétersbourg.
- Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*. Lancaster.
- *of the American Museum of Natural History*. New York.
- "Menschenköpfe als Trophäen bei wilden Völkern," in *Globus*, xxi. 1872.
- Merolla, Jerome. "A Voyage to Congo, etc.," in Pinkerton, xvi.
- Merzbacher, Gottfried. *Aus den Hochregionen des Kaukasus*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1901.
- Métraux, A. *La Religion des Tupinamba*. Paris, 1928.
- Mestorf, J. "Die altgrönländische Religion," in *Globus*, xix. 1871.
- Meyer, H. E. A. "The Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribes," in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*.
- Middendorf, E. W. *Peru. Beobachtungen und Studien über das Land und seine Bewohner*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1893-5.
- Михайловскій (Mikhailofski), В. М. Шамаństwo, in *Извѣстія Общ. Любителѣй Естествознанія, etc.*, lxxv.
- Millar, John. *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*. Edinburgh, 1806.
- Milner, Gamalid. *The Problem of Decadence*. London, 1931.

- Mitchell, T. L. *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*. 2 vols. London, 1839.
- Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königlichen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*. Berlin.
- Mockler-Ferryman, A. F. *British Nigeria*. London, etc., 1902.
- Moffat, Robert. *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*. London, 1842.
- Molina, Christoval de. *The Fables and Rites of the Yncas*. London, 1863.
- Molina, J. Ignatius. *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili*. 2 vols. London, 1809.
- Möller, P., Pagels, G., and Gleerup, E. *Tre år i Kongo*. 2 vols. Stockholm, 1887-8.
- Mollien, G. *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*. 2 vols. Paris, 1820.
- Mombert, P. "Die Tatsachen der Klassenbildung," in *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, vol. 44. 1920.
- Mommsen, Theodor. *The History of Rome*. 5 vols. London, 1894.
- Monrad, H. C. *Bidrag til en Skildring af Guinea-Kysten og dens Indbyggere*. Copenhagen, 1822.
- Mooney, James. "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," in *Smithsonian Reports*, vii. 1891.
- Moore, Th. *Marriage Customs, Modes of Courtship, etc., of the various Nations of the Universe*. London, 1814.
- Morgan, John. *The Life and Adventures of William Buckley*. Tasmania, 1852.
- Morgan, Lewis H. *League of the Iroquois*. Rochester, 1851.
- Morlang, Franz. "Reisen östlich und westlich von Gondokoro," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 11, Bd. ii.
- Moura, J. *Le Royaume de Cambodge*. 2 vols. Paris, 1883.
- Müller, Fr. Aegidius. "Wahrsagerei bei den Kaffern," in *Anthropos*, i. 1906.
- Müller, Friedrich. *Allgemeine Ethnographie*. Wien, 1873.
- Müller, Salomon. *Bijdragen tot de kennis van Sumatra*. Leiden, 1846.
- Müller-Lyer, F. *The History of Social Development* (Phasen der Kultur). London, 1920.
- Munzinger, Werner. *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*. Winterthur, 1859.
- *Ostafrikanische Studien*. Schaffhausen, 1864.
- Murdoch, John. "Ethnographical Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," in *Smithsonian Report*, ix. 1892.
- Murray, Sir J. H. P. *Papua of To-day*. London, 1925.
- Musil, Alois. *The Names and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*. New York, 1928.
- Musters, George Chaworth. *Unter den Patagoniern*. Jena, 1873.
- Nachtigal, Gustav. *Sahara und Sudan*. 3 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1879-1889.
- "Der Hofstaat des Königs von Baghirmi," in *Globus*, xxiv.
- Nadaillac, de. *Pre-Historic America*. London, 1885.
- Nansen, Fridtjof. *Eskimoliv*. Christiania, 1891.
- Neighbors, Robert S. "The Comanches of Texas," in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the U.S.*, ii. 1852.
- Npilgherry Hills (The Tribes inhabiting the), their Social Customs and Religious Rites*. With a Preface by F. Metz. Mangalore, 1864.
- Nelson, Edward William. "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," in *Smithsonian Report*, xvii. 1899.
- Nesfield, John C. *The Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*. Allahabad, 1885.
- Neuhauss, R. *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1911.
- New, Charles. *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*. London, 1874.

- Newbold, T. J. *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca*. 2 vols. London, 1839.
- Niblack, Albert P. "The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1887-8.
- Nicol, Yves. *La Tribu des Bakoko*. Paris, 1929.
- Nieboer, H. J. *Slavery as an Industrial System*. The Hague, 1900.
- Nieuwenhuis, A. W. *In Centraal Borneo*. 2 vols. Leiden, 1900.
- Nilsson, Martin P. *A History of Greek Religion*. Oxford, 1925.
- Nordenskiöld, A. E. *Vegas färd kring Asien och Europa*. 2 vols. Stockholm, 1881.
- Nordenskiöld, Otto. *Från Eldslandet*. Stockholm, 1898.
- North, C. C. *Social Differentiation*. Durham, N.C., 1926.
- Nyland. *Samlingar utgivna av Nyländska Avdelningen*. 9 vols. Helsingfors, 1884-1932.
- O'Connell, James F. *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland*. Boston, 1836.
- Odyssey, The*. Rendered into English Prose by Samuel Butler. Cambridge, 1900.
- Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens förhandlingar*. Helsingfors.
- Oldenburg, Hermann. *Die Religion des Veda*. Berlin, 1894.
- Oldfield, Augustus. "On the Aborigines of Australia," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., iii. 1865.
- Олсуфьевъ (Olsufief), A. B. Общій Очеркъ Анадырской Округи, in *Записки Приамурск. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, ii, 1.
- Oppenheimer, Franz. *The State: Its History and Development viewed Sociologically*. Indianapolis, 1914.
- Orbigny, Alcide d'. *L'Homme Américain*. 2 vols. Paris, 1839.
- Ortolan, J. *Histoire de la Législation Romaine*. Paris, 1884.
- Osborn, L. D., and Neumeyer, M. H. *The Community and Society*. New York, etc., 1933.
- Ovidius Naso, P. "Fasti," in *Opera Omnia*, vols. 3-4. London, 1821.
- Oviedo y Valdes, Gonzalo Fernandez de. *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*. 4 vols. Madrid, 1851-5.
- Paasonen, H. "Matkakertomus Mordvalaisten maalta," in *Jour. de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, viii. 1890.
- Pallas, P. S. *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*. 3 vols. St. Petersburg, 1771-6.
- Palgrave, William Gifford. *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*. 2 vols. London and Cambridge, 1865.
- Park, Mungo. *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1799, 1815.
- Parkinson, R. *Im Bismarck-Archipel*. Leipzig, 1887.
- "Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomo Inseln," in *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Museums zu Dresden*, vii. 1898-9.
- *Dresig Jahre in der Sudsee*. Stuttgart, 1907.
- "Beiträge zur Ethnologie der Gilbertinsulaner," in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. 1889.
- Parkyn, Mansfield. *Life in Abyssinia*. 2 vols. London, 1853.
- Parsons, Elsie Clewe. "Witchcraft among the Pueblos," in *Man*, June, 1927.
- Partridge, Charles. *Cross River Natives*. London, 1906.
- Passage, S. *Adamaoua, Bericht über die Expedition des Deutschen Kamerun-Komitees*. Berlin, 1895.
- *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*. Berlin, 1907.
- Paulitschke, Philipp. *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1893-6.
- Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Trans. by A. R. Shilleto. 2 vols. London, 1886.

- Peschel, Oscar. *Völkerkunde*. Leipzig, 1875.
- Petermann, A. *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*. Gotha.
- Peters, W. "Der Muata Cazembe und die Völkerstämme von Süd-Afrika," in *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, vi. 1856.
- Petroff, Ivan. "Report on the Population, etc., of Alaska," in *Tenth Census of the United States*. Washington, 1884.
- Pfeiffer, Ida. *A Lady's Second Journey round the World*. 2 vols. London, 1855.
- Phillips, Richard Cobden. "The Lower Congo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii.
- Pinkerton, John. *A General Collection of . . . Voyages and Travels*. 17 vols. London, 1808-1814.
- Pitt-Rivers, George Lane Fox. "Aua Island," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lv. 1925.
- Plinius Secundus, C. *Naturalis Historiae Libri*, xxxvii. Ed. by C. Mayhoff. Lipsiae, 1906.
- Poincet, C. J. "A Journey to Abyssinia," in Pinkerton, xv, 1814.
- Polack, J. S. *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*. 2 vols. London, 1840.
- Polak, Jakob Eduard. *Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1865.
- Polo, Marco. *The Book of Ser M.P. . . . concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. 2 vols. London, 1871.
- Portman, M. V. *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1899.
- Post, A. H. *Die Geschlechtsgenossenschaft der Urzeit und die Entstehung der Ehe*. Oldenburg, 1875.
- *Der Ursprung des Rechts*. Oldenburg, 1876.
- *Bausteine für eine allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft*. 2 vols. Oldenburg, 1880-1.
- *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*. 2 vols. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1887.
- Powell, J. W. "Wyandot Government," in *Smithsonian Report*, i. 1880.
- "On Regimentation," in *Smithsonian Report*, xv.
- Powers, Stephen. "Tribes of California," in *Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*, 1877.
- Prescott, William H. *History of the Conquest of Peru*. Ed. by J. F. Kirk. 2 vols. London, 1902.
- Приклонский (Priklonski), В. Л. Три года въ Якутской Области, in Хивая Старина, i, 1-3.
- Припузовъ (Priputzof), Н. П. Свѣдѣнія для изученія Шаманства у Якуговъ, in Извѣстiя В-Сиб. Отд. Геогр. Общ., xv.
- Pritchard, W. T. *Polynesian Reminiscences*. London, 1866.
- Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists*. Washington, 1917.
- *of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch*. Adelaide.
- Proyart, L. B. "History of Loango, etc.," in Pinkerton, xvi.
- Pryer, W. B. "On the Natives of Borneo," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi. 1886.
- Пржевальскій (Prjevalski), Н. Монголія и страна Тангутовъ. 2 vols. Petersburg, 1875.
- *Отъ Кяхты на истоки Желтой рѣки*. Petersburg, 1888.
- Puchta, G. F. *Cursus der Institutionen*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1853-4.
- Quatrefages, A. de. *Les Polynesiens et leurs Migrations*. Paris, 1866.
- "Qur'an, The," in F. Max Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. vi-ix. Oxford, 1880.
- Radde, Gustav. *Reisen an der Persisch-Russischen Grenze*. Leipzig, 1886.
- Radloff, Wilhelm. *Aus Sibirien*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1884.
- Raffenel, Anne. *Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale*. Paris, 1846.

- Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford. *The History of Java*. 2 vols. London, 1830.
- Ralston, W. R. S. *The Songs of the Russian People*. London, 1872.
- Rasmussen, Knud. "Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos," in *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, vii, 1. Copenhagen, 1929.
- Rattray, R. S. *Religion and Art in Ashanti*. Oxford, 1927.
- *Ashanti Law and Constitution*. Oxford, 1929.
- Ratzel, Friedrich. *Völkerkunde*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1885–8.
- Ratzenhofer, E. *Die Sociologische Erkenntnis*. Leipzig, 1898.
- Raverty, H. G. "Notes on Kafiristan," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxviii, 1859.
- Read, Frank W. "Iron Smelting in South-East Angola," in *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, v, 1902.
- Reade, William Winwood. *Savage Africa*. London, 1863.
- Réville, A. *Histoire des Religions*. 3 vols. Paris, 1883.
- Revue d'Anthropologie*. Paris.
- *Archéologique*. Paris.
- *des Deux Mondes*. Paris.
- *d'Ethnographie*. Paris.
- *Maritime et Coloniale*. Paris.
- Richardson, J. "Tanala Customs," in *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, ii, 1876.
- Richardson, Sir John. *Arctic Searching Expedition*. 2 vols. London, 1851.
- Richter, W. *Die Spiele der Griechen und Römer*. Leipzig, 1887.
- Riedel, J. G. F. *De sluiik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua's-Gravenhage*, 1886.
- "De Topantumasa van Central Selebes," in *Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, v, 1, 1886.
- Riggs, S. R. "Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, iv, 1852.
- Rink, Henry. *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*. Edinburgh and London, 1875.
- Risley, H. H. *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1891.
- Rivers, W. H. R. *The Todas*. London, 1906.
- *The History of Melanesian Society*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1914.
- *Social Organization*. Ed. by W. J. Perry. London, 1924.
- Robinson, William. *A Descriptive Account of Asam*. Calcutta, 1841.
- "Notes on the Dophlas," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xx, 1851.
- Rochon, Alexis Marie. "A Voyage to Madagascar," in Pinkerton, xvi.
- Rockhill, William Woodville. *The Land of the Lamas*. London, 1891.
- Rohlf, Gerhard. "Reise von Tripoli nach Kuka," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband V, Heft 25, 1868.
- *Quer durch Afrika*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1874–5.
- Roquefeuil, Camille. "Reise um die Welt 1816–19," in *Ethnographisches Archiv*, xxi.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Winning of the West*. 4 vols. New York, 1889–1896.
- Rose, H. J. *Primitive Culture in Greece*. London, 1925.
- *Primitive Culture in Italy*. London, 1926.
- Rosenberg, H. v. *Der Malayische Archipel*. Leipzig, 1878.
- Roskoff, Gustav. *Das Religionswesen der rohesten Naturvölker*. Leipzig, 1880.
- Ross, Bernhard R. "The Eastern Tinnah," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1866.
- Ross, Edward Alsworth. "Class and Caste," in *The American Jour. of Sociology*, vol. 22, 1916–17.
- *The Outlines of Sociology*. New York, 1923.
- Ross, John. *History of Corea*. Paisley, 1879.
- Rossignol, J. P. *Les Métaux dans l'Antiquité*. Paris, 1863.
- Roth, Henry Long. *Great Benin*. Halifax, 1903.

- Roth, Henry Long. *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*. 2 vols. London, 1896.
- *The Natives of Borneo*. Ed. from the Papers of the late Brook Low by H.L.R., in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxi.
- Roth, Walter E. *Ethnographical Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*. Brisbane, 1897.
- Rousseau, Jean Jaques. *Discours sur l'Origine et les Fondemens de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*. Amsterdam, 1755.
- Rowlatt, E. A. "Expedition into the Mishmee Hills," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xiv. 1845.
- Rowley, Henry. *Africa Unveiled*. London, 1876.
- *The Religion of the Africans*. London, 1877.
- Rowney, Horatio B. *The Wild Tribes of India*. London, 1882.
- Royal Irish Academy. *Cunningham Memoirs*. Dublin.
- Rüppell, Eduard. *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan, etc.* Frankfurt am Main, 1829.
- *Reise in Abyssinien*. 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1838-1840.
- Russ, Camill. "Abessinien's gegenwärtige Lage," in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, ii. 1878.
- Russell, Frank. "The Pima Indians," in *Ann. Rep. Bur. American Ethnol.*, xxvi. 1904-5.
- Rust, N. Horatio. "A Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., viii, 1. 1906.
- St. John, H. C. "The Ainos," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, ii. 1873.
- St. John, Spencer. "Wild Tribes of the North-West Coast of Borneo," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., ii. 1862.
- *Life in the Forests of the Far East*. 2 vols. London, 1863.
- Salvado, Rudesindo. *Mémoires Historiques sur l'Australie*. Paris, 1854.
- Samuells, E. A. "Notes on a Forest Race called Puttooas," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xxv. 1856.
- Sandreczki, E. "Briefe aus Palästina," in *Ausland*, xliii. 1871.
- Sapper, Karl. *Mittelamerikanische Studien*. Braunschweig, 1902.
- Sarasin, Paul and Fritz. *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1887-1893.
- *Reisen in Celebes*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1905.
- Saussaye, P. D. C. de la. *Manual of the Science of Religion*. London, 1891.
- Saville, W. J. V. *In Unknown New Guinea*. London, 1926.
- Schadenberg, Alexander. "Ueber die Negritos der Philippinen," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xii. 1880.
- Schaeffner, Wilhelm. *Geschichte der Rechtsverfassung Frankreichs*. 3 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1845-1850.
- Schapera, I. *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*. London, 1930.
- Schebesta, Paul. *Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya*. 1929.
- Schellong, O. "Papuas der Umgebung von Finschhafen," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi. 1889.
- Schlagentweit, Emil. "Geschichtliche Entwicklung des indischen Kastwesens," in *Globus*, viii.
- Schmidt, Max. *Völkerkunde*. Berlin, 1924.
- Schmoller, Gustav. "Die Thatsachen der Arbeitsteilung," in *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung . . . im Deutschen Reich*, xiii. 1889.
- "Das Wesen der Arbeitsteilung und der socialen Klassenbildung," *ibid.*, xiv. 1890.
- *Die Soziale Frage. Klassenbildung, Arbeiterfrage, Klassenkampf*. Altenburg, 1918.
- Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reiche*. München.
- Schneider, Wilhelm. *Die Religion der Afrikanischen Naturvölker*. Münster, 1891.

- Schoemann, G. F. *Griechische Alterthümer*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1897-1902.
- Schomburgk, Richard. *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1847-8.
- Schoolcraft, Henry R. *The American Indians: Their History, Condition, and Prospects*. Buffalo, 1851.
- *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. 6 vols. Philadelphia, 1851-1860.
- Schrader, O. *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*. Jena, 1890.
- Schultze, Fritz. *Der Fetischismus*. Leipzig, 1871.
- Schultze, Leonhard. *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*. Jena, 1907.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. "Die sozialen Klassen im ethnisch homogenen Milieu," in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Band 57. 1927.
- Schürmann, C. W. "The Aboriginal Tribe of Port Lincoln," in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*.
- Schurtz, Heinrich. *Urgeschichte der Kultur*. Leipzig and Wien, 1900.
- *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*. Leipzig, 1900.
- *Altersklassen und Männerbunde*. Berlin, 1902.
- Schwane, C. A. L. M. *Borneo. Beschrijving van het stromgebied van den Barito*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1853-4.
- Schweinfurth, Georg. *The Heart of Africa*. London, 1873.
- "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central Africa," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, v. 1873.
- "Völkerskizzen aus dem Gebiete des Baehr el Ghasal," in *Globus*, xxiii.
- Seeman, Berthold. *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald*. 2 vols. London, 1853.
- *Viti*. Cambridge, 1862.
- Seligman, C. G. "Women's Puberty Customs," in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthr. Exp. to Torres Straits*, v. 1904.
- *Egypt and Negro Africa*. London, 1934.
- and Seligman, Brenda Z. *The Veddas*. Cambridge, 1911.
- Semper, C. *Die Philippinen und seine Bewohner*. Würzburg, 1869.
- Semper, Karl. *Die Palau-Inseln*. Leipzig, 1873.
- Serpa Pinto's Wanderung quer durch Afrika*. Trans. by H. v. Wobeser. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1881.
- Shaw, George. "The Betsileo," in *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, iv. 1878.
- Shaw, Thomas. "Travels or Observations relating to Barbary," in Pinkerton, xv.
- Sherring, M. A. *Hindu Tribes and Castes*. 3 vols. Calcutta, 1872-1881.
- Shooter, Joseph. *The Kafirs of Natal*. London, 1857.
- Shortland, Edward. *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*. London, 1856.
- Shortt, John. "An Account of some Rude Tribes of Southern India," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., iii. 1865.
- "An Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherry," *ibid.*, N.S., iii. 1869.
- "On the Wild Tribes of Southern India," *ibid.*, N.S., vii. 1869.
- Сибирскій Вѣстникъ. St. Petersburg.
- Sibree, James. *Madagascar and its People*. London, 1870.
- *The Great African Island*. London, 1880.
- Simon, Pedro. "Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en el Nuevo Reyno de Granada," in Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico*, viii. 1848.
- Skeat, Walter William. *Malay Magic*. London, 1900.
- and Blagden, Charles Otto. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*. London, 1906.
- Смирновъ (Smirnoff), И. Н. Черемисы. Kazan, 1889.

- Смирновъ (Smirnof), И. Н. Мордва. Kazan, 1895.
- Smith, Edmond Reuel. *The Araucanians*. New York, 1855.
- Smith, G. Elliot. *Human History*. London, 1934.
- Smith, W. Robertson. *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. Cambridge, 1885.
- *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. London, 1894.
- *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History*. London, 1895.
- and Bertholet, A. Art. "Priests," in Cheyne and Sutherland Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, iii.
- Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*. Washington.
- Smithsonian Institution. *Annual Reports of the Board of Regents*. Washington.
- *Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington.
- Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin*. Washington.
- Smyth, R. Brough. *The Aborigines of Victoria*. 2 vols. Melbourne, 1878.
- Snow, Parker. "The Wild Tribes of Tierra del Fuego," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., i. 1861.
- Sociological Papers. Published for the Sociological Society. London.
- Sohm, Rudolph. *The Institutes*. Trans. by J. C. Ledlie. Oxford, 1901.
- Somerville, Boyle T. "Some Islands of the New Hebrides," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiii. 1893.
- Southey, Robert. *History of Brazil*. 3 vols. London, 1810-19.
- Soyaux, Herman. *Aus West-Afrika*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879.
- Spann, Othmar. *Der Wahre Staat*. Leipzig, 1921.
- *Gesellschaftslehre*. Leipzig, 1930.
- Speke, John Hanning. *Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. Edinburgh and London, 1863.
- Spencer, Herbert. *Principles of Sociology*. 3 vols. London, 1879-1896.
- Spencer, Sir Walter Baldwin, and Gillen, F. J. *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*. London, 1899.
- *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*. London, 1904.
- *The Arunta*. A Study of a Stone Age People. 2 vols. London, 1927.
- Spix, J. B. v., and Martius, C. F. P. v. *Reise in Brasilien*. 3 vols. Munchen, 1823-1831.
- Sproat, G. M. *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*. London, 1868.
- Squier, E. G. "Archæology and Ethnology of Nicaragua," in *Trans. of the American Ethnological Society*, iii, 1. 1853.
- Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*. Herausgegeben von Gustav Schmoller. Leipzig.
- Staden, Hans. *Véritable Histoire et Description d'Amérique*. Paris, 1837.
- Stair, John B. *Old Samoa*. Oxford, 1897.
- Stanbridge, W. E. "Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., i. 1861.
- Standing Bear, Luther. *Land of the Spotted Eagle*. Boston and New York, 1933.
- Stavorinus. "Account of Celebes, etc.," in Pinkerton, xi. 1812.
- Stayt, Hugh A. *The Bavenda*. London, 1931.
- Steele, Arthur. *The Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes*. London, 1868.
- Steinen, Karl von den. *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien*. Berlin, 1894.
- Steinmetz, S. R. *Ethnologische Studien zur Ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, 2 vols. Leiden and Leipzig, 1894.
- Steller, Georg Wilhelm. *Beschreibung von Kamtschatka*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774.
- Stern, Bernhard J. *The Lummi Indians*. New York, 1934.
- Stephenson, W. B. *Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*. 3 vols. London, 1825.

- Stewart, R. "Notes on Northern Cachar," in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxiv. 1855.
- Stigand, C. H. "The Natives of Nyassaland," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxvii.
- Stoll, Otto. "Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala," in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Suppl. zu Band I. 1889.
- Stolz. "Die Umgebung von Kap König Wilhelm," in Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii.
- Strabo, *The Geography of*, in Bohn's Classical Library. 3 vols. London, 1854-7.
- Strantz, C. F. F. v. *Geschichte des Deutschen Adels*. 3 vols. Breslau, etc., 1851-3.
- Studer, Th. "Die Tongainseln," in *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, i. 1877.
- "Ein Besuch auf Timor," *ibid.*, ii. 1878.
- Stuhlmann, Franz. *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*. Berlin, 1894.
- Sturt, Charles. *An Expedition into Central Australia*. 2 vols. London, 1849.
- Sumner, W. G. "The Yakuts," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxi. 1901.
- , Keller, A. G., and Davie, M. R. *The Science of Society*. 4 vols. New Haven, 1927.
- Sundén, D. A. *Öfversigt af den Nordiska Mytologien*. Stockholm, 1884.
- Svoboda, W. "Die Bewohner des Nikobaren-Archipels," in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, v. 1892.
- Swan, James G. "Indians of Cape Flattery," in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, xvi, no. 8. 1870.
- Swayne, George C. *Lake Victoria*. Edinburgh and London, 1868.
- Tacitus, C. Cornelius. "Germania," in *Opera Omnia*. 11 vols. London, 1821.
- Talbot, P. Amaury. *Life in Southern Nigeria*. London, 1923.
- Taplin, G. *The Folklore, etc., of the South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide, 1879.
- "The Narrinyeri," in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*.
- Tate, H. R. "Notes on the Kikuyu and Kamba Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv. 1904.
- "Further Notes on the Kikuyu Tribe," *ibid.*, xxxiv. 1904.
- Tawney, R. H. *Equality*. London, 1931.
- Taylor, R. *Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London, 1870.
- Teit, James. "The Lillooet Indians," in *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, ii, 5. 1906.
- Telfer, J. Buchan. *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*. 2 vols. London, 1876.
- Tennent, Sir James Emerson. *Ceylon*. 2 vols. London, 1860.
- Thiel, R. P. v. "Le Sorcier dans l'Afrique Equatoriale," in *Anthropos*, i, 1906.
- Thiele, J. M. *Danmarks Folkesagn*. 2 vols. Copenhagen, 1843.
- Thomson, Arthur S. *The Story of New Zealand*. 2 vols. London, 1859.
- Thomson, Basil H. "The Ancestor-Gods of the Fijians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- "The Natives of Savage Island or Nieuwe," *ibid.*, xxi. 1901.
- *Savage Island*. London, 1902.
- Thomson, Joseph. *Through Masai Land*. London, 1887.
- Thomson, William J. "Easter Island," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1888-9.
- Thousand and One Nights, The*. Trans. by E. W. Lane. 3 vols. London, 1839-1841.
- Thulié, "Instructions Anthropologiques sur les Bochimans," in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 3^e série, iv.
- Thunberg, C. P. "An Account of the Cape of Good Hope," in Pinkerton, xvi.
- Thurnwald, Richard. "Führerschaft," in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sociologie*, ii, 1. 1926.
- Die Menschliche Gesellschaft in ihren ethno-soziologischen Grundlagen :

- (I) *Repräsentative Lebensbilder von Naturvölkern*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1931. (II) *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Familie, etc.*, 1932. (III) *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung der Wirtschaft*, 1932. (IV) *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung von Staat und Kultur*, 1935. (V) *Werden, Wandel und Gestaltung des Rechtes*, 1934.
- Tickell. "Memoir on the Hodésun," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xix. 1850.
- Tiele, C. P. *Outline of the History of Religion*. London, 1877.
- Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen*. Batavia and 's Hage.
- Tobler, Ludwig. "Ueber sagenhafte Völker des Altertums," in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachenwissenschaft*, xviii. 1888.
- Tonkes, Hommo. *Volkskunde von Bali*. Halle, 1888.
- Torday, E. *On the Trail of the Bushongo*. London, 1925.
- and Joyce, T. A. "Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxv. 1905.
- "Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," *ibid.*, xxxvi. 1906.
- "Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka," *ibid.*, xxxvi. 1906.
- "Ethnology of the South-western Congo," *ibid.*, xxxvii.
- Tornaeus, Johannes. *Beskrifning öfver Tornä och Kemi Lappmarker*. Stockholm, 1772.
- Torrans, H. "Specimen of Iron from the Dhunakar Hills," in *Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, xix. 1850.
- Tourmagne, A. *Histoire de l'Esclavage*. Paris, 1880.
- Tout, Charles Hill. "Ethnology of the Siciatl," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxxiv. 1904.
- "Report on the Steelis, etc.," *ibid.*, xxxiv.
- "Ethnology of the Statlumh," *ibid.*, xxxv.
- "Ethnology of the South-eastern Tribes of Vancouver," *ibid.*, xxxvii.
- Tozzer, Alfred Marston. *Social Origins and Social Continuities*. New York, 1925.
- Transactions of the American Ethnology Society*. New York.
- *of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. Yokohama.
- *of the Ethnological Society of London*. London.
- *of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. London.
- Tregear, Edward. "The Maories of New Zealand," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xix. 1890.
- Tromp, J. C. E. "De Rambai en Sebroeang Dajaks," in *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxv. 1878.
- Tuckey, J. K. *Expedition to Explore the River Zaire, etc.* London, 1818.
- Turner, George. *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*. London, 1861.
- *Samoa*. London, 1884.
- Turner, Lucien. "Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory," in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, xi. 1894.
- Tylor, Edward B. *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*. London, 1878.
- *Primitive Culture*. 2 vols. London, 1903.
- Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kovesd, Ch. E. de. *Expédition Scientifique Française en Russie, etc.* 6 vols. Paris, 1878-1880.
- United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*. Contributions to North American Ethnology. Washington.
- United States, Tenth Census of the*. Washington, 1881-8.
- Valdez, Fransisco Travassos. *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*. 2 vols. London, 1861.
- Varonen, Matti. *Suomen kansan muinaisia taikvoja*. 2 vols. Helsingfors, 1891-2.

- Varonen, Matti. *Vainajainpalvelus muinaisilla suomalaisilla*. Helsingfors, 1895.
- Velten, C. "Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli," in *Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität zu Berlin*, i, 3. 1898
- Веніаміновъ (Veniaminof), И. Записки объ островахъ Уналашкинскаго Отдѣла, 3 vols. St. Petersburg, 1840.
- Вербицкій (Verbizki), В. И. Алтайскіе Ипородцы. Edited by A. A. Ivanofski. Moscow, 1893.
- Verhandlingen van het Bataviaasch genotschap van kunsten en wetenschappen*. Batavia.
- Veröffentlichungen aus dem städtischen Völker-Museum Frankfurt am Main*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Vial, Paul. *Les Lolos, histoire, religion, mœurs, langue, écriture*. Chang-hai, 1898.
- Vieillard et Deplanche. "Essais sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie," in *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vi. 1862.
- Virgilius Maro, P. "Aeneidos," in *P. Virgilio Maronis Opera*. 2 vols. Amstelaedami, 1746.
- Voice for South America*, A. London.
- Вѣстникъ Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества, (Messenger of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society). St. Petersburg.
- Waanders van Bloemen, P. L. "Aanteekeningen omtrent de zeden en gebruiken der Balinezen," in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, viii. 1859.
- Wackernagel, Wilhelm. "Gewerbe, Handel und Schiffahrt der Germanen," in *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 1872.
- "Abhandlungen zur Deutschen Altertumskunde," *ibid.*, i. 1872.
- *Kleinere Schriften*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1872-4.
- Wagner, Adolf, and Nasse, Erwin. *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*. Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1879.
- Waitz, Georg. *Die Verfassung des Deutschen Volkes in ältester Zeit*. Berlin, 1880.
- Waitz, Theodor, and Gerland, Georg. *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1859-1872.
- Wake, C. Staniland. "The Race Elements of the Madecasses," in *Jour. of the Anthr. Soc of London*, 1869.
- "Notes on the Origin of the Malagasy," in *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, vi. 1882.
- Waldmeier, Theophilus. *The Autobiography: being an Account of Ten Years' Life in Abyssinia, and Sixteen in Syria*. London, 1886.
- Walen, A. "The Sakalava," in *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, viii. 1884.
- Walhouse, M. J. "On the Belief in Bhutas," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, v. 1876.
- Wallace, Alfred R. *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*. London, 1853.
- "On the Varieties of Man in the Malay Archipelago," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., iii. 1865.
- *The Malay Archipelago*. 2 vols. London, 1869.
- *Australasia*. London, 1884.
- Wallis, Samuel. "An Account of a Voyage round the World," in Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages . . . in the Southern Hemisphere*, i. 1773.
- Wallis, Wilson D. *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York, 1927.
- Wallon, H. *Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité*. 3 vols. Paris, 1879.
- Ward, Herbert. "Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- Ward, Lester F. *Pure Sociology*. New York, 1903.
- *Applied Sociology*. Boston, 1906.
- "Social Classes in the Light of Modern Sociological Thought," in *The American Journal of Sociology*, xiii. 1907-1908.

- Watt, George. "The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvi. 1887.
- Wayland, E. J. "The Tribes of Karamoja," *ibid.*, lvi. 1931.
- Weatherly, Ulysses G. *Social Progress. Studies in the Dynamics of Chance*. Philadelphia, 1926.
- Weber, Ernst v. *Vier Jahre in Afrika*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1878.
- Wedgwood, Camilla H. "Death and Social Status in Melanesia," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, lviii.
- Welch, E. A., and Davis, Barnard. "An Account of the Chatham Islands," in *Jour. of the Anthropol. Soc.*, 1870.
- Wellhausen, J. *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*. Berlin, 1897.
- West, Thomas. *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*. London, 1865.
- Westermarck, E. A. *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*. 2 vols. London, 1906-8.
- "The Position of Woman in Early Civilization," in *Sociological Papers*, 1904.
- *The History of Human Marriage*. 3 vols. London, 1921.
- *Early Beliefs and their Social Influence*. London, 1932.
- Weule, K. *Die Urgesellschaft und ihre Lebensfürsorge*. Stuttgart, 1923.
- Whitfield, G. M. B. *South African Native Law*. Cape Town, 1930.
- Wichmann, Yrjö. "Tietoja Votjaakkien Mytologiasta," in *Suomi*, iii, 6. 1893.
- Wickham, H. A. "The Soumoro or Woolwa Indians," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xxiv. 1894.
- Wied-Neuwied, Maximilian Prinz zu. *Reise nach Brasilien*. 2 vols. Frankfurt, 1820-1.
- Wildman, Leveson. "Manners and Customs of the People about Little Popo," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, N.S., iv. 1866.
- Wilken, G. A. "Plechtigeden en gebruiken bij verlovingen en huwelijken bij de volken van den indischen archipel," in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, v, 1. 1886.
- Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*. 5 vols. London, 1845.
- Williams, F. E. *The Natives of the Purari Delta*. Port Moresby, 1924.
- Orokaiva Society. London, 1930.
- Williams, Thomas. *Fiji and the Fijians*. London, 1870.
- Williamson, Robert W. *The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia*. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1924.
- Willoughby, C. "Indians of the Quinaielt Agency," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1885-6, Pt. I.
- "Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., vii, 3. 1905.
- Wilson, Capt. "Indian Tribes in the Vicinity of the 49th Parallel," in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, London, N.S., iv. 1860.
- Wilson, C. T., and Felkin, R. W. *Uganda und der Aegyptische Sudan*. 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1883.
- Wilson, Charles W. "On the Tribes of the Nile Valley," in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, xvii.
- Wilson, Daniel. *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. 2 vols. London, etc., 1863.
- *Prehistoric Man*. 2 vols. London, 1876.
- Wilson, J. Leighton. *Western Africa*. London, 1856.
- Wilson, John. *India Three Thousand Years Ago*. Bombay, 1858.
- *Indian Caste*. 2 vols. Bombay, 1877.
- Windhus, John. "A Journey to Mequinez," in Pinkerton, xv.
- Winterbottom, Thomas. *Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*. 2 vols. London, 1803.

- Wirz, Paul. *Die Marind-anim von Holländisch-Süd-New-Guinea*. 2 vols. Hamburg, 1922-5.
- "Beiträge zur Ethnographie des Papua-Golfes," in *Abhandlungen und Berichte der Museen für Tierkunde und Völkerkunde zu Dresden*, xix. 1934.
- Wissler, Clark. "Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians," in *Bull. of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii, 3. 1904.
- *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*. New York, 1929.
- *The American Indian*. New York, 1922.
- Wissmann, Herman. *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Africa*. Berlin, 1890.
- Wood, J. G. *The Natural History of Man*. 2 vols. London, 1868-1870.
- Woods, J. D. *The Native Tribes of South Australia*. Adelaide, 1879.
- Врангель (Wrangel), ф. фонъ, Путешествіе по Сѣвернымъ Берегамъ Сибири. 3 vols. St. Petersburg, 1841.
- Wuttke, Adolf. *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*. Berlin, 1869.
- Wyatt, William. "Account of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes," in Woods, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*.
- Ximenes, Fransisco. *Las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala*. Viena, 1857.
- Yate, William. *An Account of New Zealand*. London, 1835.
- Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*. Berlin.
- *für Ethnologie*. Berlin.
- *für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*. Stuttgart.
- *für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*. Leipzig.
- Zimmermann, W. F. A. *Die Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1863-5.
- Zöppritz, K. "E. de Pruyssenaere's Reisen im Gebiete des Weissen und Blauen Nil," in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband, xi, 50-1. 1876-7.
- Zurita, Alonzo de. *Rapport sur les Differentes Classes de Chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne*. Paris, 1840.
- Живая Старина ("Living Antiquity"). Periodical published by the Ethnogr. Department of the Imper. Russ. Geogr. Soc. St. Petersburg.
- Записки Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. (Memoirs of the Imper. Russ. Geogr. Soc.). St. Petersburg.
- Записки Западно-Сибирскаго отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. (Memoirs of the West-Siberian Branch of the Imper. Russ. Geogr. Soc.). Omsk.
- Записки Приамурскаго отдѣла Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго Общества. (Memoirs of the Amur-Province Branch of the Imper. Russ. Geogr. Soc.). Habarovsk.
- Шашковъ (Shashkof), С. Шаманство въ Сибири, in *Записки Геогр. Общ.*, ii.
- Шимкевичъ (Shimkevich), П. П. Матеріалы для Изученія шаманства у Гольддоръ. in *Записки Приамурск. Отд. Геогр. Общ.*, ii, 1.

SUBJECT INDEX

(Instances in which a certain subject is repeatedly mentioned on the same page are indicated by a number in parenthesis.)

Administration, *see* Government
Adoption of enemies captured in warfare, 262 sq., 264.
Age: authority and influence of parents and elders, 8, 10, 20 sqq., 22 sq., 30 (2), 48; age-classes, 20 sqq., 23 sqq.; certain kinds of food denied to uninitiated youths, 15; old women, too, respected, 16; a certain authority, independent of relationship, accompanies advanced age, 21; a man's influence grows less with declining strength, 22 sq.; decrepit elders killed or left to perish, 23; initiation rites at puberty, 23 sqq.; the celebration of noteworthy occurrences in life by feasts, 26; initiation of girls, 27; character of initiation ceremonies, 28 sqq., 31 sq.; criticism of Schurtz' theory regarding age-classes, 28 sqq.; different marks, clothing, ornaments, weapons, head-dresses, tattooing, etc., distinguishing age-classes, 32 sq.; death and regeneration implied in certain initiation ceremonies, 33 sq.; purport of certain initiatory rites, 33 sqq.; the old men officiating as priests and sorcerers, 143; similarity of the initiation of young men and that of priests, 174 sq.; the elder's council, *see* Government. *See* Children.
Agriculture originally performed by women and in consequence despised, 87 sq., 88; development of agriculture, 88; failure and success of crops ascribed to the agency of spirits, 116; the occurrence of slavery among agricultural tribes, 230 sqq.
Aristocracy, *see* Nobility
Ascetism, *see* Priests
Badges, *see* Hunting, Ornaments, War
Barber, *see* Labour
Blacksmith, *see* Labour
Blood: blood-letting ceremony at the initiation of youths, 34; the red colour has reference to blood, 51; close connection between a person's blood and his soul, 297
Burial: different burial customs of different social groups, 91; of priests,

203 sq.; the necessity of celebrating the death of a member of the family by a large burial feast, 234, 235, 239; different burial of slaves, 276; of the nobles and rich, 307; of chiefs, 323.
Butcher, *see* Labour
Cannibalism: women and the common people debarred from cannibalism, 15; Spencer's theory that the beginnings of slavery are connected with cannibalism, 250, 258, 260; motives of cannibalism, 252 sqq.; cannibalistic practices in connection with warfare, 257 sqq. *See* Food
Canoe-builder, *see* Labour
Carpenter, *see* Labour
Cattle-breeding, *see* Pastoral tribes
Celibacy, *see* Priests
Ceremonies, *see* Magic, Priests, Religion
Chiefs, *see* Government
Children: the position of children in society, 20 sqq., 35; paternal or parental authority and filial reverence at its height not among the lowest races but among those next above them in civilization, 20 sqq.; the teaching of children, 21; not only the father but any senior member of the family exercising authority over the younger ones, 21; the position of illegitimate children, 65, 266; the position of children sometimes confused with that of slaves, 229; the pawning of children, 235; captured children spared in warfare, 261 sqq.; defenceless children enslaved, 266; position of the children when one of the parents is a slave, 270. *See* Age
Circumcision, instances of, 26, 27 (2), 29, 32 (3), 34, 209; purpose of circumcision, 34; the art of circumcision a respected profession, 83. *See* Sexual Life
Class distinction, *see* Social differentiation
Clothing: neophytes to manhood have to go naked for a time, 25; distinct attire of age-classes, 32; of rich and poor people, 71; of certain trades, 85; of priests, 199 sq.; of slaves, 275; of the upper classes, 289 sq., 303; of chiefs, 321; cowards punished by

- being dressed in woman's clothes, 87 ; priestly novices who have to live nude in a solitary place during their probation period, 171 ; male priests dressing as women, 224 sq. ; the purpose said to be to deceive spirits, 225 ; clothes in primitive societies regarded as part of the wearer's personality, 225 ; colours, *see* Painting. *See* Ornaments
- Commonalty, *see* Social differentiation
- Communitistic ideas regarding property, *see* Property
- Cook, *see* Labour
- Council of the influential men, *see* Government
- Division of Labour, *see* Labour
- Dreams : counsel, etc., of gods conveyed in dreams, 122, 130 ; the gods communicate with priests in dreams, 156 sq. *See* Soul
- Ear : Elongation of the lobe of the ear indicates rank, 291
- Education, *see* Children
- Eloquence, *see* Personal Qualities
- Equality of rank among the lowest races, Ch. I ; theoretical aspects of equality, 1 sqq. ; "equality of opportunity," 2 ; Rousseau's views regarding equality in the state of nature, 4 sq. ; social equality of the Kiwai Papuans, 5 sqq. ; of other undeveloped peoples, 9 sqq. ; the non-existence of rank is in harmony with the conditions in which primitive peoples live, 12. *See* Social differentiation
- Ethnography, *see* Clothing, Ornaments, Priests, Weapons, etc.
- Executioners, *see* Labour
- Fasting, *see* Food
- Feathers, *see* Ornaments
- Fishing : the rights of fishing among the Kiwai Papuans, 7 ; skill in fishing influences the social position, 10, 81 sq. ; taboo observed by fishers, 41 ; polygyny a privilege of skilled fishermen, 58 ; success in fishing ascribed to supernatural agencies, 116 ; the occurrence of slavery among fishing tribes, 230, 232 ; slaves employed in fishing, 271
- Food : special kinds of food denied to the women, 15 ; fasting or food restrictions imposed upon youths at initiation, 25, 26, 27 ; precedence accorded the old men in the matter of food, 31 ; fasting for religious ends, 162, 169, 197 sqq. ; different food of the upper classes, 299 sq., 303 ; sacred chiefs take their meals separately, 306, 325 (2). *See* Cannibalism, Labour (Cooks)
- Foot : the bound feet of Chinese ladies indicating rank, 291
- Government and political life : the Origin of Government, Ch. I ; the elders exercise tribal authority, 10 ; position of women in public life, *see* Women ; women as chiefs, 17, 318 sq. ; personal qualifications conducing to leadership, 48, 56, 57 ; distinctive attire, ornaments, head-dress, insignia, etc., of royalty, 54, 289, 321 sq. ; the gods of the king and his family assuming the character of tribal gods, 127 ; rulers who receive divine honours after death, 127 sq. ; royal colours, 200 ; renowned chiefs occasionally spared in warfare by their enemies, 263 sq. ; a certain order of the nobility owes its origin to its connection with the ruler, 293 ; officials of the ruler, 293 ; preference granted to members of the nobility in being nominated to offices of state, 296 ; religious descent and sacredness of chiefs, 305, 306 ; different future existence of chiefs, 307 ; the council of the influential men, 309 sqq., 316 sq. ; "peoples without a government," 309 ; chieftainship, 309, 317 sqq. ; temporary chiefs, 310 ; tribal court of justice, 314 sq. ; judicial power of chiefs, 315 ; popular or national assembly, 315 sq. ; temporary leadership, 317 sq. ; personal qualifications determining leadership, 317 sq. ; chieftainship by election, 318 ; hereditary chieftainship, 318 ; the council of the influential men subsisting under monarchical rule, 319 ; power of the tribal council, 319 ; separate village and tribal councils and chiefs, 319 ; warfare influencing the conditions of chieftainship, 320 sq. ; a special chief in war, 320 ; splendid habitations of chiefs, 321 ; bands of musicians accompanying chiefs, 321 ; a specific courtly language, 322 ; brother and sister marriages of ruling families, 322 ; extreme degree of autocracy, holiness, and taboo characterizing certain rulers, 323 sqq. ; spectacular obsequies of rulers, 323 ; priest-kings, *see* Priests. *See* Jurisdiction
- Hair : shaving a youth's head at initiation, 25 ; age-classes distinguished by their hair-dress, 32 ; hair-dress indicating deeds of valour, 50 sq., 52 ; magical significance of the hair,

- 61 (2); social degradation indicated by means of hair-dress, 63; rules regarding hair-cutting, 100; the long hair of priests, 200 sqq.; precautions taken when cutting the hair of a priest, 201 sq.; distinctive hair-dress of slaves, 275; of the higher classes, 289 sq.; the long hair or distinctive hair-dress of rulers, 321
- Head-dress: age-classes distinguished by different head-dress, 32; badges and head-dresses, 48; head-dress indicating deeds of valour, 50; magical significance of head-ornaments, 61; sacredness of the head, 201; distinctive head-dress of the higher classes, 289 sq.
- Hereditariness, an attribute of social classes, 36; tendency to hereditariness of personal superiority and inferiority, 64 sqq.; respect for "family", 65; the position of illegitimate children, 65 sq.; difference between "old" and "new" families, 66 sq.; hereditary trades, *see* Labour; hereditariness of slavery, *see* Slavery; of nobility, *see* Nobility; of chieftainship, *see* Government
- Horns as badges, etc., 48, 50, 292
- Hospitality, *see* Property
- Houses: superior houses of the upper classes, 288; house-builders, *see* Labour
- Hunting: rights of hunting among the Kiwai Papuans, 6 sq.; successful hunters respected, 8, 10, 81 sq.; taboo observed by hunters after the game has been killed, 41, 52, 86; hunting trophies, 43 sq.; hunting badges, 48 sq.; the difference between trophies and badges, 48; honorary names for successful hunters, 55 sq.; a young man cannot marry until he has become an expert hunter, 57 sq., 58; polygyny occasionally the privilege of expert hunters, 58 sq.; distinction conferred upon famous hunters after death, 59 sq.; magical significance of trophies of the chase, 60 sq.; skill in hunting a road to eminence, 68; hunting a favourite occupation of the upper classes, 84; a special god of hunters, 116; the occurrence of slavery among hunting tribes, 230 sqq.; slaves employed in hunting, 271
- Inequality, *see* Equality, Social differentiation
- Initiation, *see* Age, Labour (smiths), Priests
- Iron, *see* Labour (smiths), Magic, Religion
- Jurisdiction: the *wergeld* for killing a woman sometimes differing from that of killing a man, 15 sq.; theft, murder, treachery, etc., not reprobated when practised upon members of a strange tribe, 42; outward marks of ignominy sometimes originate from punishments inflicted on offenders, 63; judicial authority of priests, 219; the community as a rule only intervenes in criminal cases of an anti-social character, 241; indemnification of a crime by claiming compensation, by enslaving the criminal, or by exacting a fine, 242 sq.; judicial disabilities of slaves, 275, 276 sqq.; punishment meted out according to the rank of the offender or to that of the offended party, 276 sq.; punishment for breaking the rules of endogamy, 294; criminal law granting precedence to the upper and wealthy classes, 296 sqq.; in a few cases the wealthy or noble class more severely punished, 298; social degradation of persons on account of crimes committed by them, 308; tribal court of justice, 314 sq.; judicial power of chiefs, 315. *See* Government, Property
- King, *see* Government
- Labour and trades: no division of labour among undeveloped peoples, 5, 10, 12, 78 sqq.; labour performed in common, 5, 79; distribution of labour between the sexes, 14 sq.; between social classes, 36, 37, 91 (2); geographical or tribal division of labour, 79; trading between neighbouring tribes, 79; the origin of a division of labour, 79 sq.; differentiation of the occupations of women, 81, 91; varying social estimation of different groups of workers, 81 sq.; the importance of certain kinds of work and the skill required for their execution raises them in social estimation, 82; employments among uncivilized races in many cases hereditary, 83, 84, 85, 86, 90, 96, 98; degrading employments, 83 sqq., 98; endogamous groups of workers, 84, 85; magic power often an attribute of pariah classes, 84; occupations primarily belonging to the women are despised and avoided by men, 87 sq.; differentiation as influenced by the development of trades, Chs. V and VI; slaves employed in trading by their masters, 271; exemption from manual labour implies a distinction, 271, 301;

- carpenters, 82; canoe builders, 82; house builders, 82; tattooers, 82; performers of circumcision, 83; swineherds, 83 sq.; beggars, 84; butchers, 84, 85; musicians, 84; executioners, 84 sq.; workers who have to do with dead bodies, 86; swine-gelders, 86; tanners and workers in leather, 86 (2); skippers, 86; cooks, 86 sq., 88; cattle breeders, 87; weavers, 88 sq., 98, 232; potters, 89; barbers, 89; griots, minstrels, musicians, singers, dancers, jugglers, 89 sqq.; smiths, 84, 88, 92-101; initiation of smiths, 96; the smiths are in certain cases despised and dreaded pariahs and at the same time objects of superstitious awe and respect, 92 sqq., 95; reputed as "wise persons" (92), physicians (92), medicine-men (93), priests (93), magicians (96); magic use of iron and steel, 93, 98 sqq.; smiths, armourers practising sorcery, 94 sq., 95; in certain cases they belong to a different tribe than the mass of their people, 96 sqq.; iron must not come in contact with sacred objects or be used for any religious purpose, etc., 100; mysterious properties of iron, 100 sq. *See* Agriculture, Slavery
- Landed property, *see* Property
- Language: separate language of priests, 168 (2), 202 sq., 303 sq.; of the upper classes, 303 sq.; of chiefs, 304, 322
- Law, *see* Jurisdiction
- Magic: magical uncleanness of hunters, *see* Hunting; of warriors, *see* War; degraded social groups often thought versed in witchcraft, 91; magic use of iron and steel, 93, 98 sqq.; magic and religion, 207, 213; magical power particularly associated with women, 225; magical uncleanness of hunters, *see* Hunting; of warriors, *see* War. *See* Labour (smiths), Priests, Religion
- Marks distinguishing personal eminence, various social groups, etc., *see* Personal qualities, Age, Government, Hunting, Marriage, Nobility, Ornaments, Tattooing, War, etc.
- Marriage: a plurality of wives assisting a man in his social ambitions, 8; men who have not been able to acquire a wife and widowers who have not married again, looked down upon, 9, 73; a father's varying right to give away his daughter in marriage, 20; marriage and initiation to manhood, 28 sqq.; polygyny in certain cases a privilege of the old and influential men, 30; of expert hunters, fishermen, etc., 58; marks distinguishing marriageable age, 32; capable young men find it easier to procure a wife than others, 42 sq., 57, 58, 65; the bride price, 47, 294; valorous captives of war sometimes married into the tribe of their conquerors, 57; courage and skill obligatory conditions for marriage, etc., 58, 59; special trial before a man's wooing is accepted, 58; polygyny accompanying wealth 72 sqq.; the wives in a polygynous family generally not on a footing of equality, the first married mostly holding a certain precedence, 73 sqq.; endogamous groups of handicraftsmen, 84, 85, 90; marriage regulations, 105; men who pawn themselves in lieu of paying the price of a bride, 236 sq.; concubinage of female pawns or slaves, 238, 280 sq.; illegitimate children enslaved, 266; position of the children when one of the parents is a slave, 270; marriage of slaves, 281 sqq.; marriage regulations and privileges characterizing nobility, 294 sqq.; polygyny a privilege of nobility, 294; class-endogamy, 294; ceremonial marriage rites of the nobles, 305; social promotion or degradation through marriage, 308 (2); brother and sister marriages of ruling families, 322. *See* Sexual conditions, Women
- Men's house of the Kiwai Papuans, 20
- Middle class, *see* Social differentiation
- Minors, *see* Children
- Musicians, *see* Labour
- Nails: long nails tokens of distinction, 54, 291; rules regarding nail-cutting, 100
- Names and titles: a new name or title given at initiation to manhood, etc., 25, 26 (3), 27 (2), 31; significance of names, 34 sq., 56; honorary names for victorious warriors, 41, 49, 55 sq.; ignominious names, 63; names indicating wealth, 70 sq.; changing the names of priests at their initiation, 173
- Nobility: the origin of nobility, 38, 193 sqq., Ch. XVI; nobility conferred on heroic warriors, 57, 59; distinction between nobility and wealth, 76, 988 sqq.; occupations of the upper classes, 84; taboo resting on members of the nobility, 84, 304 sq., 305; nobility and the other main social orders, 111, 227; varying types of nobility among different peoples, 113, 287 sq.; superior dwellings and clothes of the upper classes, 288 sq.; colours indicating rank,

- 289 sq. ; tattooing, 290 sq. ; emblems and ornaments, 291, 292 ; weapons, 291 sq. ; umbrellas, 292 ; band of musicians, 293 ; nobility originating from connection with the ruler, 293 (2) ; marriage regulations and privileges maintained by the nobility, 293 sq. ; liberties in sexual respects enjoyed by women belonging to the very highest ranks, 296 ; preference granted to members of the nobility in being nominated to offices of state, 296 ; criminal law granting precedence to the aristocracy and the rich, 296 sq. ; in a few cases the wealthy or noble class more severely punished, 298 ; regard for old and distinguished ancestry, 298 sq. ; a sub-order of nobility comprehends chiefs of subjugated tribes, 299 ; different food of the upper classes, 299 sq. ; less susceptible to illness, 300 ; the use of slaves a prerogative of wealth and social rank, 300 sq. ; high rank exempted from manual labour, 301 ; pride displayed by the upper classes, 301 ; their physically and mentally distinctive type, 301 sq. ; the question regarding the racial divergence of the upper classes, 303 ; their separate language, 303 sq. ; power and prominence of the highest class, 304 sq. ; spiritual and religious superiority, 304 sq., 305 ; considered a different species of man, 304 ; ceremonial observance of their religious and social functions, 305 ; servile attitude of the lower classes towards the nobles, 305 sq., 307 ; distinct burial customs of the nobles, 307 ; different future existence, 307. *See* Social differentiation
- Nomads, *see* Pastoral tribes
- Old people, *see* Age
- Ornaments distinguishing age-classes, 32 sq. ; used as badges, 48 sq., 54 ; magical significance of feather and skin ornaments, 61 sq. (4) ; distinct ornaments of the rich, 71 ; feather guise of priests, 183 ; distinct ornaments of slaves, 275 ; of the upper classes, 289 sq., 291, 292 ; of chiefs, 321 ; the sunshade as a symbol of rank, 292 ; of royalty, 321 ; feather cloaks used by rulers, 321. *See* Hunting, War
- Ownership, *see* Property
- Painting the body at the initiation to manhood, 26 ; its purport, 34 ; paintings as war badges, etc., 49, 51, 52 ; significance of colours and designs, 24, 51 sq., 54, 55, 61, 200 ; distinct painting used by priests, 183 ; by slaves, 275 ; by nobles, 289 sq., 292 ; by chiefs, 321
- Parents, *see* Age, Children
- Pastoral tribes ; the occurrence of slavery among, 230 sqq.
- Personal qualities and conditions, social differentiation through, Ch. III ; social standing in every society varying according to personal merits or demerits, 2, 8, 9 ; social influence through eloquence, 9, 40, 308, 316 ; through physical power and adroitness, 9, 40 ; hospitality, 70 ; supernatural gifts, 39 sq. ; courage and warlike renown, 40 sq., 56, 59, 308 ; manliness and strength of mind, 42 ; personal dexterity among savages not to be understood according to civilized ideas, 42 ; importance of trophies as signs of personal distinction, 47 sqq. ; prominent persons acquiring actual benefits and privileges, 56 sqq., 59 ; distinction conferred upon renowned persons after death, 59 sq. ; qualities of a contemptible nature sink persons to an inferior station, 62 sqq., 64 ; degrading influence of cowardice, 62 sq., 87 ; dishonour of a coward thought to continue after death, 63 sq. ; difference as regards property goes hand in hand with difference in personal qualities, 68 ; personal ability determining leadership, 317 sq. *See* Hunting, Marriage, Names, Social differentiation, War
- Political life, *see* Government
- Polygyny, *see* Marriage
- Potter, *see* Labour
- Priests : the origin of priesthood, Chaps. VIII-XII ; the human need of mediators with the preternatural world, Ch. VIII ; the first appearance of priests, Ch. IX ; renowned sorcerers compel social respect, 8 ; magicians and sorcerers included in the priesthood, 111 sqq. ; priesthood met with at an earlier stage of evolution than any other social class, 113 ; distinct character of priesthood as a social class, 113 sqq. ; psychological explanation of the origin of priesthood, 115 sqq. ; specific endowments of priests and sorcerers, 120 sq. ; curing illness, 120 sq. ; interpreting signs and omens, 121 sqq. ; destroying enemies, 123 sq. ; the sacerdotal office looked upon with veneration and awe, 124 ; bad priests and sorcerers become malignant spirits after death, 129 ; no proper priesthood in the earliest history of cult,

130 sqq.; individual performance of religious and magical rites in early stages, 130 sqq.; the head or some other member of the family acting as priest, 131, 133 sq.; those more expert assume the priestly functions, 132; instances illustrating the very beginnings of a priesthood, 132 sqq.; the union of the highest sacerdotal and civil dignities, 134 sqq., 138 sq.; general applicability of Sir James Frazer's theory doubtful, 135 sqq.; the origin of king-priests, 135 sqq.; forerunners of a regular priesthood: persons believed to be inspired by gods, 139 sq.; temporary duration of priestly offices in early ages, 140; guardians of sacred places, 141 sq.; "holy men" and wonderworkers, 142; simple rites in early stages of cult, almost any man might become a priest, 142 sq.; with the growth of complicated observances a professional priesthood became necessary, 143 sq.; the old men officiating as priests and sorcerers, 143; varying authority of the first semi-priests and semi-sorcerers, 144 sq.; sorcerers of neighbouring races held in greater awe than those of their own tribe, 145; Tylor's theory, 146; certain tribes attribute to each other, reciprocally, a superior power of magic, 146 sq.; secret power of strangers more believed in than those of well-known people, 147 sq.; qualifications required of aspirants to the priesthood, Ch. X; hereditariness of priesthood, 149 sqq.; certain endowments required of would-be priests, 151 sqq.; the faculty of conversing with spirits, 152; priests have tutelary deities at their disposal, 153 sq.; the priests have been selected by the gods, 154 sqq.; their power derived from the gods, 155 sqq.; the faculty of wonder working a necessary endowment for aspirants to priesthood, 158 sqq.; outward signs indicating qualification for priesthood, 159; priests have to prove that they possess supernatural faculties, 159 sqq.; fasting or the use of narcotics for causing ecstasy or trance, 162, 194; ecstasy ascribed to spiritual agency, 163; religious ceremonies almost universally accompanied by prophetic or divine manifestations, 163; ideas regarding insane persons, 163 sq.; the initiation of priests, 164 sqq.; their course of preparation, 165 sq., 166 sqq.; knowledge imparted to the candi-

dates, 167 sqq.; secret language, 168; priests who are paid for training pupils, 168 sq.; the period of self-training for the priestly vocation, 169 sqq.; ascetism of priestly neophytes, 169 sqq.; their use of narcotics, 170 sqq.; fasting and food restrictions, 169 sqq.; purity and sexual continence, 171; priests have to give some proof of their powers before they are regarded as qualified, 172 sq.; they have to undergo initiatory ceremonies, 173; changing their names, 173; similarity of the initiation of priests and that of young men into manhood: death and resurrection, 174 sq.; how priests gain reputation, Ch. XI; influential position of priests, 176; they are recruited from the most intelligent elements of their peoples, 177; considerable range of knowledge of priests, 177 sq.; they benefit from the information collected by them, 128; they make their predictions sufficiently ambiguous to admit of a variety of interpretations, 179 sq.; means of explaining away ill-success, 180 sqq.; they are the source of many superstitions, 181 sq.; the mystery in which priests envelop their proceedings, 182; they inspire the people with fear, 182 sq.; bizarre external appearance of priests, 183; their ecstatic ceremonies, 183; means of making themselves akin to the supernatural beings, 184; religious and magical rites often take place in the dark, 184; priests attaching themselves to the kings and noble classes, 184 sq.; they increase their influence by wonderworking, 185 sqq.; priests who forfeit their office and are liable to be killed, 187 sq.; priests who have to give up their office at a certain age, or who retain it until death, 188; the question whether the priests of savage races are impostors or not, 189 sq.; the "sucking cure", 190 sqq.; the almost boundless imagination of savages, 192; their priests believe in their own powers, 192 sqq.; trials for witchcraft in Europe, 193 sq.; origin of priesthood as a distinct order, 194 sqq.; priesthood as a hereditary institution, 194; rigid probation and course of instruction of priests, 194; observances obligatory upon priests, 194 sq.; religious asceticism, 195 sqq.; celibacy and restrictions as to sexual life, 195 sqq.; types of priestly virgins, 196 sq., 224; *ius primae*

noctis accorded to priests, 197; temple prostitution, 197; fasting and prohibited articles of food, 197 sqq.; the use of drugs for religious ends, 198 sq.; weird ornamental outfit of priests, 199 sq.; the long hair of priests, 200 sqq.; precautions taken when cutting the hair of a priest, 201 sq.; instruments used by priests, 202; separate language, 202 sq.; ideas regarding the souls of priests after death, 203 sq.; special rites at the burial of priests, 203 sq.; classification of priesthood, Ch. XII; priests—magicians, wizards, and sorcerers, 205 sqq.; definitions of priests and sorcerers, 205 sqq.; magic and religion, 207, 213; a beneficial and a malevolent order within the priesthood, 210 sqq.; distribution of priestly functions, 213 sqq.; judicatory authority of priests, 219, 314; women generally excluded from religious functions, 220 sqq.; priestly offices held by women, 222 sqq.; male priests dressed as women, 224 sq.; sexual anomalies connected with priests, 225. *See* Labour (smiths), Magic, Religion.

Property: equality of possession among the Kiwai Papuans and other undeveloped peoples, 5 sq., 10; possessions owned jointly by groups of people, 6; private ownership in land and its origin, 6, 59; rules regarding landed property, 7, 19 sq.; the custom of sharing game and garden produce with fellow-villagers, 7, 70; the duty of exchanging presents, 8, 70; social status dependent on a reputation for hospitality, 10, 70; proprietary rights of women among the Kiwai Papuans, 19 sq.; rules of inheritance, 19 sq.; captured heads forming a kind of currency, 47 sq.; inheritance not to the eldest but to the most meritorious son, 59; wealth as influencing social differentiation, Ch. IV; difference as regards property goes hand in hand with difference as regards personal qualities, 68, 78; importance of wealth as contributing to the origin of ranks, 68 sq., 75; names and badges indicating wealth, 70 sq.; distinctive equipment and attire of the rich, 71 sq.; wealth and polygyny, 72 sqq.; tendency to endogamy within the wealthy class, 75 sq.; wealth and nobility, 76, 288 sq.; the sinking of the poor and destitute to a subordinate position, 76 sq.; certain

despised groups of people not allowed to hold land, 89; slavery alleged to be founded on the principle of ownership and property, 228 sq.; causes of insolvency among primitive peoples, 232 sqq.; the slave trade, 267 sqq.; certain marks on slaves to indicate ownership, 274; economic disabilities and rights of slaves, 276 sqq.; 279, 284; certain weapons are tokens of wealth, 292; certain groups of slaves cannot be sold, 281, 282, criminal law granting precedence to the rich, 296 sqq.; in a few cases the wealthy or noble class more severely punished, 298; the use of slaves a prerogative of wealth and social rank, 300; distinctive burial customs of the wealthy, 307. *See* Jurisdiction, Nobility, Social intercourse.

Puberty, *see* Age

Punishment, *see* Jurisdiction

Purification ceremony at the initiation of youths, 34; purification of hunters and warriors after killing a beast or foe, *see* Hunting, War

Race: possible racial divergence of the upper classes among certain native peoples, 303. *See* Tribe

Rank, *see* Nobility, Social differentiation

Relationship, *see* Social intercourse

Religion: adults only take part in religious ceremonies, 31; supernatural gifts accompanied by influence in worldly affairs also, 39 sq.; certain despised groups of people not allowed to join in the village worship, 89; the use of iron in certain rites, 93; iron must not come in contact with sacred objects or be used for religious purposes, 100; the human need of mediators with the preternatural world, Ch. XIII; universal existence of religion among all human races, 111 sqq.; ancestor cult and worship of nature influence differently the evolution of priesthood, 125 sqq., 129 sq.; private ancestral gods passing into tribal gods, 126 sqq.; departed persons transformed into supernatural beings, 128 sq.; religion and magic, 207, 213; sacrificing prisoners at a religious ceremony, 257; religious aspect of the class-system, 304 sq. *See* Labour (smiths), Magic, Priests

Rousseau, J. J., his views regarding the state of nature, 4 sq.

Sexual life, general observations, 28 (2), 29 sq.; mutilation of the sexual organs at initiation, 34; testicles as

- war trophies, 46; sexual taboo imposed on warriors, 52; on priestly neophytes, 171; sexual anomalies connected with priests, 125. *See* Circumcision, Marriage, Women
- Signs, *see* Marks
- Slavery, the origin of, Chs. XIII-XV; distinctive marks, etc., of slavery, 32, 63 (2), 274 sqq.; the origin of such marks, 274; slaves not allowed to be tattooed, 33; slaves have to perform despised labour, 88; varying types of slavery among different peoples, 113; theoretical questions regarding slavery, 227 sqq.; intratribal slavery, 232 sqq., 284 sqq.; definitions of slavery, 228 sq.; slaves confused with certain other subjected elements of a people, 229; geographical distribution of slavery, 230 sq.; its occurrence within different economic cultures, 230; slavery combined with the first development of industrial work, 232; debtor slaves, 232 sqq., 240 sq.; enslavement by way of punishment for crimes, 232, 241 sqq.; causes of insolvency among primitive peoples, 232 sqq.; pawn-slavery, 234 sqq.; different treatment of different groups of slaves, 234; status and treatment of pawns, 237 sq.; rare occurrence of the redemption of pawns, 238 sqq.; tendency of the pawning system to extend over the debtor's relatives, 239; similarity between enslaving an offender who cannot pay indemnity and enslaving a debtor unable to meet his obligations, 244; discharging fines by means of pawn-slavery, 244 sq.; joint liability of the members of a family in connection with the punishment of a culprit, 245 sqq.; a convicted offender escaping slavery by substituting another person, 245 sq.; extratribal slavery, Ch. XIV, 38, 104-7, 232, 284, 285 sq.; captives mutilated or marked when kept as slaves, 249; Spencer's theory that the beginnings of slavery are connected with cannibalism, 250; the treatment of vanquished foemen, 251 sqq.; beginnings of the habit of enslaving prisoners of war, 256 sqq., 259 sqq.; a delay in putting captives to death may lead to keeping them alive and enslaving them, 256 sqq.; beginnings and instances of the slave trade, 235 sq., 259 sq., 267 sqq.; kidnapping defenceless persons and selling them as slaves, 265 sqq.; the market value of slaves, 268 sq.; in a few cases no slave trade is met with among slave-holding tribes, 269; hereditaryness of slavery, 269 sqq.; position of children when one of the parents is a slave, 270; general status and treatment of slaves, 271 sqq., 278 sqq., 283 sq.; occupations exercised by slaves, 271 sq.; legal disabilities of slaves, 275, 276 sqq.; different burial of slaves, 276; different terms of address, 276; a slave may himself be an owner of one or more slaves, 278 sq.; slavery occasionally constituting an unalterable state, 279; "slave without a master," 279; "King's slaves," 279 sq.; manumission of slaves, 280, 281, 283 sq.; concubinage of female slaves, 280 sq.; marriage of slaves, 281 sqq.; two distinct groups of slaves: household or domestic slaves and foreign or trading slaves, 283; the original source of slavery, 250, 285 sqq.; the use of slaves a prerogative of wealth and social rank, 300 sq.; liberated slaves forming an intermediate social class, 307 sq. *See* Jurisdiction, Social differentiation
- Smiths, *see* Labour
- Social differentiation and inequality, class distinction; polygyny a means of social advancement, *see* Marriage; social differentiation through personal qualities, *see* Ch. III, Personal qualities, War; wealth as influencing social differentiation, Ch. IV; social differentiation as influenced by the development of trades, Chs. V and VI; social inequality caused by the amalgamation of tribes, Ch. VII; individual and social inequality, 2, 3; common people debarred from cannibalism, 15; different clothing, ornaments, etc., separating social classes from one another, 32; definitions of social classes, 36 sqq.; classes and "occupational categories," 37; station occupied in the future life thought to be proportionate to that in the present life, 60, 307; degradation as regards social position, 63; outward marks and signs of ignominy, 63 (2); incompetent persons sink to a despised group, 64; tendency to hereditaryness of personal superiority or inferiority, 64 sqq.; the first wife in a polygynous family generally enjoys privileges over the others, 73 sqq.; degraded groups, thought to be versed in witchcraft, are feared and enjoy influence, 90, 91; the main orders of classes: slavery, the free middle class, and nobility, 107 sqq., 111, 227, 287; the principles underlying

- these main divisions, 108 sq., 114 sq.; varying types of the middle class among different peoples, 113; inheritance of rank, 294 sq.; the lower classes more susceptible to illness, 300; pride of the wives of chiefs, 301; the religious aspect of the class-system, 304 sq.; members of different classes reported to fight only their equals in battle, 306; subdivisions and intermediate groups between the principal classes, 307 sq.; transition from one class to another, 308; no transition said to take place, 308 (2). *See* Equality, Labour, Nobility, Personal qualities, Property, Slavery
- Social intercourse and organization: mutual duties of persons connected by certain ties of relationship, 8; a general rule of protection and subservience characterizing the social relations of many native communities, 266; in undeveloped communities governed by a council and without social rank or division of labour, no oppression can be exercised by the community over its members, 320; primitive tribes kept together by social instincts and common interests, 320. *See* Property
- Sociology; not concerned with the task of valuing social phenomena but of laying down the realities of its subject in an essentially descriptive sense and of throwing light upon the course and conditions of evolution, 3
- Sorcerers, *see* Priests.
- Soul, seats of, 61 sq.; precautions to be taken against the ghosts of slain people and animals, 85 sq.; people who have communion with spirits, 91; spirits afraid of iron and steel, 93, 99 (2); the idea of dependence upon spiritual beings, 115 sqq.; notions regarding the souls of priests after death, 203 sq.; female disguise alleged to be assumed by priests in order to deceive spirits, 225; close connection between a person's soul and his blood, 297; only the chief and nobility possess souls, 304 sq. *See* Religion
- Spirit, *see* Soul
- Stranger: theft, murder, treachery, etc., approved of when practised upon members of a strange tribe, 42
- Tanner, *see* Labour
- Tattooing: different tattooing distinguishing age-classes, 32 sqq.; purport and magical significance of tattooing, 34, 42, 53 (2), 54 sq., 61; the art of tattooing is a respected craft, 82; difference as regards tattooing indicating the slave state, 275, 290; indicating rank, 290 sq. *See* Marks, Personal qualities. War
- Teaching, *see* Children
- Teeth: the knocking out of teeth at the initiation of youths, 25, 27, 34; teeth as trophies of war and the chase, 46, 49; magical significance of teeth used as ornaments, 61 (2), 62
- Trades, *see* Labour, Property
- Tribe: smiths in certain cases belong to a different tribe from the mass of their people, 96 sqq.; amalgamation of tribes causes social inequality, Ch. VII; causes the origin of slavery, 232; of nobility, 287; how customs, languages, rules of matrimony, etc., stand in relation to each other on the amalgamation of different peoples, 105 sq.; the position of degraded tribes occasionally confused with that of slaves, 299; a sub-order of nobility comprehends chiefs of subjugated tribes, 299; separate village and tribal councils and chiefs, 319. *See* Race
- Trophies, *see* Hunting, War
- War, warriors: Warlike renown a road to eminence, 8, 41, 308; only adults take part in war, 31; amalgamation of different nationalities through war, 38; war trophies, 44 sqq., 51, 54; their magical and religious significance, 47 sq., 58, 60 sq.; badges, etc., for warlike deeds, 48 sqq., 53, 54, 55 sq.; distinction between trophies and badges, 48; a man who has killed another is impure, 51 sq., 85; warriors tabooed after a victory, 52; very precise meaning of certain badges, 54; significance of badges, 54; superstitious dread of killing redoubtable warriors of the enemy, 57; a young man cannot marry until he has shown himself a brave warrior, 57 sq.; distinction conferred upon great warriors after death, 59 sq., 127; the custom of mutilating prisoners and slaves a sequence to trophy-taking from the slain, 63; success in war one of the roads to wealth, 68; no separate class of warriors among nature peoples, 79; the profession of a warrior highly esteemed, 82; war a favourite occupation of the upper classes, 84; certain despised groups of people not allowed to go to battle, 89;

- social inequality caused by subjugation in war, Ch. VII; magical rites performed before warfare, 124; war and the origin of slavery, Ch. XIV, 228; captives mutilated or marked when kept as slaves, 249; the capture of prisoners and their enslavement an essential part of warfare among many uncivilized peoples, 249 sq.; slavery surmised to have originated from captivity in war, 250; different kinds of warfare and fighting, 251; methods of warfare, 251 sqq., 306; the fate of captured enemies, 252 sqq., 255 sqq., 258 sqq., 261 sqq.; warfare frequently accompanied by cannibalism, 252 sq.; renowned warriors sometimes spared in warfare by their enemies, 263 sq.; slaves occasionally employed in warfare by their masters, 271 sq.; war conducing to the rise of a nobility, 287; warfare influencing the conditions of chieftainship, 320 sq.; a special chief in war, 320 sq. *See* Names, Personal qualities
- Wealth, *see* Property
- Weapons: the right of carrying certain weapons distinguishes advanced age, 32; weapons as badges, 49; disgrace of abandoning one's shield in battle, 62; the sword, 94 (2); slaves exempted from the right and honour of carrying a weapon, 275 sq.; weapons indicating rank and wealth, 291 sq., 292; indicating royalty, 321
- Weaver, *see* Labour
- Witchcraft, *see* Magic
- Wizard, *see* Priests
- Women, the position of, Ch. II, 25; women never own land in the full sense of the word among the Kiwai Papuans, 7; unequal distribution of labour between the sexes, 14 sq., 17 sq.; social inferiority of women, 15 sq., 17 sq.; women excluded from matters of a political and religious character, 15 sqq., 20, 220 sqq.; rights enjoyed by the men in many cases denied to the women, 15 sq.; the *wergeld* for killing a woman different to that for killing a man, 15 sq.; causes of the subjugation of women, 16; the authority of savage husbands over their wives not always so great as it is said to be, 16; the division of occupations between the sexes is on the whole in conformity with the indications of nature, 16; old women, too, respected, 16; in some cases women exercise influence in matters of public concern, 16 sq., 20; women as chiefs, 17, 318 sq.; the position of women better among the most primitive tribes than among many culturally more advanced peoples, 18; favourable position of the women among the Kiwai Papuans, 18 sq.; proprietary rights of women, 19 sq.; the initiation of girls at puberty, 27; distinguishing marks, etc., conferred on girls at their initiation, 33; differentiation as regards the occupations of the women, 81, 91; occupations primarily belonging to the women are despised, 87 sq., 88 (2); cowards punished by being dressed in women's clothes, 87; women who die in childbirth are transformed into malevolent beings, 128 sq.; classes of priestly virgins, 196 sq., 224; priestly offices held by women, 222 sqq.; women thought to be endowed with mysterious powers, 223 sqq.; male priests dressed as women, 224 sq.; the social position of women sometimes confused with that of slaves, 229; the pawning of wives, 235; female prisoners spared in warfare, 261 sqq.; defenceless widows enslaved, 266; pride of the wives of chiefs, 301. *See* Marriage
- Work, *see* Labour

DATE OF ISSUE

This book must be returned
within 3, 7, 14 days of its issue. A
fine of ONE ANNA per day will
be charged if the book is overdue.

--	--

